

THE PROBLEM OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RECOGNITION IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES*

MUSHEGH GHAHRIYAN

Keywords: The Armenian Genocide, Arab countries, Armenia, Turkey, foreign policy.

In February 2020, the Parliament of Syria recognized the Armenian Genocide, which intensified the discussions in Armenia regarding the recognition process of the Arab countries. Syria became the second Arab country after Lebanon to recognize the Armenian Genocide.

In recent years, there has been an increase of discussions of the Armenian Genocide in political circles and media in several Arab countries.

This article discusses the trends concerning the recognition process of the Armenian Genocide in the Arab countries, focuses on the factors impacting the formulation of the position of those countries and Armenia's policy as well.

The relationship between Armenia and the Arab countries since 1991

After Armenia declared its independence in 1991, its policy towards the Middle East region became one of the most important focal points of its foreign policy due to its geographical proximity and centuries-long close ties with the peoples living in the region.

The Armenian-Arab political, economic, military and cultural relations stem from the Early Middle ages. When Armenia became a sovereign state, the relations with the Arab countries gained importance for a number of reasons, including the presence of Armenian communities, the rich cultural heritage in

* Հոդվածը ներկայացվել է 14.08.2020: Գրախոսվել է 25.04.2020: Հետազոտությունն իրականացվել է ՀՀ ԿԳՄՍՆ գիտության կոմիտեի ֆինանսական աջակցությամբ՝ 19YR-6F060 ծածկագրով գիտական թեմայի շրջանակներում:

those countries, security issues, and the necessity of establishing political and economic relationships.

The importance of the continuation of partnerships and developing relations with the Arab countries, especially with the ones considered traditional partners, were regularly emphasized in government programs and speeches of high-ranking officials of the Republic of Armenia. It has always been stressed that the development of good relations with the Arab world is a foreign policy priority for Armenia.¹

When Ottoman Turkey perpetrated the Armenian Genocide, the Arab countries were the first to provide shelter and help hundreds of thousands of people. The report of the Armenian embassy in Cairo states that Armenian people will never forget the kindness of the Arab people, and this thankfulness is reflected in Armenia's foreign policy. After gaining its independence, Armenia has developed good relationships with the Arab countries consistently and has expressed solidarity with their positions in the Middle East peace process²

Since 1992, all the leaders of Armenia have paid visits to Arab countries. The prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs of Armenia made a number of visits to those countries as well.³

In 1992, Armenia opened its first embassies in the Arab countries, first in Egypt and Syria, and later in Lebanon and Iraq. In the early 1990s, the regional realities and difficult situation of the Republic of Armenia created the necessity to establish diplomatic relations with the states of the Middle East region. One of the factors was the importance of shaping the favorable posi-

¹ Հայաստանը կարևորում է արաբական աշխարհի հետ հարաբերությունների զարգացումը, 25.02.2014, <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/25276475.html>

² Եգիպտոսում ՀՀ դեսպանության հաշվետվությունը՝ ՀՀ նախագահի պաշտոնական այցի վերաբերյալ, 20.IV.2007, **Կարապետյան 2018**, 80:

³ Տե՛ս ՀՀ ԱԳՆ պաշտոնական կայք, Երկկողմ և բազմակողմ հարաբերությունները, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/>

tions of the authorities and societies of the regional countries towards Armenia in light of the ongoing war in Karabakh and to prevent the spread of the false opinion that the conflict had religious character, taking into consideration the fact that Turkey was overtly supporting Azerbaijan.⁴

While developing its relationship with the Arab countries, the Republic of Armenia has primarily focused on the ones where relatively large and organized Armenian communities and traditional ties exist.

From the perspective of political significance, the Arab countries may be divided into three groups:

- countries with a significant Armenian presence in the past and in the present, such as Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt
- the countries of the Gulf with which there has been noticeable activity since the second decade of the 21st century
- the states where no organized Armenian community, stable trade, or economic ties exist.

In spite of the above mentioned circumstances, the geographical closeness of the Middle East to Armenia has not fostered major progress in the political and economic relations with the Arab countries. In this regard, cultural and educational ties are exceptions, having been developed more systematically and uninterrupted.

Among the reasons for it are more important focuses for the foreign policy of Armenia⁵, the closed border with Turkey that complicates trade with the Arab countries of the Middle East, and logistics problems.⁶ In these circumstances, even with the countries with whom relations are deeper, they have developed with certain ups and downs and a regular decrease of mutual in-

⁴ Տե՛ս ԱԳՆ պատմադիվանագիտական արխիվ, գործ 267, 271, 258:

⁵ Խոսքը վերաբերում է ՌԴ-ին, Եվրամիությանը, ԵՄ առանձին երկրների, ԱՄՆ-ին, Իրանին, Վրաստանին, ԱՊՀ երկրներին:

⁶ 1990-ական թթ. պարբերաբար քննարկվել է Հայաստանի և Սիրիայի միջև երկաթուղային հաղորդակցության հնարավորությունը, ինչը, սակայն, գործնականում իրագործելու հնարավորություն չի եղել:

terest, which is also related to the other priorities of the sides.

Since 1992, Armenia has signed a number of agreements and other documents with the Arab countries concerning various fields of cooperation. However, the volume of trade and mutual investments has been small and insignificant⁷. In other words, Armenia has not developed strategic relations with the Arab countries yet.

From the point of view of political relations, the partnership with Lebanon is more stable, which is reflected in the regular mutual visits of high ranking officials, including the heads of the two states.⁸ In general, the absence of close, stable and lasting relations with the Arab countries and the insignificant political influence of the Armenian communities and organizations in the majority of these countries have a negative impact on the possibility of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

Even after the declaration of independence of the Republic of Armenia, the issue of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide has seldom been discussed in bilateral relations. As of June 2020, only two Arab countries, Lebanon and Syria, have recognized the Armenian Genocide.

