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## ROLE OF ARMENIA IN ENERGY SECURITY ENSURING FOR THE SOUTH CAUCASUS REGION

*Karen Karapetyan*

The problem of energy resources and energy security supply is one of the global challenges. In this article we touch on the potential of Armenia to resist those challenges and possibilities and prospects of liberal energy market formation. There are some indices characterizing economy and production in this article.

In this context the current situation of Armenian energy system as well as the reforms and their results are studied. The forecasts of the demand for electricity and facilities produced in Armenia let us regard our republic as crucial actor on the energy market of the region.

Energy is one of those spheres, which problems are discussed in the context of both current and prospective developments of world economy. The current global challenges, which stand in the way of civilization, require comprehensive solution for the problems of the supply of the demand of energy resources, for the problems of the development of the stable schemes of delivery. The solution of the aforementioned problem will make a valuable contribution to the energy security of the country (or region), it will reduce the dependence on the prices or price variations on fuel and energy resources, the risks dependent on climate changes and will also ensure the stability of economy development, will help to create new jobs and solve some environmental problems.

The following principles are basal for the strategy of economic development of Armenia: the diversification of enterprise and production, human capital (resources) and the investments in the development of innovations. At the same time it is clear that it would be very difficult for the government of the Republic of Armenia, which stated its resolution to move into the stage of second generation market reforms, to imply social and economic policy without efficient and reliable energy system.

The reforms of the energy system of the Republic of Armenia were rather radical (fundamental) and took place in quite a short period. According to the differ-

ent international organizations (World bank, International Monetary Fund, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and etc) estimates, Armenia rightfully takes first place among the countries of South Caucasus in terms of the intensity of the reforms in the energy sphere (*Table 1*), directed to the creation of liberal energy market. Such a high estimate is based on the realities, in accordance to which the consumers' interests are provided; there are equal and non-discriminatory conditions for economic activity; the interests of foreign investors are protected.

The sharp growth of the necessity in energy resources, which is connected with the expansion of consumption of those resources, is observed all over the world. Such tendencies are also observed in Armenia, which geographic location is rather difficult but at the same time interesting and attractive from the point of view of regional partnership. South Caucasus and neighbouring Turkey and Iran are at the crossroads of oil and other energy carriers supply programs. The availability of the vast supplies of hydro-carbon resources in a number of countries of the region as well as the proximity to the largest energy resources consuming markets and the fast-growing economic centres makes that region even more attractive for the inflow of the international capital.

We should pay attention on the issue of the place of Armenia on the energy map of South Caucasus. What will be the guiding line for Armenia amid global resource competition, which includes companies from the countries, which do not have hydro-carbon resources enough to provide their economic development?. The other important issue concerns the factors, indices, which should be at the heart of regional energy security.

We can elaborate efficient energy security policy for Armenia only in case we answer those questions. In our opinion, that policy should be mainly directed on the implementation of qualitatively new export policy.

In modern world energy is the most important driving force of the economic process and it may directly influence the welfare of billions of people living on the Earth. One of the main challenges at current moment is the ensuring of the national security of the countries, and energy security is one of its components.

There are various factors of energy security but anyway there is no general definition for it, which is accepted all over the world. At the same time discrepancies between different countries concerning that issue are deepening, as there is an approach to the main problem of energy security from different angles. Taking into consideration the topicality of the problem of energy security, it became the main subject of discussion on the "G-8" summit in St.-Petersburg in 2006.

Table 1

*The development indicators of substructures in some countries*

Country	Electric energy	Railway	Roads	Communi-cation	Water supply and drainage	All sub-structures
Albania	3-↑	2	2	3+	1	2
Armenia	3+	2	2+	2+	2	2+
Azarbaidjan	2+	2+	2+	2-↑↑	2	2
Belarus	1	1	2	2	1	1+
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3	3	2	3+	1	2+
Bulgaria	4-↑	3	2+	3+↑	3	3↑
Croatia	3	3-↑	3-	3+	3+	3↑
Czech Republic	3+	3	2+	4	4	3+
Estonia	3	4+	2+	4	4	3+
Macedonia	2+	2	2+	2	2	2
Georgia	3	3	2	2+	2	2+
Hungary	4	3+	3+	4	4	4-
Kazakhstan	3+↑	3-	2	2+	2↑	2+
Kyrgyzstan	2+	1	1	3↑	1	2-↑
Latvia	3+↑	3+	2+	3	3+	3
Lithuania	3+↑	2+	2+	3+	3+	3-
Moldova	3	2	2	2+	2	2
Poland	3+	4	3	4	3+	3+
Romania	3+↑	4	3	3	3+↑	3+↑
Russia	3	3-↑	2+	3	2+	3-↑
Serbia and Monte Negro	2+	2+	2+	2	2	2
Slovakia	4	3-	2+	3+	2+	3-
Slovenia	3	3	3	3	4	3
Tajikistan	2-↑↑	1	1	2+	1	1+
Turkmenistan	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ukraine	3+	2	2	2+	2-	2
Uzbekistan	2	3-	1	2	2-	2-

*Note.* Performance measures are given on-scale from 1 to 4+, with 1 meaning complete absence of any recession from state-planned economy, and 4+ meaning adequacy to the standarts of market economy peculiar to the developed industrial countries. The indicator relating to all substructures (7th column) denotes the avarage measure of all five previous sectors.

↑ or ↓ denote the change of the corresponding indicator for the previous year. One arrow denotes the change of the indicator on one point (e.g. from 4 to 4+), two arrows – on 2 points. Arrow up means ascend and arrow down – descend.

Very often energy security identifies with the energy independence of one separate country. Such an approach puts forward the situation when the struggle for the resources all over the world is getting tense and causes different conflicts. Anyway, various risks, which occur in the sphere of energy security, should compel the

countries, which compete for the possession of the resources, initiate the creation of the world energy security concept.

In last years the demand for the energy carriers grew faster than the energy supply. In most of the forecasts the growth of the energy carriers' demand is mentioned out and this is conditioned, first of all, by the rates of the growth of the developing economics. The demand for the energy carriers will grow in industrial countries too, though it will have a bit lower rates. For example, according to the data of International Energy Agency (IEA) general gross demand for energy carriers in 2030 will grow on 50%. Global demand for oil, in accordance with the same source, in 2025 may grow on 35 million barrels (in this case the increase will be about 42%), and the demand for gas will grow 1, 7 trillion cubic meters per year (increase – about 60%) [3].

At the same time the supply of energy all over the world is slowing down. This is conditioned by production expansion and also by expensiveness and complexity of the technologies used for the exploitation of the energy resources, which year after year become more and more difficult to access.

The prices of the fuel and energy resources grew very quickly during the last years due to the discrepancy of the demand and the supply. The growing and unstable energy carriers' costs constitute a real danger both for world economy and for economies of separate countries.

Mainly, the oil prices has grown sharply and this constitutes a real danger, firstly, for the rates of developing economies, and secondly, from the point of view of financial crisis, it is real menace for the developing economies, which depend on the import of the oil. And the obscure forecasts for the future oil prices embarrass the situation, because long-term forecasts for oil prices are considered to be the main element in making a decision of investments in the sphere of energy. It is known that the long-term cycle of implementation and slow capital turn-over are peculiar for the programmes implemented in the sphere of energy<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the energetic disproportions of the region are deepening, the number of the countries and the number of the big regions, at the root of the development of which the imported and not their own energy resources lie, grows. If in 1990 such

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<sup>1</sup> But the recent economic developments at the end of 2008 introduced changes to the oil market. If on June 11, 2008 one oil barrel (Brent oil) cost \$147.7 then on November 2, 2008 it cost \$66.72. Such a sharp fall in prices, in the opinion of E. Gaydar and A. Chubays, was conditioned by the depletion of the oil's financial resource as a product [4, c. 15-17]. It is enough to mention that if in 1990-1998 the annual average value of the oil trade futures at New York Stock Exchange was approximately 20 million standard conventional units, then in 2005 that value was 60 million, in 2006 – 70 million, and in 2007 – 122 million. That means that artificially a "bubble" was created, which blew up in the summer of 2008.

countries produced 87% of world GP, in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century they produced 90%. With all this, going on the biggest fast developing countries, such as China, India and etc, mostly depend on the import of gas. [5]. These countries cannot still provide for secured supply of the energy carriers they need to satisfy their demand.

At the same time the large-scale production of raw hydrocarbons even more increases social and political instability in some regions.

The other problem is energy poverty. In accordance with OPEC data today there are about 2 billion of “energy-starved” people and the struggle with energy poverty becomes one of the most relevant problems. This all may be added by ecology problems, terrorism, climate change and, which is most important, the finiteness of the resources challenging energy security.

It is obvious that there is a necessity of the energy system, which will allow to minimize all the arousing dangers. In order to provide global energy security it is necessary that the international community start working together. In order to be able to resist those dangers one has to work out and successively implement coordinated energy policy, especially in its strategic directions.

One of the directions of that policy is economical and ecologically proper energy usage. As a result of the measures directed to the growth of the general energy consumption efficiency the import of the oil by OECD countries for the recent 30 years (1973-2002) has reduced to 14% and the amount of the oil per one dollar of GDP reduced twice [3].

The direction to be singled out is the rise of the supply of economically efficient energy resources. There are enough fuel and energy resources all over the world to satisfy the demand of the humanity. The main problem is not the physical insufficiency of energy carriers but the necessity of joint efforts to implement that potential.

It is of vital importance to preserve the investments made for energy saving. By estimate of the IEA, in order to create efficient global energy supply system, which will be able to resist disturbances, about \$17 trillion of investment resources will be needed in the period of 2004-2030. The directions of the investments are the following: the enlargement of the resource base, the production of the energy carriers, the creation or the reconstruction of infrastructures necessary for their transportation and storage, the implementation of advanced technologies for wide use of regenerative and alternative energy sources, and the development of safe technologies for the production of atomic energy and etc.

In order to have a stable energy supply system or to reduce the dependency on gas and oil supply and to soften regional differences, it is necessary to diversify the kinds of energy.

We should mention that there are two basic principles lying in the root of energy security. Firstly, it is necessary to use less energy and at the same time to provide demand and reduce energy losses. Secondly, it is necessary to ensure availability of all the sources of energy including coal, oil and gas before the end of the age of produced fuel, which approaches rather quickly.

Energy security also supposes the uninterrupted supply of energy carriers affordable for the whole population. But the energy security should be regarded as transitional strategy, which will allow getting energy independence.

Energy independence is a versatile notion, which relates to the processes both in energy system and in the economy on the whole<sup>1</sup>.

Economy security is the main factor, which characterizes economy on the whole and is dependant on the condition of all the components of economy, i.e. on the regional processes in the social, ecology, defence, legislative, energy, information and other spheres.

At current moment economy is such a stage of development when energy is regarded as axial sphere from the point of view of the influence it has on other spheres of economy. That is why the inducement of the energy factor into the economy security is crucial, and the ensuring of energy security becomes one of the main issues for providing natural activity of all the spheres of economy.

Economy security is the state of the economy when the security of the interests of a person, society, a state and also the social orientation are guaranteed even under unfavourable internal and external conditions [7].

Energy security can be characterized as a quality of technical security of energy systems. At the same time the final goal of the energy security, in accordance with the definition, is the guaranteed protection of a person, society and a state from the deficiency of fuel and energy resources, i.e. it has wider sense than the ensuring reliability of the energy system and it acts as an economic, political and philosophic category.

At current moment there are the following three main definitions of energy security, which in our opinion, complement each other [7, 8].

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on the problems of energy security and the prospects of the energy security decent level enduring look: *Գարապետյան Կ.*, Հայաստանի Հանրապետության էներգետիկ անվտանգության հեռանկարները, Եր., Էդիթ Պրինտ, 2008թ. [6].



1. Energy security is the assurance that under such economic conditions the required quantity and quality of energy will be supplied.
2. Energy security is the state of safety of vital “energy interests” of a person, society and a state from internal and external threats.
3. Energy security is the security of the country (region), its citizens, society, state and economy in normal conditions and in the state of emergency from the threat of the shortage of energy resources of acceptable quality and the stable supply of the combustible and energy.

The international community, which strains after common energy security, first of all should work for the development of international energy market infrastructure. The final objective of the development of the energy markets should be the formation of joint energy area with common rules.

Even now the considerable part of energy recourses is supplied through the borders of the countries. In the future this tendency will rise. We can state that the global oil market is one the most mature existing markets. At present moment it is necessary to develop gradually international, regional, continental and intercontinental energy associations, which will work in accordance with the common technological standards and rules of management, in the line of joint energy infrastructure creation.

The role of the authorities of the national states is to render constant assistance to the trade and investments in that field by developing hospitable technical, ecological, political and legislative conditions.

The specialists who are anxious about the problems of energy security should be able to make terms on elaboration of common actions, considered approaches and joint programmes. Undoubtedly, this is not an easy task and it demands a dialogue and mutual openness. But the global character of the threats of energy security does not allow the energy problems to be solved only by the efforts of separate countries.

### ***1. The contemporary condition of energy system in Armenia***

The efficient and stable energy system in the Republic of Armenia is a result of the implemented reforms. The problem of efficient management of the energy system has always been in the centre of attention of the government of the RA. As a result the reforms in that sphere were radical and the current energy system is the most competitive among former Soviet republics. Meanwhile, in 1992-1995 there was an unprecedented energy crisis, which was accompanied by the shut down of the Ar-

menian nuclear power plant, the utmost finiteness of the resources (about 90% of the fuel was imported), unfavourable geopolitical position, and the blockade of the main infrastructures. All that caused the reduction of many macroeconomic (national) measures and the distortion of the whole economic system.

Due to the fact that the only pipeline supplying gas to Armenia came through the territory of Georgia, the gas system of the country was on the edge of dissolution. The same situation was observed in the spheres of heat-and-power engineering and electricity. The appropriate resources were limited and scarce and did not supply the demand, and this impacted the energy security of Armenia. Thus, in 1991-1994 the consumption of the energy resources by industrial and trade organizations reduced from 80% to 40%.

That situation once more came to prove that there was no alternative to profoundly elaborated energy security conception. It was very important to get to the best match and complementarities of all the structural units of energy system of Armenia, including natural gas sector, the productive and stable work of which determines the production of about 40% of electricity in the country.

The ways, which were chosen for the recovery from the crisis (i.e. the resumption of the work of Armenian nuclear power plant and the providing of the continuous and reliable gas delivery), started their test of time. The problem of energy crisis recovery was solved in 1996, but that fact was not enough to have a serious and long-term success in the carrying out the radical and ambitious reforms, which aimed the creation of liberal, competitive energy market in Armenia. Since 2005 private and state Armenian companies have started to act under such market conditions, and the profitability was their main goal.

The progress in that strategic direction of energy system, along with the steps taken in the direction of the atomic power engineering safety improving, the recovery and modernization of energy infrastructures, the improvement of tariff policy and the large-scale privatizing of energy actives have allowed to secure the stable growth of the financial, economic and production performances of the energy system in general in recent years. Since 2003 the stable growths of both electric energy production and of its consumption in the country have been observed, which contributes to the growth of Gross Domestic Product of the RA. *Diagram 1* reflects the picture of the electric energy production and the consumption in the RA and its export.

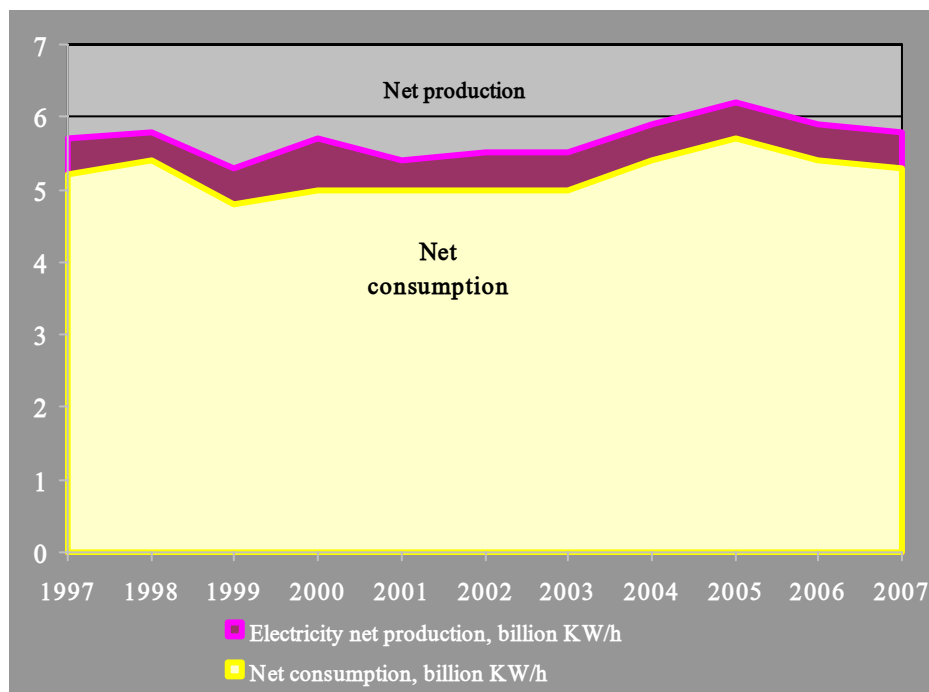
Though, at present, most of the companies and objects of the energy system are privatized, nevertheless, the integrity of energy system is secured. The activity of any of the technological links of energy system, i.e. the activity of gas, thermoelec-

tric, nuclear, hydroelectric power plants, transmission, distribution networks, and dispatching services is systematized and this factor allows us to retain and to strengthen the integrity of the energy system.

The necessity to privatize the companies of energy sector was conditioned, firstly, by the huge investments necessary for the continual work and modernization of the system. The engaging of private funds allowed reducing the expenses of the state in energy system, raising investments for those companies, raising the efficiency of energy charges gatherings. On the other hand, the state expected to ensure budget revenues from the privatizing of those companies.

Diagram 1

*The picture of the electricity production and consumption in the RA*



*Source: The Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources of the RA*

The following steps preceded the privatization of the companies:

- according to the resolution of the government of the RA N20 from 08.05.1998 the process of the recovery of the main assets of the energy system companies (till December 1, 1998) was carried out and after that the process of gradual

privatizing of the companies of the energy system, which had strategic role, was initiated;

- according to the resolution of the government of the RA N450 from 20.05.1998 the regional distribution networks were rearranged through merging into “Southern”, Northern” and “Central” distribution networks SJSC, which privatizing process began in 1999. International consulting companies were invited by means of the *SATAC-2* credit, which was received from the World Bank, to carry out the process of the privatization of the distribution networks in accordance with the internationally accepted practice, to arrange it properly and balanced, to avoid shortcomings and mistakes.
- Within the assistance provided by the USAID, the experts who provided consulting services concerning the strategy of privatization of thermoelectric power plants, “Sevan-Hrazdan Cascade” and “Vorotan Hydroelectric power plant” CJSCs were invited, and for the strategy of the privatization of the “Hrazdan Thermoelectric Power Plant” CJSC’s 5<sup>th</sup> block the specialists of the European Bank were involved.
- “Haygasard” SO, “Haytransgas” and “Haygas” SCJSCs were included into “ArmRusGasProm” CJSC.

According to the first privatizing programmes (1994 and 1995) all the “small” thermoelectric power plants were privatized but they did not supply the energy production on a national scale. In the next stage the electricity distribution companies as well as the electricity producing large companies were privatized (Hrazdan Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Cascade of Horotan Hydroelectric Power Plants) in accordance with the principles elaborated for the companies of strategic importance. A number of designing institutes of that area was also privatized.

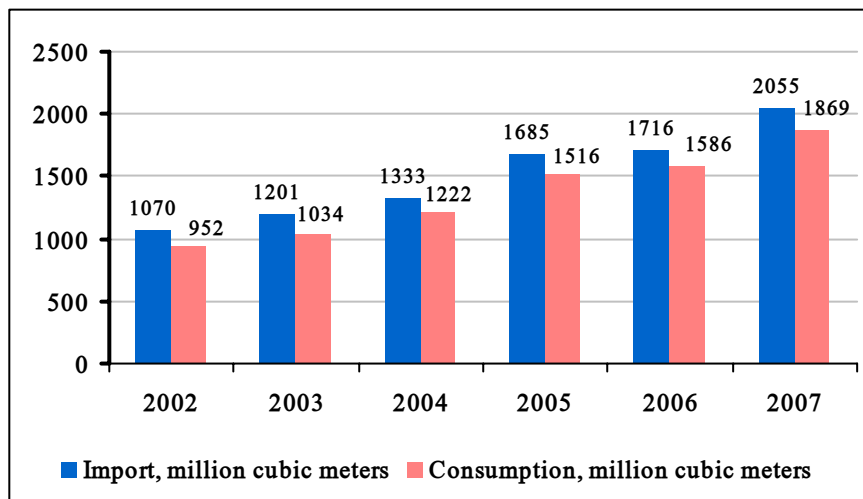
In the aforementioned context the role of “ArmRusGasProm” CJSC in the economy of Armenia and its energy system is worth of special studying. “ArmRusGasProm” closed joint-stock company was founded on September 9, 1997, according to the resolution N373 as a joint Armenian-Russian organization. The company was founded in order to increase the gas consumption, to construct and use gas pipelines, to transport Russian natural gas through the territory of the republic, to produce electricity and to export it to the third parties. This was preceded by the signing of the contract (August 30, 1997, Moscow) about the foundation of “ArmRusGasProm” closed joint-stock company by the Ministry of Energy of Armenia, Russian Federation “Gazprom” joint-stock company and “ITERA” International Energy, LLC.

