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## Israel and the Fundamental Question of Armenian Genocide Recognition<sup>1</sup>

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*This article aims to reevaluate and reassess as much as possible the principles of Israel's policy regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide, its consequences, and the factors hindering the recognition. Particular emphasis is made on the development of Armenian-Israeli relations in the field of economic and technological cooperation. In the context of the geopolitical events that have taken place in recent years, the necessity of reinterpreting these relations in the region by increasing the role and influence of third countries is emphasized. Israel's recognition of the Armenian Genocide has moral, political and civilizational importance from the point of view of developing relations between the two nations and establishing justice.*

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**Իսրայելը և Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման հիմնահարցը**

**Էդիկ Մինասյան**

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**Հիմնաբառեր՝** Հայաստան, ԱՄՆ, Իսրայել, Իրան, Թուրքիա, Ադրբեջան, քաղաքականություն, դիվանագիտություն, Հարավային Կովկաս, Հոլոքոստ, գործընկերային հարաբերություններ, քաղաքականության վերաիմաստավորում, վերաձևակերպում:

Այս հոդվածը նպատակ ունի հնարավորինս վերագնահատել և վերաբժնորել Իսրայելի քաղաքականության սկզբունքները Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման, դրա հետևանքների և ճանաչմանը խոչընդոտող գործոնների վերաբերյալ: Առանձնահատուկ շեշտադրում է արվում տնտեսական և տեխնոլոգիական համագործակցության ոլորտում հայ-իսրայելական հարաբերությունների զարգացման վրա: Վերջին տարիներին տեղի ունեցած աշխարհաքաղաքական իրադարձությունների համատեքստում ընդգծվում է տարածաշրջանում այդ հարաբերությունների վերաիմաստավորման անհրաժեշտությունը՝ մեծացնելով երրորդ երկրների դերն ու ազդեցությունը: Իսրայելի կողմից Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչումը բարոյական, քաղաքական և քաղաքակրթական նշանակություն ունի երկու ժողովուրդների միջև հարաբերությունների զարգացման և արդարության հաստատման տեսանկյունից:

**Израиль и фундаментальный вопрос признания Геноцида армян**

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**Ключевые слова:** Армения, США, Израиль, Иран, Турция, Азербайджан, политика, дипломатия, Южный Кавказ, Холокост, партнерские отношения, переосмысление политики, переформулировка.

Данная статья направлена на то, чтобы максимально переосмыслить и переоценить принципы политики Израиля в отношении признания Геноцида армян, последствий и факторов, препятствующих признанию. Особый акцент сделан на развитии армяно-израильских отношений в сфере экономического и технологического сотрудничества. В контексте геополитических событий, произошедших в последние годы, подчеркивается необходимость переосмысления этих отношений в регионе за счет повышения роли и влияния третьих стран. Признание Израилем Геноцида армян имеет моральное, политическое и цивилизационное значение с точки зрения развития отношений между двумя народами и установления справедливости.

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**Introduction.** Genocide committed against the Jewish people during the Second World War, political condemnation, and international recognition of the Holocaust to human civilization is of great importance in preventing future similar crimes.

Today, more than three dozen countries have recognized the Armenian Genocide. The study of the political and moral issues of non-recognition of the Armenian Genocide by Israel currently acquires a unique meaning.

**Israeli state policy and the Armenian Genocide.** In his work devoted to the study of Israel's recognition and rejection of the Armenian Genocide, Professor of the Open University of Israel Yair Auron rightly emphasizes the importance of Israel's position on the Armenian Genocide, pointing to the fact that Israel is "the state of the Jewish people who became victims of the Holocaust [Auron, 2010, 9]. It is difficult to overestimate how vital for Armenians (as well as Turks and the whole world) is the state position of Israel and Jewish people regarding the Armenian Genocide because the state of Israel was founded by the people who became victims of the Holocaust.