The issue of the Armenian Genocide in the foreign policy of Armenia

In the final years of the Soviet Union, in the period of creation of the independent republic of Armenia and in the following years as well, the issue of the recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide and the policy of Armenia towards it has been an important topic of discussions and debates in the socio-political life of the country. The four heads of state of Armenia over that period, presidents Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Robert Ko-

⁷ ՀՀ արտաքին առևտրաշրջանառության ամենամյա տվյալները հասանելի են Վիճակագրական կոմիտեի armstat.am կայքում: 2019թ. արաբական երկրների մասնաբաժինը ՀՀ արտաքին առևտրաշրջանառությունում կազմել է 5%:

⁸ ՀՀ ԱԳՆ պաշտոնական կայք, Երկկողմ հարաբերություններ, Լիբանան, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/lb>:

charyan, Serj Sargsyan, and prime-minister Nikol Pashinyan, have expressed their viewpoints, attitudes and strategies on various platforms. The international recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide has always been of crucial importance and efforts have been made. However, the governments of Armenia in certain periods had different attitudes on the position of the issue of recognition and Armenian-Turkish relations in this context.

In 1990, while the text of the declaration of independence was under preparation, difficult discussions were taking place in the Supreme Council of Armenia related to the expediency of including or formulating the issue of the Armenian Genocide in that document.

The Declaration of Independence, which was adopted on August 23, 1990, proclaims: “The Republic of Armenia stands in support of the task of achieving international recognition of the 1915 Genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia”.⁹

The first president of the Republic of Armenia, Levon Ter-Petrosyan (President of Armenia from 1991 to 1998), believed that it was a mistake from a political and diplomatic perspective to include the point of the Armenian Genocide in the text of the Declaration. He suggested addressing the issue in another document.¹⁰

In 1995, President Ter-Petrosyan delivered a speech in the

⁹ Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը ինչպես մտավ 1990-ի Անկախության, 21.08.2019, հոչակագիր, <http://www.aniarc.am/2019/08/21/1915-declaration-of-independence-tatul-hakobyan-armenias-and-turks/>

¹⁰ Հակոբյան Թ., Հոչակագիրը Հայաստանը դրեց անկախության ճանապարհին, 23.08.2019, <https://www.civilnet.am/news/2019/08/23/%D5%80%D5%BC%D5%B9%D5%A1%D5%AF%D5%A1%D5%A3%D5%AB%D6%80%D5%A8-%D5%80%D5%A1%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%BD%D5%BF%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%A8-%D5%A4%D6%80%D5%A5%D6%81-%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%AF%D5%A1%D5%AD%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%A9%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6-%D5%B3%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%A1%D5%BA%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%B0%D5%AB%D5%B6/365939>

international conference dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. He claimed that Armenia and Turkey, as neighbor states, are obliged to establish mutually beneficial trade and economic ties and, through good neighborly relations, gradually overcome historical contradictions and rebuild mutual trust between the Armenian and Turkish peoples, for which the sides have to have the relevant political will and moral stance.¹¹

During the years of Robert Kocharyan's presidency, the policy on the Armenian Genocide underwent certain transformations. In 1998, the recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide was officially declared a top priority of state policy. At the same time, Kocharyan believed that the issue of the Armenian Genocide is not a precondition for the regulation of Armenian-Turkish relations. Rather, it should be considered a moral issue and should not necessarily have legal consequences.

In the first year of Serj Sargsyan's presidency (2008-2018), an attempt was made to normalize Armenian-Turkish relations. However, due to several issues concerning the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and claims, the normalization process had a very negative reputation in the traditional diaspora, arousing suspicion.

In 2015, Armenia adopted a declaration on the Centennial of the Armenian Genocide, emphasizing the necessity to submit legal claims against Turkey. The Declaration “expresses the united will of Armenia and the Armenian people to achieve worldwide recognition of the Armenian Genocide and the elimination of the consequences of the Genocide, preparing to this end a file of legal claims as a point of departure in the process of restoring individual, communal and pan-Armenian rights and legitimate interests. The Declaration reiterates the commitment of Armenia and the Armenian people to continue the international struggle for the prevention of genocides, the restoration of the

¹¹ Իրերը գնահատենք սառը դատողությամբ՝ հրաժարվելով զգացական ընկալումներից և հոգեբանական պայմանականություններից, «Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն», 22 ապրիլի, 1995 թ.:

rights of people subjected to genocide and the establishment of historical justice”.¹²

On March 23, 2015, the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva adopted the Resolution on the Prevention of Genocide by consensus, initiated by Armenia. Around 70 countries, representing all regional groups of the Human Rights Council joined Armenia and co-sponsored the resolution. In 2018¹³ and 2020¹⁴, two other resolutions on the Prevention of Genocide were adopted with the initiative of Armenia.

In spite of differences in the attitudes of the presidents, they also had similarities. The three presidents of Armenia, while making decisions on foreign policy, tried to avoid the influence of identity-related perceptions. This is supported by the attitudes of Armenian foreign policymakers on the issue of Genocide recognition.¹⁵

As of June 2020, the Armenian Genocide has been predominantly recognized by countries where organized Armenian communities exist. This circumstance allows for greater influence on the political parties and state institutions of those countries. The majority of the countries that have recognized the Armenian Genocide, are geographically located in the continents of Europe and America, where, first of all, there are Armenian

¹² **Ծիծեռնակաբերդի հուշահամալիրում հրապարակվել է Հայոց ցեղասպանության 100-րդ տարելիցի համահայկական հռչակագիրը**, 29.01.2015, <https://www.president.am/hy/press-release/item/2015/01/29/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-visit-Tsitsernakaberd-Genocide/>

¹³ **ՄԱԿ-ի Մարդու իրավունքների խորհուրդը կոնսենսուսով ընդունեց Հայաստանի ներկայացրած Ցեղասպանության կանխարգելման բանաձևը**, 23.03.2018, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases /2018/03/23/un-genocide-resolution/8082>

¹⁴ **Ցեղասպանության կանխարգելման վերաբերյալ բանաձևի ընդունում ՄԱԿ-ի Մարդու իրավունքների խորհրդում**, 22.06.2020, https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2020/06/22/un_hrc_genocide_resolution/10323

¹⁵ Terzyan 2016: 150.

diasporas and organizations. Secondly, these countries are important partners for the Republic of Armenia. At the same time, the initiation of the Armenian Genocide recognition procedure in any country is strongly counteracted by Turkey. In its turn, Turkey's counteraction further complicates the recognition of the Armenian Genocide in the countries where Ankara has sufficient influence or is a key political and economic partner.

