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## THE THEME OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE IRANIAN DISCOURSE

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The theme of the Armenian Genocide in Iranian discourse has been significantly influenced over decades by various factors, including events organized by the Armenian community itself, as well as scholarly works such as monographs and studies authored by Iranians. In this article, we explore how responses to the commemoration of the 85<sup>th</sup> to 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversaries of the Armenian Genocide have shaped the narrative within the Iranian discourse, preceding and following the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The Armenian community in Iran has actively contributed to this discourse through organizing events commemorating the genocide. These events serve not only as memorials but also as platforms for educating Iranian society at large about the historical realities and implications of the genocide. Additionally, Iranian authors have made contributions to the academic understanding and discussion of the Armenian Genocide through their scholarly works. Monographs and individual studies by Iranian researchers have provided insights into various aspects of the genocide, including historical contexts, political implications, and cultural repercussions. The responses to the anniversaries of the Armenian Genocide in Iran reflect evolving attitudes and perspectives over time. From initial silences and denials to more open acknowledgments and discussions, the discourse within Iranian speech has seen shifts influenced by both internal and external factors.

**Keywords:** *Armenian Genocide, Iranian speech, Armenian community of Iran, Parliament, deputy, anniversary, commemoration ceremony.*

### Introduction

This research holds both scientific and political significance, as it addresses a sensitive issue for the Armenian people. The topic has drawn the attention of

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numerous countries, international organizations, and prominent historians, whose perspectives have shaped a broad historical and political discourse. Notably, neighboring and friendly Iran stands out as a country where this issue has also sparked various discussions. It is worth noting that Professor Vahan Baiburtian has addressed this issue in the context of official historiography, while Gohar Iskandaryan, Candidate of Historical Sciences, has explored it in several of her scholarly articles.

Our goal is to compare the opinions of some Iranian intellectuals on this issue and the publications of the Iranian press, to emphasize the importance of the role of the Armenian community of Iran in shaping the topic in Iranian public speech.

It is particularly noteworthy that Grigor Arakelyan, Candidate of Historical Sciences, applied a novel approach to the topic. His publication has also become one of the key subjects of analysis in this study. At the same time, it is important to mention that while Iranian historiographical circles have produced some literature on the issue, we have intentionally avoided repeating this material to maintain focus and avoid redundancy.

The research conducted by these scholars – along with the works of Garnik Badalyan, Janet Lazaryan, and Sarkis Mkrtchyan – proved valuable for our exploration of the topic. Additionally, we consulted numerous issues of the Armenian-language Iranian daily *Alik*, which provides detailed coverage of contemporary Iranian press publications related to the issue. It should be noted that *Alik* reflects the perspective of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF).

Furthermore, relevant information is available online through various Persian-language platforms (e.g., “Iranian va nasl e qeshi armanian....”, “Nasl e qeshi ya terazhedi.....”). Our research methodology involved careful sampling and cultural-historical analysis of the available data. A detailed list of sources is presented in the “References” section. Among the methods employed in this study is the comparative approach, through which we collected and analyzed the views of various public figures as reflected in print media. We believe these perspectives differ in tone and content from those found in formal academic publications. In comparing them, we occasionally conducted social surveys based on press materials to trace the positions of Iranian officials and other societal groups, including students and researchers, and to highlight the contrasts among them. Ultimately, this study aims to contribute to the existing body of literature on the subject and serve as a useful resource for future researchers.

### **The reflections of the 85<sup>th</sup> and 86<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of the Armenian Genocide in Iranian speech**

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran pursues a very cautious policy regarding the issue of the Armenian Genocide, allowing only limited propaganda work in the Armenian language in relatively narrow circles of the Armenian community (Baiburtian, 2013, p. 83. Iskandaryan, 2005, p. 101-110).

It should be noted that a significant part of the ceremonies in memory of the Armenian Genocide is held in Tehran, where most of the Armenian community is concentrated (“Tasnyak hazaravor iranahayer aprili 24-in...”, 2000, p. 1; “Artavazd Baghumiani yeluytn...”, 2000, p. 3; “Mets Yegherni 85-amyaki vogekochman ...”, 2000, p. 1). Events that have become traditional, but in a small format, are also organized in other Armenian-populated cities of Iran (“Aprilyan Yegherni 85-amyaki...”, 2000, p. 4; “Hayots Mets Yegherni 85-amyaki aritov dasakhosutyun”, 2000, p. 3).

It is worth noting that five hundred Iranian friends are registered at the Center for the Study of Armenian Issues (in Armenian - HUSK), which organizes conferences called “The Armenian Case Today” (Badalyan, 2011, p. 497) and lectures in Persian (“Dasakhosutyun yereko irantsi mtavorakanneri...”, 2001, p. 1; Mkrtchyan, 2020, p. 120-130; Eliazian, 2007, p. 4, 14). The literary, cultural, and social weekly *Araks*, which represents the viewpoint of the Armenian People's Union and holds an anti-Dashnaktsutyun stance, published an article about a lecture by Kaveh Bayat, known for his addresses on the recognition and denial of the Armenian Genocide: “*The event was useful because the genocide was discussed in Persian for members of the parliament and a large number of Persian guests.*” (“Parskeren dasakhosutyun nvirvats Mets Yeghernin.” 2001, p. 7).

Not all events dedicated to the Armenian Genocide were successful. On April 20, 2001, the conference “April 1915. A View from the outside” was to be attended by deputies of the Islamic Parliament, representatives of the intelligentsia and the Armenian community (“Linenq khohem u zgast”, 2001, p. 6). Due to the non-attendance of the invited, the first conference on this topic did not take place. In fact, official Tehran is interested in stable Turkish-Iranian economic relations, and this fact can explain the absence of Iranian guests at the aforementioned conference.

