THE SOLEMN PRIDE THAT MUST BE YOURS TO HAVE LAID SO COSTLY A SACRIFICE UPON THE ALTAR OF FREEDOM.
EDITORIAL

A full half-century has now passed since the founding of our organization. Our professed goal has been the same throughout these fifty years: the liberation of the Armenian homeland. However, the means we have chosen by which to ultimately reach this goal have been subjected to revision according to the circumstances and the atmosphere which surround us.

Today, as always, our organization exists to serve as an inspiration to Armenian youth, as a model for the political activists of the Armenian National Liberation Struggle, as an educational school where its members learn how to become participants of our movement and leaders of our community, and as the strongest force and element of our struggle.

These reasons for our existence are very noble, indeed. But in order to justify our purpose, we must learn to view ourselves as objective observers—from the standpoint of the average inactive Armenian youth.

The harsh reality is that most—a great majority—of the Armenian Youth in this country neither know nor care anything about our organization or the movement it claims to represent. This, of course, is not entirely their fault. We must be prepared to accept the responsibility for this neglect if we are to succeed in realizing our immediate goals.

It is true that the unknowing observer may easily formulate an erroneous impression of the A.Y.F.—The Youth Organization of the A.R.F., especially in light of recent press coverage concerning our ideology and tactics. However, it must be realized that ours is not the radical, terrorist, fanatic organization which has been created by the wild imaginations of stereotype-loving government agencies such as the F.B.I. or the "news" hungry media. We are neither frightened nor ashamed to admit that several Armenian political prisoners and news-making activists such as Hampig Sassounian, Koko Saliba, and Viken Yacoubian, Viken Hovsepian, and Steve Dadaian of the Los Angeles Five are members of the A.Y.F. But the link created between the alleged activities of these uners and the A.Y.F. by an opportunistic press may be one of the reasons that many identity-seeking Armenian youths have remained distant from us.

It is our turn, then, to serve as role model and inspiration to our community and especially to our youth, to remain active in our struggle even after we have become successful doctors, lawyers, or businessmen, and to place our movement on a first priority in everything we do.

Our role in the Armenian community and the means by which to achieve it effectively are clear: the first and foremost aim must be to educate out youth about our national history and about the reasons for which we pursue the Armenian Cause; this must be followed by the revolutionization of the youth element—to the point where it realizes that we, as young Armenians, represent the only viable and effective tool for our movement; and thirdly, we must politicize ourselves and those around us in order to transform the active minority into a strong majority.

The resolution of our struggle is completely dependent upon the fulfillment of the demands which it makes upon us. Thus, it has become evident that without our full commitment to the Armenian Cause, we will fail to reach our goals.

With this in mind, we invite the Armenian Youth to join us, to commit itself to the struggle for justice, and to rise in demand of its national and human rights.

Մեր կազմակերպության մեջ մեր աշխատուները ելույթ են եկել իրենց ծագումով և կրունքով. Մեր համար, եթե մեր կնքերները երևաչափ են երևաչափ, մեր աշխատանքներն են կարևորություն և բարենպաստ։ Մեր կազմակերպությունը ունի համարելի ուշադրություն իր աշխատանքներին, եռանուններին, որոնք սովորաբար ոչ մի այլ կողմի համար չեն։

Մեր կազմակերպության նոր դասակարգության համար, կատարելու պատասխանատվությունը, մեր կնքերների բնորոշման և իրավաչափ համագործակցության աշխատանքը։

Մեր կազմակերպության դասակարգության բնորոշման գլխավոր մակարդակները են՝ տեղադրելու, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը համարական կազմակերպությունները կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպությունների համար նոր դասակարգության համար, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը իր աշխատանքներին կատարեն և կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպությունների համար նոր դասակարգության համար, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը իր աշխատանքներին կատարեն և կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպությունների համար նոր դասակարգության համար, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը իր աշխատանքներին կատարեն և կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպությունների համար նոր դասակարգության համար, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը իր աշխատանքներին կատարեն և կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպությունների համար նոր դասակարգության համար, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը իր աշխատանքներին կատարեն և կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպությունների համար նոր դասակարգության համար, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը իր աշխատանքներին կատարեն և կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպությունների համար նոր դասակարգության համար, որ մեր կազմակերպությունը իր աշխատանքներին կատարեն և կազմակերպեն մեր կազմակերպության համար։