For decades, the struggle against the recognition of the Armenian Genocide has been and remains one of the important issues of the ruling elites of the Republic of Turkey, and it is a part of Ankara's state policy on the Armenian issue.¹⁶

R. Shugaryan wrote that several countries that have recognized the Armenian Genocide have made efforts to mediate between Armenia and Turkey. One of the main incentives for the mediatory initiatives was that the executive branch of power of Armenia tried to convince Turkey to recognize the Genocide by utilizing the legislative body of the given state.¹⁷

Lebanon and Syria were among the countries to offer their mediation between Armenia and Turkey. The former prime minister of Lebanon, Rafik Hariri, offered to utilize his good relationships with the presidents of Turkey and Armenia to facilitate political dialogue between two countries. This offer was discussed during Hariri's visit to Yerevan in 2003. However, the practical steps were not taken to begin this process.¹⁸

The President of Syria Bashar al-Assad also expressed his willingness to mediate during his visit to Yerevan in June 2009. He publicly announced that he offered his mediation services to the President of Armenia to enhance the negotiations between Armenia and Turkey.¹⁹

¹⁶ Սաֆրաստան Ռ., Թուրքիայի պայքարը հայոց ցեղասպանության միջազգային ճանաչման դեմ (ներկա փուլի նոր միտումներ) http://www.noravank.am/arm/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=491

¹⁷ Shugaryan 2016: 120-121.

¹⁸ **Նույն տեղում:**

¹⁹ Asbarez.com, Syria offers to mediate Turkish-Armenian talks, June 17, 2009, Available at: <http://asbarez.com/64751/syria-offers-to-mediate-turkish-armed>

The issue of the Armenian Genocide and the confrontation between Turkey and the Arab countries

The number of Armenians in the Arab countries drastically increased after the Armenian Genocide. The deportation routes passed through Arab settlements, and many of them were the first eyewitnesses of the suffering and misery of the deported Armenians.

Various Arab authors have addressed the issue of the Armenian Genocide in their books. Among them are Faiz El-Ghusein's *Martyred Armenia*, a compilation of eyewitness accounts published in 1916, Moussa Prince's *An Unpunished Genocide - Armenocide*, Ilyas Zanzir's *The Tragedy of People*, Naim al Yaffi's *The Armenian Massacres and Arab Public Opinion*, etc.²⁰

However, besides Lebanon and now Syria, the Arab countries have not recognized the Armenian Genocide. The Parliament of Lebanon adopted two resolutions recognizing the Armenian Genocide in 1997 and 2000.

In Armenia, however, the fact that most of the Arab countries do not recognize the Armenian Genocide does not have a very negative perception in Armenia, since they take into account the fact that those countries that once were a part of the former Ottoman Empire would not risk the deterioration of relations with Turkey.²¹

The problem of relations with Turkey has been the primary catalyst of several heads of the Arab states and other high-ranking officials avoiding visiting the Armenian Genocide Memorial in Yerevan.

In June 2009, the President of Syria Bashar al-Assad did not visit the Memorial in Tsitsernakaberd while in Yerevan. On Feb-

nian-talks/, consulted January 16, 2013

²⁰ Հովհաննիսյան 2004, 573:

²¹ Փաշայան Ա., Հայ-արաբական հարաբերությունների հեռանկարը. ձեռքբերումներ ու կորսված հնարավորություններ, 21.06.2019, <https://armenpress.am/arm/news/979352/>

ruary 10, 2020, King Abdullah of Jordan visited Armenia, went to the memorial complex, and the visit was covered by the media. The King paid tribute to the memory of Genocide victims and laid a wreath, but did not plant a tree, as do other heads of states.²²

In this context, the level of representation of the Arab countries at the events of the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide organized in Yerevan is also of interest. On April 24, 2015, the following officials of Arab countries were participants in the events dedicated to the Armenian Genocide centennial – Muhammad Jihad al Laham, the head of the Syrian parliament, Jebran Bassil, the minister of foreign affairs and diaspora, a delegation from the Parliament of Lebanon, Abdul Rahman Mohammed al Owais, the minister of health of the United Arab Emirates, Akel Biltaji, the mayor of Amman, Jordan, Yonaddam Kanna, a member of the parliament of Iraq and the head of the Assyrian Democratic Movement Party.

The general adviser of the President of Iraq, Abdel Latif Rashid, visited Yerevan in 2016 to participate in the 101st anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.²³

One cannot exclude that the delegations from the Arab countries on the occasion of the centennial of the Armenian Genocide could have been larger and more significant had Turkey not decided to mark the 100th anniversary of the Battle of

²² Հակոբյան Թ., Արդալլահ թագավորը ծառ չի տնկել Ծիծեռնակաբերդում, 18. 02. 2020, <https://www.civilnet.am/news/2020/02/18/%D4%B1%D5%A2%D5%A4%D5%A1%D5%AC%D5%AC%D5%A1%D5%B0-%D5%A9%D5%A1%D5%A3%D5%A1%D5%BE%D5%B8%D6%80%D5%A8-%D5%AE%D5%A1%D5%BC-%D5%B9%D5%AB-%D5%BF%D5%B6%D5%AF%D5%A5%D5%AC-%D4%BE%D5%AB%D5%AE%D5%A5%D5%BC%D5%B6%D5%A1%D5%AF%D5%A1%D5%A2%D5%A5%D6%80%D5%A4%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4/376609>

²³ Երկկողմ հարաբերություններ, Իրաք, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/iq>

Gallipoli on the same day. It may have forced some of those countries to refrain from sending more high-ranked delegations to Yerevan.