According to another resolution of the government of the RA (N568 from September 18, 1998) the form and the degree of the participation of the Armenian party were set. Under the articles 20 and 24 of “Joint-Stock Companies Law” of the RA “Haygazard” state closed joint-stock company was re-organized through the pooling of “Haygaz”, “Haytransgaz”, “Erevangaz”, “Gazavtotransport”, “Underground metal protection”, “Transgazshin”, “Haytransshin”, “Armavirgazmachine” («Արմավիրգազմեքենա»), Material and Hardware Supply and Kitting”, “Building materials and construction works” and “Gazcapshin” state closed joint-stock companies. The credentials of the disposal of the founded company shares were granted to the Ministry of Energy of the RA. It was also concluded:

- a) To put the credentials of the management of the part of the authorized fund of “ArmRusGasProm” CJSC (45%), which belongs to them, at the disposal of “Haygazard” SCJSC;
- b) To ensure the investment of the gas-transport system of the Republic of Armenia, which cost was \$270 million, into the “ArmRusGasProm” CJSC, in order to increase its authorized funds.

Diagram 2

The diagram of the growth of the amount of the natural gas supply and gas consumption in Armenia



The source: “ArmRusGasProm” CJSC

Recently the company has had essential success in all the major directions of its activity: the supply and the sell of the natural gas in Armenia, the running and the repair of the gas supply infrastructure, the implementation of large-scale investment plans. The amount of the gas supply and the consumption in Armenia at the recent period has doubled (*Diagram 2*).

We can point out the following positive results of the company's activity in 1997-2007:

- the actual number of gas consumer multiplied by 5,1
- the gas supply network expanded 2,1 times
- the amount of gas in gas storage doubled
- the payments to the state budget multiplied by 11
- the payments to the social insurance fund increased 7.5 times
- "ArmRusGasProm" has turned from a company, which operated at a loss into a profitable company, which revenue for 2007 constituted \$35 million.

The result of the company's ten years activity can be estimated as positive. At present "ArmRusGasProm" is one of the biggest companies in the republic and it takes the first place from the point of view of authorized capital, assets and fixed assets. The company plans to increase its authorized capital up to \$1 billion and the market capitalization up to \$1.5-2 billion.

"ArmRusGasProm" company takes the second place among 100 biggest taxpayers of the republic according to the results for the first half of 2008. In the first half of 2008 the general sum of the taxes paid constituted 9413.7 million drams, which is 21% less than it was at the same period of 2007 (in the first half of 2007 the general sum constituted 11953.8 million drams [9, p. 88]).

The investment plans of the company are also the biggest in the RA. The total amount of the investments over a decade was more than \$110 million, and in 2008-2010 it is planned to invest about \$600 million in the energy system of the RA.

While speaking about the strategic goals, let us mention that the company tends to become the gas supply and energy organization of regional significance and to secure its presence in both domestic and external markets. "ArmRusGasProm" company, which possesses the considerable electricity production actives, targets to become an active actor on the electricity market.

## 2. Macroeconomic situation

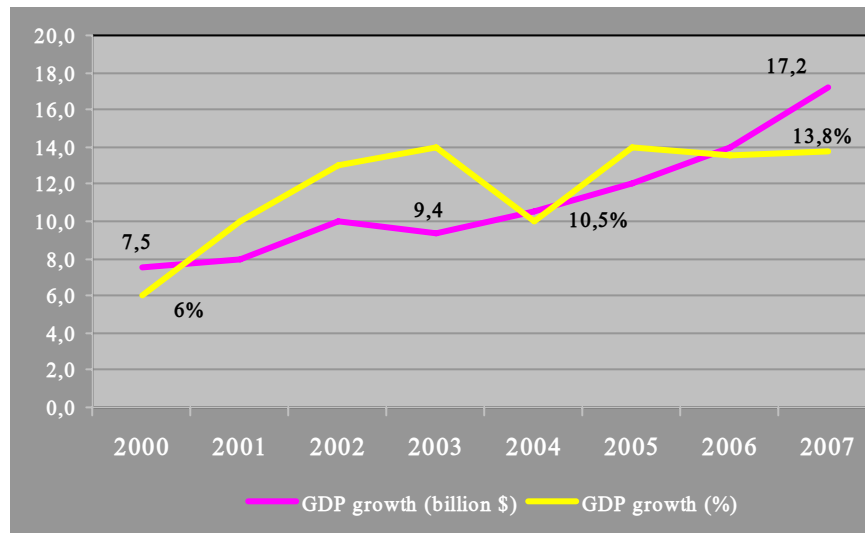
The positive results of the energy companies' activity are mostly conditioned by the purposeful and elaborated strategy of that activity, which allows those companies to use the economic growth of Armenia in their own interests.

The macroeconomic situation in Armenia has been estimated as mostly stable and predictable. Since 2002 two-digit indicators of economic growth has been recorded in Armenia. According to the data for 2007 the 14% growth of GDP was provided, in the industry it constituted 2.7%, the export volume grew on 21%, the investments in the real sector of economy grew on 58%. Moreover, the economic growth was secured under the low inflation. In *Diagram 3* the dynamics of the development of the economy of the RA in the recent period is presented.

On the assumption of the developments on oil and gas international markets, price variation and the tense situation caused by it, it is hard to predict the further level of oil, oil products and gas prices. We can predict that due to the developments connected with the economic recession in developed countries, the volume of the international trade will reduce and this will obviously influence the rates of further economic development and economic growth.

*Diagram 3*

*The dynamics of the growth of the GDP of the Republic of Armenia*



*Source: International Monetary Fund*

### ***3. Liberal field for the arrangement of the energy resources trade***

During the reformation of the energy system the government of the RA carried out a number of very important measures, which were directed to the creation of the attractive and impartial environment in the country. Today companies with foreign capital can make investments in any field of the economy of the RA without any limitation<sup>1</sup>. The government of the RA boosts foreign investments and the companies with foreign and domestic capital enjoy equal rights.

Generally, we can mention the following “strong” institutional points of the Armenian energy market: liberal legislation, the legal field, which is efficient for the investments, liberal trade policy, the competitive prices set for the electricity, the state programme on the construction (exploitation) of new electricity production capacities, the stimulus for the development of the alternative and recovery energy (wind, hydro-, hydrothermal, solar).

A number of advantages, which are peculiar to Armenia’s developed energy infrastructure, should be added to the aforementioned. Those advantages are:

- the diversification of the energy carriers and power stations
- the diversification of the routes of natural gas import
- the availability of gas underground storages
- the availability of additional production capacities
- the availability of the network, which forms developed internal system
- the availability of developed network of the interconnection lines
- the high level of qualification and specialization of the personnel.

The Republic of Armenia, due to its regional location, is a kind of interconnection link between the Russian Federation, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Caspian countries, which are all abundant in hydrocarbon resources. And the accomplished and fast developing collaboration with such global giants as “Gazprom”, “Inter RAO” Company, Russian Nuclear Power Agency (Rosenergom) creates qualitatively new conditions and unprecedented possibilities to turn the country into one of the main actors on the regional energy market.

At present we can state that the Republic of Armenia, which has no hydrocarbon resources and access to the sea, demonstrates good example of the appropriate level of the country’s energy security protection and the fast development of the en-

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<sup>1</sup> By the way, there are many countries, which impose such a limitation, especially in the spheres of the natural resources utilization.



ergy system, against the background of the complicated and ambiguous political and economic processes in the countries of the region. The transformation of Armenia from the country, which had energy shortage not so long ago, to the country with the overstock of energy resources, first of all took place due to the drastic and timely reforms, large-scale assistance delivered to the energy sector by the international organizations (World Bank, EBRD, *KfW* and etc), as well as the choice of the appropriate strategic partners for the energy system.

#### ***4. Prediction of the demand for the electricity***

According to recent surveys on the energy demand and consumption in the Republic of Armenia, in our opinion, the following should be pointed out:

1. The perspectives of the energy sphere till 2020 (SOFRECO French company), carried out in May 2003 in the frames of TAGIS INOGATE “Armenia’s gas supply security on the condition of the Metsamor nuclear power station shut-down” project.
2. Independent expert evaluation of long and short-term energy demand and supply in order to evaluate the alternative options of the Armenian nuclear power station shutdown. (*Carl Bro & MVV* companies, *TACIS*, 2003).
3. Planning of the energy sector and nuclear energy of Armenia (*Energy and Nuclear Power Planning*), 2004, carried out within the framework of the project of technical cooperation IAEA.
4. “The strategy of the development of the energy sector in the context of the economical development of Armenia” (Project carried out by the Government of the Republic of Armenia, June, 2005).
5. The 2006 Least Cost Generation Plan (LCGP) up to 2025.

The analysis of the aforementioned works enables us to do the following predictions concerning the demand for electricity in the Republic of Armenia:

1. The Metsamor nuclear power plant must go on operating till the lifetime of the 2<sup>nd</sup> energy block in 2016. The issue of the new nuclear energy blocks operating before the end of the aforementioned term is still topical and the scenario of the development of the energy system of Armenia in the line of the nuclear energy is now announced by the government of the RA as one of the preferred directions. The principal of the diversification of the sources of energy production, as well as the provision of 40% of energy at consumption peaks in the energy system of the RA by the nuclear power plant produced

energy, allow us to predict that the generating capacity of the nuclear power plant will be about 1000-1200MW, as the maximum load expected in 2025 may be about 2200MW, in the case of moderate scenario, and 2600MW, in case of optimistic scenario.

2. From the point of view of modernization of the production capacities (the replacement of the old and non-efficient capacities and the running of the new ones) the running of the new thermoelectric power plants through using the new gas-turbine technologies at Yerevan hydroelectric power plant (208MW) and at the 5<sup>th</sup> block of Hrazdan hydroelectric power (440MW) are one of the priority directions.
3. Hydro-energy capacities due to the technical reasons cannot be regarded as a stable source of production capacity renewal. That is why the recovering of the existing hydro-energy resources and the construction of the new ones (Meghri hydroelectric power plant – 140 MW capacity, Loriberd hydroelectric power plant – 68MW capacity, Shnogh hydroelectric power plant – 70MW capacity) should be considered in the context of the development of our own ecologically harmless sources of energy, along with solar power, wind power and regenerating energy.
4. Till 2025 the average growth of electricity consumption in Armenia will be 3.4% (according to The 2006 *Least Cost Generation Plan*), starting from 5572 billion KW per hour generated power (without taking into consideration the power consumed for their own purpose) and 1230 MW peak cost, which is the index for 2007, up to 7% (in accordance with the IAEA *Energy and Nuclear Power Planning* document). In this case, in addition to Yerevan hydroelectric power plant, the 5<sup>th</sup> block of Hrazdan hydroelectric power plant and the new nuclear power plant with 1000MW capacity, 400MW efficient thermo-capacities should be put in commission before 2022.
5. The necessary investments for the development of the energy production capacities in Armenia (including the expenses for the construction of the new nuclear power plant) in the period up to 2025 will constitute \$2800 million.

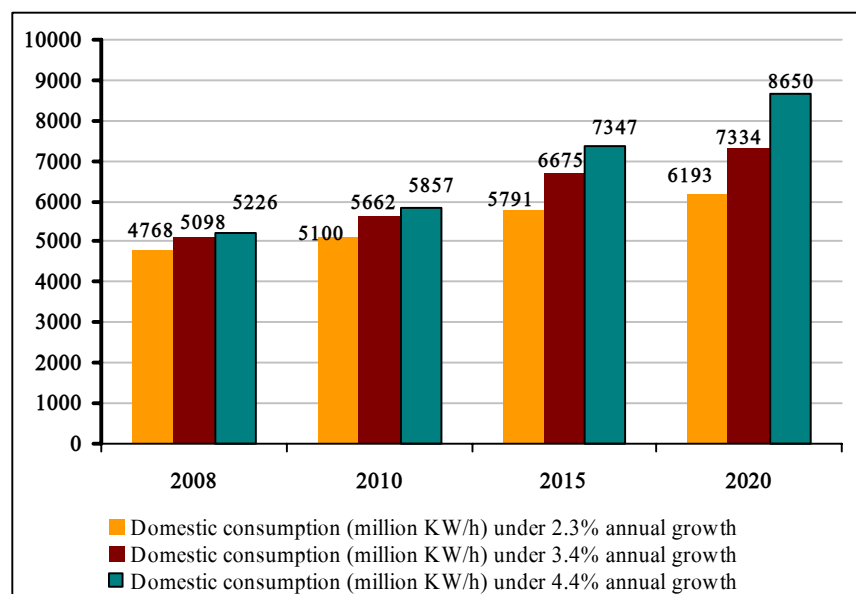
In case of optimistic variant, when the predicted growth of electricity consumption constitutes 4.4% annually, the gross output of electricity in Armenia in 2010 may grow more than 1.25 times (up to 7465 million KW per hour) as compared to the same period in 2007, and in the same period in 2020 it may grow almost two times (up to 10906 million KW per hour). In case of more restrained rate of economy growth (3.4% average growth of electricity consumption) the level of electricity pro-

duction in the RA will be about 7227 million KW per hour and 9289 million KW per hour correspondingly.

In *Diagram 4* the predicted growth of electricity home consumption in the Republic of Armenia is presented.

Diagram 4

*The predicted growth of the electricity consumption in the RA  
Programmes of the integration of production capacities in the Republic of Armenia*



Source: PA Consulting

### ***5. Programmes of implementation of production capacities in the Republic of Armenia***

The real demands of the energy security of Armenia are expressed in the current programme of the Ministry of energy and natural resources of the RA and the programme is based on the provisions of the national security strategy of the RA [10]. It is planned to carry out the following programmes before 2020:

#### ***1. In the sphere of the integration of new production capacities:***

- The construction of new energy block (more than 1000MW) at the Armenian nuclear power plant;

- The completion of construction of the 5<sup>th</sup> energy block of Hrazdan thermoelectric power plant, which is more than 440 MW;
- 208 MW energy equipment constructions at the Yerevan thermoelectric power plant;
- The construction of wind farms with 208 MW common capacities;
- The construction of the hydroelectric power plants with 1100 MW common capacity, and “small” hydroelectric power plants with more than 260 MW capacities.

### ***2. In the sphere of energy:***

- The construction of new interconnection lines: Iran-Armenia 440 KW two-line route and Armenian-Georgia 400 KW high voltage line;
- The reconstruction of Gyumri-2 220 KW high voltage electrical sustention.
- For the purpose to raise the level of service, to reduce the trade and technical losses.

In case of successful implementation of the planed programmes the Republic of Armenia, in spite of the growth of the energy resources demand in the country (including electricity demand), in the medium term will remain a country with a considerable overstock of energy production capacities, including a considerable amount of thermal capacities. The thermal energy resources are regarded as mostly competitive in the South Caucasus region, and it is planned to pass from steam thermoelectric power plants (which work on gas) to combined-cycle power plants, which efficiency factor is higher (at present up to 50%, and in perspective 60% and more).

On different estimates, taking into consideration the long-term obligations on the export of electricity for gas supplied from Iran to Armenia, the overstock of competitive capacities in 2016 will be more than 1500 KW, which corresponds to 10 billion KW per hour electricity annually.

### ***6. Perspective demand for electricity in the countries of the South Caucasus region***

South Caucasus and neighbouring countries region is at the crossroads of serious international, mainly oil and gas energy, projects. An opportunity of new energy communication is created in South Caucasus. In all the countries of the region the demand for power resources has constant tendency to increase, particularly in the next two decades, an increase in the demand for electricity and gas is predicted.

In order to secure energy self-sufficiency, besides being provided with our own energy resources, the efficient energy production is also extremely necessary. From this point of view in the Armenia's neighbouring countries today the ongoing problem of produced energy capacities and in the near future even more serious problems can be observed.

For instance, Georgia has imported about 15% of consumed power for recent years, mainly from the Russian Federation and Armenia. The main reason of such a situation was the unsatisfactory technical condition of hydroelectric and thermoelectric power plants. At present the average annual level of the consumption in Georgia is 8.5 billion KW per hour, but in that country the growth of energy resources (including electricity) consumption is predicted. Taking into consideration the forecasts on the new capacities implementation, in the coming 3-5 years the shortage of 500 MW capacities will remain in Georgia.

Turkey's electricity market is one of the rapidly growing markets. In the period between 1995 and 2007 the demand for electricity increased by 6.6% annually, and it's predicted that in 2008-2015 it will be at the level of 8.5 %. It is also expected that the consumption of power in Turkey, which reached its maximum level in 2006 – 170 milliard KW per hour, by 2020 will have been multiplied by 4 reaching the level of 499 KW per hour. In order to provide the abovementioned level of consumption it is necessary to increase three times the generating capacities of the power plants in Turkey, i.e. from 38500 MW in 2005 to 96000 MW in 2020. These figures exceed average indices of the EU countries, and taking into consideration the low level of consumption for one person, they witness about the profitability of the energy sphere.

On the assumption of the Eurocommission experts the investments made in the electric energy sphere of Turkey are enough to supply the demand only till 2009. After 2009 Turkey will have to import electricity, if there are no investments made in independent energy projects. From 2009 it will be necessary to add at least 4000 MW capacities in Turkey's national electricity net annually, or \$4 billion in-the-money. The Ministry of Energy and Natural resources of Turkey stated that it is necessary to invest \$20 billion in the sphere of the energy in coming five years. Till 2020 51000 MW new production capacities have to be put into commission and the expected demand for the electricity for the same period will claim for \$130 billion investments.

As for the Islamic Republic of Iran the shortage in energy resources will be 2500 MW, and it grows every year, though there is a large-scale energy building carried out.

All the aforementioned once more comes to prove the fact that though there are rather large hydrocarbon resources in a number of countries in South Caucasus, the exploitation of new electricity capacities in mid-term in Georgia, Turkey and the Islamic Republic of Iran cannot supply the planned demand for the electricity in that countries. In other words, for the Republic of Armenia, the countries of the region are the prospective market, with stable demand and predictable consumption.

### ***7. Armenia's electricity export potential***

The existence of production capacities, which can meet the current and prospective demand, is one of the main peculiarities of the Republic of Armenia, and the geographic proximity of probable consumers is an objective fact. Taking into consideration the fact that the lowest price on gas among the countries of the region is in Armenia, the structure of the electricity production is efficiently balanced as well as some other factors, one can state that there is no other cheaper and technically available electricity source in the region at present.

Taking into consideration the possible volumes of electricity production per year, the predictions of the electricity necessary for home consumption, the current transfer capacity of the interconnection lines, the overall value of electricity supply from the energy system of Armenia to the energy systems of Georgia, Turkey and the Islamic Republic of Iran (and this can be possible only in case of combined, parallel work of the energy systems of the countries) may constitute 6 billion KW per hour<sup>1</sup> (*Diagram 5*).