Logically, questions arise: Why did this happen? What is the reason for such moral deafness? Why does Israel not officially recognize the Armenian Genocide? A question to which the answer seems evident since a country that has experienced such a crime links the memory of the Holocaust with the imperative to prevent future genocides. However, in the political arena, the picture is different regarding the official recognition of the Armenian Genocide. Concerning Israel's rejection of the Armenian Genocide, the question is raised by Y. Auron's book, which was translated into Russian in 2017. It is dedicated to the perception of the Armenian Genocide in Israel, which allows the author to raise more fundamental questions about Israel's recognition of the Armenian Genocide: Why is it difficult to combine the memory of the one Genocide with the memory of another? Why does Israel, which constantly links the memory of the Holocaust with the imperative to prevent future genocides, refuse to recognize the tragedy of the

Armenians as genocide officially? Finally, as he notes, there is no doubt that there is a specific connection between the Genocide of Armenians and Jews [Pakhalyuk, 2018, 263, 264].

The Israeli refusal to recognize the Armenian Genocide is explained as follows: "Rejection of recognition is based on modern Israel's institutional distancing from the Armenian tragedy. Serious efforts are being made to preserve the memory of the Holocaust, but ordinary Israelis know almost nothing about other genocides" [Pakhalyuk, 2018, 265].

The phenomenon mentioned above conditions every study dedicated to the issue of recognizing the Armenian Genocide, aimed at re-evaluating the perception of the issue by the country that witnessed such a crime and the practical steps aimed at solving it, the policy, the position formed over the years, the factors hindering the recognition of the Genocide and the outlining of possible ways to eliminate them. The question sounds more relevant in the context of the last Artsakh war, from the point of view of moving the historical memory of mass crimes to the arena of political solutions as a valuable factor in preventing future crimes.

The critical factor in this issue is the Turkish authorities' denialist policy, which also directly affected Israel's position. It is no coincidence that Y. Auron, referring to the grounds of Israel's denial of the Armenian Genocide, lays the primary blame for the denial of the Armenian Genocide on Turkey. The authorities not only support deniers but also destroy documents and appeal to the history of the Holocaust. The Turks tolerated the Jews, so the latter's attempts to recognize the Armenian Genocide are presented as gratitude. In Turkey, this topic is forbidden (for example, in 1976, the historian T. Achkam was sentenced to ten years in prison). Finally, the recognition may lead to the fact that other nations of the former Ottoman Empire, who were subjected to violence at different times, would come forward with similar demands [Pakhalyuk, 2018, 266].

Israel's refusal to recognize the Armenian Genocide is also justified in terms of political interest. "During the discussions about the Armenian Genocide in Israel (as well as in any country where this issue is discussed), the tension of the emergence of values and interests, morality, and the consequences of contradiction is high. It is obvious that the decision to support Turkey is logical in the case of a purely political approach. Political interests dominated and still dominate in Israel." [Auron, 2010, 10].

In order to explain Israel's non-recognition of the Armenian Genocide, we believe that Y. Auron's observation of the political and economic, often also "vital interests" and relations between Israel and Turkey in the presence of such beneficial circumstances should be considered. He points to a network of very pragmatic political and economic reasons, which he says are accompanied by a fear of provoking a harsh response from Turkey. Y. Auron explains what was said, on the one hand, by the fact that Israel was Turkey's only ally in the hostile Islamic world for decades [it recognized Israel already in 1949), and on the other hand, by economic cooperation. "In the 1990s, Israel began to strengthen relations with Azerbaijan, which began to expand ties with Turkey after gaining independence. The political basis was the opposition against Iran, while the Israelis sell weapons to the Azerbaijanis, and they buy oil. Moreover, quite large Jewish communities live in the territory of Azerbaijan and Turkey. All this forces the official authorities of Israel to avoid such a problematic issue as the recognition of the Armenian Genocide." [Pakhalyuk, 2018,

267-268]. In order to complete the more complex picture of political and economic factors and comprehensively highlight the reasons for Israel's non-recognition of the Armenian Genocide, to clarify the "Turkish element" in this non-recognition, as well as to make the facts mentioned above more valid, it is also appropriate to consider Israel's relations with the countries of the South Caucasus.