Մեր կազմակերպությունը կազմակերպություն

(Csp. էջ 8)
By now, it should be finally felt and understood by all concerned, that the grimmest and ominous force has made it its first priority to haunt and to subsequently put to a final rest the just cause of Armenian liberation and the movement struggling for it. This force, of course, is the Turkish fascism and its agents, supported by an inter- and intra-governmental coalition of states promoting state terrorism in a "package deal". It is unfortunate to note, however, that these agents of oppression through their cowardly tactics, succeed some of the time in slowing down our People's struggle, and in doing so, in bringing the movement face-to-face with its chief enemy: the time factor; that is, undoubtedly, the primary catalytic actor in the assimilation process of our people and the consequent development of political passiveness.

This, however, in no way can shake the beliefs of our People or its determination to be victorious.

Indeed, to the greatest disappointment of the state terrorists, the tragic history of our nation will testify to our unwavering nature vis-à-vis our rights, in showing how massacres and other massive blows have slowed down or paralyzed our movement only but temporarily, in order to later recharge our People's revolutionary fervor and strengthen its organizational methods.

Now, we realize all of the above; more than ever.

It is for this very reason that our collective efforts must and will be insulated and therefore protected from any psychological shockwaves sent to us by the Turkish fascism, at the hands of whomever, whose sole purpose is to discourage or—God forbid—from us.

In this plight of theirs, they may arrest or imprison our activists, they may hang our revolutionaries; they may even kidnap or kill some of us; but they can never stop a whole movement and its momentum, which is the creation of our People's womb itself, its product, its reflection.

No one has ever said that the struggle we are currently waging was to be an easy or a "clean" one, or that it was to be played from up above, the balcony, without getting our hands dirty. This was not said. Our People has realized this and is on the way to securing the three necessary components which will give it its revolutionary bases for a successful struggle.

First, a strong national will which will generate the adequate revolutionary leadership capable of functioning as the intellectual and organizational fore-runner and which will invest its efforts back into the movement in order to gain an indisputable legitimacy.

Second, a pure and clear revolutionary conscience which will plant the strong morale in the masses and guide them towards the necessary initiation of the movement's actions and promote the dedication of the lower levels of the organization.

And last but most important, an impeccable ideology symbolizing human dignity and universal justice, promising freedom, equality and peace. The political objectives and strategies advocated must in any case be realistic.

It is through the understanding and acquisition of the above that the Armenian People will incessantly nourish the struggle with its sons and daughters who will join the "band-wagon" headed for Moush and Van and Yerevan. Our People will invest in the one venture which will secure its freedom and independence. It will harbor the movement for its liberation in its consciousness of collective security and welfare.

Because today, more than ever, our People has understood where the river originates from and where it will finally rest. It has learned to deal with the "shockwaves" of the enemy and has adapted to the cruelty of the real political world; and it has been acting accordingly.

I saw this with my own eyes, last week, in Boston and in New York.

Onward with the movement!

VIKEN HOVSEPIAN
THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IN SOVIET ARMENIA

In the minds of many, the Soviet Union is a totalitarian regime. It is dominated by a single so-called communist party whose harsh repressive measures suffocate all forms of dissident expression. The Soviet regime is certainly repressive. But in spite of that, in recent years, a dissident movement has begun in the Soviet Union, particularly in Soviet Armenia.

It is difficult to specify when Soviet Armenian dissidence began, but the earliest forms of protest started in the 1960's with the birth of the Soviet Armenian samizdat. In the Soviet Union, where publications are controlled and severely censored by the state, the samizdat designs secret publications that circulate underground. It distributes old or new illegal, uncensored literary texts of political or religious nature which are written by outsiders or by Soviet Armenians. Originally, the Soviet Armenian samizdat was not successful in gaining respectability in the Diaspora. Their literature had a strong tendency to concern itself solely with local grievances, instead of general problems. They were simply not capable of holding the public's interest. The mediocre level of literature and the relative scarcity of their texts also contributed considerably to the general irrelevance. The Soviet Armenian samizdat was not able to influence a large number of people, and was overall ineffective in the international Armenian struggle.

