

**NARRATING THE ENEMY:
THE IMAGE OF “OTTOMAN/TURK”
IN ARMENIAN HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS**

Yıldız DEVECİ BOZKUŞ

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PREFACE

This study is prepared within the framework of a project financed by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) and managed by Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu. It is entitled “Ottoman/Turkish image in the Current History Textbooks of the Balkan and Black Sea Countries” (Project No: 110K571). The project aims to examine the Ottoman/Turkish image comparatively in the history textbooks, taught in the primary and secondary schools of the Balkan and Black Sea countries, including Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Albania, Russia and Armenia. This study, which is prepared as a part of this project, examines the history textbooks, taught in the primary and secondary schools of Armenia in the academic year of 2010-2011. The theoretical framework of the study is constructed by imagology. Within this context, the study examines negative and prejudiced perceptions, stereotypes and images established for the Ottoman/Turkish conceptualization and focuses on the major factors in the construction of these perceptions. The history textbooks are examined besides textual discourses, and the visual materials such as maps, pictures, drawings, etc., are elaborated in a way to reveal the open/covert narratives and images.

The aim of this study is to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the conflicts experienced in the Turkish-Armenian relations from past to present. As it is known, in the resolution of inter-societal conflicts, the value judgments and perceptions, fabricated by the peoples and administrators, have a significant role. In the learning of these value judgments, one of the most influential factors is the primary schools. The “compulsory” learning processes and the knowledge transmitted in these institutions determine the role of the “other” identity in daily lives. Therefore, learning accurate and unbiased knowledge in earlier ages becomes more important, considering that these informations will be transmitted to the next generation.

As it is known, the images can easily be used for negative purposes as well as they are used for positive purposes. Therefore, it can be said that in taking a positive or negative decision for a country and in creating a political agenda, textual or visual images have a strong effect. Therefore, in this study, by using the methods of imagology, the reflection of the “us” and “other” in the text-

books and the backing of these reflections with visual materials and open/covert stereotypes are examined. Instead of judging these stereotypes as right or wrong, the real targets of these stereotypes and their meanings are tried to be exposed. Since this study is based on Armenian resources and since there is no similar prior research on this issue in the literature, it emerges as a significant and original contribution.

I thank TÜBİTAK for supporting this project managed by the Yıldız Technical University Center for Balkan and Black Sea Research (BALKAR). I also express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Seyit Sertçelik, who advised me to this project as a researcher, and Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalihođlu, the director of this project, who included me in this project and supported me in every phase of this study including the provision of the history textbooks. Last but not least, I am indebted to the project team for sharing their knowledge and documents with me, the project employee Emin Uzun for helping me on internet issues, and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık, who helped me in revising this text and encouraging me with his valuable advices.

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INTRODUCTION

The history textbooks, taught compulsorily by the states in schools, contribute to the development of negative images by societies with regard to each other. This is a significant impediment in front of the resolution of conflicts among states. This study aims to put forward how the Turkish and Ottoman image is presented in the history textbooks, taught in primary and secondary schools in the Republic of Armenia. In doing so, it aims to examine the transmittance of the images of Turk, Turkey and Ottoman, which have been developed from the ancient ages until modern times, to the students via the history textbooks, as well as the perceptions based on these images.

Of course, in the establishment of the Ottoman/Turkish perception, some serious historical problems, which have taken place in the Turkish-Armenian relations from the past till now, are influential. It is possible to sum up these problems as such: The Armenian side has demanded Turkey to recognize the Armenian relocation, which was experienced in 1915, as genocide, to open the Turkish-Armenian border, which had been closed unilaterally by Turkey by the beginning of the 1990s, and to follow a neutral policy on Karabagh problem. Turkey, on the other hand, demanded Armenia to give up the claims of genocide as well as territorial and compensational demands, to end the occupation of Karabagh, to contribute to the establishment of a joint historian's commission to investigate the 1915 incidents and to terminate her propaganda activities against Turkey in various countries. In sum, these opposite demands of the two sides resulted in the closure of the communication channels and failure of establishing proper communication between Turkey and Armenia.