It should be noted that the community also readily commemorated the 86<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide (“Mets Yegherni 86-amyaki aritov miutyunneri ...”, 2001, p. 7; Dzernarkner nvirvats Mets Yegherni..., 2001, p. 1, 3, 6). On April 23, 2001, in the Islamic Parliament, Armenian deputy from Southern Iran, Zhorzhik Abrahamyan, expressing support for the people of Palestine,

expressed hope that “*the Government and Parliament of Iran will officially condemn the Armenian Genocide*” (“Haravayin iranahayutyun patgamavor ...”, 2001, p. 1; “Tehranahayutyune krkin angam ...”, 2001, p. 1-2). In fact, the issue of the Armenian Genocide was raised in the context of the Palestinian conflict.

On April 24, 2001, the daily newspapers “*Hambastegi*”, which expresses the views of Iran's reformist wing, and “*Entekhab*”, which expresses the views of the Iranian wing of the moderates, paid great attention to the resolution read out at the end of March, according to which Iran was expected to support the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and protect the rights of the Armenian people in international instances (“Iranakan mamule yev ...”, 2001, p. 3). The newspaper “*Hayate no*” stressed that if the authors of the Armenian Genocide were convicted, the same thing would not happen in different places. The newspaper “*Abrar*” wrote: “*Thousands of people condemned the crimes of Turkey and the Zionist regime against Armenians and Palestinians. A worldwide protest against the Armenian Genocide would not allow a repeat of the genocides in the 20th century.*” It is noteworthy that the daily newspaper “*Resalat*,” which expresses the views of the radical wing of Iran, also wrote: “*Iranian Armenians demand Turkey to take responsibility for the genocide*” (“Dzernarkner nvirvats Mets Yegherni 86-amyakin Nor Jughayum”, 2001, p. 5-6).

On April 22, a Persian-language lecture was held at the S. Vardanants School in Shahinshahr, followed by another on April 26 at the “Ararat” Union Hall in New Jughha. Principals of Armenian schools attended both events, while the invited officials from the Governor's Office of Isfahan were notably absent. (“Dzernarkner nvirvats Mets Yegherni 86-amyakin Shahinshahrum”, 2001, p. 3). Thus, some caution was obvious.

A very large audience in Iran watched the topic of the Armenian Genocide on May 19, 2001, only on the Channel 4 of Iranian television, which showed a film about the Armenian Genocide (“Hayots tseghaspanutyan masin film ...”, 2001, p. 1).

It is noteworthy that in 2002, with the financial support of the Supreme Spiritual Council of Iran, Iranian and Armenian filmmakers made a documentary film (“Ararat”) dedicated to the Armenian Genocide. It should be noted that the creation of a film of such content under censorship somehow testifies to the position of Iran on the issue of the Armenian Genocide (Mkrtchyan, 2023, p. 206).

Thus, there is a situation in the Armenian community of Iran where it is almost impossible to expect any attitude from official Tehran to the issue under consideration. However, on the other hand, there are limited conditions for the Armenian community to express its position in public life. Trying to overcome

difficult obstacles, the Armenian community of Iran has shaped the theme of the Armenian Genocide in Iranian speech.

### **The reactions to the anniversaries of the Armenian Genocide in Iranian speech**

As part of the events dedicated to the 87<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide (“Mets Yegherni 87-amyak”, 2002, p. 1), Armenian deputy from Northern Iran Levon Davtyan prepared a letter signed by 30 deputies of the Islamic Parliament, in which they called on the Islamic Republic of Iran to recognize the Armenian Genocide. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the Parliament does not typically play a significant role in Iran's political life. The political levers are in the hands of the country's spiritual leader (Baiburtian, 2013, p. 81).

Thus, in the issue of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide, the community adopted a new tactic in parliamentary circles. However, about 10% of the 290 deputies of the Islamic Parliament took part in collecting signatures. In fact, this percentage expressed the position of the state on the issue of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

That is why, as part of the events dedicated to the 88<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide (“Hayots tseghaspanutyun 88-amyakin ...”, 2003, p. 1, 4; “Mets Yegherni 88-amyak”, 2003, p. 1; “Hayots tseghaspanutyune datapartogh ...”, 2003, p. 1), on April 22, 2003, Iranian Armenian deputy Levon Davtyan, instead of collecting signatures, appealed to the Parliament to officially recognize the Armenian Genocide (Lazarian, 2012, p. 65).

Interestingly, on April 28, 2002, Seda Davtyan, the executive editor of the daily newspaper “*Alik*”, made a presentation at Isfahan State University. About 400 Persian students condemned the Armenian Genocide, demanding official recognition from the Islamic Parliament (“Spahani petakan hamalsaranum dardzyal ...”, 2002, p. 1).

The mentioned anniversary caused relatively few responses in the Iranian speech. The daily newspapers “*Hambastegi*”, “*Abrar*” and “*Hamshahri*” quoted deputy Levon Davtyan: “...*The march in Tehran is not only a step in terms of realizing the rights of Armenians, but also a very important step in preventing foreign interference in the region*” (“Irani mamuli andradardze...”, 2003, p. 3, 6). In fact, the issue of the Armenian Genocide was raised in the context of geopolitical interests.