Aside from the relatively immature samizdat, the first major public act came in 1965. In commemoration of April 24, a spontaneous demonstration was organized in Yerevan. 100,000-150,000 Armenians took part in voicing their demands of "justice", "freedom", and "our lands". This unprecedented act was the outcry of 20 years of severe repression, but of greater importance, it reflects a fundamental shift in Soviet policy concerning the Armenians. Soviet policy up to that time had been one of severe repression of all nationalistic and anti-Soviet feelings. In the 1960's, Soviet leaders realized they could channel Armenian nationalistic feelings against Turkey. By this process, they could rid themselves of the great economic burden of keeping the Armenians under complete control. In addition, the resulting anti-Turkish sentiment would be beneficial in their struggle against "capitalism". The April 24 demonstration was a direct result of this policy. Most of the slogans were against the Turkish state and not the Soviet. The demonstrators were not stopped immediately by authorities, but were allowed to march for a long time. When they were stopped, it was by local police instead of the army, who has a habit of interfering in such instances.

Beginning with the events of 1965, the Soviet Armenian dissident movement can honestly be called a movement. Very little is known about Armenian dissidents, except the fact that they all have a disagreement with the Soviet regime and that they are not numerous. It seems they are mostly from the intelligentsia—writers, technicians, or students—, even though their level of literature does not suggest that. Overall, their beginnings are extremely vague.

The movement can be separated into three inter-related parts: a moderate, a religious, and a radical.

The moderate movement is the struggle on the cultural level. Its basic stance is in defense of the Armenian language and culture against attempts of russification. Since the founding of Soviet Armenia, there has been a constant effort by the Soviet powers to install the Russian way of life and culture into Armenia. There has even been an attempt at making Russian the national language of Soviet Armenia. On the national level, the moderate movement fights vigorously against these threats. It also stands in protest against emigration of Armenian

Robert Nazarian
workers. On the local level its main work is towards eliminating growing Russian influence and Russian student enrollment in Armenian schools.

The moderate movement has the largest number of followers from the people. It has mobilized many in the intelligentsia. Non-conformist artists like Baruir Sevag, Hrond Mateossian, and Razmik Tooyan, and conformist but nationalistic artists like Silva Gaboudian and H. Malin have spoken in defense of the movement's activities. With the help of painter Sarian and novelist Sero Kharazian, it published the literary review "Garoun". In 1965, the moderate movement founded the "Committee for the Preservation of Armenian Historic Monuments". The first major Armenian encyclopedia was published in Yerevan by intellectuals involved in the movement. Sergei Paradzjanov, the talented Armenian filmmaker, has also contributed greatly to the cultural struggle.

The moderate movement can best be categorized by its cultural and nationalistic emphasis and mostly by its legal nature. All the activities were done with respect to the Soviet legal code. In effect, the moderate movement has gained many sympathizers in the Soviet leadership. But the accidental deaths of the two leaders of the movement, Beruir Sevag (1971) and Minas Avedissian (1975) has caused some suspicion.

In recent times the religious movement is best described as a general irritation between the church and the state, instead of a dissident movement. Though Soviet Armenians have certainly been much more than just irritated about the actions of the state, they have not taken any significant, legal, or illegal action to defend their church.

The problems between the church and the state began with the founding of Soviet Armenia. Due to the atheistic nature of the Soviet regime, all churches were closed. Religion was outlawed. But tremendous protests by all Armenians soon brought that situation to an end. Soviet powers have had a long interest in the Armenian Church. In the Armenian community, the church is an important institution which, to a certain degree, regulates the way of life. The state realized that by controlling the church, it could also control the people. In effect, the state granted the Armenian Church the freedom to preach as long as it remained subservient and loyal. But despite the church's loyalty, the state prohibited the propagation of the Armenian faith. To this day, the active churches are few. The priests are scarce and ill-qualified.

