

From the Editor:

Slavic Review publishes letters to the editor with educational or research merit. Where the letter concerns a publication in *Slavic Review*, the author of the publication will be offered an opportunity to respond. Space limitations dictate that comment regarding a book review should be limited to one paragraph; comment on an article should not exceed 750 to 1,000 words. The editor encourages writers to refrain from ad hominem discourse.

D.P.K.

To the Editor:

It appears that Ronald Suny did not read my book, *History of the Armenian Genocide*, either entirely or carefully (*Slavic Review* 55, no. 3). Among his criticisms are: (1) no "analytical narrative" on the genocide; (2) no indication as to who committed the 1909 Adana massacre and why; (3) no convincing evidence on the consistently genocidal Turkish policy of genocide.

(1) As the subtitle indicates, my book was not about the details of the Armenian genocide, but about the conflict-laden evolution of it; "the history of the Turko-Armenian conflict is cast sharply into relief" (xiii).

(2) The perpetrators of the Adana massacre were driven by "cupidity, religious dogmas" and fear of losing "their positions and jobs." Involved in "the organization of the bloodbath were . . . the governmental functionaries and the Ottoman military authorities" (182).

(3) The evidence about a sustained genocidal policy before and after 1915, when the genocide occurred, is ample and overwhelming. British ethnographer Ramsey and American Civil War expert Hepworth, *who investigated the massacres in Turkey*, prophesied the 1915 genocide already in the 1890s (175).

Harvard's William Langer, a favorite of Turkophile authors, wrote: "The Sultan was determined to end the Armenian Question by exterminating the Armenians" (163). A rare official Turkish document depicts the Kemalists ordering "the political and physical eradication of Armenia" in 1920 (358).

My conclusions were recently upheld by an expert on international law who declared that compared to "all the conflicting and contradictory literature on the subject Dadrian's [evidence] is the most legally convincing" (W. C. Bassiouni, *Crimes against Humanity in International Criminal Law*, 169). Nevertheless, one has always the liberty to refuse to be persuaded!

VAHAKN N. DADRIAN
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Professor Suny replies:

My review of Vahakn N. Dadrian's *The History of the Armenian Genocide* perhaps took the title of the book too seriously and therefore regretted the absence of either a clear and convincing narrative of the events or "the kind of powerful explanatory synthesis that is so desperately needed" (*Slavic Review* 55, no. 3: 677) Dadrian's emphasis is instead on linking disparate and separate incidents of Turkish violence from the Balkans to the Caucasus and establishing a causative chain connecting military defeat, abortive reform, and western humanitarian intervention to the Turkish policies of systematic massacre. Rather than distinguishing the motives of the conservative Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who used massacres in the 1890s to restore a fragile repressive hierarchy in eastern Anatolia, from the revolutionary policy of the Young Turks in 1915, who sought to eliminate the Armenians from the region altogether, Dadrian collapses these distinct forms of state violence into a single genocidal program that persisted over many decades.

On the Adana massacres of 1909 I noted that Dadrian "does not make clear who *Slavic Review* 56, no. 3 (Fall 1997)

perpetrated the killing and why" (ibid.). Armenians in Adana were considered by opponents of the Young Turks to be allied to the reformers. The massacres were a reaction against the Young Turks. But when Dadrian speaks about "cooperation of the governmental functionaries with Ottoman military authorities, who made ample use of the arsenals of the local garrisons" (182), it is not clear to this reader which Turks carried out the killings. "Turks" and even "government" have to be disaggregated here to distinguish those supporting the Young Turks and those on the side of Abdul Hamid, for the Adana events were part of a larger intra-Turkish political struggle. If Dadrian wants to argue that Young Turks were involved in the massacres, even though their Adana opponents had begun the attacks on the Armenians, he needs to provide both a more complete narrative and persuasive evidence.

My own investigation of the Armenian genocide sees the tragedy of 1915 as a far more contingent event than does Dadrian's research. Though related to long-term Ottoman developments, the very scale and timing of the genocide require more explicit connection to the evolution of Young Turk thinking from Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism, the defeat of Enver Pasha's army at Sarikamish in the winter of 1915, and the opportunities offered by the cloak of a world war.

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY
University of Chicago

To the Editor:

Professor Chary aimed to synthesize the basic tenor of my book in the first two paragraphs of his review of *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830–1880: Images of the Self and Others* (*Slavic Review* 55, no. 4). He discerned correctly that I examine the rise of Panslavism manifested in the course of three major events: the Slav Congress in Prague 1848, the Slav Congress in Moscow in 1867, and the resurgence of Panslav solidarity during the uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1875–1878. However, his main objection is misleading and merits additional clarification. Chary claimed that I did not disclose that Alexander II and his ministers were not supportive of Panslavism. In fact, I point out intermittently throughout my book (40–71), that neither Nicholas I nor Alexander II condoned Panslav aspirations. The Third Section of the Emperor's Private Chancery established a secret watch in order to identify Slavophiles' goals. Nicholas was mistrustful of the intellectuals who were the principal supporters of Panslavism; he even imprisoned Iurii Samarin as well as Sergei Aksakov in the Petro-Pavlovsk fortress. He personally interrogated Samarin, a godson of Alexander I, demanding specific clarifications of the Panslav ideological positions (70–71). However, in April 1877, under the pressure of widespread support for the embattled South Slavs, Alexander II issued a proclamation on the eve of the fourth Russo-Turkish war of the century. In this proclamation he stressed the long-standing desire to "protect the Christians of Bosnia, Hercegovina and Bulgaria" who were under Turkish rule (110–11). The emperor did not single out the atrocities that occurred in Bulgaria as the main reason for the military intervention, as Chary purported in his review. As to the situation in Bulgaria, I chose to limit my discourse, save for a number of references, in order to emphasize the main tenor of the book.

JELENA MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ
University of Texas, Austin

Professor Chary replies:

I accept Dr. Milojković-Djurić's response to my review as valid. I had no intention of belittling her excellent study in my comments, but merely wished to call attention to another aspect of the issue. I still assert that, despite the tsar's proclamation, after the disaster of the Serbo-Turkish War, Magahan's revelations of the Rhodope massacres were the major impulse for the failed Constantinople Conference and the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War.

FREDERICK B. CHARY
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