Israel's steps to improve relations with the South Caucasian republics began in the early 1990s. "Diplomatic relations with the Republic of Armenia were established in September 1991, with the Republic of Azerbaijan in April 1992, and with Georgia in June 1992." [Kisilev 2017, 263-278].

Relations between Israel and the Republic of Armenia were mainly passive and insufficient to reach a solution to the issue of recognizing the Armenian Genocide, particularly in 1990-2000; they are characterized by minimal activity. There were different reasons for calling the massacre of Armenians "genocide" however the unfavorable Israeli-Armenian relations prevented The State of Israel to recognize it as genocide. "First, unlike Georgia and Azerbaijan, which showed great interest in dialogue with Western countries, Armenia's political leadership focused mainly on Russia and Iran. This deprived Yerevan of the need to use Israel as an assistant in establishing ties with the US and Western European countries. Another obstacle to developing the Israeli-Armenian dialogue was the tense relations between Armenia and Turkey during 1990-2009, the reason for which was the issue of recognition of the Armenian Genocide by Turkey during 1915-1923. Not wanting to spoil relations with its main partner in the Middle East, Turkey, Israel refused to describe these events as "genocide." At the same time, Yerevan emphasized the political significance of such recognition. In addition, the development of Israeli-Armenian relations was hindered by the severe conflicts between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabakh. The confrontation between the two Caucasian republics led to a situation where the strengthening of cooperation with one of them was perceived very negatively by the opposite country, which put the third countries in front of a choice; which of the two countries to give preference to? And since Israel, for the reasons mentioned above, preferred closer cooperation with Azerbaijan, it is not surprising that the cooperation with Armenia did not develop significantly [Pakhalyuk, 2018, 267-268].

From the moment of independence from the USSR until the second half of the second decade of the 21st century, all initiatives to improve the relations between Armenia and Israel were mainly carried out by Armenia.

Among them, the visits of the three presidents of Armenia, the Catholicos of All Armenians Garegin II to Israel are notable in recent years. Until 2019-2020 The relations between Israel and Armenia are not distinguished by the exchange of permanent bilateral diplomatic missions. Israel's interests in Armenia were represented by the non-resident ambassador and Armenian interests in Israel by the honorary consul of Armenia. Meanwhile, the picture with the neighboring countries was different: in 1993, The Embassy of Israel was opened in Tbilisi, and in 1994 in Baku [Izrail' i Armeniya – obshchiye svedeniya // MID Gosudarstva Izrail'. [http://mfa.gov.il/MFARUS/ForeignRelations/Bilateral%20relations/IsraelFSU/Armenia/Pages/Israel\\_Armenia\\_Intro.aspx](http://mfa.gov.il/MFARUS/ForeignRelations/Bilateral%20relations/IsraelFSU/Armenia/Pages/Israel_Armenia_Intro.aspx)]. All this indicates the need for more Israel-Armenia bilateral relations. However, experts do not consider the opening of the Armenian embassy in Tel Aviv to be a decisive factor in building Israeli-Armenian relations between the two countries on full cooperation in the fields of economy, science, and advanced technologies, including changing Israel's position on the recognition of the Armenian Genocide

at the official level. One can agree that the possibility of influencing Israel in this way to stop the supply of weapons to Azerbaijan is unlikely. The lack of Israeli-Armenian cooperation in other fields also expresses the latter [Ruzhanskiy, 2020, 28].

This dramatically affects Israel's changing position regarding recognizing the Armenian Genocide, characterized by the more entrenched Israeli policy of not recognizing it. Armenia's interest in improving relations with Israel is indicated by the desire of the Armenian side to effectively influence the solution of many problems in the relations between the two countries, which is primarily related to the "Armenian quarter of Jerusalem and Israel's supply of modern weapons and technologies to Azerbaijan, and finally, Jerusalem's recognition of the Armenian Genocide." Apart from political reasons, Armenia is also interested in economic cooperation with Israel, primarily in the field of advanced technologies and scientific production [Ruzhanskiy, 2020, 26].