A new trend has emerged in the Arab countries concerning the discussion of the Armenian Genocide. First and foremost, this is the side-effect of the new political situation that has been forming in the Middle East in recent years. In several Arab countries, under these new circumstances, the issue of the Armenian Genocide has been addressed more frequently. R. Safrastyan notes that this could be a sign that the issue of the Armenian Genocide has gained importance in the Muslim world.²⁴

In the second decade of the 21st century, Turkey shifted its policy in the Middle East in order to increase its influence, causing its relations with several states of the region to become severely strained. Relations between Turkey and Israel regularly escalate, evolving into harsh accusations between the heads of two states²⁵. In the Syrian conflict, Turkey openly acted against the regime in Damascus, demanded the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad, and supported anti-government forces. In 2013, after the ousting of President Muhammad Mursi and the formation of a new government in Egypt, the relationship between Cairo and Ankara is also strained²⁶. Turkey is also in political confrontation with Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and participates in civil war in Libya.²⁷

²⁴ Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման հարցը, կարծես, տեղափոխվում է մահմեդական աշխարհ. Սաֆրաստյան, 22.04.2019, <https://www.yerkir.am/news/view/172581.html>

²⁵ Տե՛ս օրինակ, Gara-Israel violence: Netanyahu and Erdogan in war of words 01.04.2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-43611859>

²⁶ Maher M., Tsukerman I., Tensions between Egypt and Turkey are on the rise, 17.07.2019, The Washington Institute. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/fikraforum/view/tensions-between-egypt-and-turkey-are-on-the-rise>

²⁷ Turkey begins deploying troops to Libya, says Erdogan, 05.01.2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-begins-deploying-troops-to-libya-says-erdogan/a-51894454>

Parallel to this trend, in several countries of the Middle East, the promotion of the discussion of the Armenian Genocide has intensified in political, scholarly and public circles.

As already mentioned, Lebanon was the first Arab country to recognize the Armenian Genocide. On April 3, 1997, the Deputy Chamber of Lebanon adopted a resolution on the Armenian Genocide to commemorate April 24 as the day of massacres against Armenian people and called on the people of Lebanon to express their solidarity with the Armenians on that day.²⁸

On May 11, 2000, on the occasion of 85th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the parliament of Lebanon adopted another resolution recognizing and condemning the Armenian Genocide and expressing its full solidarity with Armenian demands.²⁹

The recognition of the Armenian Genocide and Syria.

In 2020, Syria became the second Arab country after Lebanon to recognize the Armenian Genocide. Notwithstanding Armenian-Syrian close ties and the large and organized Armenian community, the discussion of Armenian Genocide recognition and its possibility has become apparent only in recent years.

Still, in 1980, the President of Syria Hafez al-Assad arrived in Yerevan in the frame of his visit to the Soviet Union. In the 1980s, a church and memorial were built in Deir Ez Zor dedicated to the memory of the victims of the Armenian Genocide. In 1996, a chapel was built in Markade. A delegation of Arab chieftains, whose ancestors helped save many deported Armenians, attended the commemoration of the Armenian Genocide in 1996.³⁰

In 2009, the President of Syria Bashar al-Assad visited Armenia for the first time, but did not visit the Armenian Genocide memorial, according to the state protocol of the visits of foreign

²⁸ **Lebanon Chamber of Deputies Resolution**, 03.04.1997, - https://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.162/current_category.7/offset.50/affirmation_detail.html

²⁹ **Lebanon Parliament Resolution**, 11.05.2000, https://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.161/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html

³⁰ Հովհաննիսյան 2007, 550-551:

officials to Armenia. That decision of the head of Syria was due to Syrian-Turkish relations which had been successfully developing in the first decade of the 21st century. The relations between Syrian and Turkey drastically deteriorated in 2011 because of the stance of Turkish authorities towards the Syrian conflict. The deterioration of the relations of Turkey and Syria facilitated the discussion of the Armenian Genocide in Syria, especially at the highest levels.

In 2014, the President of Syria Bashar al-Assad in his interview to Agence France-Press compared the violence in Syria with the extermination of 1.5 million Armenians, as well as Assyrians in the Ottoman Empire.³¹

Following the interview of the Syrian president, the ambassador of Syria to the United Nations also spoke on the issue of the genocide in the UN. Later, in 2015, the government of Syria paid tribute to the victims on the occasion of the centennial of the Armenian Genocide.³² In 2015, the Syrian delegation participating in the events of the centennial of the Armenian Genocide was headed by the speaker of parliament Mohammad Jihad al-Laham.³³

Speaking on the centennial of the Armenian Genocide the President of Syria said that 100 years ago the Armenian people were victims of genocide and, unfortunately, history repeats, as the Syrian people face the same sufferings of the Armenians.³⁴

³¹ Սիրիայի նախագահը իր երկրում ահաբեկչությունները նմանեցրել է Թուրքիայի իրագործած հայկական ցեղասպանության հետ, 21.01.2014, <https://armenpress.am/arm/amp/746970>

³² Մերձավոր Արևելքում Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչումը դրական դինամիկա է արձանագրում, 14.02.2020, <https://armenpress.am/arm/news/1004971/>

³³ Նախագահը հանդիպում է ունեցել Սիրիայի ժողովրդական ժողովի նախագահ Մուհամմադ Ջիհադ ալ Լահամիի հետ, 22.04.2015, <https://www.president.am/hy/press-release/item/2015/04/22/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-meeting-with-Syrian-Parliament-speaker/>

³⁴ Էդվարդ Նալբանդյանն այցելեց Սիրիա, 27.05.2015, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2015/05/27/min-syr/5280>

Meanwhile, SANA, the official media agency of the Syrian government, did not include the word genocide in its coverage.³⁵ In 2019, it was decided that the Armenian Genocide be included in the high school curriculum.³⁶

The Parliament of Syria recognized the Armenian Genocide on February 13, 2020. The Parliament of Armenia welcomed the unanimous passing of the Armenian Genocide resolution in Syria's parliament.³⁷ The resolution of the parliament of Syria condemns the Armenian Genocide that was conducted by the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century. It also condemns the denial of the crime and the distortion of historical truth, reaffirming that it was one of the most horrible crimes against humanity. The Syrian parliament expressed its sympathy to the friendly Armenian nation and recognized that the Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians and other nations were subjected to a systematic policy of ethnic cleansing and mass murders. The Parliament called on the international community to recognize the Armenian Genocide.³⁸

The recognition of the Armenian Genocide and Egypt

After Lebanon and Syria, the most probable chance of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide may exist in Egypt. Egypt, once the leader of the Arab world, after the revolution of 2011 and the subsequent political instability, lost its former strong position and influence and was not active in regional processes. In recent years, Egypt has made efforts to restore its role and influence in the Middle East, and this is taking place amidst

³⁵ Президент аль-Асад принял главу Армении Налбандяна 27.05.2015. <https://www.sana.sy/ru/?p=38252>

³⁶ Սիրիայի ավագ դպրոցներում Հայոց ցեղասպանության թեման արդեն պարտադիր կդառնա. Նորա Արիսյան, 22.04.2019, <https://www.shantnews.am/news/view/350627.html>

³⁷ ՀՀ խորհրդարանը ողջունում է Հայոց ցեղասպանության միաձայն ճանաչման մասին Սիրիայի խորհրդարանի որոշումը, 13.02.2020, <https://news.am/arm/news/560211.html>

³⁸ شباط 15، 2020 مجلس الشعب يتبنى بالإجماع قراراً يدين ويقر جريمة الإبادة الجماعية المرتكبة بحق الأرمن على يد الدولة العثمانية

the conditions of political contradictions and confrontations with Turkey.