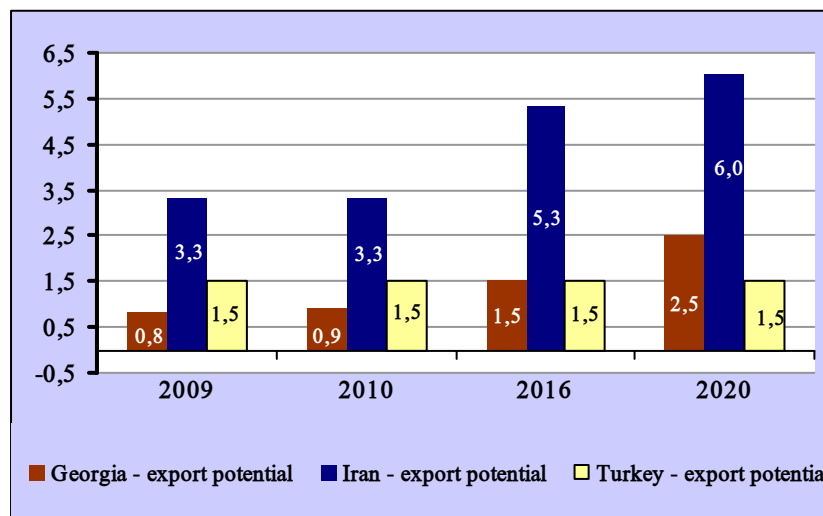
The export volume of "ArmRusGasProm" CJSC worth special mentioning, because today that company is diversely involved in electricity system. Such an involvement is determined by the company's strategic objectives and by realizing the fact that electricity is good area of specialization for the company, which allows proving the considerable overall result. It should also be added that "ArmRusGasProm" Company owns rather big gas and energy objects and can manoeuvre within such financial and technical resources, which let us suppose that "ArmRusGasProm" can turn into one of the key actors on the electricity supply market of the region in short-term period.

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<sup>1</sup> Here the implementation of long-term responsibilities on the supply of electricity from Armenia to Iran for the gas, which is supplied from Iran to Armenia, is also taken into consideration.

Diagram 5

The possible volume of export of electricity from the Republic of Armenia with the account of the transfer capacity of the interconnection lines, billion KW per hour



### 8. New quality of the export policy

At present the export policy of Armenia should be directed to the creation of special and extremely efficient opportunities of activation of external economic exchange with the neighbouring countries. And this can significantly promote to the growth of level of the energy security in the country.

Armenia, which has two gas pipelines, underground storage capacities and the excess of competitive productive capacities, has all the prospects to become liberal energy platform in the region. In order to meet such a pretentious objective, a number of large-scale programmes should be carried out in Armenian economy and, especially, in the sphere of energy. The goals and the objectives, which underlie that programmes, can be generalized in the following points:

- Rise of energy security level of Armenia through the creation of the foreign competitive market;
- It is necessary to carry out the state policy directed to the promotion of the energy projects, which have external orientation and are based on flexible price policy;
- Elaborate the mutually coordinated positions of the strategic partners (“Gazprom”, “Inter RAO” Companies and etc) on the prospects of the extending of the cooperation in the sphere of energy, where not only proximate neighbours of Armenia should be included but also such countries as Iraq, Turkmenistan and etc.

The main conditions of the implementation of the aforementioned goals of turning Armenia into the regional energy “platform” are:

- Liberalization of the external economic exchange;
- Widening of the availability of the innovatory achievements, progressive technical standards, methods of the state management of the economy and methods of corporative management.
- Concrete steps in the line of export policy new quality securing.

To carry out the aforementioned measures it is necessary that all the countries of the South Caucasus region clearly realize the prospects of energy cooperation and be ready to maintain legal regime (“the rules of the game”), which meet international norms and cannot be changed without permission and unilaterally. Armenia regards the current situation on the regional energy market as a positive factor and in the near future the real chance to be involved in big energy projects, in which our republic has serious chances to become a key actor.

*November, 2008.*

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## MILITARY AND POLITICAL DENOUEMENT OF THE FIVE-DAY WAR

*Sergey Minasyan*

The article covers the basic outcome of the “Five-day War”, August 2008, between Russia and Georgia, and the emerging political situation in the South Caucasus region. Analysis is made of their impact on the political processes within the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict zone including those relating to the efforts to spur the policies of Russia and Turkey in the post-war South Caucasus, as well as to the regional security and conflict resolution. A separate scrutiny is given in the article to the military outcome of the “Five-day war” with a reference to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

### *Introduction*

Late at night on August 7, 2008, the Georgian army started a massive shelling of Tskhinvali, Capital of South Ossetia, and other Ossetian population centres along the entire zone of conflict, using multiple rocket launchers, heavy artillery and mortars [1]. Strikes by the Georgian Army were also directed at outposts and barracks of the Russian and North-Ossetian peace keepers. In early morning on August 8, the Georgian troops passed to the offensive on Tskhinvali, as well as to the west Znaur Region, and further to the north-west, towards the Zarsk road as well as Dzava and the Dzava Gorge. The Georgian offensive was effected by the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigades, as well as a number of sub-units of 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigades, a detached tank battalion, an artillery brigade, special forces units of Georgia’s Ministry of Defence and of the Interior. Air support to the advancing Georgian troops was provided by SU-25 attack aircraft and the attack helicopters Mi-24 of the Georgian Air Force. That was how the Five-day War started in South Ossetia...

The outcome of combat activities in South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Georgia along with the subsequent political developments in the zone of the conflict is widely known. The direct involvement of the Russian Army into the military actions, opening of the second front in Abkhazia, carrying out a “inverse blitzkrieg” in the form of the Russian Army breaking into Georgian territory, a sudden drop in

morality and a subsequent retreat by the Georgian troops have received a wide coverage by the world media, estimations and statements by the experts, politicians, International organizations and world leaders. And although basically the time has yet to come for a detailed review of all military and political outcomes of the Five-day war, quite a few initial lessons can still be drawn from what happened for the South Caucasus region.

### ***1. New Regional Status-quo***

It is to be noted quite certainly that the situation in the region in the wake of the Five-day war has created potentials and perspectives, as well as new threats and challenges to the regional security and sustainable development. Indeed, this type of critical situations, military conflicts and force-majeure mostly inflate the common stakes in the regional geopolitical games, wherein the potential losses and gains of the parties are significantly on the rise. In this regard the total configuration and the geopolitical breakup of the internal and external actors in the region are reminiscent of the situation in South Caucasus in the early 1990s.

It is very likely that within the medium-term geopolitical perspective in South Caucasus there is an emerging situation when the weakened and certainly unstable and defeated Georgia will try, not without success, to obtain even more political and economic aid by the West; Azerbaijan will be in confusion projecting the consequences of the August military actions upon the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, being aware of the real threat to the country's oil network and having revived the vision of the Russian threat, while Armenia will seek its place in the new situation, trying to gain advantage by making use of the regional political processes.

On the other hand, the region has seen a situational boosting of the image of Russia, which is still somewhat euphoric. Although in the short- and medium-term outlook Russia has consolidated its status and presence in South Caucasus, suffice it to remind of its Georgian campaign, recognition of Abkhazia's and South Ossetia's independence and the manifestly deployed Russian military bases in those former Georgian autonomies. Nonetheless, in the long-range aspect the deterioration of the relations with the West caused by the events of August 2008 and recreating the new aggressive image of Moscow in Western political mind will still yield new serious problems while carrying out the Russian policies in South Caucasus. Russia has effectively lost its ability to exert any political influence on Georgia, thus effectively restricting its hold of South Caucasus to the areas of South Ossetia and Abkhazia (having been secured therein for indefinite period of time), as well as to the bridgeheads of Armenia

and Azerbaijan. To continue an active policy in South Caucasus, Moscow can only use its clout with Yerevan and Baku, also with regard to the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh, which has been linking those conflicting countries for over 20 years.

Perhaps by virtue of realizing this fact the Russian leadership is trying to initiate a process around the peaceful settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (like a semblance of its efficient resolution with Moscow mediation). The aim of this Russian initiative is an attempt to play down in the West the negative aftermath of the Georgian war and of recognizing by Moscow the South Ossetian and Abkhazian independence. However, those Russian initiatives on Nagorno-Karabakh will hardly be successful not only because of the internal resistance by the conflicting parties, but also through fully anticipated opposition to those Russian plans on the part of the US and the EU. It can be assumed that the efficiency of the Russian initiative on Karabakh conflict settlement has been clearly demonstrated by the outcome of the Azerbaijan-Armenia summit meeting in suburban Moscow on November 2, 2008 attended by the president of the RF Medvedev. In a certain sense, the mentioned actions by Moscow look like a mirror reflection of the previous attempts by Washington to settle the Karabakh conflict prior to winter-summer 2006 (those attempts peaked while Presidents R. Kocharyan and I. Aliev were in Rambouillet and Bucharest). It is however not the American or American-European initiatives this time that would encounter the Russian opposition, but rather the US, NATO and the European structures did all they could to wreck all attempts by the Russian party to make the conflicting sides endorse the agreement, according to which (by the ambitious Kremlin arrangement) the role of peace keepers separating the Azeri, Armenian and Nagorno-Karabakh parties will be awarded to the Russian troops.

Thus, the Kremlin activity in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict settlement has actually pursued quite a pragmatic, though restricted aim of generating a semblance of constructive approach by Russia, which is capable of not only winning wars in post-Soviet areas against the dwarf countries (as against Georgia in August 2008), but it is also able to control the regional ethnopolitical conflicts, like the one around Nagorno-Karabakh or Transdnistria. It seems that now Moscow will think that the "Three-Presidents Declaration" (the first document jointly endorsed by the Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders on Karabakh after the 1994 armistice) has resolved that task, while S. Sargsyan and I. Aliev have managed to play into D. Medvedev's hand with regard to their relevant reasoning.

The role and place of the EU were manifested in a sustainable way in the August crisis around South Ossetia: Brussels is striving to occupy its niche in regional

policies, looking for new formats of institutionalizing its presence in South Caucasus. Actually, placing the European observers in the buffer zones around the boundaries of South Ossetia and Abkhazia was the first serious original initiative by the European Union on projecting its political and partly military potential to implementing the peace-keeping operations beyond the domestic areas with no direct support from the US or NATO. However there is no doubt that coordinating the positions of the EU on South Caucasus with the US and NATO is proceeding in a very condensed environment.

Despite the augmenting anti-Russian rhetoric in the West we can see a sharp decline in the probability of Georgia being granted the MAP (NATO's Membership Plan) in December 2008. Despite all optimistic statements by the Georgian officials, as well as the outcome of the EU-sponsored Conference of donor countries in October 2008, which was quite successful for Tbilisi and afforded the financial aid to the war-stricken Georgia, it is clear that a number of key European members of NATO strongly oppose the speedy admittance of Georgia (as well as Ukraine) to NATO.

Turkey, under changed circumstances, is also trying to play its regional game, offering a new initiative on stabilizing South Caucasus. Despite the regional initiative put forward by Ankara being rather poorly evaluated by the political scientists, it may be, perhaps, one of those frequent cases when the political process is more essential than its predicted outcome. Anyway, the Turkish initiative deserves a detailed scrutiny.

It is not quite clear against this background, how much has the role of the US changed in the region, whether we are looking at a situational drop of the US status following the events in Georgia, and everything will resume its normal course, or else what happened is a start of deeper processes that were to modify the place of South Caucasus in the American policies. Anyway, there is a consensus in the expert community that retaliation in South Caucasus by Washington will closely follow the first steps of the new American administration under Barak Obama. Nevertheless, it will depend not so much on the new persons in the Democratic administration who will take up the regional problems in South Caucasus but rather upon the global financial, economic and political developments, whether the US activities in South Caucasus will go on the increase, or if the change of general political priorities will suppress the significance of this region in Washington planning. It is however hard to believe that against the background of the domestic economic issues, the global financial crisis and B. Obama's commitment to produce serious changes within the United States proper, South Caucasus, in the midst of many relevant world problems,

will be of such a great significance for the new American administration.

One of the most crucial regional outcomes of the August conflict was a significant rise in Georgia's risk assessment as a country of transit communications, a passage way for energy and transport, particularly with regard to the precedent of the Russian military invasion of Georgia, to capturing and establishing control over strategic communications in Georgia's population centres, like the port of Poti, the cities Gori, Senaki and Khashuri. The image of Georgia has suffered an unrecoverable blow not only as the "Beacon of Democracy" in the region, but all in all as a normal predictable country with an efficient system of governance.

At differing intervals during the hostilities nearly all large-scale international projects involved in energy and communication passing over the Georgian territory ceased operation in the zone of conflict. There was a stoppage of the gas pipeline "Baku – Tbilisi – Ceyhan" and "Baku – Supsa", the gas pipeline "Baku – Tbilisi – Erzurum, there was no oil transport on the "Baku – Batumi" railroad, there was an indefinite suspension of the "Kars – Akhalkalaki" railroad construction. Kazakhstan resolved to backtrack on the construction of a large refinery in Batum. As a result, in August 2008 the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan was unable to use any one of those transportation routes to export oil from the country during that month. In its turn, in August 2008, the Azerbaijan International Operating Company (AIOC) had to use only the "Baku – Novorossiysk" oil pipeline to redirect all export oil flows to the Russian route [2].

The situation around Georgia and the standby time of the Caspian oil and gas pipelines running across this country also had a significant impact upon the general finance and economic situation in Azerbaijan [3]. With the regard to Baku's dependence on oil and gas export, the August events had a negative impact not only upon the fulfilment of state budget for 2008, but also introduced substantial corrections into developing the country's next year budget. Moreover, the aggravation of the world financial crisis and the plummeting oil prices coincidental in time with termination of hostilities in Georgia, can produce still more serious problems for Azerbaijan being already on the oil needle not only in the economic, but also in political and social domains, and it will also negatively tell on the processes of further Islamization of the Azerbaijani society [4].

Of all major political consequences for the immediate participants of the military actions by Georgia, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Russia, note is to be made of a complete liquidation of the Georgian-populated enclaves in South Ossetia (Tamarsheeni, Kekhvi, Eredvi), deportation of the local Georgian population and establishing

control of Tskhinvali over the whole territory of the South-Ossetian Autonomous District, as well as over Akhalskgori (former Leningorski) district, which, since 1992, had actually been controlled by the Georgian administration<sup>1</sup>.

In Abkhazia the establishment of complete control by Abkhazian authorities over the complete territory of the former Abkhazian Autonomous Republic following the Russian-supported seizure by the Abkhazian troops of the Kodori gorge (the so-called Upper Abkhazia) was the major aftermath of rapid military action.

Thereby, having obtained the actual ethnic uniformity, South Ossetia (even under the complete Russian political control) has currently become a real ethno-political factor in the region of South Caucasus, which significantly boosted the profile of its physical security. Abkhazia, which established control over Kodori Gorge, in its turn, has resolved the problems of its autonomous economic and political development.

Quite naturally, the existing situation of the actual ethnic demarcation in South Ossetia in the foreseeable future will obstruct any attempts by the Georgian party to achieve a pro-Georgian development in South Ossetia, nonetheless in Abkhazia. Possibly, after some rehabilitation Tbilisi will make another try to revitalize the projects of “the Alternative Governments of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Exile”, however they will now achieve a genuine exile, being outside of all previous administrative borders of those former Georgian autonomies.

And finally, the recognition of independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia on August 26, 2008, along with the decision of Moscow to deploy the Russian military bases on the territories of those Republics and an actual fixation of the current situation by implementing the two versions of the political document «Six Items by Medvedev – Sarkosi» are the events of tremendous political importance far beyond the regional scale.

## ***2. Turkish Initiative on South Caucasus***

Quite naturally, not only the countries of South Caucasus, but also other regional and transregional forces will try to reap gain from the new status-quo, which emerged in the region, trying to exploit the chances that offered themselves through the military defeat of Georgia, through deterioration of relations between Russia and the West, and other attending regional processes.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the the International Crisis Group, the UNHCR (United Nation High Commissioner on Refugees) showed the number of Georgian refugees deported from South Ossetia in August 2008 at ca. 15 000. See in Detail: Russia against Georgia: aftermath// European Report # 195, International Crisis Group, Tbilisi - Brussels, 22.08.2008. S. 4.

Among other things this situation yielded a new Turkish political initiative, or the so-called “Caucasus Platform”, presented for the first time by R. Erdogan, Prime-Minister of Turkey, while visiting Moscow on August 12, 2008. Although the Ankara initiative has been developed by the Turkish party as a general outline before the hostilities in South Ossetia, nevertheless the «Five-day war» has created a favourable regional background for promoting that initiative. The substance per se of that initiative, formally aiming at establishing peace and stability in the Caucasus region is hardly generally known, and actually resembles all previous initiatives on a certain establishment of regional stability in the Caucasus, like “The Caucasian Home” of the 1990s, or the European initiative like the Pact of Stability in the early 2000s.

There is another thing to be noted here: by putting forward this initiative, Turkey (by approbation from Moscow) was trying to start its own game in the Caucasus, to make use of the slackened US positions in the Caucasus, though temporary but tangible, following the Five-day war. In the meantime, while the EU response to the Turkish initiative was rather positive in the lump, Washington was initially more surprised than worried. Although later on Ankara managed to somewhat soften Washington’s attitude to its initiative, perhaps by indicating that a complete displacement of the US from the region had not been intended, there can however be no doubt that both Turkey and Russia tried hard to make use of the period of a certain relaxation of the American positions in South Caucasus and play both ends against the middle.

In their turn, both Armenia and Azerbaijan supported the Turkish initiative in its entirety, while Georgia showed more apprehension. Tbilisi’s stand was quite clear, since the Turkish initiative assumes a deep involvement of Russia, which in the context of the recent Russian-Georgian war is unacceptable for Georgia. On the other hand, Tbilisi would be very unwilling to go into some regional process wherefrom the US would be deliberately excluded.

Anyway, initially in mid-August 2008, in Baku as well the Turkish initiative was perceived with apprehension, particularly in anticipation of Turkish President A. Gul’s visit to Yerevan. There was a nervous apprehension in Azerbaijan that this initiative by Turkey on indicating the general lines of regional cooperation can jeopardize the idea of extending the campaign of economic and communicational “strangulation” of Armenia through its blockade both by Azerbaijan and Turkey. In fact, this idea has been a corner stone of Azerbaijan’s policies since the 1990s in all the years of its confrontation with Yerevan and Stepanakert [5]. Despite the fact that in all this time the mentioned concept has not substantiated its efficiency, being

countered by a heavy double-figure economic growth in Armenia within the last few years under the “quasi-blockade” by Turkey and Azerbaijan though in Baku until recently it was highly credited. Therefore, as early as mid-August 2008, the very news of the forthcoming visit to Armenia by President of Turkey has been causing negative feelings in the Azerbaijan information and political fields, since it was by the same token busting the very concept of effectiveness at all the levels of whatever open Turkish involvement into the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on the side of Baku. However, visits by Turkish high officials to Baku and bilateral consultations with their Azerbaijani counterparts have somewhat changed and appeased the approaches by the Azerbaijan leadership. Moreover, perhaps the Azerbaijani leadership might even have a flash of hope by lobbying Ankara to achieve useful developments in Nagorno-Karabakh problem just within the new regional initiative by Turkey.

For Armenia the Turkey’s August initiative was originally acceptable as a whole, particularly within the context of the visit to Yerevan by A. Gul, the Turkish President, planned on September 6, 2008. The Armenian-Turkish relations had started to show positive trends prior to the August hostilities in South Ossetia (suffice it to remember the invitation of the President of Armenia S. Sargsyan sounded as early as May 2008, addressed to his Turkish counterpart, to visit Yerevan that very much enlivened the Armenian-Turkish political dialogue). Nevertheless, the communicational risks of Georgia manifested by this war have even more spurred the interest by Ankara, of all others, to the capabilities of opening the border with Armenia and to using its territory as an alternative transport and even energy passage for Turkey. In the context of the Five-day war results and suspension of all communicational and energy projects passing through Georgia, the Turkish experts and politicians, even as high as Ali Babajan, the Turkey’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, started to utter opinions that “Armenia could have become an alternative route for the gas pipeline going to the West from the Caspian through Georgia, which has become undependable after the Russian intervention” [6]. In all, it can be stated that the war in South Ossetia has significantly activated, or rather, resuscitated the Caucasian policies of Turkey. The resulting unprecedented visit by A. Gul, the President of Turkey, to Yerevan on September 6, 2008, and the entire outlook of adjusting the Armenian-Turkish relations have created prospects of a completely new geopolitical situation in the entire region of South Caucasus. At the same time, in the course of events in August-September 2008 it was confirmed that within the general format of the Armenian-Turkish relations the significance of the Nagorno-Karabakh agenda is purely instrumental ceding in relevance to the problem of the Genocide recognition,



or of adjusting normal relations with Armenia within the context of Turkish ambitions to the membership of the European Union.

At the same time, it is possible that in a certain sense the aforementioned Turkish initiative may contain certain risks and threats for Armenia. Although the initiative had been coordinated by Yerevan with Moscow (and then favourably nodded to in Washington and Brussels), the Armenian party has some misgivings that Turkey and Russia may develop underhand agreements on some regional projects, that may jeopardize Armenia's interests. All the more so that there are direct historical parallels, like the Russian-Turkish agreements in the 1920s against Armenia and the notorious Moscow agreement of March 16, 1921 between the Bolshevik Russia and the Kemalist Turkey. The current political context in the region is, however, quite different: both Turkey and Russia, while tactically supporting the joint political initiatives in South Caucasus, directed against Washington, still remain rival allies, mutually apprehensive of each other's consolidation in the region. As noted by some Russian experts, «the new state of affairs is making Ankara seek the modes of coexistence with Russia against the background of its aspiration for the role of a powerful regional leader» [7]. However, Russia, too, judging by some appearances, displays some tacit apprehension that a speedy Turkish-Armenian thawing caused by successful bilateral talks may create prerequisites for a decreased Russian military and political influence in Armenia.