This is evidenced by the numerous data that were documented, which allow us to conclude that the transformation of Israel's policy in favor of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide should also proceed in the way of establishing and developing partnership ties, as well as increasing the level of diplomatic relations, as a counterweight of strengthening partnership relations between Israel and Azerbaijan in the South Caucasus. Warm relations between the State of Israel and the Republic of Turkey have always been evident in strengthening Israeli-Azerbaijani relations. One of its manifestations was in 2000. The issue of creating an Azerbaijan-Turkey-Israel political bloc was raised. However, it was not implemented in 2003 due to the freezing of Israeli-Turkish relations after the Justice and Development Party came to power in Turkey. [Veliyev A., Treugol'nik Izrail'-Turtsiya-Azerbaydzhan // [http://www.cac.org/journal/2000/journal\\_rus/cac08\\_2000/11.veliev.shtml](http://www.cac.org/journal/2000/journal_rus/cac08_2000/11.veliev.shtml)]. Considering that the USA is Israel's strategic partner, we believe that at the current stage of the reinterpretation it will be possible to increase their influence on Israeli-Armenian relations, forming a sufficient basis for defining a new content for Israel's policy regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. The gap in direct partnership ties can be filled by forming a partnership based on mediated political-strategic interests. In such conditions, it will be necessary for Israel to develop bilateral relations with Armenia and to develop a new, more favorable policy in recognition of the Armenian Genocide. In addition, the prospect of further successful construction of Israel-US strategic relations can increase the possibility of Israel's dialogue with Armenia, positively influencing the current political position adopted by Israel regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. Armenia should be able to improve diplomatic relations with the US by using the US's strategic-partnership ties with Israel to maximize the openness of relations with Israel and to put the recognition of the Armenian Genocide on the table for discussion.

Israel's foreign policy in building bilateral relations with Armenia and Azerbaijan in the region is characterized by their priority with the latter, in contrast to the insignificant relations with the Republic of Armenia for Israel. In essence, Armenia should be able to oppose Israel's effective resolution of the issue of recognition of the Armenian Genocide in the context of the settlement of the Artsakh issue, the reinterpretation, development, and strengthening of relations with third countries, in particular, the current relations between Armenia and the United States, in such a way as to intensify in this case the

strategic relations between Israel and the United States. That is, to build relations, as a result of which Israel's reasons for strengthening relations with Armenia in the region will increase, which, of course, will be possible as a result of long-term and high-level diplomatic relations. We think it is worth including V. A. Harutyunyan's following observation to justify what has been said. It was no coincidence that the bold hypothesis of currently established historians is that not only several European states will recognize the Armenian Genocide but also the United States of America. This was quite logical because Donald Trump had already recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. It was assumed that such a decision would impact the US policy towards the Middle East and, therefore, the policy of several other countries connected with America in one way or another. US support for Syrian Kurds is mentioned [Arutyunyan, 2019, 95]. All this is highlighted as one of the grounds for Turkey's fears regarding the territorial and material demands of Armenians. Basically, the hypothesis that Turkey may be afraid of a change in the policy of third countries regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide, whose influence on the policy and position of the countries that do not recognize it, including Israel, will not remain without consequences. This point of view is confirmed by the fact that "Israel is traditionally oriented towards the USA in all spheres." [Ruzhanskiy, 2020, 27].

2009-2015 Israel's attitude towards recognizing the Armenian Genocide is changing. Politically, things were more complicated.