After 2013, the Egyptian media started to publish articles condemning the denial of the Armenian Genocide by Turkey and called on the new authorities of Egypt to recognize it. There were even calls to erect a monument dedicated to the victims of the Armenian Genocide. On September 4, 2013, the program Al-Soura Al-Kamila broadcasted on ONtv television organized a discussion dedicated to the Armenian Genocide.³⁹

Additionally, in recent years, books have been published and documentary movies have been made in Egypt on the Armenian Genocide.⁴⁰

In November 2016, Mustafa Bakri, an Egyptian MP, stated that the parliament is ready to include a resolution concerning the massacres perpetrated by Turkey against the Armenians in the agenda. One member of the parliament of Egypt condemned this attitude regarding the Armenian Genocide and pointed out that only Lebanon has recognized it till now.⁴¹ The resolution was not included in the agenda of the parliament.

At the beginning of 2018, the vice-chairman of the Defence and National Security Council of the Parliament of Egypt, Yehya Kidwani, and the secretary of the Foreign Relations Council Ta-

³⁹ **Millions Watch Popular Egyptian Talk Show on the Armenian Genocide**, September 10, 2013 <http://asbarez.com/113717/millions-watch-popular-egyptian-talk-show-on-the-armenian-genocide/>

⁴⁰ «Հայ-արաբական փոխառնչություններ. Հայոց ցեղասպանությունից մինչև արդի մարտահրավերներ» http://orient.sci.am/events_view.php?arch=&id=110&langid=1

⁴¹ **Եգիպտոսի խորհրդարանը Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը դատապարտող բանաձեռն կներառի օրակարգ**, <https://anca.org/%D5%A5%D5%A3%D5%AB%D5%BA%D5%BF%D5%B8%D5%BD%D5%AB-%D5%AD%D5%B8%D6%80%D5%B0%D6%80%D5%A4%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%A8-%D5%B0%D5%A1%D5%B5%D5%B8%D6%81-%D6%81%D5%A5%D5%B2%D5%A1%D5%BD%D5%BA%D5%A1%D5%B6/>

rek Khouli applauded the decision of the Dutch Parliament and demanded that the Egypt Parliament adopt a similar resolution. According to Kidwani, this would have been a necessary step to counteract Turkish aggression.⁴²

In 2019, in his speech delivered during the session of the Munich Security Conference dedicated to global security and counterterrorism, President of Egypt Abdel Fatah al Sisi mentioned the Armenians as a people persecuted throughout the decade after 1915. According to the Haydat committee of Egypt, although the President of Egypt did not use the phrase Armenian Genocide, he made an important first step, demonstrating the necessity of mentioning those events in light of ongoing processes.⁴³

Armenia's ambassador to Egypt reacted to president Al Sisi's speech. In his interview with Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram al-Arabi the ambassador stated that the reference to the Armenian Genocide in the speech of the Egyptian president at the Munich Security Conference was prominent and frank.⁴⁴

Other countries

On February 2019, the Lebanese newspaper al-Akhbar reported citing its anonymous sources in UAE's diplomacy that the country was going to recognize the Armenian Genocide.⁴⁵ Al Akhbar newspapers noted that in 2017, the foreign minister of

⁴² **Եգիպտոսի խորհրդարանի պատգամավորները կոչ են արել Հայոց ցեղասպանության հարցում հետևել Նիդերլանդների օրինակին**, 01.03.2018, <https://armenpress.am/arm/news/924514/egiptosi-khorhrdarani-patgamavornery-koch-en-arel-hayoc.html>

⁴³ **Եգիպտոսի նախագահը Մյունխենում ելույթի ժամանակ հիշատակել է Հայոց ցեղասպանության մասին**, 18.02.2019, <https://www.shantnews.am/news/view/290873.html>

⁴⁴ **Եգիպտոսում Հայաստանի դեսպան Կարեն Գրիգորյանի հարցազրույցը «Ալ-ահրամ ալ-արաբի» պարբերականին, 07 մարտի, 2019**, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/interviews-articles-and-comments/2019/03/07/ambarm-egypt/9205>

⁴⁵ «بتركيا... الإمارات نحو الاعتراف بـ«الإبادة الأرمنية»» https://al-akhbar.com/Arab_Island/266368 16.02.2019

the UAE, Abdallah bin Zayed al Nahayan, visited the Armenian Genocide memorial, and the official newspaper of the UAE wrote that the minister paid tribute to the martyrs of the Armenian Genocide with a minute of silence.

The news about the recognition of the Genocide in the UAE was not confirmed officially and did not have consequences. The conflicts between the UAE and Turkey are manifested in regional issues such as the blockade of Qatar and the conflict in Syria. Ankara has accused the UAE of funding Fethullah Gulen's FETÖ movement. Turkey accuses this organization of organizing the coup d'etat of 2016.⁴⁶

One of the major obstacles for promoting the issue of Armenian Genocide recognition is the weakness of the Armenian community compared to the ones in Syria or Lebanon.