As previously noted, the Turkish initiative had initially contained elements of displacing the US and partly the EU from the specific political processes in the Caucasus. In particular, that concerned the efforts to find ways of replacing the format of the OSCE on Karabakh by some trilateral (Armenia, Turkey, Azerbaijan) or a quadrilateral (with Moscow) negotiating mechanism. However, this initial sounding by Ankara has come to be quite superficial, since the tendencies or threatening of a speedy collapse of the Minsk Group is not to be any more expected, particularly after endorsing the "Three-presidents declaration" on November 2, the text of which distinctly confirmed the format of the Minsk Group co-chairmanship.

It should however be particularly noted that the Turkish initiative per se does not possess real perspectives for its successful and long-time realization because of the weakness of its basic stimulating effort to leave Washington and partly Brussels out of the framework of the regional processes. Despite the situational relaxation of the US and the EU status in the region, it does not mean at all that a complete displacement of Washington and Brussels from the regional politics in South Caucasus is included in the long-time outlook. That seems to be quite well understood in Ankara,

but for them the significance of this initiative is in providing an opportunity for some shift to their advantage in the regional balance of South Caucasus. Similar results, though in some other context, can also be yielded by Turkey's intentions to sideline Iran as well from the political processes in South Caucasus.

As to the capability to achieve the claimed goals of the Turkish initiative, it seems to enjoy little credit even in Turkey. "The Caucasian Platform" is only Ankara's political resource within quite a short period of time, wherein the political initiative itself is much more important than its declared result.

### ***3. Changing Political Background around the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict***

Another important result of the new geopolitical situation or even of the new regional status quo in South Caucasus was the change of the general political and psychological background around the Karabakh conflict. The perception of ongoing processes around the Karabakh settlement has been significantly updated inside the political elites and communities of the conflicting parties. That has been primarily manifested by considerably downgrading the probability of initiating combat activities in Karabakh by Azerbaijan and the awareness of this fact by that country's political elite. This situation has been greatly stipulated by the Azerbaijani politicians and experts projecting the failed military operation upon retrieving South Ossetia by Georgia as the former host country.

Quite naturally, in the morning of August 8, 2008, many in Azerbaijan welcomed the news of the Georgian army having started the offensive on Tskhinvali, seeing it as a logical example to follow suite in Nagorno-Karabakh. In all, it is to be recognized that an important element of the so-called "Karabakh strategy" by Azerbaijan has for a long time been an open public threat to re-start the hostilities in the zone of conflict. The power blackmail manifested itself both in statements by the ruling and political figures of Azerbaijan at different levels, and in the feelings and assessments of most of Azerbaijani elite and general public. The mentioned policies of Azerbaijan also used to be additionally argued in the eyes of its leadership and political elite by overextended anticipations of the role of the oil factor and the intention to intrude upon Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh an economically exhausting spiral of arms race.

Therefore it was natural that the field of information and propaganda of Azerbaijan nurtured the peak of those feelings exactly on August 8-9, 2008, when the whole Azerbaijani information field was filled up with reports and commentaries of the

Baku experts, political scientists and even the official representatives of the Azerbaijani MFA, actively supporting the action by the Georgian leadership, putting up speculations on Moscow's inability to make whatever steps against M. Saakashvili and offering countless analogies to "the now close similar operation" to be triggered by Azerbaijan, to regain Karabakh [8]. And then, in a few more days, all that noise subsided.

For nearly two weeks, since the afternoon of August 8, when it became clear that Russia did levy war, not a single Azerbaijani official has come forward with a statement or commentaries with regard to the military action in Georgia. Even experts and political scientists kept mum or were confined to descriptive generalizations following the shocking outcome of the five-day war.

The August "inverse Blitzkrieg" and the unexpectedly rapid defeat of the former host nation's or Georgia's army, that had decided to re-capture the break-away autonomy – South Ossetia, and later, perhaps, Abkhazia, produced a very clear and predictable impression on Baku. The analogies for Azerbaijani political elite, that suggested themselves, were quite transparent. The failure of the very possibility of the "Ukrainian precedent" in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, the clear evidence of a complete loss by Georgia in a medium-range perspective of even a glimpse of hope for re-establishing control over Sukhum and Tskhinvali, the legal recognition of independence for those former Soviet autonomies even though by only a single powerful International actor, the multiple casualties and the virtual moral default of the Georgian army, the risk of losing of power in the country by the team of M. Saakashvili – all those instances could hardly become a desirable goal for the government of Ilkham Aliev in case the military operations were to recommence in the zone of Karabakh conflict.

The fact that ongoing power blackmail to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh could unexpectedly lead to hazardous effects for Azerbaijan itself, in case of renewed military action, seems to have also been appreciated in Baku as well. Those implications have produced radical changes of the rhetoric by the Azerbaijani leaders with regard to the outlook for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict since the late August 2008: a certain "constructability" and references to the need for the parties to continue the peaceful negotiating process came about, there were no more mandatory references to a quick and unavoidable rehabilitation by Azerbaijan of the "constitutional order" in Karabakh by all means, etc.

Though, a rapid growth within the last two months of anti-Western feelings among the Azerbaijani political elite and a further escalation of the long-present tendency for the country's Islamization, as well as a rise of the pro-Russian orientation

among parts of Azerbaijan's population are to be added here. Those are however expenses or rather results of implementing the "Azerbaijani complementarity", because being friendly with Russia, de-facto victorious in a regional war (perhaps even self-surprisingly), is nicer and safer than pushing forward against it in South Caucasus along with the US and the European countries that have not yet recovered after the August events. It was fully demonstrated by the results of the US Vice-President R. Chainey blitz-visit to Baku, not too fortunate for the American party in early September 2008 [9]. This consideration was even further confirmed by Ilkham Aliev's signature endorsing the "Three Presidents' Declaration" on November 2, 2008, brokered by Moscow and actually suggesting a declaratory abandonment by the official Baku of the attempts to resolve the Karabakh conflict through military means.

Anyway, it is not only the awareness of the Russian threat that can explain this lurch in Azerbaijan's political orientation. Under the new conditions Baku finds itself in a wittingly disadvantageous situation as the initiator of the renewed military action in Karabakh. Among the politicians and experts dealing with the problems of regional policies and security of South Caucasus awareness has existed for a long time that under any external circumstances Armenia will always be more pro-Western than Azerbaijan, while Moscow will see it as a regional partner and an ally far closer than Azerbaijan. By the same token, under any geopolitical disposition, the hypothetical commencement of military operation against Karabakh and Armenia would be perceived in the West with greater disappointment than a similar effort by Georgia in South Ossetia, while support by Moscow in fighting against its only military and political ally in South Caucasus and member of the CSTO will be denied to Azerbaijan. Moreover, Baku would never be able to present the situation in the conflict zone to the West as a direct collision of the pro-Russian Armenia and the pro-Western Azerbaijan. The Western political perception of Nagorno-Karabakh is very much unlike the vision of Abkhazia or, all the more so, of South Ossetia for the following reasons: absence of whatever peace-keeping forces or military bases of third countries, the US Congress granting Stepanakert direct financial aid, and active contacts of the Karabakh authorities and community with many European structures and entities, etc.

Meanwhile, the Yerevan-conducted official policy of complementarity during the 17 years of Independence has resulted in real allied relations with Russia and the format the CSTO against the background of the close level of political contacts with the US and the European countries. In its turn, Russia has quite specific commitments to Armenia in the security domain. Though of course, the fact of Armenia's

membership in the CSTO does not mean that Yerevan should hope that all members of that military political organization will support it in case of Azerbaijani aggression. The Kazakh Navy can hardly be imagined at the shores of Apsheron, or the Tajik infantry fighting on the side of Karabakh. However, the situation whereby the bilateral format of the Russian-Armenian military and political relations is directly involving Russia in case of a renewed military phase of the Karabakh conflict, is undisputed even by the most belligerently-minded politicians in Baku.

Combat activities in South Ossetia have pushed upward the internal political risks for Azerbaijan in case of starting war in Karabakh. A defeat in a new war for Azerbaijan would spell not only a final loss of Karabakh. The new defeat may spell a fall of the ruling regime of the Aliyevs, and a replacement of the entire political elite of Azerbaijan, collapse of the oil-and-gas and communicational sectors of Azerbaijani economy and other possible losses.

#### ***4. Military Lessons with regard to the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict***

Assessment of the initial lessons of the Five-day war in the military-technical sphere, shows firstly that compared to many recent local wars and conflicts the August military action in South Ossetia was characterized by a very active usage of heavy artillery and combat aircraft both by the Georgian and the Russian parties. In particular, the operation of Georgian forces in South Ossetia in the initial period was characterized by an unusually massive use of heavy artillery, multiple rocket launchers, while in the first two days, up until active involvement of the Russian Air Force and combat aircraft, when SU-25 attack aircrafts were put into action. Anyway, at the final stage the actions of the Russian artillery and Air Force were deployed at such a wide scale, which resulted as a principal cause in the speedy demoralizing and crushing defeat of the Georgian troops in South Ossetia.

The stake of the Georgian command on a successful rapid long-distance contactless war proved wrong. The massive use of multiple rocket launchers by the Georgian troops during the first firing raid on Tskhinvali and its suburbs on the night of August 8 looked of course very effective and frightening, but from the purely military viewpoint it neither resolved the assigned tasks nor could it suppress the Ossetian troops and the Russian peace keepers in Tskhinvali. Moreover, despite the multiple civilian casualties claimed by the Ossetian authorities and the Russian media, the losses from using multiple rocket launchers against the residential areas in the capital of South Ossetia and the surrounding villages were in reality not so high.

Although the bombardment by the Georgian “Grad” multiple rocket launchers and their Czech analogues – Systems RM-70 – caused Tskhinvali a considerable material damage, nonetheless, casualties among the civilian population and the Ossetian homeguard, according to the reports by a number of International organizations (e.g., the centre “Memorial” and Human Rights Watch) have in actual fact come to be much lower than had been previously reported [10].

Anyway, inefficient use of the 122-mm multiple rocket launcher “Grad” by the Georgian troops in their assault on Tskhinvali, was perhaps compensated by a more efficient use of several systems of a larger gage (122/160-mm Israeli weapons, or, possibly, the Yugoslav 262-mm “Orkans”). In particular, those systems, as accounted by eyewitnesses, were used in shelling the more distant population centres to the north of Tskhinvali, as well as in remote mining and shelling the communications in the direction of the Roki tunnel and Transkam, which aimed at blocking the arrival of reinforcements to the defenders of the Ossetian capital.

More efficiency in the course of the combat was shown by the gun-barrel and self-propelled artillery of the Georgian army: 152-mm cannon “Hiacinth B”, 152-mm self-propelled unit “Dana” and 2C3 “Acacia”, as well as the artillery battalion of 6 heavy 203 self-propelled “Pion” units. They operated actively using data from drones and contemporary Western control, targeting and fire adjustment systems. It was seen clearly in the action of the afternoon, August 8, until the day of August 10, when the Georgian heavy self-propelled artillery (with the cannon and battalion mortars of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Brigades) fired quite efficiently at the columns of the 58<sup>th</sup> Russian Army making their way over the bypass Zarsk road. It is known that those columns of the 19 motorized infantry division of North Caucasus Military District as well as the detachments of Russian troops fighting to the north of Tzkhinval around Tliakan and the height Sarabuk sustained the heaviest losses within the whole period of the Five-day war, primarily from the Georgian artillery fire adjusted by drones, special forces, etc.

Quite efficient operation was shown by the anti-aircraft defence of the Georgian Army equipped by the Ukraine-supplied “Buk-M1” middle-range air defence system and the “OSA” and “OSA AKM” short-range air-defence system. By unverified data, the inventory of the Georgian Army also included several new short-range air defence systems “Spider”, supplied by Israel. At modest estimations, the Georgian air defence brought down at least 7 aircrafts of the Russian AF, including one middle-range strategic bomber TU-22M3. However, efficiency of the Georgian air defence could be much better, and the Russian losses much bigger, had they been in

action throughout the operation. But the panic striking the Georgian army, perhaps did not spare the anti-aircraft gunners either, otherwise the Russian troops would not have captured several launchers “Buk-M1” dumped by the Georgian Army in operational condition, while the group of Russian troops in South Ossetia captured a few Georgian air defence missile complexes “Osa”.

According to the available data, the Russian army in the final phase of combat operations in South Ossetia inflicted very efficient strikes on the Georgian positions in South Ossetia using the Multiple Rocket Launchers “Uragan” and the tactical missile complexes “Tochka U”, and also possibly “Smerch”. It was with those systems combined with massive bombing and strafing assaults that the Russian army inflicted many losses on the Georgian troupes, resulting in their loss of morals and defeat.

Some of the aforementioned aspects of the Five-day war attract many analysts on security problems dealing with the Karabakh conflict. It can be stated that in many aspects, the lessons of the August military action present nearly mirror images with the military and political situation around Nagorno-Karabakh; on the other hand, there are some essential differences.

There is, e.g., a similar situation in the issue of speeding up the militarization and the outfitting of their armed forces by the two former host countries on their way to get ready to the military resolution of the conflicts with their former client states. That can be easily noticed by the hasty massive purchases of assault weaponry, particularly armour, as well as heavy artillery and missile systems. In particular, Azerbaijan has lately purchased different heavy artillery systems, multiple rocket launchers, and even the short-range missiles. Moreover, Azerbaijan, like Georgia, in the last few years has purchased 203-mm heavy self-propelled howitzers “Pion” and Israeli multiple rocket launchers GradLAR. In contrast to Tbilisi, Baku has also acquired an updated and more powerful version of the Israel multiple rocket launcher Lynx with 300-mm missiles EXTRA [11]. It is assumed that the Azerbaijan’s weapons inventory must also include the 220-mm multiple rocket launchers “Uragan”, which is an updated version of the 122-mm system BM-21 “Grad”. The Ukrainian acquisitions by Azerbaijan also include the analog-free 300-mm multiple rocket launchers “Smerch”, while Russia supplied the theatre missile complexes “Tochka U”. Moreover, the Azerbaijani army, like the Georgian army has lately acquired a large number of Israeli drones of different types, enabling them to make a better use of the artillery and missile systems to make strikes against the Nagorno-Karabakh military positions and the Armenian Army. The effect is going to be particularly appreciable in case of the first strike by the Azerbaijani artillery and missile systems against the

air defences of the Army of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Like Georgia, Azerbaijan, during the last few years is actively enlarging the tank park of its armed forces, its main supplier still being Ukraine, where Baku has purchased scores of T-72 tanks since 2003. Following the example of Tbilisi, Baku, too, made a decision to purchase the missile complexes “Buk-M1” from Ukraine, perhaps stimulated by their good performance during the Five-day war. According to the contract signed in the fall of 2008, to the amount of \$36 000 000, the company “Ukrspetsexport” is planning to supply to Azerbaijan 46 T-72 tanks and 3 missile complexes “Buk-M1” (the missile complexes “Buk-M1” are to be put on the alert only in spring 2009, since the Azerbaijani service crews will have to go through special training in Ukraine.) [12]. However, it is not by Ukraine alone that the tank stock of Azerbaijan is being replenished. According to the UN Register on Conventional Weapons, Russia, too, supplied two battalion complexes or 62 T-72 tanks to Baku in 2007, as well as 4 BBMs [13].

Despite active use of long-range ordnance<sup>1</sup> by the parties as well as multiple rocket launchers and combat aircrafts, the Five-day war in South Ossetia, like many other local conflicts of modern times, corroborated that the fundamental outcome of combat activities is resolved in face-to-face combat. It is the coordination, technical rigging, combat morale and psychological motivation of small detachments that are the determinants of the combat outcome in local armed conflicts of this kind, especially in the ethno-political conflicts<sup>2</sup>. That was again fully re-attested by the combat operations in Tskhinvali, August 8-10, 2008, when despite the multiple numerical advantage the Georgian troops failed to gain control of South Ossetian capital and fight through to the Georgian-populated enclaves north of the city – Tamarasheni, Kekhvi, Kurta. According to Army General V.Boldirev, Commander-in-Chief of Russia’s Land Forces, up until August 9, 2008, the numerical advantage of the Georgian troops over the Russian units and the Ossetian detachments was almost ten-fold, and further on, too, the Russian troops in South Ossetia remained numerically comparable with the Georgian troops [14].

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Georgian sources, only one 203-mm self-propelled gun shot more than 600 rounds on Tskhinvali and the neighboring population centers, while the Israeli-made GradLAR multiple rocket launcher – over 300 missiles. See in detail: Aladashvili I. “300 artillery rounds were shot simultaneously, as noted by the Chief of Staff of the Georgian Artillery Brigade” // *Quilis Palitra*, 25.08.2008 (in Georgian).

<sup>2</sup> A very similar situation is also emerging in the zone of Karabakh stand-off. In particular, it was corroborated by the outcome of the battle on March 3-4 near Village Leonarkh, Mardakert Region of the NKR, that was the most large-scale combat action on the line of Karabakh stand-off after the armistice of May 1994. In the course of this action the Reconnaissance Company of the 703<sup>rd</sup> Brigade of Azerbaijan army, availing itself of the post-election events in Yerevan on March 1-2, 2008, initiated a reconnaissance in force, but failed, incurring tangible losses.



The rapid Five-day war in South Ossetia and the operation of the Abkhazian forces in Kodor Gorge have also shown the role in modern local conflicts of a proper ratio and a correct usage by the parties of regular constant-ready units and massive contingents of reservists. In the rapid development of combat activities the massive mobilization has turned out to be a complete failure for the Georgian reservists who had done minimal training and were little familiar with military service or the theatre of operations. They had not only dropped the fighting efficiency, but quite the contrary: on the one hand, masses of unprepared reservists were clogging the communications of the Georgian troops, on the other hand, the panic that soon started among the reservists spread to the regular army and to the local population in the Georgian-populated enclaves of South Ossetia<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, after the fighting a large part of small arms remained in possession of the reservists, has been never handed over to the authorities, and this will certainly facilitate the country's criminalization.

And vice versa, in the unrecognized republics the mobilization of reservists came out to be very efficiently carried out with a hundred-percent result (considering the situation whereby in both Abkhazia and South Ossetia, as well as in Nagorno-Karabakh, the reserve is organized on the so-called militia basis from effectively the entire male population). The matter is that the population of unrecognized republic is highly motivated to take part in combat activities. Meanwhile, among the Abkhazian and Ossetian reservists the specific weight of veterans and participants of combat activities was incomparably higher than among the raw Georgian reservists. With regard to, for example, Nagorno-Karabakh that means that in case of renewed combat activities the NKR Army of Defence will have the capabilities to raise the numbers of their armed forces by using a combat-ready reserve far in excess of Azerbaijan. Incidentally in a situation of this kind the problem of reservists may confront not only Azerbaijan, but Armenia as well.

The Georgian Army, having a high level of technical equipment and initially high moral spirit, was mainly demoralized in the waning third or fourth days of combat activities in South Ossetia (save for the Special Forces units and part of the ordnance) and was unable to rehabilitate its combat readiness by drafting new reservists. The army of Azerbaijan may become confronted with a similar situation. Thus, with regard to the August fighting, the probability of conducting prolonged warfare in Karabakh from the military viewpoint is not going to be as advantageous

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<sup>1</sup> As of today, Georgia has yet to publish the losses among the reservists in the course of the August fighting, 2008, although there are lists of casualties issued by the Ministry of Defense and the Interior. That enables us to assume that despite low efficiency of the reservists, their losses were quite substantial.

as it may seem at first glance for Azerbaijan.