Oddly enough, these restrictions have created a religious awakening in the Soviet Armenians. Religious marriages, funerals, and such things have increased noticeably. More people have been attending church services. But unfortunately, this has not led to any sort of religious freedom movement. No person or group of people has taken the initiative. The differences between the state and the church have stayed as a general irritance.

The radical movement is the only true dissident movement. It is the long-awaited movement that dared to speak directly against the Soviet regime. Its actions were both legal and illegal.

It is now known that the first such radical group was the "Union of Young Armenians" created in 1963. This underground organization was responsible for the unparalleled demonstration of 1965. Though the "Union of Young Armenians" still exists in Russia and the Ukraine, most of the members left and formed the Armenian "National Unity Party" (NUP) in 1966 in Yerevan. Listed here are the names of most of the members now known, to provide a perspective for the origins of the group: Halkaz Khachatryan, painter, born in 1919; Barour Hairekan, student, born in 1948; Ashto Navasardian, electrician, born in 1950; Azat Arakelian, writer, born in 1960; Razmik Zogabian, writer, born in 1950; Bagrat Shahverdian, engineer, born in 1940; Razmik Margossian, student, born in 1948; Khatchik Sahakian, student; Norik Martirosian, teacher, born in 1948; Samuel Martirosian, engineer, born in 1951; Levon Badalian, student, born in 1956; Gagik Arakelian, born in 1956; Kostant Garabedian, writer, born in 1953, and Anahide Garabedian, born in 1952. (These names are known as of 1976. All did not necessarily join the NUP in 1966.)

The founder and leader, Halkaz Khachatryan, published NUP's first manifesto in 1967. It was short, very nationalistic, revolutionary, and anti-Soviet. It was considered to be extremely radical in Soviet Armenia, mainly because it wanted the establishment of a free, independent, and unified Armenian homeland. The NUP was able to protest effectively. The circulation of their samizdat, including the newspapers "Paros" (first published in 1969 by Halkaz Khachatryan) and "Yerkounk" (first printed in 1969 by Barour Hairekan) reached over 10,000. Hunger strikes were successfully organized and executed. Journals, articles, and reports were also published and distributed.

In response to the Soviet Union heightened its pursuit of these Armenian radicals. In 1968, Halkaz Khachatryan was imprisoned. Barour Hairekan, who took over the leadership position, was also imprisoned in 1970. Between 1967 and 1975, 18 secret court trials were held concerning NUP radicals. Consequently, 50 Armenians were convicted for terms varying from 6 months to 10 years confinement or exile. An architect, Halk Iskenderian, died a martyr in the Yerevan KGB prison in 1966.

Beginning in the early 1970's, as a general trend among all dissidents in the Soviet Union, the NUP gradually became more legalistic and open. It abandoned its previous radical, anti-Soviet ideology and adopted a more moderate course of action. Article 72 (as of 1977) in the Constitution of the Soviet Union allows a republic, such as Armenian S.S.R., to secede from the USSR by an absolute majority agreement. The NUP pronounced itself a defender of this article. Its plans are to establish a free, independent, and united Armenia through legal propaganda and a legal general election. The independent homeland will be established with the consent of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and Free Armenia will peacefully co-exist. This new radical program also denounces violence as a means of struggle. The new program was written by Barour Hairekan and Azat Arakelian in a KGB prison in 1974. (For a complete explanation of NUP's new program, see HAYTOUG, May, 1980.)

Though NUP's plan of action was modified, its radical goals remained. It is easy to recognize A.R.F.
The NUP does not strive for political power, but rather, for the universal interest of the Armenian Nation. In its program, the NUP specifically states that it will go out of existence once an independent homeland is established. To this effect, the NUP demands all Armenian communities in the Diaspora to organize demonstrations in front of Soviet embassies. By the early 1980's, due to severe persecutions, it was thought that the NUP was dismantled. But the fourth issue of its official newspaper “Paros” was published in Beirut, dated “Erevan, 1981”. It dealt completely with the NUP program, which had charged little from the previous legalitarian one. Confirmed by the “Council of the NUP” and signed by A. Arshakian and A. Navasartian, this publication was an important reminder that the NUP is still alive.