The Armenian community in the UAE lacks political potential, particularly there is no organization that is engaged in politics. This is the reason why there has not been any significant political action except the council for the centennial of the Armenian Genocide.⁴⁷

In 2019, the acting government in Eastern Libya (not recognized by the international community) recognized the Armenian Genocide. In April 2019, the provisional government of Libya made an announcement, stating that it had adopted a resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide in March. On April 24, 2020, it recognized the Genocide for the second year in a row.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Turkish-Emirati tensions continue to simmer, 04.05.2020, <https://www.mei.edu/blog/turkish-emirati-tensions-continue-simmer>

⁴⁷ Հովյան 2018, 42:

⁴⁸ Սասունյան Հարութ, Լիբիայի ժամանակավոր կառավարությունը մեկ անգամ ևս ճանաչում է Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը, 13.05.2020, <https://www.panorama.am/am/news/2020/05/13/%D5%80%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%A9-%D5%8D%D5%A1%D5%BD%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B6%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6/2290463>

When discussing the problem of the Armenian Genocide in the Arab countries, the position of Israel should also be considered. The issue of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide has regularly become a topic of discussions in Israel. This stands in contrast to the Arab countries, where such discussions are rare. This is primarily due to the fact that Jews themselves were victims of a genocide, that has been recognized and condemned. However, Israel does not do the same concerning the Armenian Genocide.

According to Ben Aharon, there are several reasons as to why Israel refuses to recognize the Armenian Genocide. Among them is the problem of protecting Jews residing in Muslim countries, as well as ethnic competition as fellow victims of genocide.⁴⁹

According to another opinion, the decision of the recognition of the genocide is not conditioned by the monopolization of victimhood at all, but rather by political and economic interests concerning Turkey and Azerbaijan.⁵⁰

The Turkish position has been very strong in Israel for many years, stating that a genocide did not occur in the Ottoman Empire. Attempting to maintain close ties with Turkey has prompted the government of Israel to hinder holding conferences on the Armenian Genocide, and prevent it from being mentioned on educational programs and TV broadcasts.⁵¹

In another study, Ben Aharon says that the policy of Israel regarding the Armenian Genocide has been predominantly con-

⁴⁹ Ben Aharon 2015: 652.

⁵⁰ Melman Y., **Israel's Refusal to Recognize the Armenian Genocide Is Indefensible**, *Foreign Policy*, 24.04.2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/24/israels-refusal-to-recognize-the-armenian-genocide-is-shameful-and-immoral-netanyahu-turkey-azerbaijan-yad-vashem-tsitsernakaberd/>

⁵¹ Բարսեղյան Լ., **Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը և հրեաների ողջակիզումը անժխտելի իրողություն են. ընդհանրություններ և ժխտման փորձեր**, Հայոց ցեղասպանություն. արդի խնդիրներ, էջ 4, <http://genhist.asj-oa.am/53/1/3-22.pdf>

ditioned by the absence of strong internal pressure on the consecutive governments of Israel, primarily from the opposition parties. Ben Aharon believes that Turkey has imposed its denial policy on Israel.⁵²

Another factor preventing Israel's recognition of the Armenian Genocide is their military cooperation and partnership with Turkey and Azerbaijan.⁵³

Y. Auron states that the total indifference towards "the Armenian catastrophe" and the pro-Turkish position of Yishuv are also important reasons that Israel has not recognized the Genocide.⁵⁴

The viewpoints of the researchers of this topic coincide on one point - the importance of the relations with Turkey have played a decisive role in the denial of the Armenian Genocide. Recently, when the relations of Israel and Turkey were strained, the issue of Armenian Genocide recognition was debated in Israel's parliament. However, a resolution was not passed.⁵⁵

In recent years, certain shifts can be traced in the attitudes of Israel and Jewish organizations regarding the Armenian Genocide. This coincides with the tensions between Israel and Turkey stemming mainly from the incident of Mavi Marmara. A. Marukyan believes that Turkish-Israeli tensions are also reflected in the US, where Jewish organizations have started to resist the promotion of Turkish interests⁵⁶.

Conclusion

The recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide is a foreign policy priority for Armenia. The relations with the countries of the Middle East also have an important place in Armenia's foreign policy. However, Armenia has never included

⁵² Ben Aharon 2018: 463.

⁵³ Bishku 2009: 295-314. doi:10.1080/00263200802697415

⁵⁴ Auron 2009: 267-288.

⁵⁵ As Turkey ties sour, Knesset to debate Armenian genocide recognition, 23.05.2018, The Times of Israel, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/as-turkey-ties-sour-knesset-to-debate-armenian-genocide-recognition/>

⁵⁶ Marukyan 2015: 120, 123.

the issue of the genocide in the agenda of the relationship with the Arab countries.

Based on the examples of Syria and Egypt one can see the gradual emergence of discussions concerning the Armenian Genocide. Combined with the political expediency in a given country and the efforts of the Armenian communities and organizations, the campaign aimed at recognition may be successful. In other Arab countries, there are not yet any apparent ongoing processes regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

Discussions on the recognition of the Armenian Genocide have become more frequent due to the deterioration of the relations of Turkey and several Arab countries. This allows for the conclusion that the regional influence and greater importance of relations with Turkey has been a key restraining factor for the recognition process of the Genocide. The non-recognition of the Armenian Genocide by Isarel also confirms the idea that the importance of relations with Turkey plays a principal role.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ԱԳՆ պատմադիվանագիտական արխիվ, գործ 267, 271, 258:

Բարսեղյան Լ. , Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը և հրեաների ողջակիզումը անժխտելի իրողություն են. ընդհանրություններ և ժխտման փորձեր, Հայոց ցեղասպանություն. արդի խնդիրներ, էջ 4, <http://genhist.asj-oa.am/53/1/3-22.pdf>

Եգիպտոսում ՀՀ դեսպանության հաշվետվությունը՝ ՀՀ նախագահի պաշտոնական այցի վերաբերյալ, 20.IV. 2007, Կարապետյան Ռ., Հայաստանի Հանրապետության և Արաբական պետությունների լիգայի համագործակցության պատմությունից, Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, № 2, էջ 80, <http://raber.asj-oa.am/6796/1/78.pdf>

Եգիպտոսի խորհրդարանը Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը դատապարտող բանաձեռը կներառի օրակարգ,

<https://anca.org/%D5%A5%D5%A3%D5%AB%D5%BA%D5%BF%D5%B8%D5%BD%D5%AB-%D5%AD%D5%B8%D6%80%D5%B0%D6%80%D5%A4%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%A8-%D5%B0%D5%A1%D5%B5%D5%B8%D6%81-%D6%81%D5%A5%D5%B2%D5%A1%D5%BD%D5%BA%D5%A1%D5%B6/>

Եգիպտոսի խորհրդարանի պատգամավորները կոչ են արել Հայոց ցեղասպանության հարցում հետևել Նիդերլանդների օրինակին, 01. 03. 2018,