This highly public topic is being discussed in the Knesset (Israeli parliament), where a group of supporters of recognition is forming among the opposition parties and the ranks of the ruling coalition [El'kin: my obyazany ofitsial'no priznat' genotsid armyan / IzRus. co.il. <http://izrus.co.il/dvuhstoronka/article/2012-06-12/18171.html>]. The opponents of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide were the leaders of both parties, B. Netanyahu and A. Lieberman, President S. Peres, Knesset members R. Ilatov and A. Miller, and the supporters were the chairman of the "Likud" faction Z. Elkin, the then Speaker of Parliament R. Rivlin, as well as Y. Edelstein, who was elected Speaker of the Knesset in 2013. At the Foreign Relations and Defense Committee session, this issue was raised in 1989 in connection with the discussion of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide in the US Congress. In 1994 Y. Immediately after the program mentioned above with Auron's participation, at the plenary session of the Knesset, Deputy Foreign Minister Y. Beilein was forced to actually recognize the massacre of the Armenians [in Hebrew, he used the phrase "murder of the people" which is synonymous with Genocide] [Pakhalyuk, 2018, 269].

The Holocaust Museum undoubtedly recognizes the Armenian Genocide, the history of the Genocide is studied in a particular department of the University of Jerusalem and included in the educational program. In the context of these arguments, the following question is appropriate. "Who, if not Israel, seems to understand the Armenians best and will support them in every possible way?" The answer is simple: geopolitics." [Listengort, 2019, 377]. In this context are the political and military relations between Iran-Armenia, Israel-Turkey, and Azerbaijan. Today, one of Armenia's key regional partners is Iran, whose authorities have repeatedly promised to destroy Israel in their statements. On the other hand, Israel and Turkey have constantly developed mutually beneficial political, military, and diplomatic relations, and the relations with Azerbaijan are deepening. Apart from Turkey, Israel has no other partners

in the region; instead of allies, there is only a 200 million-strong army of hostile Arab countries [Listengort, 2019, 377].

According to the researchers, the reason for the change in the position of the Israeli political elite in this matter was partly the freezing relations with Turkey. This is evidenced by Y. Auron, who testifies, noting that the change in attitude towards the topic at the official level was made possible by the deterioration of Israeli-Turkish relations. 2017 became the peak of the crisis in the relations between Israel and Turkey. As a result of the crisis in Israel's relations with Turkey, Israel began to pay less attention to Ankara's position [A. Grigoryan, Y. Auron]. According to Armenian researcher A. Grigoryan, Jerusalem began to use the opportunity to recognize the Armenian Genocide as a tool to put pressure on its once close partner. It is noteworthy that in 2009 the special session of the Knesset was dedicated to the Armenian Genocide. Later the President of Israel, R. Rivlin, spoke about this openly, including in 2015 at the UN General Assembly [Pakhalyuk, 2018, 269]. In the same year, the Open University of Israel held a thematic conference, and in 2016 On August 1, the Knesset Education, Culture and Sports Committee proposed to recognize the Armenian Genocide officially. The visits of high-ranking Israeli politicians to Armenia at the level of ministers are considered significant in terms of the noticeable change in the position of the Israeli side regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide, which took place only from the second decade of the XXI century. Until then, 2005 is considered one of the most important events of bilateral relations as Yona Metzger's visited Armenia, during which Israel's chief Ashkenazi rabbi visited Tsitsernakaberd (Armenian Genocide Memorial) and thus officially recognized the Armenian Genocide as a historical fact [Ruzhanskiy, 2020, 26]. In the history of increased frequency of Armenian-Israeli relations and increased attention to the issue of Armenian Genocide recognition over the past thirty years, after the visit of Minister Tsachi Aneghi, the visit of a group of Israeli parliamentarians to Armenia led by Deputy Speaker of the Knesset Tali Ploskov was a significant event in September 2017. "The group was received by the Armenian Foreign Minister, Edward Nalbandian, who discussed a wide range of issues of bilateral relations, from economic cooperation to Israel's recognition of the Armenian Genocide." [Ruzhanskiy, 2020, 26].