Besides Article 72, the Soviet Union also has accepted the terms of the Helsinki accords to defend the rights of men in political, religious, and cultural freedom. The last official dissident group was formed in Yerevan in response to these accords. “The Armenian Group for the Surveillance of the Helsinki Accords” made itself known immediately with a public declaration on April 1, 1977, signed by Edouard Haroutoungian, Deacon Robert Nazarian, and Samuel Ossian. Unlike the others, the “Helsinki Accords Group” openly and publicly criticized the state for neglecting basic human rights. In a very open and legalistic manner, they collected evidence of abuse of rights, presented it to the Soviet leaders, and demanded reforms. Besides human rights, the Helsinki accords dealt with specific Armenian grievances, the reattachment of Karabagh and Nakhichevan to Armenia, and the reainment of the Armenian language as the official language of the nation, economy, and culture. The “Helsinki Accords Group” demanded the enactment of these agreements. They demanded the end of censorship of the media, and denounced the conviction of men simply for their ideological beliefs, including NUP militants. They also appealed to the Belgrade Conference in June and September of 1977 with their grievances. But, this open and legalistic protest did not last long. Robert Nazarian and Shahen Aroutoungian were arrested on December 22, 1977. Edouard Haroutoungian launched an appeal to help his companions on February 8, 1978, a few months before his own apprehension in 1979. The last public act of the “Helsinki Accords Group” was in February of 1978. It was a collection of food and money to help political prisoners and their families. By early 1980, the “Helsinki Group” was dismantled.

On January 18, 1978, Shahen Aroutoungian was sentenced to 3 years of camp labor for “resisting authorities”. Robert Nazarian was convicted for “anti-Soviet agitation and sent to hard labor camp for five years. Edouard Haroutoungian was sentenced to two and a half years of hard labor.

As mentioned, by 1979, the “Helsinki Group” was in the process of dismantling, but the NUP was seemingly still alive. On January 31, 1979, the Tass agency announced that three young Armenians were executed in Moscow. Stepan Zadikian, Hagop Stepanian, and Zaven Baghassarian were condemned, in a secret trial, for their supposed involvement in a Moscow subway station explosion on January 8, 1977. The charges were never announced. Stepan Zadikian was said to be a member of the NUP, and the others were considered to be his accomplices.

In the 1980's, prosecutions of Armenian dissidents continued. Alexander Manoushagian, a professor at “The Armenian Academy of the Sciences”, and two other professors, Ashtok Apkian and Sembat Melkonian, were arrested in 1980. All three were charged with “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”. Alexander Manoushagian's case was the gravest. In addition to the original charges, he was charged with publishing two essays—both titled “All on the National Question and Imperialism”. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison. The others were sentenced to two years of interior exile.

The two NUP leaders responsible for the 1981 program, Ashtok Navasardian and Azat Arshakian, were arrested in February of 1981. Between March 29 and April 5, 1981, trials were held for five other Armenian youths accused of “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and participation in anti-Soviet activities”. They were the organizers or reorganizers of the “Union of Young Armenians”. Mzepet Aroutoungian and Ishkan Mirkichian, the directors, were each sentenced to 7 years of hard labor plus 5 years of interior exile. The others, Chambros Aghababian, Samuel Yeghiazarian, Vartan Aroutoungian were sentenced to 3 to 5 years of prison.

The Soviet Armenian dissident movement is now nearly twenty years old. Its main grievances remain nationalistic: the reattachment of Nakhichevan and Kharabagh to Armenia; the maintenance of the Armenian language as the national language; and of course, the relative movement for the liberation of Armenia. During this time, the griever's and their methods have steadily increased. And in response, the selective but fierce Soviet repression has intensified.

The Armenian dissidents are still few and obscure. Their acts of protest are also few and far in between. But every publicized act reminds us that Soviet Armenians are not a dormant people. It reminds us that Soviet Armenians will act in defense of Armenia. And finally, each dissident act, almost regrettfully, reminds us that the direct struggle for our lands can only take place upon them.