Another serious lesson of both the Five-day war and many latest local wars is to be a reevaluation of efficiency of field structures and long-time fortification works erected with regard to the lay of land. One of the crucial lessons of the Lebanon war in 2006 was a successful use by Hezbollah of a complex system of fortification works mostly adapted for mobile defence along the whole southern border between Lebanon and Israel. As a result, in the summer of 2006 the Hezbollah fighters could not only inflict considerable damage on the adversary, but could substantially impede his advancement into Lebanon under a complete domination of the Israeli air force and a considerable advantage of TSAKHAL in ordnance and armour, without sustaining any serious losses. As to the August fighting in South Ossetia, the Ossetian units had not been able to prepare the fortification lines of this kind (because of the chess-board arrangement of population centres with mixed Georgian and Ossetian population and insufficient depth of positions). It was therefore quite natural that the Georgian forces made a speedy break through the Ossetian positions and the outposts of the Russian peacekeepers south of Tskhinvali to the city centre. Viewing this situation with regard to Nagorno-Karabakh clearly shows that the current front line and the existing fortification positions of the NKR Army of Defence along the entire contact line will greatly facilitate a defensive action by the Karabakh Army, bring down the power of the first strike by the Azerbaijani troops, ruling out the very contingency of blitzkrieg. Fortification lines are not a cure-all in modern local wars, but it is clear that their skilful use will make the objectives of the advancing party extremely complicated yielding essential advantages to the defenders.

The Russian military experts explain the rapid demoralization and collapse of the Georgian army in the fighting of August 2008 by the Georgian leadership having, besides the demonstrative self-confidence, an excessive faith in the a priori precedence of the Western military standards. The truth is that in the military sphere and in public and political life, imitations and artificial implementation of the Western standards provide no guarantees for their efficient usage. Reverting to an analogy with the rapid collapse of the South Vietnam army in 1975, the experts note that like the Georgian forces, the South Vietnamese army was well equipped and armed with American weapons, structured and trained to the American military standards and rules, and taught by the American instructors, but in a very short time it was crushed by the Army of North Vietnam consisting of a semi-guerrilla formations using the Soviet and Chinese military organization and armaments. The Western standards per se do not guarantee supremacy over the non-Western armies [15]. Analysis

of military reforms currently being implemented by the army of Azerbaijan enables an assumption to be made that the military leadership of Azerbaijan by all appearances may have taken a similar way of declarative copying of the Western standards along with the numerical growth of arms, military equipment and manpower instead of the real increase in combat ability of their armed forces through deep structural reforms in control systems, recruitment and personnel. As a result, as noted by the experts of the International Crisis Group (ICG), the stereotypically thinking military leadership of Azerbaijan uses the pro-NATO propaganda and formally implements the Western military standards, which cannot in any way raise the combat readiness of the Azerbaijan army [16].

And finally, the most decisive result of military actions was a habitual corroboration of the everlasting truth by Clausewitz that any initial success in war is useless if it has no political component. Despite the essential defects in the purely military sphere, the principal causes of the Georgian army's defeat in the Five-day war lie in the political plane. The outcome of the Five-day war had been pre-determined by the fact that the capability of a rapid and open involvement of the Russian Army into the combat activities in South Ossetia had never been seriously considered by the Georgian authorities. Bato Kutelila, Georgia's Deputy Minister of Defence even conceded in an interview that the probability of an open military collision with Russia had not been considered and was absolutely unexpected for Georgia's military and political leadership [17]. Moreover, as noted by the Western military experts, the Georgia's military and political leadership had not only failed to seriously consider the rapid and open involvement of Russia into the military operations, but rather the texts of the operational fundamental documents of the country in the domain of national defence and security, like Strategy of National Security, Military Strategy and National Threat Assessment, directly pointed out a very low probability "of the open military aggression against Georgia" [18].

With the involvement of the Russian Army into the military operations against Georgia their outcome was not dependent upon any factors of surprise, initial technical or psychological supremacy or upon the level of combat readiness of the individual units of the Georgian army – it was now a matter of simple arithmetic. It seems that it is the priority of the political situation (or political limiting factors) with regard to any military capabilities, even initially advantageous for one of the parties, should be regarded as the crucial military lesson of the war of August 2008.

### ***Conclusion***

Those are the major settings of development for the political processes and positions of the basic world centres of power in South Caucasus following the August Georgia-Russia war. It can be stated that after the Five-day war the dynamical processes around Nagorno-Karabakh remain mainly unchanged, but the regional background and the political components around the conflicting parties have somewhat changed. The political background for the renewal of military operations in the zone of Karabakh conflict also devaluated, which means that the overall military risks in the region of South Caucasus have diminished.

Certainly, the abovementioned circumstances are incapable to bring down the overall tension in the zone of Karabakh conflict in the foreseeable future, or, to completely eliminate the risk of resuming of the military operations by Baku (even against the background of the obvious analogy with the outcome of the war in South Ossetia, disagreeable for another former host country, or with regard to the endorsement by Ilkham Aliev on November 2, 2008 of some sort of a non-aggression pact in the form of the “Declaration by Three Presidents). The natural and unavoidable condition of revanchism in the Azerbaijani political elite, as shown by the world experience, can be retained for a long time. As noted by Karl von Clausewitz, a military defeat is never regarded by the losing party as an absolute and final reality, “for the losing country can see it as only a transient evil, that has to be corrected in the future by subsequent political relations” [19]. In the same way, a change of the regional political background against the losing country does not always reduce the acute character of the conflict perception or boost its peacekeeping dispositions.

Nonetheless the temporal factor is playing a certain role in the deactualization of radical dispositions in the societies of countries conflicting with their neighbours. Radicalism of the country having lost an ethnopolitical conflict, can only be deflated when it loses the internal hope of another winning party. In an historical perspective that can result either from a substantially increased potential of the winner over the loser and the awareness of a requital being useless, or from a repetitive or multiple defeat of the revenge seeker. An even more essential factor is the dynamic characteristics of the outer-political background and the corrected approaches by the leading world-wide and regional players or a change of the existing status-quo in the region. However, the latter event – a change or formation of a completely new status-quo in South Caucasus after the Five-day war-has already taken place and has become a political reality.

***November, 2008.***

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## ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN JERUSALEM AND PALESTINE IN THE PERIOD OF WORLD WAR I AND THE GENOCIDE

*Dmitry Sanoyan*

The Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire in 1915 laid foundation for the long range of genocide crimes and “ethnic cleansings” all over the world, which overshadowed the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 1910<sup>s</sup> Armenians lived in their motherland – Armenia (the Armenian Highland and Armenian Cilicia), as well as in other spaces of Western Asia Minor and the Middle Eastern shore of the Mediterranean to Tbilisi and Northern Caucuses, from Black Sea shore to Baku. Before World War I most of the Armenians (more than 4 million people) lived compactly on the territory of Armenia, about 1.5 million of which lived in Eastern Armenia (in the Russian Empire), and the rest in Western Armenia, Armenian Cilicia as well as in the other regions of the Ottoman Empire [1].

The Genocide (the liquidation and deportation of the Armenians in 1878-1923 were started in the Ottoman Empire, continued by the Young Turks and finished by Kemalists)<sup>1</sup>, which reached its tragic culmination in 1915 (1.5 million Armenians were killed), caused the violation of the natural development of the historical process of the life of the Armenian people. The tragic consequences of the Genocide, which was carried out in Western Armenia, Armenian Cilicia and other places of residence of the Armenians (in Asia Minor and the Middle East) in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire fall, still affect Armenianness (in their motherland and in the Diaspora).

In the period of the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire the headquarters of the 8th corps of the 7th army under the command of the governor of Palestine, one of the criminal leaders of the Young Turks Ahmed Jamal-Pasha, who was appointed in November 1914 the commander of the 4th army, which acted on Syrian-Palestine front, was placed in Jerusalem. In the period of his military and administrative rule in Syria, near the city of Deir-el-Zor in 1915 on the order of the Young Turk leaders Armenians who were deported from Western Armenia and other districts of the Ottoman Empire were killed.

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<sup>1</sup> About 2 million Armenians were killed, about 800 thousand people were deported [2, 3].

The telegram (August 24, 1915) by the ambassador of Germany Gogendoe to the consul in Jerusalem and the latter's answer witness to the policy of genocide of the Young Turks. The telegram of the ambassador and the answer of the consul stated that Jemal Pasha with the knowledge of Tallat Bey ordered Aleppo Vilayet to deport Protestant Armenians [4]. This was one of the many crimes committed by the leaders of the Young Turks. Jemal Pasha was killed in Tbilisi in 1922 by Armenian avengers Petros Ter-Pogosyan and Artashes Gevorgyan within the framework of the "Nemezis" operation, which aim was to destroy the criminals guilty in the Armenian Genocide.

Jemal Pasha was hostile to any display of liberty expectancy by the indigenous peoples of the countries, which were under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire. While he was in Syria and Palestine, the excrescence of the Arab national movement, which took place in 1910<sup>th</sup>, caused a special concern. One of the leaders of the Arab national movement in Palestine was the mufti of Gaza, who made public speeches and proclamations to the country. At the end of 1916 the mufti was sentenced to be hanged by the Turks. This was by far not a solitary one case of the reprisals, which were initiated by the Young Turks and particularly by A. Jemal Pasha, over their "potential" political opponents. In that period, some other activists of the Arab national movement were victimized by the government of the Young Turks.

The political repressions carried out by the Young Turks influenced the demographic situation in the country. Back in 1915 the mass withdrawal of the population from the towns on the sea (Haifa, Jaffa, Gaza and etc) and Jerusalem began. Many Arabs migrated from the Palestine to the border areas. Almost all of them passed to the English side, under the banner of Thomas Edward Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia, 1888-1935), who gathered under his command by January of 1916 more than 15 thousand Arab partisans and leded them against the Turkish Army.

World War I negatively reflected on the Jewish sector of Jerusalem and Palestine. At that time the most part of the Jewish community of the country were people who were the citizens and the nationals of the states, with which Ottoman Empire was formally (and de facto) in the state of war. This cannot but have impact on the relation of the Ottoman authorities towards the Jewish community in Palestine. The social and economic conditions worsened as well. The life of the Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine was getting more terrible and unbearable day by day. There was no more beneficence from the abroad. In 1915 the cholera epidemic and famine broke out. More than 10 thousand Jews appeared in the Egyptian refugee camps. The other adversity, which came upon the *Yishuvs* (Hebrew: literally "populated place",

“population”, “settlement” – the collective name of the Jewish population in Palestine) in that period, was the famine, which caused many deaths. The representatives of some political groups and organizations of *Yishuv*s were repressed by the Ottoman authorities.

In 1918 in New-York the book by the future prime-minister of Israel David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973) and future second president of Israel Yitzhak Ben-Zvi (1884-1963) “Eretz Israel in the past and present” was published. According to the facts, presented by the authors, in 1915 the total population of Palestine was 1.079.204 from which 759.659 lived in its western part and 319.545 in the eastern part. But in the revised edition of that book, which was published after the death of the authors, in 1980 the editors presented the other number of the population in the western part of Palestine (within the borders of British mandate) – 650 thousand people [5, crp. 146].

In the middle of 1914 there were about 85 thousand Jews in Palestine, and the half of them (about 45 thousand) lived in Jerusalem. The overall majority of Jews lived in the towns and only about 12 thousand in the agricultural settlements. The World War I stopped the growth and the development of *Yishuv*. By the end of the war the number of Jews had sunk on 30 thousand people.

What caused such a drastic sank of the Jewish population in Palestine during World War I? Firstly, many left the country during the war. The nationals of the countries, which were in the state of war with Turkey, were either exiled or left the country at their own wish, and the national of the Ottoman Empire left the country to avoid the service in the Turkish army. Secondly, the mortality rate was rather high. The natural disasters, epidemics, diseases, famine, as well as the military actions took many lives.

In the years of war the Jewish part of the population carried many sufferings because the effects of war were more noticeable in the towns than in the villages. As it was mentioned above most of the Jews (85%) lived in the towns and only a small part of them lived in the agricultural settlements [5, crp. 147]. Moreover, the Jewish population was in economic dependence from other countries where the sources of financial support and production export markets were. From the very beginning of the war the connections between Palestine and European countries were interrupted and the routs of foreign trade were blocked.

The longer the war continued the worse the situation of Jewish community was getting. The support of American Jewry was cut at the beginning of 1916 and after the US entered the war in the spring in 1917 that support stopped. Because of



the danger of conquest of the country by the British, who at the beginning of 1917 captured Rafiakh, the Ottoman authorities deported the citizens of Tel-Aviv and Yaffo to the northern part of the country. Only a small group of young people stayed there to watch the houses and the property, protecting it from the robbers and marauders. A part of the citizens returned just after the military entry of General Allenby to Palestine at the end of 1917, but most of the population returned only in 1918. At the end of 1917 the Ottoman authorities, while trying to capture the members of NILI, initiated a new wave of victimization of the Jews.

In the period observed the Armenian community in Jerusalem, which was mainly concentrated in the district of Old Jerusalem, as well as other ethnic groups of Palestine, was victimized by the Turkish authorities. The Armenians, who worked in the municipal administration of Jerusalem, were removed from their posts. Because of the British danger, which came from Egypt, the Turks suspected the representatives of the national minorities – Jews, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians – of collaboration. The expulsion of young draftees of non-Turkish descent and their expedition to different districts of the Ottoman Empire for hard labour, was initiated. Its consequences are known from many evidences and photos, which proved the massacre on the areas of hard labour. Some of those who could avoid the service in Turkish army managed to escape.

In the period of World War I the Young Turks' authorities tried to neutralize the influence of Catholicos of All Armenians (residence in Etchmiadzin, Eastern Armenian, which was a part of the Russian Empire) on the western Armenians and to create catholicate-patriarchate of the Armenian Apostolic Church with its centre in Jerusalem. New catholicos-patriarch had to represent the Armenian population left in the period of the Genocide (the liquidation of the Armenians in Cilicia continued in 1920 and in the western regions of Turkey in 1919-1922) in some parts of the Ottoman Empire. For this purpose the Young Turks tried to liquidate the patriarchal sees (Cilician catholicate, the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Constantinople, to which in 1895 the dioceses of the former Akhtamar catholicate passed) of the Armenian Apostolic Church and unite them under its power. The higher clergy of the western Armenians share the tragic fate of its people in the period of the Genocide. There were 4 thousand representatives of the Armenian clergy among the victims of the Genocide. Turkish authorities exiled (to Baghdad and then to Mosul) Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople Zaven the Archbishop Ter-Eghiyani. The Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia also shared the same fate: Sahak II Khapayan was firstly sent to Bab (near Aleppo), and then to Jerusalem.

In 1916 the government of the Young Turks established one catholicate-patriarchate with its see in Jerusalem [6]. The post of the Catholicos-Patriarch was taken by the Catholicos of the Cilician see Sahak Khapayan [7]. It should be mentioned that the merger of the Armenian Patriarchates was neither accepted by the Catholicate of Etchmiadzin nor by most of the dioceses of Northern and Southern Americas and Europe.

Armenians hid their co-patriots who tried to avoid military service in the Ottoman Army, at St. Jacob monastery [8]<sup>1</sup>, and they sheltered and gave food to those who escaped Turkish massacre. More than 4 thousand refugees from different regions of Western Armenia found shelter with the monastery of St. Jacob [9]. American Red Cross moved several thousand Armenian refugees to one of the shabbiest and badly organized parts of the Old Town, the so called "Cotton Market". The Armenian Patriarch Street and Ararat Street in the Armenian quarter of the Old Town turned in fact into a huge refugee and displaced persons camp.

The stance of the Arab authorities of Jerusalem was also of great importance and contributed to the survival of the Armenian community. Though formally Palestine was governed by the Turkish official, whose residence was in Damascus, in fact, the city was governed by the representative of the Arab aristocracy, including the mayor and its deputies. In 1909-1917 Selim al-Husseini, the representative of one of the three most important Arab families (Husseini, Nashashibi and al-Halidi), which controlled all the external connections and main institutions of the city in 19<sup>th</sup> century, was the mayor of Jerusalem. The local Armenians who spoke Arabian maintained close contacts with the representatives of Arab aristocracy, who, in their turn, diverted threat from their neighbours.

After the ally's army under the command of General Edmond Allenby (1861-1936) had taken the dislocation in environs of Jerusalem, the representatives of Turkish administration began to suspect the leaders of all the Christian and Jewish communities in treachery and the cooperation with the English. In the evening November 24, 1917, Turks gathered the leaders of all the confessional communities of Jerusalem (except Muslim), arrested them, put on the tracks and took them to Damascus as hostages. The Catholicos-Patriarch Sahak Khapayan was among the arrested persons. That was the end of his short term (15 months) on that post. After the war in 1918 and the setting free the hostages Sahak Khapayan settled in Adana, Armenian Cilicia, and then had lived for a while in Aleppo, Syria.

Having been one of the main theatres of combat activities in the Middle East during the World War I, Palestine suffered heavy losses in 1914-1918. Almost all

<sup>1</sup> Jews hid their compatriots in the synagogues of the Jewish quarter, and Arabs – in the Mosque of Omar.

the Armenian institutions in Jerusalem blasted. It is mentioned that all the Armenian structures in Jerusalem, including patriarchate, brotherhood of St. Jacob, Armenian schools and etc. were destroyed or undermined by the war in the Middle East and the Armenian Genocide in Western Armenia and other parts of the Ottoman Empire [10].

After the Genocide in 1915 the Armenian community in Jerusalem underwent considerable changes both in qualitative and in quantitative aspects. More than 150 thousand Armenians deported from Western Armenia escaped to Syria [11]. According to some data about 140 thousand Armenians reached Palestine. The most part of the Armenian refugees settled in Jerusalem, Amman, Kerak and Maan. There is data that in 1917 Armenian population in Jerusalem was about 20 thousand people. The Armenian Patriarchate took the charge of the refugees from Western Armenia and other regions. Later many Armenian immigrants moved to other countries of the region – Lebanon, Oultrejordain, Egypt and etc.

By 1918, in spite of the heavy destruction inflicted to the Armenian community in Palestine during World War I and the Genocide, Armenian Patriarch had maintained his position in Jerusalem. The Armenian Apostolic Church still remained the third in importance Christian church, which had a right to possess Holy Places (after the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches). It is known that the greater part of the laws, regulating the position of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem and Armenian community in Jerusalem and in Palestine in general, were set in 1852-1853 by the Ottoman decree, which confirmed the “status-quo” in Holy Places [12] and regulated the right of possession in Holy Places (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, The Church of the Nativity in the Bethlehem, Mary's Tomb in Gethsemane garden) granted to three main Christian churches – Armenian, Greek and Latin [13]. At the same time the Armenian Apostolic Church preserved all its land property as well as the property in the Holy Land, because the whole territory of the St. Jacob Monastery where at the given period the 80% of the Armenians of Jerusalem lived, had been the property of the Armenian Patriarchate since 638 (since the times of the Armenian Patriarch Abraham (died in 669).

After the defeat of Turkey in World War I Cilician Catholicosate, the Armenian Patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem survived.

The aftermath of the Armenian Genocide reflected heavily at the church life of the Armenian communities in the Middle East. Armenian theological seminaries at the territory of Turkey were ruined. The role of Constantinople as a kind of source for the new personel for the Armenian clergy in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and other

countries of the region had almost been nullified.

At the same time the developments in Russia (the participation in World War I on the side of Entente, the comprehensive economic crisis, revolutionary developments in February 1917 and the following collapse of the Russian Empire) influenced the situation in Eastern Armenia.

Before the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire the majority of the Armenians (more than 2,5 million people) lived in Western Armenia, Armenian Cilicia and in the cities of the Asia Minor, the Middle East, Northern Mesopotamia and the spiritual centre of the Armenians was the city of Etchmiadzin (where the residence of Catholicos of all Armenians - the head of the Armenian Apostolic Church - is situated up to the present time), which was in Eastern Armenia (the part of the Russian Empire). The Etchmiadzin Cathedral, built in 301, the year of accepting Christianity by the Armenians, is one of the oldest Christian churches in the world. The cathedral has a sacral importance for all Armenians, who belong to Armenian Apostolic Church.

During the centuries Etchmiadzin was an important educational centre. Here was situated one of the largest Armenian seminaries in the world. The events of 1917 had especially reduced the influx of students to Etchmiadzin since 1920<sup>th</sup> and considerably worsened the conditions of teaching in the seminary. This had bad influence on the number of priests who were being prepared for serving in other countries and St. Etchmiadzin itself appeared in an utmost danger because of atheist atmosphere, which prevailed with the establishment of the Soviet government in Eastern Armenia. Thus, Jerusalem was becoming an important centre of religious education of Armenian Diaspora. Most of the representatives of the clergy of Armenian parishes in the USA and the countries of Northern Europe in 1920<sup>th</sup> were educated in Jerusalem.