When the international literature on the Turkish-Armenian relations is examined, it can be seen that the relations are analyzed with a focus on the genocide issue. However, indeed, the Turkish-Armenian relations have a deeper historical and sociological background. Therefore, it is necessary to save the Turkish-Armenian relations from a genocide-focused analysis to a new platform. This study aims to provide a new dimension to the solution of the Turkish-Armenian disputes. The transmittance of the inter-societal problems to the students in a biased way by including these problems as fields of study in the education systems and curricula resulted in the deepening of these prob-

lems. As in the case of Turkish-Armenian relations, today, the problems that many countries of the world experience with other countries or societies are included in the educational curricula of these countries. The Israeli-Palestinian disputes, North Korea-South Korea incidents, the attitudes of the US towards the Afro-Americans and the Nazi Germany are examples of this phenomenon. Within this context, the history textbooks should be examined in a way to eliminate the prejudiced representations of the neighboring countries and other nations; this elimination would contribute to the solution of the problem of inappropriate representations.

In the international literature, in resolving many historical problems - although they are not genocide-focused as in the case of Turkish-Armenian literature – similar methods are consulted. Within this framework, the revision of the history textbooks is perceived as a solution-oriented strategy. There are significant studies made abroad (Spyrou, 2006; Nicholls, 2003; Paxton, 1999; Wallace and Allen, 2008; Gal, 1981; von Borries, 2003; Firer, 1998; Bukh, 2007). Similarly, significant studies are undertaken in Turkey (Tuncay, 1998; Şimşek, 2007; Şıvgın, 2009; Yıldırım, 2007; Aydın, 2001; Safran and Ata, 1996; Demircioğlu, 2006).

One of the most important examples of such studies made in Turkey is this project supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK). This project aims to analyze comparatively the Ottoman/Turkish image in the history textbooks taught in the primary and secondary education in the Balkan and Black Sea countries (Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Albania, Russia and Armenia). Within this context, the updated history textbooks taught in the academic year of 2010-2011 in primary and secondary schools are examined.

The project aims to contribute, first and foremost, to the peaceful resolution of the conflicts among states and to eliminate the negative implications of the learned prejudices and perceptions that the societies have developed about each other. Within this framework, it is targeted to put forward the Ottoman/Turkish image in the Balkan and Black Sea countries, which are either neighboring Turkey or establish a bridge between Turkey and the European Union, and to compare and contrast the images developed by these countries. As a result of this analysis, the negative images with regard to Turkey are determined and suggestions are made to eliminate these negative perceptions on Turkey and Turkish history.

Moreover, this project plans to contribute theoretically to the imagology studies. Since this project will provide the most comprehensive study ever made on the image of Turkey and the Turks, it will be the most detailed application of the imagology theories to the Turkish image. Especially, when it is considered that the perception of the Ottoman/Turkish image has significant implications on the national identity construction of the Balkan and Black Sea countries, this project will contribute to the literature by focusing on the function of historical images in nation-building. By this way, a significant gap in the literature would be fulfilled.

This study is performed as a part of the aforementioned project and, first and foremost, it is aimed to contribute to the peaceful resolution of the conflicts experienced in the Turkish-Armenian relations. Besides, it tries to bring the bilateral relations out of genocide-focused frame of analysis and to provide a cultural and literary depth to the examination of these relations. Moreover, by contributing to the examination and revision of the history textbooks, which can be considered as a major factor in the development of the negative perceptions by Armenians with regard to the Turks, this study aims to help the establishment of new research fields for the academicians planning to study on this theme.

In the first part of this study, after defining the concepts of image and stereotype briefly, the imagology and its methodology are examined. Therefore, this primary chapter is a theoretical introduction to this study. In this part, the role of the cultural and historical phenomena in the emergence and evolution of the images are examined in a way to emphasize which cultural/historical background frames the Ottoman/Turkish images presented in the Armenian history textbooks.

The second part deals first with the international studies on the examination and revision of the history textbooks. Within this framework, the presentation of the problems in the history textbooks, related to the states having bilateral disputes or the problems that a particular state experiences with a community living in its territories, are examined by giving examples from the studies made in the US, Israel, Japan, Germany, etc. Moreover, in this part, the studies on the history textbook revision in Turkey are analyzed as well. Finally, this part ends with a brief evaluation of the historical background of the Armenian education system, the authoring of the history textbooks as well as the history education and curricula in Armenia.