The Persian-language reformist daily newspaper “*Etemad*” in its April 22 issue published an allegedly open letter from writers, newspapers and factions of Atrpatakan province of Iran, in which Armenians were accused of exterminating

1.5 million Azerbaijanis in Urmia, Khoy and Salmast. Meanwhile, it is known that in 1915-1916, when the Turkish army invaded Atrpatakan and created a threat to the Armenian population, the Persian-Armenian Council played a rescue role for the Armenian population in endangered places (Baiburtian, 1999, p. 291). The authors of the letter demanded that the authorities also grant them the right to hold a sit-in in front of the UN office in Tehran on April 24. In fact, the goal of the organizers of this initiative was to obtain a license from the authorities and use it to their advantage.

Moreover, on April 26, the daily newspaper "*Farhange Ashti*" spread misinformation that Armenians allegedly clashed with Azerbaijanis in the north-west of the country. Meanwhile, the newspaper "*Tosse*", considering the approaches that the protest marches of Iranian Armenians are a completely unfounded insult to Muslim Turkey, recalled that Iranian Armenians, as part of the homogeneous people of Iran, gave their lives for many martyrs during the 8-year Iraq-Iran war. A clear manifestation of Pan-Turkist propaganda in Iranian discourse can be seen in the statement by Jamal Ayromlou, a columnist for the newspaper "*Navideh Azarbaijan*", who referred to Armenians as "suffering from anti-Turkish mental illnesses" ("Irani mamuli andradardze ...", 2003, p. 3, 6). Pan-Turkist organizations that have chosen Atrpatakan as a target, adhere to the pronounced anti-Armenian approaches (Mkrtchyan, 2018, p. 143). According to the assistant to the governor of East Atrpatakan, Doctor Shahamatnia, "*Pan-Turkism is a blow to us, and the Iranian state will not allow its propagandists to exploit our beloved Armenian community*" ("Atrpatakani hayots Temakan khorhrdi ...", 2005, p. 4).

Moreover, on February 26, 2006, a group organized an illegal rally at the entrance to the Armenian Church of Tabriz with anti-Armenian slogans ("Yerbeq chenq kaskatsum ...", 2006, p. 1, 10). This was discussed by the Minister of Information of Iran Mohseni-Eje'i and the deputy from the Armenians of Isfahan and Southern Iran in the Islamic Parliament Robert Beglarian, the deputy from the Armenians of Tehran and Northern Iran in the Islamic Parliament Gevorg Vardanyan and the representative of the Supreme Leader in East Atrpatakan and Friday Prayers Imam of Tabriz Ayatollah Mohsen Mojtahed Shabestari ("Iranahay patgamavorneri handipume ...", 2006, p. 1, 10), as well as Catholicos Aram I and the Iranian Ambassador to Lebanon, Mohammadreza Shabani ("Irani hay yerespokhannere ...", 2006, p. 674-675; "Norin Srbutyune yndunets ...", 2006, p. 677). In fact, since 2004, the Azerbaijani propaganda machine has been trying to oust the topic of the Armenian Genocide from Iranian speech.

On the 89<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the group tried to disrupt the traditional gathering of Armenians in Tehran. On April 25, the newspapers "*Hambastegi*," "*Shargh*," "*Iran*," "*Vaghaye Ettefaghiye*" and "*Hamshahri*" wrote: "*The Armenians of Tehran initiated a march to the Turkish Embassy, which, however, was not allowed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs*" ("Parskeren mamuli andradardz, 2004, p. 8; "Aprilyan dzernarkneri sharan," 2004, p. 1, 3). The daily newspaper "*Abrar*," which is a traditional conservative periodical, quoted the Turkish newspaper "*Jomhuriyet*," writing: "*The ratification of the Armenian Genocide by the Ottawa government has damaged Turkish-Canadian relations*" ("Parskeren mamule yev Hayots tseghaspanutyune," 2004, p. 3; "Iranahayutyune krkin angam ...", 2004, p. 1, 8). In fact, this newspaper, in the context of the interests of Pan-Turkism, warned about the so-called possible damage in case the Genocide was recognized.

The daily "*Nasle Farda*" presented the problems of the Armenian Genocide ("Hayots tseghaspanutyune yev parskeren mamule" 2004, p. 3). This newspaper, published in the provinces of Isfahan, Yazd, Chaharmahal and Bakhtiar, paid great attention to covering the problem, while newspapers published in the central provinces dealt with this issue more briefly.

On April 15, 2005, as part of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide ("Haghordagrutyun ...", 2005; "Iranahayutyune patrastvum e ...", 2005, p. 1, 12; Tahmazian, 2005, p. 4; "Tehrani miutyunneri tsragrere" 2005, p. 6; "Mets Yegherni vogekochman aritov", 2005, p. 1; "Mets Yegherni 90-amyaki aritov," 2005, p. 1, 4; "Tasnyak hazaravor tehranahayer irents boghoqi...", 2005, p. 1, 4; "Parsik anvani groghe ...", 2005, p. 5; "Mets Yegherni 90-amyaki aritov hay lernagnatsnery ...", 2005, p. 5; "HUSK" hastatutyun parskeren ...", 2005, p. 12), the deputy from the Armenians of Tehran and Northern Iran in the Islamic Parliament Gevorg Vardanian, appealed to the Parliament and the Government to recognize the Armenian Genocide ("Hyusisayin iranahayutyun ...", 2005, p. 1).