However, despite the supporters' strong position in recognizing the Genocide, Israel did not add to the list of countries that officially recognize it, primarily because of not spoiling the relations of the country's leadership with "the main strategic partner of Muslims in the world." It is the orientation of the development of cooperation with the Republic of Azerbaijan, according to V. Kisilyov, the primary restraining factor in the development of relations between Israel and Armenia in 2009-2015, which is still evident today. The factors hindering the rapprochement of Armenian-Israeli relations were rooted even before 2009 and further continue to negatively influence the development and strengthening of close ties between the two countries, which is confirmed in the political arena by the unresolved issue of Israel's recognition of the Armenian Genocide, and in the economic sphere by the decline of bilateral trade in 2009-2015 [Kisilev 2017, 268].

In his article of the same name, V. C. Ruzhansky, observing the prospects of Armenian-Israeli relations in the light of recent geopolitical changes, thoroughly discusses and analyzes the prospects of



Armenian-Israeli relations, taking into account the geopolitical changes that are rapidly taking place in the Mediterranean-Caucasus region. He considers the rapid development of Armenian high technologies and the strengthening of the Armenian army, on the one hand, and the rapid deterioration of Israeli-Turkish relations, on the other, as a reason for Israel's great interest in cooperation with Armenia. Nevertheless, the author remembers the obstacles to developing full cooperation between the two countries. He does not exclude this opportunity, moreover, he strongly emphasizes the transformation of Armenia into a regional power as an essential factor in the severe adjustment of relations between the two countries [Ружанский, 2020, 25-29]. It is supposed to reshape Armenian-Israeli relations by developing and strengthening various technological and economic cooperative relations. In addition to the development of relations in the diplomatic sphere, it is also essential to expand the narrow frameworks of cooperation between the two countries in the healthcare, education, and economic spheres, which were insufficient in different periods according to the statistical data obtained as a result of the research.

Currently, the last Artsakh war has more than aggravated the existing obstacles to the development of bilateral relations in the region, including Armenia's orientation towards Iran, the still tense relations between Yerevan and Baku, Israel's leading partner in the South Caucasus, including Israel's 1915-1923 not recognizing the Armenian Genocide. Armenian-Israeli relations have not reached a stable development for years due to the fundamental difference in the foreign policy orientation of the two states. The development of relations between Israel and Armenia should proceed with the adjustment of relations in various spheres of cooperation, making them beneficial for raising the level of diplomatic relations.

**The position of Jewish figures and the Armenian Genocide.** The attitude of many Jewish public-political and intellectual figures towards the Armenian Genocide was and remains objective and worth mentioning.

In 1948 On December 9, the United Nations adopted the "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," the author of which is the Polish Jew Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959) [<https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml>], who, in the description of the crime of Genocide, also mentions the Armenian Genocide as an exceptional example of complete destruction. "In this way, mass extermination of nationalities was planned throughout occupied Europe. The leaders of the Nazis had very rudely announced their intention to destroy the Poles and Russians. Demographically and culturally destroyed the French element in Alsace-Lorraine, the Slavs in Carniola, and Carinthia. They almost achieved their goal by exterminating the Jews and Gypsies in Europe. It is clear that the German experience is the most vivid, the most deliberate, and detailed. However, history has given us other examples of the destruction of entire nations and ethnic and religious groups. There are, for example, the destruction of Carthage, the religious groups in the wars of Islam and the Crusades, the massacres of the Albigenses and Waldensians, and recently, the massacre of the Armenians [Lemkin, vol. 15, no. 2, 227-230. <http://www.preventgenocide.org/lemkin/americanscholar 1946.htm>].

Henry Morgenthau (1856-1946), the United States ambassador to Turkey from 1913-1916, is one of the prominent Jewish figures (American of German origin) [Morgenthau, 1919, 407. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/55343/55343-h/55343-h.htm>]. His memoir about the Armenian Genocide is of exceptional importance. The author presents the Turkish genocidal policy in detail, characterizing the

Armenian and Turkish ethnic groups and their civilizational characteristics. The work contains extensive documentary material.