The third part deals with the presentation of the Turkish-Armenian relations and the emergence of the Ottoman/Turkish image in the Armenian history textbooks chronologically from the ancient ages to the end of the Ottoman Empire. After examining the reflections on the Hun-Armenian cooperation against the Persians in the ancient age narratives, this part follows with the emergence of images of heroism and victimization of Armenians. Then the course of Turkish-Armenian relations until the establishment of the Ottoman Empire is focused, with a particular emphasis on the Seljuks and Mongols. The presentation of the Turkish-Armenian relations in the Ottoman period follows the suit. In this context, after underlining the place of the Armenian community in the Ottoman *millet* system in the classical age of the Ottoman Empire, the narratives of the Armenian independence movements of the nineteenth century are elaborated. This part ends with an analysis of the problematic relations of the Armenians and the Republic of Armenia, which was the first independent Armenian state in the modern ages, with the Ottoman and Grand National Assembly governments between the years of 1918 and 1922.

The 1915 relocation, which is covered in the Armenian history textbooks under a specific section, establishes the core of the fourth part. Moreover, in this part, the description of the Turks in the narratives of diaspora and migration is covered. This part concludes with an analysis of the narratives of the Turkish-Armenian relations in the Soviet and post-Soviet period.

There are several problems encountered in the preparation of this project as well as this particular study. At the beginning, Armenia was not included to the project, because of absence of a specialist having mastery of Armenian. However, it is thought that because of its significance in terms of the examination of the perceptions of Ottoman/Turkish identity, Armenia should be included in the project. The relations between Turkey and Armenia have been passing through a problematic period and the perception of history in these countries has become an item in the global agenda because of the 1915 incidents. Therefore, this basic question between these two states both influence domestic and external policies of these two states, and the intervention of third parties to this question has exacerbated the problems. Although several projects have been conducted in Turkey in recent years by the non-governmental organizations for developing mutual understanding and better perception and for resolving the conflicts between the Turkish and Armenian societies, it is observed that these projects are limited in scope, since they are focused on the development of mutual understanding and cooperation among youngsters, students or busi-

nessmen. Therefore, these studies fail to reach the source of this problem and, although they contribute to the solution of the problem in a limited way, they are generally insufficient for a total solution. Within this framework, this study is important both for the examination of the images presented in the history textbooks and for the analysis of the perception of Ottoman/Turkish identity in the minds of the students, who are the real respondents of these images. Also, there has been no such study directly examining this theme in Turkey; hence, this study will be a serious contribution to the literature.

In order to eliminate the deficiency of excluding Armenia from the project, the author of these lines was endorsed by Prof. Dr. Seyit Sertçelik to the project team and took up the responsibility to prepare the Armenia section of the project since November 1, 2011. However, this time, another problem emerged, namely the provision of the Armenian history textbooks. Most of the correspondence made with some of the non-governmental organizations, state and non-state universities of Armenia were failed. Particularly, the Armenian Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of National Education, the Armenian Representative of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization in Turkey, some non-governmental organizations in Turkey managing research and development projects for the amelioration of Turkish-Armenian relations and some individual enterprises were consulted; however they either did not respond or responded negatively. After a difficult process, thanks to the help of an Armenian family coming Istanbul to work, the Armenian history textbooks were provided.

Despite these problems, some international organizations supported the project. Especially the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research and the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO) are contacted and they showed a great interest in our project, since they are interested in mutual otherizations among different nations. Particularly, the publications of the Georg Eckert Institute are provided and referred in this project. Moreover, the researchers studying in these institutions are connected and the Institute helped us to contact with the people and institutions that could support us in Armenia and they sent us the periodicals of the Institute.

All in all, this study aims to contribute to the determination and elimination of the negative perceptions developed by the Turkish and Armenian peoples about each other and to facilitate a better inter-societal understanding, since these two societies are neighboring each other, having close cultural ties, and

sharing a joint past full of joyful as well as sorrowful events. If this study provides even a little contribution to the resolution of the conflicts between two states, the author of these lines would reach her target.

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