It should be noted that on the occasion of the anniversaries of the Armenian Genocide, official condolences were expressed to the Armenian community by the Tehran Organization for Education and Upbringing ("Haghordagrutyun ...", 2005), and on October 30, 2005, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad confirmed his pre-election position on condemning the Armenian Genocide ("Nakhagah Ahmadinezhade verahastatets ...", 2005, p. 1). Thus, the high-level address was once regarded by the Armenian community as a significant step toward the recognition of the Genocide, although it ultimately did not receive any legal formalization. On the occasion of the 91<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide on April 12, 2006 ("Hayots Mets Yegherni 91-rd taretitse nshogh ...", 2006, p. 1,

10; “Hayots Mets Yegherni 91-rd tarelitsin nvirvats dzernark ...”, 2006, p. 1; “Tasnyak hazar hayordineri ...”, 2006, p. 1, 8; “Nayiri” miutyan lernagnatsutyan ...”, 2006, p. 7; Lala, 2006, p. 4; Sargsyan, 2006, p. 2), the deputy of the Islamic Parliament from Rasht Seyed Mojtaba Moaddabpour also expressed condolences to his Armenian colleagues and the entire Armenian people (“Islamakan khorhrdarani Rashti patgamavor ...”, 2006, p. 1).

Curiously, the daily business newspaper “*Sarmayeh*” quoted an article from the daily newspaper “*Asre Jadid*” published in Tehran in 1915: “*Our journalist from Cairo reported extensive news about the massacre of Armenians*” (“Aprilyan Yegherne ...”, 2006, p. 3; Basiri, 2006, p. 6; “Hayots Mets Yegherni 91-rd tarelitsin nvirvats ...”, 2006, p. 1). Thus, a quote from the Persian press archive shows the growing public interest in the issue.

Moreover, on the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the daily newspaper “*Talile Ruz*” wrote on April 25, 2007: “*Until Turkey recognizes the Armenian Genocide, it is necessary to ban the country's membership in the European Union*” (“Tahlile Rooz” ..., 2007, p. 4).

With reference to the 93<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide (“Veraproghnere kvkayen” ..., 2008, p. 5; “Mets Yegherni vogekochman tsragrer”, 2008, p. 1, 5; “Yes, misht el kasem, ...”, 2008, p. 4, 6; “Hayots Mets Yegherni 93-rd...”, 2008, p. 5) the film “*After the End*” was broadcast on Iranian television Channel 2 on July 7, 2008. It touched upon the genocides of the 20th century, and a first mention was made of the Armenian Genocide committed by the Turks. According to the daily newspaper “*Alik*”, “*This should be considered as one of the few cases when such a direct allusion to the Armenian Genocide is made on Iranian television*” (“Hayots tseghaspanutyan masin aknark ...”, 2008, p. 1, 8).

Thus, it can be noted that an increase in the scale of public speech in Iran marked the 92<sup>nd</sup> and 93<sup>rd</sup> anniversaries of the Armenian Genocide.

### **Iranian intelligentsia on the issue of the Armenian Genocide**

Iran is well informed about the tragic events that took place in Western Armenia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Iranians have expressed sympathy toward the suffering of the Armenian people and have, on various occasions, condemned the actions of the Ottoman Empire. This awareness of the Armenian Genocide among the Iranian public is largely shaped by the deeply emotional stance of Iranian Armenians, which is powerfully conveyed through annual commemorations, protests, and public demands organized by the national Armenian institutions. Notably, these events are officially sanctioned by the Iranian authorities. Iran has also accepted Armenians who escaped the genocide and settled mainly in the



northern regions of Iran. It is equally important that Iranian Armenians are respected in the country, which can be heard everywhere. It is difficult to find an Iranian who would not speak with reverence about the honesty and nobility of his Armenian colleague or neighbor. For this reason, when an Iranian Armenian talks about the tragedy that befell his nation, it immediately resonates with the Iranians. Meetings on April 24, protest actions, and anti-Turkish posters on the walls are commonplace in Armenian-populated cities of Iran.

In addition, due to the mutual respect between Christian Armenians and Shiite Muslims living in Iran, Iranians are participants in ceremonies of mourning and joy associated with Iranian Armenians. The participation of Armenians in Islamic memorial events in Iran also does not go unnoticed (Arakelian, 2019, p. 3).

The circle of Iranian intellectuals who touched upon the topic of the Armenian Genocide is headed by Esmail Rayin (Baiburtian, 2013, p. 158; Baiburtian, 2005, p. 29; Rayin, 1999). For decades, the opinion has prevailed in Armenian Oriental studies that the circle of Iranian intellectuals who raised the issue of the Armenian Genocide is headed by Esmail Rayin. However, the historical research in recent years suggests that before Rayin, the topic of the Armenian Genocide was raised by Mohammadali Forughi, the Prime Minister (1925-1942) of the Pahlavi dynasty, whose notes on the Armenian Genocide are kept in a manuscript in the archive of the Majlis of Iran. Having studied in detail the materials related to the Armenian cause published in various serials of the “Globe” periodicals published in Great Britain since 1803, and keeping in mind the version of the “spontaneity” of the genocide, he could not find an answer to his main question about the “spontaneity of the Armenian uprising.” According to Forughi, “*Armenians are not prone to riots and uprisings. This is a false thesis presented in Turkish historiography that the Armenians were allegedly preparing for an uprising*” (Arakelian, 2019, p. 6, 17).

The publication *Mohammadali Forughi and the Armenian Genocide* by Grigor Arakelian, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Armenia to Iran (2009–2015) and Candidate of Historical Sciences, offers new insights into historiographical discourse. It includes a transcript of the first chapter of Forughi’s book, accompanied by an Armenian translation and detailed annotations.

