

relative peace in which Turkish-Armenians live. Continuous vandalism and violence against Armenian institutions and properties and threats against the lives of Armenian leaders and activists are constant reminders of the shaky ground on which Armenians live. With a ban on the use of Armenian textbooks to teach history, geography, and other sensitive subjects in Armenian schools, that important element, the transmission of the memory of common history in the Turkish-Armenian ethnic identity, is deliberately silenced and obscured. Added to that is a widespread conscious effort among the older generation of Armenians not to expose the new generation to the painful memories of the past in order not to make them more vulnerable than they already are. This phenomenon entails a reality absolutely different from that of the Diasporan Armenian. In Diasporan communities, the main obstacle against the Armenian struggle to keep the historical memory alive down through the generations and to ensure the perpetuation of the sense of Armenianness is the strong tide of assimilation (the white – bloodless – massacre).

A vivid example of the difference between the two realities presented itself in the 1970s and 80s, when the Armenian armed struggle escalated and Turkish diplomats were being gunned down in order to draw world attention to the Armenian Question. Diasporan Armenians used the opportunity to further their peaceful political campaign for the Armenian cause and mobilized the younger generation, while Turkish-Armenians withdrew into a more cautious, lower-profile *modus vivendi*.

For the last twenty-five years, after the last military coup in Turkey, “Love it or leave it” has been the leading slogan in the