In the considering period Jerusalem was also one of the few cities in the world, where the Armenian historical and religious literature continued to be published. After the Armenian Genocide in 1915 all printing-houses belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire were closed. At the same time the social-political shocking events, which enveloped the Russian Empire in 1917, reflected on this sphere of Armenian life also (let's remind that printing-houses that published Armenian religious literature were among the first in Transcaucasia, in general). The appeared vacuum was filled by the Armenian Patriarchy of Jerusalem. At the same time not only the potential of the patriarchy itself and St. Jacob's brotherhood was used but also the capabilities of many of secular Armenians living in Jerusalem. By the end of the described period Jerusalem had become a large

(not to say the largest) Armenian religious literature publishing centre. Most of the Armenian prayer books and liturgical books used in the USA and Canada at the end of the 1910<sup>s</sup> and at the beginning of the 1920<sup>s</sup> were published in Jerusalem or were the reprints of editions, which had been published there for the first time.

In the period of the Genocide of 1915 the Turk arrested and killed about 800 representatives of Armenian intellectuals. The Armenians who survived in the violence of the Young Turks tried to recover the loss, to revive the basis of Western Armenian culture in Jerusalem. There was an attempt to gather in Jerusalem the Armenian intellectuals who survived in the Genocide.

Since 1914-1918 Armenian Patriarchy in Jerusalem had gone through some hard time. In that period the bishop Babken Gulseryan and archbishop Egishe Duryan, a well-known pedagogue, the Dean of Armash religious seminary (in the same named village in the north-western part of the Asia Minor in Nikomedia region) who later became the Armenian patriarch (1921-1930) of Jerusalem, undertook the idea of a new educational religious establishment, which was named “the class of Gulbenkyan” (after famous Armenian millionaire, oil magnate Galust Gulbenkyan, who was doing charity and took all expenses for the organization of that establishment) [10]. The main aim of “the class of Gulbenkyan” was the preparation of priests for serving in the countries of the Diaspora.

Among the first graduates of “The class” were Simon Manukyan who became later an archbishop and served in the USA, the countries of Southern America, in the Middle East and Echmiadzin; Serob Manukyan who afterwards headed the Western European Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the centre of which was situated in Paris; Haykazun Abrahamyan, who also became an archbishop later and spent his last years in Etchmiadzin as the great sacristan of the Patriarch of Armenia; Pargev Vardanesyan who became an archbishop and dedicated all his life to the Armenian Church of Jerusalem; Zgon Der-Hakobyan who significantly contributed to the building of new Armenian churches and schools in the USA; Arsi Shirvanyan who headed Californian Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church and Shavarsh Kuyumjyan who served afterwards in Damascus [10]. The above mentioned list of names is an apparent evidence of the increased role of Jerusalem in the religious life of the Armenian Diaspora.

It is necessary to say some words about the Armenian legion and it’s participation in military actions on Palestinian front. In the World War I the battalions of the French Foreign Legion, which fought in Palestine, were fully equipped with the Armenians,. The courage and heroism, showed in the course of military actions in the

Middle East by Armenian soldiers of the Foreign Legion and other military units of allies' army, influenced the policy of British military authorities in Palestine towards the local Armenian community as well as the following relations of Armenian community of Jerusalem and British mandatory government.

The history of the beginning of the active cooperation of the Europeans and the Armenians dates back to the Middle Ages, particularly, to the history of Crusades.

On October 27, 1916 in London, it was decided to create the Armenian and Arabic (Eastern) legions as a part of the French army for the participation in the military actions on the Syrian – Palestinian front against the Ottoman Empire. The initiator of the creation of the Armenian legion for the fight against the Turks was Pogos Nubar-pasha (1846-1930), Egyptian inventor, philanthropist and politician of Armenian origin. "According to the agreement with French government the Armenian legion (Eastern legion) had to fight against Turkey only in Cilicia and after the victorious end of the war had to become the core of the army of the future autonomous republic of Cilicia"<sup>1</sup>.

On November 15, 1916, the order about the reception of the Armenian volunteers under the banners of allies was affected and the first large parties of soldiers were gathered in the places of concentration and pointed garrisons. Among the volunteers were Armenians who had escaped the Genocide in Western Armenia as well as Palestinian Armenians who had escaped the draft into the Turkish army and also the political persecutions and reprisals on the side of the Young Turks' government. The organizations and clubs, which were under the patronage of Armenian parties "Dashnakcutyun" and "Hnchak" and the branches of which were situated in Jerusalem, were closed.

The draft of the volunteers was kept not only in Europe but also in the USA (New York, Washington, Watertown) and Egypt (Cairo, Alexandria). In Egypt and Cyprus by the end of November 1916 the first three battalions had already been formed and in October 1917 the fourth one was formed in Beirut. By that time the Armenian legion had numbered more than five thousand people and acted in different districts and directions of the Middle-Eastern front. The formations, consisting of Greeks, Assyrians and Arab Christians were added to Armenian battalions in the Armenian legion. The liberation of Palestine and, particularly, Jerusalem was an important moral and psychological stimulus for the soldiers of the Armenian legion in the war against the Ottoman Empire. The martial spirit of legion's soldiers was greatly

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<sup>1</sup> Look *Килкиня* article on [www.genocide.ru](http://www.genocide.ru) web-site

influenced by the wish for the liberation of their compatriots who were, as a matter of fact, in the condition of “hostages” in Jerusalem.

In 1917 Turkish army was suffering a defeat on the fronts of World War I. The army, which was quartered in Palestine under the command of German officers and generals, tried to carry out a force crossing of the Suez Canal. But after short fights the British managed to force the units of the Turkish army out of the Sinai Peninsula. The defeat of the Turkish expeditionary corps in Sinai became a critical point in the course of the battle on this front of World War I.

At the beginning of the summer 1917 the British general E. Allenby was transferred from France to Egypt and was appointed the commander of the Egyptian expeditionary forces. The shift of forces of the allies' army started in Egypt. In July 1917 the British initiated an offensive in Palestine starting with the Sinai Peninsula. The fierce battles between British and Turkish armies continued during two months. In October 1917 the army of general E. Allenby invaded Beersheba and entered Gaza at the beginning of November, afterwards Jaffa and Tel-Aviv were invaded.

On October 28, 1917, the subunits of the Armenian legion, which was situated on the Sinai Peninsula, participated in counterattack on the positions of Turkish and German armies in the line of Gaza – Beersheba, after which the enemy had to retire and suffering heavy casualties left some populated areas. In the course of counterattack the many of German and Turkish officers were captured. On October 31, 1917 the Armenian battalions and Arab legion entered the city of Beersheba in the course of the attack which had already been started.

In the mid-November 1917 the Turkish lost the large part of Palestine. Since November 17, 1917, the legionaries had started to advance in the direction of Jerusalem with the view of taking the city. In early December Bethlehem was seized. A threat of besieging of the Turkish garrison in Jerusalem emerged. In this situation the Turkish army headed by German general von Vankelhaim fled from Jerusalem. On December 9, 1917, the subunits of the Armenian legion within the English-French army dislodged the last Turkish garrison from the quarters of the Old city of Jerusalem. On this occasion the most distinguished legionaries were awarded and as a tribute to the memory of the dead soldiers a memorial service was held in the Armenian Church of the Armenian quarter.

This is how the Ottoman Empire's ruling, which had lasted for four centuries in Jerusalem and Palestine, was over in general. The final blow was inflicted on September 18, 1918. That day a battle took place near the high point Araray (Rafat-Arara), which cleared the result of the whole operation on Palestine front. Without artillery prearrangement the battalion of the Armenian legion managed to break an

obstinate resistance of the Turkish army's units with minimal losses and to get the high point, taking care about the positive result of English-French army's counterattack on this strategically important ground of the front. On the place of the battle a monument was built – the obelisk, for fallen legionaries. On September 17-19, 1918, Armenian legion entered Cilicia ... [14]

Since the British mandate on Jerusalem and later on Palestine, three keepers (Armenian, Greek and Latin churches) of the main Christian Holy Places (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, The Church of the Nativity in the Bethlehem, Mary's Tomb in Gethsemane garden) had been adopted as having title to them.

*January, 2009.*

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## CIVILIZATION'S THEORY IN GEOPOLITICAL CONCEPTIONS

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The idea of the origin and development of civilization belongs to the historic categories within the scope of philosophic theories and interpretations. The entity of the spiritual-cultural, economic and political elements and the chronological sequence are characteristic for civilization. Therefore, each philosophic idea or definition concerning it, bearing the imprint of its time, has modern sounding, conditioned by cognitive and informational comprehension. In this way, the research of the theory of civilization went in two directions - scientific-cultural and, with the geopolitical purposes – in the direction of political sciences.

Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), analyzing the problem of the civilization's concept, stated: "Every Culture has its own Civilization... The Civilization is the inevitable destiny of the Culture... Civilizations are the most external and artificial states of which a species of developed humanity is capable... The transition from Culture to Civilization was accomplished for the Classical world in the 4<sup>th</sup>, for the Western in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century" [1, p. 24-27].

Arnold Toynbee (1889—1975) accepted "the genesis of a civilization as an act of creation involving a process of change in Time" and that "the cultural elements are the essence of a civilization." [2, II, p. 1 ; IV, p. 57]. Putting "upward movement of religion" at the basis of his philosophical concept of the development of civilization A. Toynbee wrote: "If religion is a chariot, it looks as if the wheels on which it mounts towards Heaven may be the periodic downfalls of civilizations on Earth. It looks as if the movement of civilization may be cyclic and recurrent, while the movement of religion may be on a single continuous upward line. The continuous upward movement of religion may be served and promoted by the cyclic of birth-death-birth." [3, p. 6, 26] and civilizations "are particular beats of a general rhythmic pulsation which runs all through the Universe" [2, I, p. 205].

According to Marc Bloch (1886-1944), "a generation represents only a rela-

tively short phase. Longer phases are called civilizations". Taking into consideration the historical process of rising and falling civilizations, based on ethnographic, religious, technological and other peculiarities, he wrote: "The antitheses of civilizations appeared clearly as soon as the contrasting features of exotic lands were noted. Will any one deny that there is a Chinese civilization today, or that it differs greatly from the European? But, even in the same region, the major emphases of the social complex may be more or less abruptly modified. When such a transformation has taken place, we say that one civilization succeeds another. Sometimes there is an external shock, ordinarily accompanied by the introduction of new human elements, such as between the Roman Empire and the societies of the high Middle Ages. Sometimes, on the other hand, there is simply internal change. Everyone will agree that the civilization of the Renaissance is no longer ours, despite the fact that we have derived such a liberal inheritance from it" [4, p. 187-189].

More complete formulation of civilization has been defined by Will Durant: "Civilization is social order promoting cultural creation. Four elements constitute it: economic provision, political organization, moral traditions, and the pursuit of knowledge and arts. It begins where chaos and insecurity end. For when fear is overcome, curiosity and constructiveness are free, and man passes by natural impulse towards understanding and embellishment" [5, p. 1].

According to the 18<sup>th</sup> century Enlightenment historians' concept, history had become progress towards the goal of perfection of man's estate on earth [6, p. 146]. As Edward Gibbon noted: "Every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race" [7, Ch. xxxviii]. After the First World War a tendency of a cyclic theory of history, which came from Hegel's three civilizations to twenty-one civilizations of Toynbee [2, I, p. 1], appeared.

A. Toynbee wrote: "In A.D. 1947 the fortunes and future of the peoples of Western Europe are still a matter of concern to the world as a whole, because this little patch of territory on the extreme edge of the vast Eurasian Continent has been the seed-bed of the Western Civilization that now overshadows the Earth. The decline of Western Europe - if she really were to fall into a lasting decay - might still be as serious for the prospects of civilization as was the decline of Greece in the last century B.C." [3, p. 5-6].

The philosophical approach to the concept of civilization led the thinkers to its social interpretation and the cognitive perception of human nature in the context of the world civilization.

Isaiah Berlin (1909-1997), generalizing his historical outlook on freedom, noted: “The Enlightenment *philosophes* assumed that human values could be derived from facts about human nature. They believed that all men wanted the same things and that these things were not in conflict” [8, p. 201]. According to Marc Bloch’s observation, “There must be a permanent foundation in human nature and in human society, or the very names of *man* or *society* become meaningless” [4, p. 42].

Sigmund Freud considered human as more biological than social entity and tried to approach the social environment as something historically given and not in constant process of creation and transformation by man himself. He wrote: “Civilization is a process in the service of Eros whose purpose is to combine single human individuals, and after that families then races, peoples and nations into one great unity, the unity of mankind” [9, p. 69].

Expansionist policies and wars aimed at the conquests and redistribution of natural, economic and human resources systematically brought to the world’s geopolitical repartition accompanied by the destructions and enormous human losses. The rise, expansion and fall of empires and states fighting against each other for a predominance was accompanied by ups and downs of civilizations.

In different times devastating wars and violence between and within the states and societies, which were considered to be civilized, make theoretically obscure the demarcation line between barbarism and civilization. Voltaire (1694-1778) said: “I want to know what were the steps, by which man passed from barbarism to civilization,” and concluding he wrote: “If you have nothing to tell us except that one barbarian succeeded another on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes, what is that to us?” [2, I, p. 114-115].

After the First World War in western philosophy came the period of “pessimism” which was followed by the ideology of “liberal democracy”. Francis Fukuyama noted: “Our own experience has taught us, seemingly, that the future is more likely than not to contain new unimagined evils, from fanatical dictatorships and bloody genocides to the banalization of life through modern consumerism, and that unprecedented disasters await us from nuclear winter to global warming” [10, p. 3-4 ; cf. 11, p. 11].

In contrast to creative and constructive elements of civilization, destructive forces have blackened the history of mankind, reversing the idea of the world civilizational progress and having destructive consequences for the world civilization [12]. The western thinkers, who considered the First World War as “a critical event in the undermining of Europe’s self-confidence”, had been pondering on turning

into “deep historical pessimists” [10, p. 5].

From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till 1923 the Turks (the Sultan and Young Turk governments and then the Kemalists) criminally committed the Armenian Genocide in the most part of the Armenian Fatherland - Western Armenia and Armenian Cilicia, and other regions annexed by the Ottoman Empire, killing 2 million and deporting 800,000 Armenians. The catastrophic culmination of the Armenian Genocide was in 1915 [13, էջ 130-132; 14, 4-5 ; 16, c.11]. In the volume “The Mainstream of Civilization since 1500” the authors noted that in the First World War “Germany suffered approximately 2 million military dead, Russia 1,7 million, France 1,3 million, Austria-Hungary 1,1 million, Britain and its empire 750, 000 and 250, 000 respectively, Italy about 500, 000, Turkey somewhat less, and the United States 114, 000... and at least 1,5 million Armenians whom the Turks had massacred in 1915.” [15, p. 788]. The Armenian Genocide is the crime against humanity and civilization, for which Turkey bears responsibility [16].

Complex culturological investigation of more than five thousand-year-old Armenian history gives ground to define the Armenian Highland as the cradle of the Armenians and the world civilization. In civilizational developments decisive role belonged to the spiritual and cultural, natural and economic resources of Armenia and the strategic position between East and West [17, p. 8; 18, p. 202-227]. The significance of Armenian in the world civilization has been highly valued by Calmet (1672-1757) (*L'Arménie a été nommée le «Berceau de la Civilisation »*) [19, p. 162; 20] and David Marshall Lang in his book “Armenia Cradle of Civilization”: “The ancient land of Armenia is situated in the high mountains... Although Mesopotamia with its ancient civilizations of Sumeria and Babylon is usually considered together with Egypt as the main source of civilized life in the modern sense, Armenia too has a claim to rank as one of the cradles of human culture. To begin with, Noah's Ark is stated in the Book of Genesis to have landed on the summit of Mount Ararat, in the very centre of Armenia. From the Ark, Noah's descendants and all species of living beasts, and birds are supposed to have issued forth to people the globe. Whether or not we attribute any importance to the Book of Genesis as a historical source, none can deny the symbolic importance of its account of Noah's Ark, which is cherished by both believers and unbelievers all over the world. Again, Armenia has a claim on our attention as one of the principal homes of ancient metallurgy, beginning at least five thousand years ago. Later on, Armenia became the first extensive kingdom to adopt Christianity as a state religion pioneering a style of Church architecture which anticipates our own Western Gothic” [21, p. 9]. This idea bears the testimony to the recognition of the role and place

of Armenia's contribution to the history of civilization.

According to the Sumer epic “Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta” (Aratta was called “the country of sacred rites (or laws)” [22] and the Book of Genesis, the Armenian ethno-spiritual roots were hallowed in the Ararat mountains (Aratta= the Armenian Highland [23, p. 59-81]. The spirituality of the mountains of Ararat is reflected also in other works of world art (Joseph Turner, Hovannes Ayyazovski, James Tissot, Salvador Dali) and literature. As Lord Byron wrote with a poetical inspiration: “Whatever may have been their (Armenians-E.D.) destiny - and it has been bitter - whatever it may be in future, their country must ever be one of the most interesting on the globe. If the Scriptures are rightly understood, it was in Armenia that Paradise was placed. . . It was in Armenia that the flood first abated, and the dove alighted” [24, p. 8].

The Armenian civilization is rooted in the very cradle of the world civilization, so it is a unique case in the human history when the world and ethnic roots of civilization have had the same basis [25, p. 30-56]. During millennia Armenian civilization underwent rises, as well as suffered heavy losses.

Armenia originally being at the centre of the witness of the Light-worship later appeared to be the outpost of the Christian world in the East. Armenia contributed greatly to the world treasury of culture. In the course of time Armenia suffered heavy losses caused by the eastern and western disastrous conquerors, and, particularly, the invasions of the eastern nomads.

The Seljuk Turks were nomadic tribes from Central Asia. Arnold Toynbee wrote: “Their eponym, ‘Osman... had led into Anatolia (Asia Minor - E.D.) a nameless band of Turkish refugees: an insignificant fragment of the human wreckage...” [2, II, p. 151]. Later, the Ottoman Sultanate emerged on such a savage basis. It was an alien heterogeneous body plunged with its deadly tentacles into the conquered lands which had long civilized history. Wherever stepped the Turkish nomad the land turned into a desert. Victor Hugo noted: “Les Turcs ont passé là: tout est ruine et deuil” [26, p. 476] (“The Turks passed here; everything is ruined and mournful”).

A monastic scribe in Crete wrote about the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks: “There never has been and never will be a more dreadful happening” [27, p. 1-2]. William Gladstone (1809 – 1898) also stated that “... wherever appeared the Ottomans they left a wide bloody track everywhere; and wherever penetrated their dominion civilization perished, vanished from sight” [28, c. 6].

In the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the Armenians’ massacres perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire, when, alongside with the enormous human losses

suffered by Armenians, the civilizational values created by the Armenian nation were destroyed, William Gladstone in his speech delivered in 1895 said: "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization."

Even in hard times Armenian creativeness exhibited itself in the Motherland as well as abroad [29]. Lord Bryce noted: "The educated Armenians, notwithstanding all they have suffered, are abreast of the modern world of civilization. Among them are many men of science and learning, as well as artists and poets. They are scattered in many lands. I have visited large Armenian colonies as far west as California, and there are others as far east as Rangoon. Many of the exiles would return to their ancient home if they could but be guaranteed that security and peace which they have never had, and can never have, under the rule of the Turk. May we not confidently hope that the Allied Powers will find means for giving it to them at the end of this war, for extending to them that security, which they have long desired and are capable of using well?" [30, Preface].

A. Toynbee, who highly valued the significance of the original Armenian civilization, noted in 1915: "The Armenians are perhaps the oldest established of the civilized races in Western Asia, and they are certainly the most vigorous at the present day. Their home is the tangle of high mountains between the Caspian, the Mediterranean, and the Black Seas. Here the Armenian peasant has lived from time immemorial the hard working life he was leading till the eve of this ultimate catastrophe. Here a strong, civilized Armenian kingdom was the first state in the world to adopt Christianity as its national religion. Here the Church and people have maintained their tradition with extraordinary vitality against wave upon wave of alien conquest from every quarter... The Armenian is not only an industrious peasant, he has a talent for handicraft and intellectual pursuits. The most harassed village in the mountains would never despair of its village school, and these schools were avenues to a wider world... The Armenian has lost the undivided possession of his proper country... the original Armenia, east of the upper Euphrates and north of the Tigris... the intermittent sufferings of the Armenian race have culminated in an organized, cold-blooded attempt on the part of its Turkish rulers to exterminate it once and for all by methods of inconceivable barbarity and wickedness" [31, p. 17-19; 2, III, p. 18].

At the Peace Conference (1919) "the Allies have declared... to President Wilson that one of their aims is "the turning out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire, as *decidedly foreign to Western civilization*" [30, ch.III]

At the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the American journalist Robert D. Kaplan

witnessed the destruction of the Armenian civilization in Western Armenia, where he traveled, reaching Trabzon. He wrote that except for an occasional ruin “every trace of Armenian civilization has been erased...” [32, p.318].