<https://armenpress.am/arm/news/924514/egiptosi-khorhrdarani-patgamavornery-koch-en-arel-hayoc.html>

Եգիպտոսի նախագահը Մյունխենում ելույթի ժամանակ հիշատակել է Հայոց ցեղասպանության մասին, 18. 02. 2019, <https://www.shantnews.am/news/view/290873.html>

Եգիպտոսում Հայաստանի դեսպան Կարեն Գրիգորյանի հարցազրույցը «Ալ-աիրամ ալ-արաբի» պարբերականին, 07 մարտի, 2019, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/interviews-articles-and-comments/2019/03/07/ambarm-egypt/9205>

Էդվարդ Նալբանդյանն այցելեց Սիրիա, 27. 05. 2015,

<https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2015/05/27/min-syr/5280>

«Իրերը գնահատենք սառը դատողությամբ՝ հրաժարվելով զգացական ընկալումներից և հոգեբանական պայմանականություններից», «Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն», 22 ապրիլի, 1995 թ.

Ծիծեռնակաբերդի հուշահամալիրում հրապարակվել է Հայոց ցեղասպանության 100-րդ տարելիցի համահայկական հռչակագիրը, 29.01.2015,

<https://www.president.am/hy/press-release/item/2015/01/29/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-visit-Tsitsernakaberd-Genocide/>

Կարապետյան Ռ. 2018, Հայաստանի Հանրապետության և արաբական պետությունների լիգայի համագործակցության պատմությունից, Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների, № 2, էջ 78-83:

- «Հայ-արաբական փոխառնչություններ. Հայոց ցեղասպանությունից մինչև արդի մարտահրավերներ»
http://orient.sci.am/events_view.php?arch=&id=110&langid=1
- Հակոբյան Թ. , Հռչակագիրը Հայաստանը դրեց անկախության ճանապարհին, 23. 08. 2019, <https://www.civilnet.am/news/2019/08/23>
- Հակոբյան Թ. Արդալլահ թագավորը ծառ չի տնկել Ծիծեռնակաբերդում, 18. 02. 2020, <https://www.civilnet.am/news/2020/02/18>
- Հայաստանի արտգործնախարար Էդվարդ Նալբանդյանի եզրափակիչ ելույթը «Ընդդեմ ցեղասպանության հանցագործության» գլոբալ ֆորումին, 23.04.2015, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/speeches/2015/04/23/min-gfyerevan/5084>
- Հայաստանը կարևորում է արաբական աշխարհի հետ հարաբերությունների զարգացումը, 25.02.2014, <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/25276475.html>
- Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման հարցը, կարծես, տեղափոխվում է մահմեդական աշխարհ. Սաֆրաստյան, 22. 04. 2019, <https://www.yerkir.am/news/view/172581.html>
- Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը ինչպես մտավ 1990-ի Անկախության, 21.08.2019, հռչակագիր, <http://www.aniarc.am/2019/08/21/1915-declaration-of-independence-tatul-hakobyan-armenias-and-turks/>
- ՀՀ ԱԳՆ պաշտոնական կայք, Երկկողմ և բազմակողմ հարաբերությունները, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/>
- ՀՀ ԱԳՆ պաշտոնական կայք, Երկկողմ հարաբերություններ, Լիբանան, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/lb>:
- ՀՀ ԱԳՆ պաշտոնական կայք, Երկկողմ հարաբերություններ, Իրաք, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/iq>
- ՀՀ խորհրդարանը ողջունում է Հայոց ցեղասպանության միաձայն ճանաչման մասին Սիրիայի խորհրդարանի որոշումը, 13. 02. 2020, <https://news.am/arm/news/560211.html>
- Հովհաննիսյան Ն. 2004, Արաբական երկրների պատմություն, հ. II, Օսմանյան տիրապետության շրջան 1516-1918 թթ., «Ձանգակ-97», Երևան, 680 էջ:

- Հովհաննիսյան Ն. 2007**, Արաբական երկրների պատմություն, հ. IV, Անկախության և ինքնիշխանության դարաշրջան 1918-2005 թթ., «Չանգակ-97», Երևան, 768 էջ:
- Հովյան Վ. 2018**, Արաբական Միացյալ Էմիրությունների հայ համայնքը, «Գլոբուս» վերլուծական հանդես, № 2, 36-42:
- ՄԱԿ-ի Մարդու իրավունքների խորհուրդը կոնսենսուսով ընդունեց Հայաստանի ներկայացրած Ցեղասպանության կանխարգելման բանաձևը**, 23.03.2018, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2018/03/23/un-genocide-resolution/8082>
- Մարության Ա. 2015**, Հայոց ցեղասպանության հիմնահարցը համաշխարհային քաղաքականության ազդեցիկ դերակատարների՝ Թուրքիայի հետ հարաբերությունների համատեքստում, Երևան, 219 էջ, <http://academhistory.am/images/HRAPARAKUMNER/Marukyan-09.pdf>
- Մերձավոր Արևելքում Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչումը դրական դինամիկա է արձանագրում**, 14. 02. 2020, <https://armenpress.am/arm/news/1004971/>
- Նախագահը հանդիպում է ունեցել Սիրիայի ժողովրդական ժողովի նախագահ Մուհամմադ Ջիհադ ալ Լահամիի հետ**, 22. 04. 2015, <https://www.president.am/hy/press-release/item/2015/04/22/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-meeting-with-Syrian-Parliament-speaker/>
- Սասունյան Հ., Լիբիայի ժամանակավոր կառավարությունը մեկ անգամ ևս ճանաչում է Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը**, 13. 05. 2020, <https://www.panorama.am/am/news/2020/05/13/%D5%80%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%A9-%D5%8D%D5%A1%D5%BD%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B6%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6/2290463>
- Սաֆրաստան Ռ. , Թուրքիայի պայքարը հայոց ցեղասպանության միջազգային ճանաչման դեմ (ներկա փուլի նոր միտումներ)** http://www.noravank.am/arm/issues/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=491