Thus, Rayin was the second intellectual to raise the issue of the Armenian Genocide. This topic was also touched upon by the famous Persian writer and novelist Seyed Mohammad Ali Jamalzadeh in his memoirs, which are well known in professional circles (Jamalzadeh, 1350). Hence, we will not discuss and repeat this.

According to Abbas Moghaddam, another researcher, *“As a Turkic-speaking Azer, I have set myself the task of revealing the realities of the Armenian Genocide by the Ottomans, which I consider to be the duty of my soul. ... From now on, it is impossible to deny the fact of the Armenian Genocide”* (Baiburtian, 2013, pp. 159-160). The famous Armenologist, translator Ahmad Nurizadeh also touched upon the issue of the genocide of the Armenian intelligentsia (*“Hogemtavor arzhekneri korust,”* 2002, p. 1). In 2006, Doctor Emad Afroogh, Chairman of the Islamic Parliament’s Committee on Culture, and a deputy from Tehran, appealed to the Turkish leadership: *“Let the research be conducted, the necessary documents provided to the researchers, and be brave enough to admit that you were wrong, and correct the past if some deliberate crime was committed. This is an ideal development”* (*“Mets Yegherni 91-rd tarelitsin ...,”* 2006, p. 1). In fact, the lack of justice was highlighted as an important component in the issue of condemning the Armenian Genocide.

During the events dedicated to the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide (*“Mets Yegherni 92-rd tarelitsi aritov ...,”* 2007, p. 1, 5, 8; *“Hayots Mets Yegherni 92-rd tarelitsin ...,”* 2007, p. 5; *“Iranahayutyune ir khrokht dzayne ...,”* 2007, p. 1), the editor of *“Bokhara”* Iranological journal, Ali Dehbashi, discussed the life, activities and ideas of the murdered editor of the weekly newspaper *“Agos,”* Hrant Dink, published in Istanbul. In fact, in this context, the genocidal policy of modern Turkey was emphasized. According to Iranian diplomat and political scientist Doctor Davoud Hermidas-Bavand, *“Those who want to enter the sphere of regional cooperation, the basis of which is respect for democracy and human rights, must, first of all, show respect for their neighbors, towards whom they feel guilty”* (*“Islamakan khorhrdaranum ...,”* 2007, p. 1).

According to the expert on the history of Isfahan Mousavi Fereydan, *“What happened in 1915 in relation to Western Armenia and Armenians through Ottoman Turkey, in addition to human casualties, was the loss of cultural values”* (*“Hayots tseghaspanutyane 93-rd tarelitsin ...,”* 2008, p. 7). Even in this case, the Iranian speech emphasized the term *“Western Armenia”* as a historical and geographical unit.

Meanwhile, writer Media Kashigar noted: *“The Armenian Genocide was a systematic policy aimed at ending the existence of one nation”* (*“Hayots tseghaspanutyane yev ...,”* 2004, p. 3, 6). Intellectual Manuchehr Basiri proposed to condemn those who committed the Armenian Genocide (Basiri, 2006, p. 6).

Thus, unlike officials, the Iranian intelligentsia is free to express their position. In this context, it should be emphasized that the only official was Doctor Emad

Afrughi, Chairman of the Islamic Parliament's Committee on Culture, who harshly criticized Turkey's policy.

### Conclusion

Thus, the topic of the Armenian Genocide was discussed in the Iranian speech at various times and, in particular, in the 2000s. The issue was raised on the pages of the Iranian press, where Iranian intellectuals expressed their opinion. Although the topic of the Armenian Genocide has never been highlighted by legal procedures in Iran, nevertheless, it was raised by Armenian deputies in the Islamic parliament. In other words, public circles had access to discussions on the topic from the rostrum of the parliament.

The organization of memorial ceremonies commemorating the Armenian Genocide has helped bring Armenian concerns into the sphere of Iranian public discourse. The partial participation of Persian principals of Armenian schools in these events and the full participation of university students reveal a noteworthy contrast: while the former, as civil servants, exercised a degree of caution, the latter, representing the younger generation, adopted a more open and independent stance.

The Iranian intelligentsia tends to offer a more precise interpretation of the legal aspects of the Armenian Genocide. In Iranian historiographical literature, the issue is generally approached from a neutral perspective. However, the Iranian press has devoted considerable attention to the topic, often framing it with historical allusions and implicit commentary.

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- Dzernarkner nvirvats Mets Yegherni 86-amyakin [Events dedicated to the 86<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern]. (2001). *Alik* daily, 81 (18303), 1. (in Armenian)
- Dzernarkner nvirvats Mets Yegherni 86-amyakin Nor Jughayum [Events dedicated to the 86<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern in Nor Jugha] (2001, May 13). *Alik* daily, 93 (18315), 5-6. (in Armenian)
- Dzernarkner nvirvats Mets Yegherni 86-amyakin Shahinshahrum [Events dedicated to the 86<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern in Shahinshahr] (2001, May 15). *Alik* daily, 94 (18316), 3. (in Armenian)
- Eliazian, A. (2007, April 23) HUSK-i ashkhatanqner kochvats Hay Dati ev Hayots tseghaspanutyun tchanachman, [The works of HUSK, called Armenian Cause and the recognition of the Armenian Genocide]. *Alik* daily, 74 (19974), 4 -14. (in Armenian)
- Haghordagrutyun Tehrani Hayots Temakan khorhrdi gortsuneutyun (8 marti ar 7 hunisi 2005 t.) [Report on the activities of the Armenian Diocesan Council of Tehran from March 8 to June 7, 2005]. (2005, June 23). *Alik* daily, 123 (19466). (in Armenian)
- Haravayin iranahayutyun patgamavor Zhorzhik Abrahamiane yev mtavorakan Kave Bayatn Spahani petakan hamalsaranum [Southern Iranian Armenian deputy Mr. Zhorzhik Abrahamian and intellectual Kave Bayat at Isfahan State University]. (2001, April 22). *Alik* daily, 77 (18299), 1. (in Armenian)
- Hayots tseghaspanutyune datapartogh zhoghovrdakan mets qaylarshav [A great popular march condemning the Armenian Genocide] (2003, April 26). *Alik* daily, 78 (18861), 1. (in Armenian)
- Hayots tseghaspanutyun 88-amyakin nvirvats dzernarkneri sharan [A series of events dedicated to the 88<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide]. (2003, April 26). *Alik* daily, 78 (18861), 1 - 4. (in Armenian)
- Hayots tseghaspanutyun masin film herustatesutyun 4-rd kayanits", [A film about the Armenian Genocide from TV Station 4] (2001, May 20). *Alik* daily, 98 (18320), 1. (in Armenian)
- Hayots Mets Yegherni 85-amyaki aritov dasakhosutyun Spahani petakan hamalsaranum [A lecture on the occasion of the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the