Highly valuing the Church in the context of civilization, Bertrand Russell wrote: “The Church represented at once continuity with the past and what was most civilized in the present” [33, p. xvii].

The destruction of the Armenian and world masterpieces of architecture – the churches among great many monuments of high historic value - is a crime committed by the Turks against civilization. That is the continuation of the Armenian Genocide – the crime against humanity [34]. In Eastern Armenia, in native Armenian territories of Nakhijevan, Artsakh and Utik it had been done by Turks-“Azerbaijanis” since the Soviet times. They continued the Genocide of the Armenian culture in post-Soviet time too and at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century destroyed last groups of the Armenian cross-stones (khachkars) [35]. That monstrous crime was not a clash of civilizations or cultures, but the continuation of the Genocide against culture as a result of the misanthropic anti-Armenian Pan-Turkic policy. Concerning Artsakh Baroness Caroline Cox and Prof. John Eibner noted in 1993 that the destruction of the Armenian monuments by the “Azerbaijanis” was accompanied by the ethnic “cleansing” [36]. Owing to the Artsakh liberation heroic victory, natural life of the Armenian civilization is in the process of restoration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (Mountainous part of Artsakh and the liberated lands). This historic reality comes to prove that the native land and the national culture-creating civilizational values need to be protected with arms.

An important ideological guarantee of the independence and recreation of the national statehood - obtained through the national-liberation struggle - is the Armenological historical resource, the protection of which is the barest necessity in the system of the information security.

Amid the current geopolitical developments «the problems of the information and its constituent part – the spiritual security and the protection of spiritual values became the most important task of the national security» [37, էջ 3]. In this context the disclosure and classification of the information-generated threats endangering the security of the national-civilizational processes are rather conditioned by deep comprehension and realization of the national interest. Moreover, “modern globalization contains the elements of expansionism in the ideological and spiritual-cultural spheres” and that, in its turn “reflects the national interests of the affecting (carrying out the information attack-E.D.) country and thus may damage the na-

tional civilizational and informational-spiritual security of the passively conformable ones" [38, էջ 8]: Thus, the protection of the rooted in millennia historical heritage - the pillar of the Armenian national system of values - by the information means is one of the pledges of the national security's guarantees [39, էջ 6-12].

Touching on the civilizational processes S. Huntington wrote: "The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics... Conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of the conflict in the modern world" [40, p.1].

Out of the historic context an oversimplified vision of civilization's future may bring to its interpretation only as a political system. Because, for example, if we take the period of the Cold war, that "was an ideological and geopolitical struggle between two opposing systems," [41, p.73] i.e. communist and capitalist systems, and not a fight between the "communist" and "capitalist" civilizations.

Cultures, as main constituents, bridge civilizations through their inner potential of creativeness. According to Isaiah Berlin, "Enlightenment rationalism supposed that conflicts between values were a heritage of mis-education or injustice and could be swept away by rational reforms, by indoctrinating individuals into believing that their individual interests could be fully realized by working exclusively for the common good" [8, p. 202].

Owing to diversities in cultural values it is possible to speak about competitiveness and mutual influence among cultures and civilizations. On the one hand, nation presents itself to the world by culture, on the other, the continuity of culture conditioned to the national tradition's preservation.

In contemporary approaches of political science the problem of tradition has become the subject of discussion within the ideology of liberal democracy. According to Fr.Fukuyama, "A remarkable consensus concerning the legitimacy of liberal democracy as a system of government had emerged throughout the world over the past few years, as it conquered rival ideologies like hereditary monarchy, fascism, and most recently communism... Liberal democracy may constitute the "end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and the "final form of human government" and as such constituted the "end of history." That is, while earlier forms of government were characterized by grave defects and irrationalities that led to their eventual collapse, liberal democracy was arguably free from such fundamental internal contradictions... But these problems were once of incomplete implementation of the twin principles of liberty and equality, rather than the flaws in the principles themselves" [10, p. xi].

Fr.Fukuyama interpolated the views of Kant ("The History of the world is



none other than the progress of the consciousness of Freedom”) [42, p. 11-26] and Hegel (“The Eastern nations knew that one was free; the Greek and Roman world only that some are free; while we know that all men absolutely are free”) [43, p. 19] in his conception. At the same time Fukuyama noted: “Hegel has frequently been accused of worshipping the state and its authority, and therefore of being an enemy of liberalism and democracy” [10, p. 60].

Against all social and institutional demerits the idea of “liberal democracy” is treated as a *panacea* with subsequent “levelling” of political and cultural structures in different countries and subjection of their economies to the centralized transnational system. Fr.Fukuyama wrote that history “as a single, coherent, evolutionary process” came to its end, because whether “it makes sense for us once again to speak of a coherent and directional History of mankind that will eventually lead the greater part of humanity to liberal democracy? The answer I arrive at is yes, for two separate reasons. One has to do with economics, and the other has to do with what is termed the “struggle for recognition” [10, p. xii].

Historically, *democracy* was a result of the society’s natural development and it was specific to a statehood originated from the *patriarchal* times as people’s participation - *assembly* parallel to government system derived from the council of elders. It assembled for consulting and taking part in making decisions on important questions for the country. From ancient times this institution was known among Armenians – the natives of the Armenian Highland – as *Ashkharhazhoghov* (the Assembly of the world (i.e. the Armenian world - the Motherland). Its traditional place of assembling became the field of Dzirav spreading from the slopes of sacred Mt. Npat, at the upper reaches of the Aratsani River (the Eastern Euphrates).

In classical meaning the idea of democracy has been known in Europe since the times of ancient Greece (the 5th -4th cc. BC), as a form of government in some Greek polis-states, which theoretically found its reflection in the works of ancient Greek philosophers [33, p. 114, 189-190].

The methods of modern democracy create opportunities for peaceful political and social developments. But, as noted Fr.Fukuyama, “That was not to say that «Today’s stable democracies, like the US, France, or Switzerland, were not without injustice or serious social problems” [10, p. xi]: In regard to such transformations Spengler’s thesis may be applied: “Democracy is the completed equating of money with political power” [1, ch. XX ; cf. 44, p.59]: At the same time, in regard to his time Spengler, presenting his ideas about the final phase of the formation of civilization, wrote: “Money, also, is beginning to lose its authority, as the last conflict is at

hand in which Civilization receives its conclusive form - the conflict between money and blood... Money is overthrown and abolished by blood" [1, ch.21].

Accepting technology as a corner-stone of the future liberal-democratic order of the world, Fr.Fukuyama wrote: "Technology makes possible the limitless accumulation of wealth, and thus the satisfaction of an ever-expanding set of human desires. This process guarantees an increasing homogenization of all human societies, regardless of their historical origin or cultural inheritances". Then it sounds like a "doctrine" of a new "liberal world": "All countries undergoing economic modernization must increasingly resemble one another: they must unify nationally on the basis of a centralized state, urbanize, replace traditional forms of social organization like tribe, sect, and family with economically rational ones based on function and efficiency, and provide for the universal education of their citizens" [10, p. xv].

Discussing Fr.Fukuyama's ideas on democracy Vladimir Moss wrote.: "The contradiction consists in the fact that while democracy prides itself on its spirit of peace and brotherhood between individuals and nations, the path *to* democracy, both within and between nations, actually involves an unparalleled destruction of personal and national life..." and not much "has been said about nationalism how it protects nations and cultures and people *from* destruction (as, for example, it protected the Orthodox nations of Eastern Europe from destruction under the Turkish yoke)" [45, ch. 10].

Fr. Fukuyama correlating the Plato's interpretation (soul = a reasoning part + a desiring part (eros) + *thymos*, "spiritedness" (or the *desire for recognition*)] of *thymos* ("soul, spirit, as the principle of life, feeling and thought") [46, p. 810] with the Hegel's thesis about "struggle for recognition" (which "is as old as the tradition of Western political philosophy"), wrote that the combined teaching of liberal democracy "ultimately arises out of the *thymos*, the part of soul that demands recognition... As standards of living increase, as populations become more cosmopolitan and better educated, and as society as a whole achieves a greater equality of condition, people begin to demand not simply more wealth but recognition of their status" [10, p. xvi- xviii].

Thus the "*thymotic* pride" is presented as the driving force of individuals to democratic government. If "desire of recognition" is understood as the motor of history, in this case many phenomena, such as culture, religion, work, nationalism, and war are going to be reinterpreted: "A religious believer, for example, seeks recognition for his particular gods or sacred practices, while a nationalist demands recognition of his particular linguistic, cultural, or ethnic group. Both of these forms of rec-

ognition are less rational than the universal recognition of the liberal state, because they are based on arbitrary distinctions between sacred and profane, or between human social groups. For this reason, religion, nationalism, and a people's complex or ethical habits and customs (more broadly "culture") have traditionally been interpreted as obstacles to the establishment of successful democratic political institutions and free-market economies" [10, p. xix].

In this regard, national-cultural peculiarities are considered to be obstacles or the elements subject to clash in the structural developments of the societies within the bounds of democratic values. This way of thinking along with the theory of the clash of civilizations demonstrates its obligatory character, which leads astray of the idea of the genuine democracy. At the background of such a methodological approach to the selective prosperity's idea the following statement of Philo of Alexandria (or the Jew) (BC 20-50 AD) may be traced: "I believe that each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and, throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honouring our laws alone. For, when, the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of the others as the risen sun darkens the stars" [47, II.vii.44]

Thus, some modern philosophical theories reflect different approaches to the world civilizational developments. Democracy, sometimes being «exported» from the countries of «stable democracies», has become a stumbling-block in intergovernmental relations. There is a trend to monitor, ideologically denationalize and even threaten by it. The idea of democracy, being pressed into service of the expansionist political systems' propagation, is distorted in the network of the information-generated threats and used during the information wars.

Meanwhile, pessimistic teachings appeared, which ranged from "anti-philosophy" to the manifestation: "philosophy is dead" [48], as well as *metahistory*, which is «*distilling*» history from its main constituents by «de-mystification» of histories and historians [49, p. xii]. Meanwhile, there is no need to relegate any constituent part of history, because the ways of Weltanschauung's formation, rising on the basis of creative values, being considered in the light of David the Invincible's definition ("*Philosophia* (Arm. *imastasirutyun*) has a goal to embellish human souls") [50, p. 118], the History presents itself in the wholeness (including transcendental perceptions) within the system of the philosophical knowledge concerning the world cognition [51, p. 47-48].

The following statement: "Anti-philosophy does not believe in anything but in itself. No God, no country, no parents" [52, p.1] sounds as the negation of traditional

values. Contrary to such a statement: “Nihilism is the rationalist's answer to idealism. It is the viewpoint that traditional values and beliefs are unfounded and that existence is meaningless... While sociologically nihilism is culture without values, fundamentally it is life without a soul” [47].

The following statement can serve as an answer to the followers of “anti-philosophy” and foretellers of “the death of philosophy”: “Yes, a wave of barbarism and a spate of bad philosophy; but never the utter end of philosophy until human beings have lost their ingenuity, curiosity, troubles, contradictions, and hopes” [53]

S. Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations is based on the idea of a civilization “as a cultural entity... Arabs, Chinese and Westerners, however, are not part of any broader cultural entity. They constitute civilizations. A civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity...” [40, p. 2.]. In such an interpretation civilization is defined from the point of view of cultural identity “both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people. Civilization identity will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations... The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another” [40, p. 3].

The perception of natural developments of cultural-civilizational phenomena without clashes is based methodologically on the research of the ways of the dialogue between civilizations. Touching on the problem of local peculiarities of cultures and civilizations in regard to the thesis about interaction between different civilizations, “the controlled development of civilization as prerequisite for self-preservation of mankind” was considered as a transitional phenomenon [54, p. 73]: V. Yakunin, considering the historic truth as the corner stone of intercivilizational dialogue, wrote. «Human communities are constantly upcoming identities, lying in permanent dynamics. The philosophy of their evolutions is determined by historical conditions, under which they have been shaped. In different periods this process acquires different facets, and it is not always straight and what is more, predictable... It would seem wise to approach setting goals and selecting means to reach them in the process of successive approximation, by keeping to historical truth and without upsetting the unity of the universal and special in the course of discussions about the role and place of intercivilizational dialogue in bringing together peoples and races» [55, p. 141]:

According to the dialogical principle, “A recurring theme in the global evolu-

tion of cultures is that all history has been a struggle between two competing paradigms or models of what it means to be human; a struggle between the egocentric view of man and the emerging dialogical human being" [56].

Thus, the ecumenical system of cooperation among respectively sovereign nations elaborated through a "dialogue of cultures" is considered to be "not only important; it is urgent. ... The subject of a dialogue of cultures is culture in the broadest scope of the term. What is true in any part of culture as a whole must also be demonstrably true in any of its divisions" [57].

Wide scientific-cultural contacts are characteristic to the societies with high civilizational system of values. Deep-rooted cultures do not come into collision with (or absorb) each other in such processes, but enriching mutually, contribute to the treasury of the world culture. The original and translated literary heritage of the Armenian "Golden Age literature" (the 5<sup>th</sup> century) is a classic example of such a phenomenon. Due to the efforts of the Armenian translators the Armenian reader can read in the mother tongue the philosophical works of Aristotle, *Ars Grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax, *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea and others. Owing to the Armenian translations *The Definitions* of Hermes Trismegistus, *The Apology* of Aristides the Athenian, *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea, and others, the Greek originals of which were lost are preserved.

The importance of the dialogue between civilizations was put on agenda by the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 1998 by a unanimous resolution, which proclaimed 2001 as the "United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations" [58].

An importance is given to the concept of the *historic mission* in relation to nation-civilization from the standpoint of the theory of civilizational coexistence of nations. Therefore, it was considered urgent in the Armenian civilizational context to perceive this mission by revelation of historical essence of the Armenian people and to offer «the formula of coexistence of civilizations» [59, էջ 26-27].

Cultures owing to their variety may compete and undergo mutual enrichment and bridge civilizations through their creative potential. Meanwhile, the clashes belong to the sphere of expansionist politics.

Thus, philosophical comprehension of the civilizational phenomena in the context of the cognition and assessment of the cultural developments has got a fundamental significance in perception and preservation of the national and common to all mankind values in the wholeness of the world civilization.

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# INTELLECTUALS' FREEDOM AND THE LACK OF INTELLECTUALS' ACCOUNTABILITY: ISRAELI CASE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

*Alek Epstein*<sup>1</sup>

Some ideas are so absurd that only  
an intellectual could believe them.

*George Orwell*

At the end of the 1980s Paul Johnson published a book entitled *Intellectuals*, which, despite its being concise, has become probably the most detailed bill of indictment against this group of “social critics” and “social innovators”. Describing the intellectuals’ public roles, Johnson was very far from accepting a popular thesis that – quoting Edward Said – “the figure of the intellectual as a being set apart, someone able to speak the truth, a courageous and angry individual for whom no worldly power is too big and imposing to be criticized” [1]. Quite the contrary: Johnson argued that self-mobilized intellectuals, in general, and university professors, in particular, were among the most faithful adherents of some of the worst totalitarian powers; and that their attitudes towards the principles of humanism and liberalism were negative in most countries in most periods of the recent history. According to Johnson,

“The association of intellectuals with violence occurs too often to be dismissed as an aberration. Often it takes the form of admiring those ‘men of action’ who practice violence. Mussolini had an astonishing number of intellectual followers, by no means all of them Italian. In his ascent to power, Hitler consistently was most successful on the campus, his electoral appeal to students regularly outstripping his performance among the population as a whole. He always performed well among teachers and university professors. Many intellectuals were drawn into the higher echelons of the Nazi Party and participated in the more gruesome excesses of the SS. ... Stalin, too, had legions of intellectual admirers in his time, as did such post-war men of violence as Castro, Nasser and Mao Tse-tung” [2].

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Truly speaking, Paul Johnson was not the first one to draw an attention to some intellectuals' fascination for the darkest regimes of the twentieth century. For example, in 1946 Max Weinreich published pioneer research entitled *Hitler's Professors*, in which he emphasized that "German scholars, who as a rule already in the Second Reich had done their best to foster German imperialism, from the end of World War I supplied Nazism with the ideological weapons which any movement, but particularly a German movement, needs for its success" [3]. Later Joachim Fest included in his book *The Face of The Third Reich*, published in 1970, a chapter entitled "Professor NSDAP: The Intellectuals and National Socialism", reminding that as early as 3rd March 1933 three hundred university teachers of all political persuasions declared themselves for Hitler in an election appeal, while the mass of students had gone over to the National Socialist camp considerably earlier. Moreover, already in 1931 the Nazi party, with 50 to 60 per cent of the votes, enjoyed almost twice as much support in the universities as in the country as a whole. The dominant influence of rightist tendencies was as evident among the teaching staff as in the self-governing student body, which was largely controlled by the Union of National Socialist German Students (NSDStB). In April 1933 German university students, long prone to anti-Semitism and needing little prompting from above, pushed ahead with various actions against both Jewish students and professors [4]. In May 1933 a collective declaration of support for the new regime was made by the professors. Professor Ernst Storm, later Rector of the Berlin Technical University, held up Hitler in his role as Supreme Commander of the Nazi party *Sturmabteilung* ["Storm Division", SA] and Chief of Staff Ernst Rohm as models "for every German university lecturer" [5, p. 257]. While the idea of scientific objectivity – in Hitler's view a "slogan coined by the professors simply in order to escape from the necessary supervision by the power of the state" – was damned in a flood of directives and pamphlets as a symptom of a bourgeois-liberal epoch, the historians, for example, found themselves called upon "to see German history only with German eyes, with the eyes of the blood"; on the 550-year jubilee of Heidelberg University, the Nobel Prize winner Philipp Lenard issued his unspeakable views on "Aryan physics"; Professor Walter Poppelreuther glorified Hitler as a "scientific psychologist"; and Professor Reinhard Hohn elevated the concept of the national community "to the fundamental principle of science" [5, p. 257]. Sometimes prominent German intellectuals were unable to make distinctions between democracy and dictatorship. For example, in 1942 Martin Heidegger had written: "Bolshevism is only a variety of Americanism" [6].

Heidegger's hostility towards Bolshevism was relatively unique phenomenon; as we all know, over the past century many influential Western intellectuals became addicted, to a greater or lesser degree, to Marxism and even to Marxism-Leninism. Why did the overwhelming majority of intellectuals all over the world become seduced by the communist fantasy? How could so many defend even Stalin himself, deny his crimes or explain them away? The sentence "I have seen the future and it works" is attributed to Walter Duranty, a *New York Times's* Moscow correspondent from 1921 to 1934, who won the Pulitzer for a 1931 series of reports about Soviet dictator Josef Stalin's five-year plans to reform the economy. His stories appeared in the *New York Times* before the Ukrainian famine of 1932–1933, which left 5 million to 10 million dead. *Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba* by Paul Hollander and *A Better World. Stalinism and the American Intellectuals* by William L. O'Neil provide amazing accounts of how the Western intellectuals embraced Marxist tyrants at the very moment their colleagues were rotting in prison cells, and the common people everyone claimed to be concerned for, were starving. These books report how cultural and religious leaders from the West (some of them being famous public figures), visited the Soviet Union (as well as China, Cuba, and other communist countries), and told the most appalling lies to flatter their hosts and express their contempt for Western society [7]. In course of these trips, the Western leftist intellectuals invariably found a future of prosperity, freedom, and justice for all, and developed incredible blindness to terror, starvation, and despotism of all sorts, dismissing it as necessary to block the work of evil dead-enders.

Many academics became firm believers in a large array of falsehoods about the Marxist states, in particular the Soviet Union. As mentioned by Robert Conquest,

"academics were not the only ones who were grossly and fundamentally deceived about both the facts and the motivations of the Stalin and post-Stalin regimes in the USSR, but still, the academics may in the long run have been the most influential in peddling falsehood, if only from their particular claim to special knowledge and to the disinterested pursuit of truth – and also from the fact that politicians, media, and public took this claim seriously, and each ill-informed politico or editor maintained a supposed expert to support his own preconceived opinions: a phenomenon not yet extinct. It was in the 1930s, just when the Soviet system was in its very worst phase, that major validation of the enormous set of falsifications with which this was concealed came for the first time from Western academics of the highest standing" [8].

This attitude can be understood only against a background of complex motivations connected with the position and function of intellectuals in the modern society, which explain their susceptibility to totalitarian solutions. Among these motivations are the ambivalent attitude of intellectuals towards power and their tendency to embrace utopian systems or ideological concepts per se.