Jewish historian Yair Auron stands out for his scientific achievements. "Unacceptable indifference. "Zionism and the Armenian Genocide" study, the core of which is critical of Israel's denial policy regarding the Armenian Genocide [Auron, 2003, 338. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/50948549>].

The self-interested attitude of Israel's denial policy is revealed in the famous Jewish Genocide scholar Israel Charney's "Israel's Failed Response to the Armenian Genocide: Denial, State Deception, Truth versus Politicization of History" [<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1zjg32k>, Israel W. Charny, Ragip Zarakolu, Richard Hovannisian, Michael Berenbaum, 294]: The work presents many letters addressed to high-ranking Israeli statesmen urging them to accept the reality of the Armenian Genocide. "It is noteworthy that in the letters addressed to Shimon Peres, the signature of Elie Wiesel was also present in the list of 126 scientists who confirmed the fact of the Armenian Genocide with their signatures and called on the State of Israel to recognize the reality." [[https://agmipublications.asnet.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/2021.2\\_138-142.pdf](https://agmipublications.asnet.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/2021.2_138-142.pdf)].

The last chapter of this journal is dedicated to Israel's denial of the Armenian Genocide, especially the sections related to the former president of Israel, Reuven Rivlin, who, before becoming president, was one of the supporters of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. The latter used the term "genocide" only as a diplomatic word game in his speeches when talking about what happened to the Armenians after becoming the president [[https://agmipublications.asnet.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/2021.2\\_138-142.pdf](https://agmipublications.asnet.am/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/2021.2_138-142.pdf)].

Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel, who lost his relatives in the Auschwitz camp, also criticizes the indifference towards the Armenian Genocide with his activities and presents the humanistic importance of condemning the Genocide in the article entitled "Awakening the Memory so that it serves us" authored with Ruben Vardanyan, the founder of the "Aurora" humanitarian project [[https://www.huffpost.com/entry/induce-memory-to-serve-us\\_b\\_6840356](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/induce-memory-to-serve-us_b_6840356)].

The novel "40 Days of Musa Dagh" by Franz Werfel, who is of Jewish origin, is particularly famous worldwide. One thousand nine hundred fifteen events and the heroic struggle of the Armenians of Cilicia against the Turkish destroyers served as the basis for the work. When the local Turkish authorities tried to implement the order to evacuate the Armenians, the Armenians decided to show resistance by climbing the Musa Dagh, where they organized self-defense, successfully repelling the attacks of the Turkish troops for 53 days. The book has been translated into more than 30 languages. [<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Franz-Werfel#ref12414>].

Summarizing the study and interpretation of several issues related to Israel's position and policy regarding the recognition of the Armenian Genocide at the current stage, we can determine the following reasons that are decisive in this matter:

Another aspect of the issue of non-recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the Jewish state is the Israeli-Azerbaijani strategic partnership relations, in particular, the fact that Israel sells arms to Azerbaijan.

Armenia's close ties with Israel's worst enemy in the region, Iran, hinder the development of Israeli-Armenian cooperation.

The insufficient level of Israel-Armenia relations was inherited from different periods. Among them, the frequency of steps taken by the Armenian side to develop relations prevails over the frequency of retaliatory steps by the Israeli side.

At the core of bringing Armenian-Israeli relations to a bilateral balance, developing relations between Armenia and Israel, and expanding the opportunities for settlement of the issue of recognition of the Armenian Genocide by Israel, there should be a change in the priorities, goals, and directions of Armenia in these relations, through the expansion and strengthening of cooperation with Israel. This process has a two-fold nature, the development of sectoral relations in favor of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and, on the contrary, the recognition of the Armenian Genocide as one of the prerequisites for strengthening the sectoral relations of the two countries.

In the geopolitical and regional conditions created after the last Artsakh war, the Armenian side should define and revise the immediate goals and directions of developing Armenian-Israeli relations, the key of which should be the official recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the State of Israel. The latter should become the axis in which every progress in developing bilateral relations in different sectors will be a step towards the possible official recognition of the Armenian Genocide by Israel.

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