- Armenian Mets Yeghern at Isfahan State University] (2000, May 14). *Alik* daily, 100 (18037), 3. (in Armenian)
- Hayots tseghaspanutyune yev parskeren mamule, tseghaspanutyun ev moracutyun [Armenian Genocide and the Persian Press, Genocide and Oblivion] (2004, May 5). *Alik* daily, 83 (19145), 3- 6. (in Armenian)
- Hayots tseghaspanutyune yev parskeren mamule [The Armenian Genocide and the Persian press]. (2004, May 12). *Alik* daily, 89 (19151), 3. (in Armenian)
- Hayots Mets Yegherni 91-rd tarelitse nshogh handznakhmbi handipume temakal arajnordi het [The meeting of the committee celebrating the 91<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Mets Yeghern with the Diocesan Leader]. (2006, April 6). *Alik* daily, 64 (19686), 1-10. (in Armenian)
- Hayots tseghaspanutyan masin aknark iranakan herustatesayin filmum [On the Armenian Genocide in an Iranian TV movie] (2008, July 8). *Alik* daily, 135 (20310), 1 -8. (in Armenian)
- Hayots Mets Yegherni 91-rd tarelitsein nvirvats dzernark parsik hyureri masnaksutyamb [Event dedicated to the 91<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide with the participation of Persian guests] (2006, April 19). *Alik* daily, 74 (19696), 1. (in Armenian)
- Hayots Mets Yegherni 92-rd tarelitsein nvirvats tehranahay miutyunneri dzernarkner est tvakanneri [Events of Tehran-Armenian associations, according to dates, dedicated to the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Mets Yeghern]. (2007, April 14). *Alik* daily, 2007, 66 (19966), 5. (in Armenian)
- Hayots tseghaspanutyan 93-rd tarelitsein nvirvats banakhosakan yev gegharvestakan dzernark parsik hraviryalneri hamar Nor Jughayum [Speech and artistic workshop dedicated to the 93rd anniversary of the Armenian Genocide for Persian guests in Nor Jughay]. (2008, May 8). *Alik* daily, 88 (20263), 7. (in Armenian)
- Hayots Mets Yegherni 93-rd tarelitsein nvirvats tehranahay miutyunneri dzernarkner est tvakanneri [Events of Tehran Armenian associations dedicated to the 93<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Mets Yeghern, according to dates]. (2008, April 15). *Alik* daily, 70 (20245), 5. (in Armenian)
- Hogemtavor arzhekneri korust [“Loss of spiritual values”]. (2002, April 29). *Alik* daily, 85 (18586), 1. (in Armenian)
- “HUSK” hastatutyan parskeren hratarakutyunnere Hayots tseghaspanutyan 90-amyaki aktiv [“HUSK” Institution’s Persian publications on the occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide]. (2005, April 23). *Alik* daily, 76 (19419), 12. (in Armenian)

- Hyusisayin iranahayutyan patgamavor Gevorg Vardanyane Islamakan khorhrdaranin yev karavarutyane dimets tchanachelu Hayots tseghaspanutyan iroghutyune [George Vardanian, Deputy of the Northern Iranian Armenians, appealed to the Islamic Parliament and the Government to recognize the reality of the Armenian Genocide]. (2005, April 19). *Alik* daily, 73 (19416), 1. (in Armenian)
- Dasakhosutyun yereko irantsi mtavorakanneri, hasarakakan-qaghaqakan demqeri nerkayutyamb, nvirvats hayots pahanjatirutyun 86-amyakin [A lecture evening in the presence of Persian intellectuals, public and political figures, dedicated to the 86<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian claim]. (2001, April 18). *Alik* daily, 74, 1. (in Armenian)
- Iranakan mamule yev hayots tseghaspanutyune [The Iranian press and the Armenian Genocide]. (2001, May 13). *Alik* daily, 93 (18315), 3. (in Armenian)
- Irani mamuli andradardze Aprilyan Yegherni 88-amyakin [Iranian press coverage of the 88<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the April Yeghern Day]. (2003, May 7). *Alik* daily, 87 (18870), 3 - 6. (in Armenian)
- Iranahay patgamavorneri handipume Tavrizi aghotapet ayatollah Shabestarii het [The meeting of the Iranian-Armenian deputies with the head of prayer of Tabriz, Ayatollah Shabestari]. (2006, May 18). *Alik* daily, 97 (19719), 1 - 10. (in Armenian)
- Irani hay yerespokhannere Antiliasi mej [Iranian Armenian deputies in Antelias] (2006). *Hask* journal, 6, 674-675. (in Armenian)
- Iranahayutyune patrastvum e Yegherni 90-amyake nshelu hamar [Iranian Armenians are preparing to celebrate the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Yeghern]. (2005, March 14). *Alik* daily, 56 (19399), 1-12. (in Armenian)
- Iranahayutyune krkin angam ir khurneram sharqerov, anvhat u miahumur pahanjatirutyun hrarakum [Iranian-Armenians once again with their huge ranks, undisturbed and united, in the square of demand]. (2004, April 25). *Alik* daily, 75 (19137), 1- 8. (in Armenian)
- Iranahayutyune ir khrokht dzayne miatsrets hayashkharhi pahanjatirakan dzaynin [Iranian-Armenians joined their brave voice to the demanding voice of the Armenian world]. (2007, April 25). *Alik* daily, 75 (19975), 1. (in Armenian)
- Islamakan khorhrdaranum hyusisayin iranahayutyan patgamavori yeluyty Hayots Mets Yegherni aritov [The speech of the deputy of Northern Iranian Armenians in the Islamic Parliament on the occasion of the Armenian Genocide]. (2007, April 22). *Alik* daily, 73 (19973), 1. (in Armenian)