National Socialism, as well as Stalinism and Maoism, laid bare phenomena of which the movement itself was in turn only a symptom: the most consistent expression in the field of political power groupings of a multiplicity of pseudo-religious longings, a need for fundamental certainty, intellectual discontent, and impulses to escape from practical intellectual activity into the more hospitable semi-darkness of substitute metaphysical realms. These motivations in turn were permeated by the longing of the intellectual, isolated in his world of letters, for solidarity with the masses, for a share in their unthinking vitality and closeness to nature, but also in their force and historical effectiveness as expressed in the myth of the national community [5, p.250].

Unfortunately, no one has systematically analyzed the association of Israeli intellectuals with various totalitarian ideologies. Even Paul Johnson, the author of the highly acclaimed *A History of the Jews*, in the book on *Intellectuals* did not discuss the situation within the academic field in the Jewish state; moreover, the word "Israel" itself did not appear in this volume. However, it seems that his (and the other aforementioned researchers') general conclusions have been relevant in case of some Israeli prominent university intellectuals to a no lesser extent than of their Western comrades. Since such research has not been conducted yet<sup>1</sup>, I would like to share some thoughts regarding this issue with the conference participants.

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For the recent decades hundreds of Israeli academics have published articles and signed petitions in support of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination<sup>2</sup>. Dozens of Israeli intellectuals have also been defending the Palestinian Arabs' "right of return". Unfortunately, some of the most famous Israeli intellectuals did not grant the same rights to the Jews of Palestine/Eretz-Israel.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably there exists only a single pioneer attempt of such study, which is, unfortunately, neither systematic, nor scrupulous for the detail; see Edward Alexander, "Israeli Intellectuals and Israeli Politics", *Nativ. A Journal of Politics and the Arts*, no. 87-88 (September 2002) and [http://www.freeman.org/m\\_online/jan97/alxandr.htm](http://www.freeman.org/m_online/jan97/alxandr.htm).

<sup>2</sup> Probably the first of them was Professor Jacob Talmon, who published in 1969 an open letter to the Minister of Information Y. Galili entitled "Self-Determination for Palestinian Arabs"; see *Jewish Liberation Journal* (November-December 1969).

Some Israeli scholars go even further, blaming Israel for Palestinian Arabs' terror attacks. Baruch Kimmerling, an eminent professor of sociology from the Hebrew University, remarked, for example, that

“The Israeli conditions [to the Road map peace plan] are based on an incorrect perception of the causality and logic of the conflict – the presumption that the root of the violence lies in ‘Palestinian terrorism’, rather than in Israel’s generation-long occupation and illegal colonization of Palestinian lands and its exploitation and harassment of the entire people” [9].

Professor Tanya Reinhart from Tel-Aviv University draws the same line of argument:

“Israel’s persecution of the Palestinian people is not war against terror. The Palestinian suicidal terror has a simple solution – get out of the territories and give the Palestinians reasons to live. The war against the Palestinians is over the ‘Promised Land’ of Sharon, the army and the settlers. In this kind of war, one needs to lie constantly...” [10].

Answering his own question “Where is the Palestinian Gandhi?”, Dr. Ran HaCohen from Tel-Aviv University’s Poetics and Comparative Literature Department, expressed a very similar opinion. His words are unequivocal:

“The problem is the perpetrators, not the victims: it’s Israel, not the Palestinians. The Palestinians don’t have to watch the Gandhi film. They fought the First Intifada with stones (1987–1993) and were answered with Israeli bullets. They fought the Second Intifada (2000–2004) with weapons and were answered with Israeli tanks, Caterpillar bulldozers, and airplanes” [11].

The late Professor Yeschayahu Leibowitz (1903–1994) from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem reached an analogous conclusion already in the beginning of the first Intifada:

“We use the term ‘terrorism’ to describe the acts of the Palestinian people, and call their fighters ‘terrorists’. But our rule over a resistant people could not persist were it not for the use of means which are considered to constitute war crimes throughout the world – and even plain criminal acts. We do not view these acts as terrorism; they are considered to be policy because they are implemented by a legal government and a state arm. ‘Aberrant acts’ by necessity become the norm because, far from being a side effect of an occupation regime, they are its essence” [12].

These (and other) authors’ point of view is unambiguous: there is no Arab terrorism; the whole phenomenon should be re-framed. They argue that there exists only relatively moderate and understandable protest to Israeli occupation, exploita-

tion and harassment of the Palestinian people.

Let us consider historical evidence, related to the period long before the establishment of the independent State of Israel, long before Israel acquired or produced its own tanks or airplanes – let us remember the days of the British Mandate. On August 23, 1929, the local Arabs devastated the Jewish community by perpetrating a vicious, large-scale, organized pogrom. According to the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, “The assault was well planned and its aim was well defined: the elimination of the Jewish settlement of Hebron. The rioters did not spare women, children, or the aged; the British gave passive assent. Sixty-seven were killed, 60 wounded, the community was destroyed, synagogues razed, and Torah scrolls burned”.

In light of the stances taken by some Israeli professors at present, one might wonder what the leading Hebrew University professors had to say on this matter in those days. One can suppose that at least in that case they would have blamed the Palestinian Arabs for the terrorist massacre and demanded from the (British) authorities to defend the Jewish community’s rights. Yet the response of some of them was completely different from the reaction one could have expected. Just a few months later, on March 1930, Akiva Ernst Simon, Martin Buber’s most faithful student and biographer, who later became Professor of Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, demanded from the Jewish Agency a declaration that Jews would be willing to remain a permanent minority in a bi-national state in order to pave the way to an agreement with the Palestinian Arabs. In his memorandum, dated March 12, 1930, Simon proposed some radical concessions to be made:

“The Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency should therefore turn to the Arab people with this solemn declaration that the Jewish Agency is striving for nothing but the creation in Palestine of a cultural Jewish minority, governing itself... For us it would safeguard immigration within the limits of our minority goal” [13, pp. 53-54].

Simon argued that “the Jews [should] renounce the plan of developing a majority” [13, p. 54]. As a reply to the Hebron massacre and the Arab riots in some other locations (during the week of riots, 133 Jews were killed and 339 wounded) Akiva Ernst Simon demanded from the Jewish leaders to abandon both the Jewish right of return to Palestine/Eretz-Israel, granted by the Balfour Declaration, and their right to political self-determination [14].

Furthermore, it is widely known that Judah L. Magnes, who was the founding president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, opposed the creation of a Jewish state, being the most consistent advocate of a bi-national solution. After the

1929 riots Magnes repeatedly demanded immediate Zionist concessions to the Arabs. He called upon the Yishuv to suppress the anger generated by the murderous pogroms and to overcome the disappointment from the fact that not even a single Arab leader was prepared to condemn them. Despite the continuing violence perpetrated under the direction of the Arab leadership, Magnes did not desist from demanding the adoption of a pacifist policy, even at the expense of securing Zionist objectives [15].

It was on August 11, 1942, at the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the "Ichud" ["Union"] organization, that Magnes stated that "Jews and Judaism can and will exist in the Diaspora, with or without the Jewish state in Palestine/Eretz-Israel" [13, p. 259; 16]. Magnes made this statement seven months after the Wannsee Conference, at which the Nazis had discussed what they called "the Final Solution of the Jewish question". Indeed, one could argue that Magnes and the other members of the 'Ichud' association, most of them professors of the Jewish-German origin, such as Martin Buber and Ernst Simon, still did not know a lot about the annihilation of the European Jewry. The information that the European Jews had become a subject to systematic murder was officially published in Palestine/Eretz-Israel for the first time on November 23, 1942. This information was based on a telegram, sent on August 8, 1942, using the US State Department facilities, by Dr. Gerhardt Riegner, the Jewish World Congress representative in Geneva, to his patron, the WJC President Rabbi Stephen Wise in New-York. Riegner notified Wise that in Hitler's headquarters a plan had been discussed according to which "three and a half to four millions should after deportation and concentration in the East be at one blow exterminated in order to resolve once and for all the Jewish question in Europe". Dr. Richard Lichtheim, the Jewish Agency's representative in Geneva, delivered a copy of this telegram to Jerusalem [17, p. 15]. On November 4, 1942, the Polish government in exile minister, Professor Stanislaw Kot, arrived in Palestine. The talks Kot held in Palestine/Eretz-Israel centered on the systematic annihilation of Poland's Jews and the means to save them [17, pp. 36-46]. On November, 18, a group of sixty-nine Palestinian Jews, who had gotten stuck in Europe, arrived in Palestine/Eretz-Israel. They provided the first eyewitness reports of life in the ghettos and the mass murders; they informed about a locomotive engineer who told how the Jews "are being forced to enter special buildings and being destroyed by gas" [18]. All these reports had not influence Ichud's program, which remained antagonistic to the Zionist Jewish immigration project.

These events took place only three years after the famous Jewish philosopher

Martin Buber and his supporters established in April 1939 *The League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and Cooperation*, the first pamphlet of which, carrying articles by Buber and a number of his followers, argued against the Jewish state and called for the limitation of the Jewish immigration to 45 percent of the population of Palestine/Eretz-Israel. Taking into account the Arab population of the country in those days (about one million people, including both Moslems and Christians), if the British had approved the League's proposal, no more than 20 per cent of those, who became the Holocaust victims in the near future, could have survived in Palestine/Eretz-Israel. The second pamphlet, which appeared in August 1939, again attacked the Zionist Organization for trying to settle Jews in Palestine without the consent of the Arabs, asserting that "it will not be the theory of Hitler and the worshipers of force which will win" [19]. On November 16, 1939, Buber excoriated unnamed Zionists who were working "to establish our own national egoism", declaring that even in a time of crisis, those who did so "are performing the acts of Hitler in the land of Israel, for they want us to serve Hitler's God after he has been given a Hebrew name" [20]. Thus one cannot argue that a great intellectual like Buber did his best in order to warn Jews about the impending danger of Hitlerism; quite the contrary, until March 1938 he remained in Germany, and immediately upon his arrival in Palestine/Eretz-Israel began his struggle neither for the rescue of the German Jews, nor for the unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine/Eretz-Israel from Germany and other countries, ruled by the Nazis, but against the mythical Zionists who "are performing the acts of Hitler in the land of Israel". Today's radical leftist academics who argue that "the root of the violence lies not in 'Palestinian terrorism', [but] in Israel's generation-long occupation and illegal colonization of Palestinian lands and its exploitation and harassment of the entire people", had prominent predecessors, whose concept of reality was inadequate to a no lesser extent than that of their spiritual children.

I am far from advocating any parallelism between the years of Holocaust and those of the second Intifada: the situations and the circumstances differ drastically. Despite the security fence, Israel in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century cannot be compared to any Jewish ghetto. However, there is no doubt that there have been influential Palestinian leaders and organizations whose aims are quite similar to those of the Nazis, namely to kill as much Jews as possible regardless of their personal characteristics: being a Jew is the only crime of the vast majority of the Arab terror victims, exactly as it was during the years of Nazism. Hamas, whose stated goal is to establish an Islamic theocracy not only in the West Bank and Gaza, but also on the Israeli ter-



ritory (which would imply the end of Israel in its entirety), is probably the most hostile organization towards Jews and their statehood. Naturally enough, Hamas is listed as a terrorist group by the European Union, Canada and the United States. Hamas militants, especially those affiliated with the Ezzedeen Al-Qassam Brigades (named after Sheikh Ezz ad-Din al-Qassam, 1882–1935, who criticized the pro-Nazi Mufti of Jerusalem Hajj Amin al-Husayni for his “moderate approach towards the British”), have conducted numerous attacks, including large-scale suicide bombings, against Israeli civilians<sup>1</sup>. Hundreds of Israelis were killed in Hamas suicide attacks between 2000 and 2004. Hamas has engaged also female suicide bombers, including a mother of six and a mother of two children under the age of 10.

On March 22, 2004, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, characterized by *The Guardian* (which can hardly be labeled as a pro-Israeli newspaper) as “spiritual leader of the terror group Hamas” [21] was killed in an Israeli helicopter missile strike on his car as he was leaving a mosque in the northern Gaza Strip. BBC, another communication network which is unknown for its support of Zionism, described him as “the founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, ... one of the largest and most militant of all the Palestinian groups, ... [that] has killed hundreds of Israelis in suicide bombings” [22]. Yassin was the leader and mentor of Hamas; he authorized and initiated all Hamas terrorist attacks emanating from the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Following Israeli assassination of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, Lev Grinberg, political sociologist and the former director of the Humphrey Institute for Social Research at Ben Gurion University, published an article in *La Libre Belgique* accusing the Israeli government of committing symbolic genocide against the Palestinians. In his words, “The murder of Sheikh Ahmad Yassin by the government of Israel is part of a major move carried out by the government of Israel, which can be described as symbolic genocide” [23]. Lev Grinberg draws a comparison between the Holocaust and the Israeli struggle against the leaders of the radical Islamic terrorist organizations, detecting only minor differences between the two. He argues: “Unable to recover from the Holocaust trauma and the insecurity it caused, the Jewish people, the ultimate victim of genocide, is currently inflicting a symbolic genocide upon the Palestinian people”. Grinberg states that “because the world will not permit total annihilation, a symbolic annihilation [of the Palestinians] is taking place instead”.

The Israeli intellectuals’ anti-Israeli rhetoric reaches its culmination in Grin-

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<sup>1</sup>These include the massacre in Netanya in March 2002, in which 30 people were killed in a terrorist attack while celebrating the Jewish festival of Passover; the Patt junction massacre in Jerusalem (19 dead); the Jerusalem bus 20 massacre in November 2002 (11 dead); Haifa bus 37 massacre in March 2003 (17 dead); the Jerusalem bus 2 massacre in August 2003 (23 dead); the Beersheba massacre in August 2004 (16 dead) and many more.

berg's claim that "All this talk about 'peace process' and 'right to defend' is nothing but a deception designed to cover up the symbolic genocide carried out by the government of Israel. First it destroyed the authority, institutions and infrastructures of the Palestinian Authority, and now it is destroying what's left of its hopes: it is killing leaders and ordinary citizens, men and women, children and old people". Regarding the aforementioned statement, the only fact that cannot be disputed is that Sheikh Ahmed Yassin was an old man, though nobody knows how old he was: Ahmed Yassin's Palestinian passport listed his date of birth as January 1, 1929, but other Palestinian sources documented his birth year as 1937, whereas some Western media reported it as 1938. However, no one, except an Israeli scholar, whose field of specialization is political sociology, claimed that the assassination of Ahmed Yassin should be perceived as an indicator of the Israeli government's intention to kill ordinary Palestinian citizens, men and women, children and old people. Let us repeat it once again: "some ideas are so absurd that only an intellectual could believe them". Israel provides some remarkable examples to strengthen this thesis. While prominent European and American intellectuals were fascinated with either Stalin or Hitler, the Israeli ones, taking into account specific local circumstances, decided to express their voices in favour of Palestinian terrorism, in general, and Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and his legacy, in particular.

Despite the clear-cut evidence<sup>1</sup>, Lev Grinberg firmly believes that the Palestinian leadership has nothing in common with the terrorism – in his view, "[Palestinian] terrorist acts are done by individuals in despair, usually against Arafat's will". As a matter of fact, he is not original in his views, stating (as, for example, Baruch Kimmerling and Ran HaCohen, cited above,) that the roots of the problem are in Israel, not in the Palestinians. He goes even further: in the article entitled *Israel's State Terrorism* he condemns the Israeli leadership as a terrorist one<sup>2</sup>. Adi Ophir, Tel-Aviv university's professor of philosophy, makes a similar claim, describing his country's authorities: in his view, "the Israeli regime is shifting before our very eyes from *de facto* apartheid to *de jure* apartheid" [24]. Grinberg's colleague from the Ben-Gurion University, Dr. Neve Gordon, found his own synonym; in his words, "Israel's gravest danger today is not the Palestinian Administration or even Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, but the one it faces from within: fascism" [25]. Alas, more than sixty years have passed, but nothing has changed

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, a scrupulous analysis presented by *Efraim Karsh*, *Arafat's War: The Man and His Battle for Israeli Conquest* (New York: Grove Press, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> *Lev Grinberg*, "Israel's State Terrorism", *Tikkun*. A Bimonthly Jewish and Interfaith Critique of Politics, Culture and Society (April, 2002); <http://www.democracymeansyou.com/mideast/state-terrorism.htm>.

since Martin Buber blamed anonymous Zionists who “[were] performing the acts of Hitler in the land of Israel”.

One can argue that Lev Grinberg’s essay reflects a demarche of a single person, and, as such, cannot be perceived as a prime example. Unfortunately, the opposite is true. The quotations provided above demonstrate that his views have been shared by other Israeli academics as well. The question is, however, whether their public advocacy of such views perpetuates the academic freedom or, rather, abuses it. Replying to a public criticism of Grinberg’s statements, Ha’aretz – the most ‘intellectual’ Israeli newspaper – published an editorial entitled “Academic Freedom”, stating: “The world of academe is full of people with radical, foolish and destructive views of all political persuasions. One can criticize them, demonstrate against them, and keep away from their lectures. And yet, the principal of academic freedom makes it obligatory to enable them to act and express themselves without interference” [26].

The (ab)use of the principle of academic freedom by politicized intellectuals and their self-appointed defenders, who fight for the right to express “foolish and destructive opinions” is a phenomenon of its own kind. The principle of academic freedom has been introduced in order to defend the role of the universities as “guardians of truth”, despite any political or governmental pressure. However, one can wonder whether this principle should be adopted for the sake of “foolish and destructive opinions”.

The principle of academic freedom, and the principle of freedom of speech in general, are not the sacred ones, and in most countries they cannot be used, for example, by those, who, though consider themselves intellectuals, are the Holocaust deniers. In their meaningful book entitled *Denying History. Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do they Say It?* Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman addressed the free speech issue. Their position regarding the freedom of speech of anyone on any subject is that “while the government should not be in the business of limiting speech, an institution should have the freedom to restrict the speech of anyone at any time who utilizes resources within the jurisdiction of its own institution (such as a school newspaper, classroom, or lecture hall)”. The authors’ point is that “we must not confuse freedom of expression with the obligation to make easy that expression” [27]. If the universities are willing to preserve a status of independent “temples of science”, they should find appropriate ways of confronting “radical, foolish and destructive opinions of all political persuasions”, instead of supporting and defending them. I will take an issue with Neve Gordon and David Newman: there is no threat to academic freedom in Israel today. Yet there was – and there is – a luck

of intellectuals' responsibility and accountability for the use of this freedom [28].

More than three years ago Dr. Martin Sherman from the Department of Political Science at the Tel-Aviv University published a brilliant essay entitled "The Professors of Oslo". This article appeared only in a daily newspaper, so that it did not gain a wide academic readership it deserves. I would like to bring here in a concise form his most essential statements, which are relevant today just as they were in 2003.

"It is difficult to forget how, in the period of giddy optimism and lofty hopes in which Oslo was conducted (or rather concocted), the overwhelming majority of Israeli academics rallied enthusiastically behind it. This phenomenon was particularly pronounced in the spheres of the humanities and the social sciences. These disciplines allegedly comprise the professional skills needed for erudite analysis of processes such as Oslo, and for sober estimate of the elements which are likely to impinge on their chances of success – or failure. Across the country, in faculties and institutes of political science, international relations, history, strategy, and Middle Eastern studies, senior staff praised and lauded, almost without exception, the far-sighted prudence and daring of the architects of the Oslo edifice. Prestigious lecturers, renowned researchers, and authoritative experts all repeatedly recited the long list of impressive benefits that would supposedly result from this bold vision. Time after time they explained, in detailed arguments, how a glowing future of peace and prosperity was about to be ushered in by this inspired initiative.

However, a decade later, during which the opposing assessments underwent the test of time, the realities that prevail in Israel are far closer to the dire warnings of the spurned skeptics than to the rosy prognoses of the prominent (and popular) pundits. ... But miraculously, despite the miserable failure of their professional evaluations, despite their proven inability to understand the events and processes which occurred within the field of their alleged expertise, the professional, public and economic standing of the nation's senior academic echelons seems virtually unscathed. These false prophets continue to occupy the most prestigious – and best-paid – posts in the country's leading institutes of higher learning; they are frequent participants in the media, appearing as authoritative experts to interpret current events and to explain to the public the significance of emerging realities, realities which only a short time ago they dismissed – as authoritative experts – as totally unimaginable." [29]

I would like to summarize my essay by citing the conclusion Martin Sherman made to his argument.

“Academic accountability is a difficult topic to broach, and even more difficult to implement. It is, however, one that must be tackled in the light of the experience of the last decade. For those who reject some form of accountability in the name of academic freedom, and claim for their immunity from the consequences of their failures, are confusing liberty with licentiousness. This interpretation of freedom is unacceptable and unsustainable; it will lead to certain ruin” [29].

*December, 2008.*

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