- Սիրիայի նախագահը իր երկրում ահաբեկչությունները նմանեցրել է Թուրքիայի իրագործած հայկական ցեղասպանության հետ, 21. 01. 2014, <https://armenpress.am/arm/amp/746970>
<https://www.sana.sy/ru/?p=38252>
- Սիրիայի ավագ դպրոցներում Հայոց ցեղասպանության թեման արդեն պարտադիր կդառնա. Նորա Արիսյան, 22. 04. 2019, <https://www.shantnews.am/news/view/350627.html>
- Ցեղասպանության կանխարգելման վերաբերյալ բանաձևի ընդունում ՄԱԿ-ի Մարդու իրավունքների խորհրդում, 22.06.2020, https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2020/06/22/un_hrc_genocide_resolution/10323
- Փաշայան Ա. Հայ-արաբական հարաբերությունների հեռանկարը. ձեռքբերումներ ու կորսված հնարավորություններ, 21. 06. 2019, <https://armenpress.am/arm/news/979352/>
- Asbarez.com, Syria offers to mediate Turkish-Armenian talks, June 17, 2009, Available at: <http://asbarez.com/64751/syria-offers-to-mediate-turkish-armenian-talks/>, consulted January 16, 2013.
- As Turkey ties sour, Knesset to debate Armenian genocide recognition, 23.05.2018, The Times of Israel, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/as-turkey-ties-sour-knesset-to-debate-armenian-genocide-recognition/>
- Auron Y. 2009: The Banality of Indifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide, New Brunswick, pp. 267-288.
- Ben Aharon E. 2015: A Unique Denial: Israel's Foreign Policy and the Armenian Genocide, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, № 42(4), պս. 638-654.
- Ben Aharon E. 2018, Between Ankara and Jerusalem: the Armenian Genocide as a Zero-Sum Game in Israel's Foreign Policy (1980's -2010's), Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, 20(5), p. 463.
- Bishku, M. B. 2009: The South Caucasus Republics and Israel. Middle Eastern Studies, 45(2), 295–314.
doi:10.1080/00263200802697415

- Gaza-Israel violence: Netanyahu and Erdogan in war of words**
01.04.2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-43611859>
- Lebanon Chamber of Deputies Resolution**, 03. 04. 1997,
https://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.162/current_category.7/offset.50/affirmation_detail.html
- Lebanon Parliament Resolution**, 11.05.2000, https://www.armenian-genocide.org/Affirmation.161/current_category.7/affirmation_detail.html
- Maher M., Tsukerman I., Tensions between Egypt and Turkey Are on the Rise**, 17.07.2019, The Washington Institute,
<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/fikraforum/view/tensions-between-egypt-and-turkey-are-on-the-rise>
- Millions Watch Popular Egyptian Talk Show on the Armenian Genocide**, September 10, 2013
<http://asbarez.com/113717/millions-watch-popular-egyptian-talk-show-on-the-armenian-genocide/>
- Turkey begins deploying troops to Libya, says Erdogan**,
05.01.2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-begins-deploying-troops-to-libya-says-erdogan/a-51894454>
- Turkish-Emirati tensions continue to simmer**, 04.05.2020,
<https://www.mei.edu/blog/turkish-emirati-tensions-continue-simmer>
- Melman Y., Israel's Refusal to Recognize the Armenian Genocide Is Indefensible**, Foreign Policy, 24.04.2019,
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/24/israels-refusal-to-recognize-the-armenian-genocide-is-shameful-and-immoral-netanyahu-turkey-azerbaijan-yad-vashem-tsitsernakaberd/>
- Shugaryan R. R. 2016:** Contemporary History and Methodology of International Mediation of Armenian-Turkish Relations, Dissertation, 07.00.02 World History, International Relations, applicant for candidate of sciences in history, IOS NAS RA, p. 194.
- Terzyan A. 2016:** The Evolution of Armenia's Foreign Policy Identity: The Conception of Identity Driven Paths. Friends and Foes in Armenian Foreign Policy Discourse, October 2016 in Book: Values And Identity as Sources of Foreign Policy in Armenia and Georgia, 145-183.
- «نكايه» بتركيبا... الإمارات نحو الاعتراف بـ«الإبادة الأرمنية»? https://al-akhbar.com/Arab_Island/266368 16. 02. 2019

مجلس الشعب يتبنى بالإجماع قراراً يدين ويقر جريمة الإبادة الجماعية 2020 شباط،
المرتكبة بحق الأرمن على يد الدولة العثمانية
<http://www.parliament.gov.sy/arabic/index.php?node=554&nid=21625&First=0&Last=449&CurrentPage=1&mid=&refBack=>
Президент Аль-Асад принял главу МИД Армении Налбандяна,
27.05.2015, <https://www.sana.sy/ru/?p=38252>

Mushegh Ghahriyan - PhD,
Institute of Oriental Studies NAS RA,
Department of Arab Countries, Researcher,
mghahriyan@yahoo.com

ՀԱՅՈՑ ԳԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՃԱՆԱԶՄԱՆ ԽՆԴԻՐԸ ԱՐԱԲԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԿՐՆԵՐՈՒՄ

Բանալի բառեր՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանություն, արաբական երկրներ, Հայաստան, Թուրքիա, արտաքին քաղաքականություն:

2020 թ. փետրվարին Սիրիայի խորհրդարանում Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչումը Հայաստանի հասարակական-քաղաքական, գիտական շրջանակներում աշխուժացրին արաբական երկրներում ցեղասպանության ճանաչման գործընթացի վերաբերյալ քննարկումները: Սիրիան դարձավ արաբական աշխարհի երկրորդ երկիրը Լիբանանից հետո, որն օրենսդիր մարմնի մակարդակով ճանաչեց Հայոց ցեղասպանությունը:

Վերջին մի քանի տարիներին արաբական մի շարք երկրներում հասարակական, քաղաքական մակարդակներում Հայոց ցեղասպանության հարցի քննարկումները նկատելիորեն հաճախակիացել են:

Այս հոդվածում փորձ է արվում ներկայացնել Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման հետ կապված միտումները արաբական երկրներում, քննարկել խնդրի շուրջ արաբական երկրների դիրքորոշումների ձևավորման վրա ազդող գործոնները և Հայաստանի վարած քաղաքականությունը:

Մուշեղ Ղահրիյան, պ.գ.թ.,
*ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտ,
Արաբական երկրների բաժին,
գիտաշխատող,
mghahriyan@yahoo.com*