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- Linenq khohem u zgast [Let’s be prudent and vigilant]. (2001). *Araks weekly*, 14-15, (97-98), 6. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 85-amyaki vogekochman araroghutyunner [Events dedicated to the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern]. (2000, May 4). *Alik daily*, 92 (18029), 1. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 86-amyaki aritov miutyunneri mijotsov kazmakerpvats nerqin dzernarkner Tehranum [On the occasion of the 86<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern, internal initiatives organized by associations in Tehran]. (2001, April 13). *Alik daily*, 71 (18293), 7. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 87-amyak [87<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern]. (2002, April 4). *Alik daily*, 2002, 77 (18578), 1. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 88-amyak [88<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern] (2003, April 21). *Alik daily*, 76 (18859), 1. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 92-rd tarelitci aritov Tehrani hayots temi kentronakan handznakhmbi tsragrere est handznakhmbi atenapeti [The plans of the Central Committee of the Armenian Diocese of Tehran on the occasion of the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern, according to the Chairman of the Committee]. (2007, April 4). *Alik daily*, 63 (19963), 1 - 8. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 91-rd tarelitcin nvirvats dzernark parsik handisatesi hamar Nor Jughayum [Event dedicated to the 91<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern for the Persian audience in Nor Jugha]. (2006, April 30). *Alik daily*, 82 (19704), 1. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni vogekochman tsragrer [Commemoration programs of the Mets Yeghern]. (2008, April 17). *Alik daily*, 72 (20247), 1 - 5. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni vogekochman aritov [On the occasion of commemoration of the Mets Yeghern]. (2005, April 18). *Alik daily*, 72 (19415), 1. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 90-amyaki aritov [On the occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern]. (2005, April 21). *Alik daily*, 75 (19418), 1 -4. (in Armenian)
- Mets Yegherni 90-amyaki aritov hay lernagnatsnery nvatshetsin Kolon Bastaki gagate [Armenian Mountain climbers conquered the Kolon Bastak’s peak, on



- the occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mets Yeghern]. (2005, May 3). *Alik* daily, 82 (19425), 5. (in Armenian)
- Nakhagah Ahmadinezhade verahastatets Hayots tseghaspanutyune datapartelu ir nakhentrakan dirqoroshume [President Ahmadinejad reaffirmed his pre-election opinion of condemning the Armenian Genocide] (2005, October 31). *Alik* daily, 230 (19573), 1. (in Armenian)
- Nayiri” miutyan lernagnatsutyan khumbe nvatchets Abak gagaty nvirvats aprili 24-in”, [The Mountain climbing group of “Nairi” association conquered the Abak peak, dedicated on April 24], “*Alik*” daily, 02.05.2006, № 83 (19705), p. 7. (in Armenian)
- Norin Srbutyune yndunets Irani despany [His Holiness received the Iranian Ambassador]. (2006). *Hask*, 6, 677. (in Armenian)
- Parsik anvani groghe Hayots tseghaspanutyan masin [The Persian famous writer about the Armenian Genocide]. (2005, April 25). *Alik* daily, 77 (19420), 5. (in Armenian)
- Parskeren mamuli andradardz [Persian-language Press Review]. (2004). *Alik* daily, 75 (19137), 8. (in Armenian)
- Parskeren dasakhosutyun nvirvats Mets Yeghernin [Persian lecture dedicated to the Mets Yeghern]. (2001), *Araks* weekly, 14-15 (97-98), 7. (in Armenian)
- Parskeren mamule yev Hayots tseghaspanutyune [The Persian Press and the Armenian Genocide] (2004, May 9). *Alik* daily, 86 (19148), 3. (in Armenian)
- Sargsyan, S. (2006). Aprilian khorhurd [April council]. *Alik* daily, 7 (19699), 2. (in Armenian)
- Spahani petakan hamalsaranum dardzyal artsartsvets Hayots tseghaspanutyan teman [The subject of the Armenian Genocide was again discussed at the Isfahan State University] (2002). *Alik* daily, 85 (18586), 1. (in Armenian)
- Tahlile Rooz” oraterti andradardzy Hayots tseghaspanutyan 92-rd tarelitsin [“Tahlile Rooz” daily newspaper’s reference to the 92<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide] (2007, June 7). *Alik* daily, 108 (20008), 4. (in Armenian)
- Tahmazian, Y. (2005, June 10). Mijmiutenakan khorhrdazhoghov nvirvats Hayots tseghaspanutyan 90-amyakin Nor Jughayum [Inter-Union Conference dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide in Nor Jugha]. *Alik* daily, 65 (19408), 4. (in Armenian)
- Tasnyak hazaravor tehranahayer irents boghoqi dzayny miatsrin hayashkharhi pahanjatirutyun dzaynin [Tens of thousands of Tehran Armenians joined their voice of protest to the demands of the Armenian world]. (2005, April 25). *Alik* daily, 82 (18583), 1 - 4. (in Armenian)

