

That institutionalized perception was one of the reasons why Armenians in Turkey lived in fear, stayed low-key and out of the public eye.

Hulya Adak asserts that,

The national myth—that all Ottoman Armenians were rebels, betrayers, secessionists, and that they were responsible for the massacres that took place in 1915–1916—propagated in the memoirs [of Talat Pasha], the variegated stages of its publication, and the reception of the work, exists to date in the Turkish national imagination.²³

Reading Adak's analytical article, one realizes how strategically the publications of Talat Pasha's memoirs were pumped into the collective memory of the Turkish nation. The first edition, of course, was published in 1921, right after Talat's assassination, so as to ward off any accusations against him. The second and third editions came out in 1945 and 1946, as if to counteract Rafael Lemkin's lobbying for the word "genocide" and references to the events of 1915 in the Ottoman Empire. Adak believes that subsequent editions in 1986 and 1990 were in response to the activities of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA),²⁴ and in order to reinforce the official Republican

²³ Adak, "Identifying the 'Internal Tumors'" (2007), p. 151. Adak explains that the term "internal tumor" was used by Kushchubashi Eshref (Kuşçubaşı Eşref) during World War I in relation to Armenians and to non-Muslims in general, in the sense that the tumor should be "cleaned" for a "national cause."

²⁴ ASALA was a militant Marxist-Leninist organization that operated from 1975 to 1986. It was founded in Beirut, Lebanon, and trained by Palestinian militants. The organization aimed to compel the Turkish government to acknowledge its responsibility for the death of one-