

erased and ceded to the collective, and “as recompense for his jumping into the ‘melting pot,’ he is promised the grace of being chosen, of belonging. Weak and fearful people feel strong when they hold hands when running.”⁴⁰

Analyzing the psychiatric consequences of ethnic cleansing in resettled Bosnian refugees, Steven Weine notes that “Mass destruction of a community which historically took pride in being a good example of co-existence and tolerance of ethnic and religious differences—and multiethnic community—leaves the survivors bereft of a sense of identity and belonging.”⁴¹ A more or less parallel situation transpired for the first-generation Armenian survivors both in the Diaspora and in Turkey. Of course, for the sake of argument it should be noted that the precondition Weine presented for the psychiatric consequence of ethnic cleansing, namely, the atmosphere of coexistence and tolerance of ethnic and religious differences prior to the ethnic cleansing, does not hold true in the case of Armenians and Turks. But neither does it, in reality, hold true in the case of Serbs and Bosnians. However, in both cases the oppressed minority believed in that coexistence. This is why the majority of Armenians, from religious and civic leaders to shopkeepers and peasants, did not believe what was happening to them. The Turks could not

⁴⁰ Theodore W. Adorno, *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 276, quoted by Bauman in *Liquid Life* (2005), p. 135. Here Bauman explains that Adorno uses the term “melting pot” in its original meaning of a container in which all ingredients mix and dissolve into one another, “lose their individuality and become indistinguishable.”

⁴¹ Weine, “Artists Witnessing ‘Ethnic Cleansing’” (1996), p. 245.