- Tasnyak hazaravor iranahayer aprili 24-in masnakcecin boghoqi qaylarshavneri ev tsuytseri [Tens of thousands of Iranian-Armenians participated in a protest march and demonstrations on April 24]. (2000, April 4). *Alik* daily, 85 (18022), 1. (in Armenian)
- Tasnyak hazar hayordineri boghoqi tsuytsy Tehrani poghotanerum”, [The protest demonstration of tens of thousands of Armenians in Tehran’s Avenues] (2006, April 23). *Alik* daily, 78 (19700), 1-8. (in Armenian)
- Tehranahayutyune krkin angam ir khrokht dzayne miatsrets hayashkharhi pahanjatirakan dzaynin [The Armenians of Tehran once again added their brave voice to the demanding voice of the Armenian world] (2001, April 25). *Alik* daily, 79 (18301), 1-2. (in Armenian)
- Tehrani miutyunneri tsragrere [Tehran’s Associations Programs] (2005, April 14). *Alik* daily, 69 (19412), 6. (in Armenian)
- “Veraproggnere kvkayen”-e parskerenov [“The survivors will testify” in Persian” [2008, May 24]. “*Alik*” daily, 101 (20276), 5. (in Armenian)
- “Yes, misht el kasem, vor hay zhoghovurdy yerakhtaget e u azniv”. Hartsazruys Ahmad Nurizadei het ir nor hratarakutyunneri aritov [“I will always say that the Armenian people are grateful and noble”: Interview with Ahmad Nourizadeh on the occasion of his new publications]. (2008, May 24). *Alik* daily, 101 (20276), 4- 6. (in Armenian)
- “Yerbeq chenq kaskatsum, vor Irani azniv petutyuny amenayn achalrjutyamb hskum e ays katsutyune”, - haytararets Atrpatakani Hayots temi arajnordy, [“We never doubt that the noble state of Iran is vigilantly monitoring this situation”, declared the leader of the Armenian Diocese of Atrpatakan]. (2006). *Alik* daily, 44 (19666), 1 - 10. (in Armenian)
- Iranian va nasl e qeshi armanian, az foruhgi ta hoseinan [Iranians and the Armenian genocide, from Foruhgi to Hosseini].(2024). Retrieved November 31 (in Persian)
- Nasl e qeshi ya terazhedi ye bozorge aramane dar sal e 1333/1915 [Genocide or Armenian Great tragedy 1915 /1333]. Retrieved November 31, 2024. (in Persian)

## ՀԱՅՈՑ ՑԵՂԱՍՊԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԹԵՄԱՆ ԻՐԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԽՈՍՈՒՅԹՈՒՄ

**Կարեն Մկրտչյան**

Հայոց ցեղասպանության թեման իրանական խոսույթում տարբեր ժամանակներում և մասնավորապես խնդրո առարկա դարձած 2000-ական թթ. հիմնականում կայուն, սակայն նուրբ զարգացումներ է ունեցել: Հարցը շոշափվել է իրանական մամուլի էջերում, որտեղ իրենց կարծիքն են արտահայտել իրանցի մտավորականները:

Թեև Հայոց ցեղասպանության թեման երբեք էլ իրավական գործընթացներով աչքի չի ընկել Իրանում, այդուհանդերձ, Իսլամական խորհրդարանում հայազգի պատգամավորները բարձրացրել են հարցը: Այլ կերպ՝ հասարակական շրջանակներին հասանելի են եղել թեմայի քննարկումները խորհրդարանի ամբիոնից:

Այսպիսով՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանության հիշատակի արարողությունների անցկացումը հնարավորություն է ընձեռել հայությանը հուզող հիմնախնդիրը լսելի դարձնել իրանական խոսույթում: Ոգեկոչման արարողություններին հայկական դպրոցների պարսիկ տեսուչների ներգրավումը և բուհերի ուսանողների լիարժեք մասնակցությունը ցույց է տվել, որ եթե առաջին խումբը, որպես պետական աշխատակից, ցուցաբերել է որոշակի զգուշավորություն, ապա երկրորդ խումբը՝ երիտասարդները, ավելի անկաշկանդ դիրքորոշում են ունեցել:

Իրանցի մտավորականները ավելի դիպուկ են բնութագրում Հայոց ցեղասպանության իրավական կողմը: Իրանական պատմագիտական գրականության մեջ հիմնականում չեզոք դիրքերից է ներկայացված հարցը: Մյուս կողմից իրանական մամուլը զգալի տեղ է հատկացրել թեմային, որն ինչ որ տեղ պատմական ակնարկների նշանակություն է ունեցել:

**Բանալի բառեր՝** *Հայոց ցեղասպանություն, իրանական խոսույթ, Իրանի հայ համայնք, խորհրդարան, պատգամավոր, տարելից, ոգեկոչման արարողություն:*