ARA OSHAGAN
I am a person who is continuously denied the basic attributes of a human being. I am a person who is considered a hero by few and alienated by many for my acts. I am a person struggling to keep the Armenian identity alive. I have lost my country and have forgotten my mother language. I have never set foot upon the majestic, holy lands of my ancestors. I have never tasted the Armenian winds nor felt the sacred waters of Lake Sevan; yet, some unspoken entity of belonging burns deep inside of me.

People condemn me for my acts and say that I am a "KHENT" for committing such murders on behalf of an archaic struggle. But as my finger pulls on the frigid gun trigger, beads of sweat collect upon my forehead, tears rush into my eyes and I realize that it is for them who estrange me, it is for them who dislike my acts that I fight for.

I love the Armenian people even if they decry my acts and it is for them to have the right to choose, to have the right to be free that I fight for.

I am a modern day fedayee fighting not only against the Turkish government, but also against my own people.

AN UNGER

Unger Krikor Salib had the victim of a stray bullet last June in Lebanon.

Unger Kokko was born in Beirut on March 19, 1961. He received his elementary education at the Akkor Kasardjian Armenian School. After immigration to the U.S. in 1978, he attended Pasadena High School and Pasadena City College, where he was a hard-working student.

After graduating from college, he worked at the Bank of America.

Unger Kokko was a member of the A.Y.F. Pasadena Nigel Tounman Chapter and the A.R.F. Lernavayr Gomideh, and he fulfilled his organizational responsibilities as a well-disciplined unger.

He was respected by all of his fellow ungers.
Այս Պարգևանքի Բերվե

Այսօր հրապարակած համանուն ժողովածուն են, որ երկրի Հայաստանում բազմաթիվ դմուտքների ու որսական աշխատության համար մշակված բարձրագույն հասարակավորական ծրագրեր են ընդունվել և կայացվել են այսօր։ Պատմական և մշակույթային վայրերում երկրի արդյունավետությունը և երկրի ազդանշանների առկայությունը ներկայացվում է հետագագիտական և կարևոր խնդիրները։

Այս հրապարակած համանուն ժողովածուն կրճատ է պարունակում Արևմտյան Երկիրի և Հայաստանի տարրերի և որսական զարգացման համար թույքների և խորհրդանիշների գրավորվածությունների մատչելի ու մասնագետների անդամությունների հետ միավորվելով։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն իրավատեր է պարունակում և մշակույթային համարդկությունների մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություններ։

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմություն

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապատմоւ

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգանացման առաջապ

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլեգա

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլե

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլե

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլե

Այսպիսով ներկայացվող ժողովածուն համարդավորության մեջ է ներկայացվել հետագագիտական բնության մեջ գրավորված էլ
LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Editor's Note: The following Letter to the Editor has been reprinted from a recent issue of the Armenian Weekly, the A.R.F. English organ of the Eastern U.S. We publish it here as a very interesting and comprehensible comparison made by an A.Y.F. member of the Eastern Region between the latest E.T. craze and the refuge status of our People.

Dear Editor:

With the passage of time, the world is witnessing the intensity with which the Armenian Liberation Struggle is imposing itself on its surroundings.

The politically conscious Armenian youth, profiting from the bloody experiences of the past and armed with the maturity of a wise man has been able to overcome all the obstacles thrown in his path by the enemy. Backed by a strong determination and a deeper ideological commitment, they have succeeded in shaping a unique strategy for the realization of our just cause.

Today, not only E.T. in his fabulous movie wants to go home. Not only are the imaginary heroes touching whole audiences with their love and attachment to their “homeland”, but also whole nations as the Armenians resolve to regain their Hayasdan.

We have been E.T.'s too long in the world. I think it is time to “phone home” and “go home”.

Armenia belongs to the Armenians. Only the Armenians can populate it, develop it, turn it into a country able to prosper.

The sparse Turkish population or the officials and army in the cities on those lands cannot be considered the population of the land. They cannot develop, populate and keep the land vital, especially when they themselves well know the land is not theirs, will not become theirs, and sooner or later will be taken from them.

Tremendous efforts spent by the Turkish Government to neutralize our struggle have turned futile in the face of a stronger challenge put up by the Armenian youth.

The secret behind this invisible force lies in the larger support that the Armenian community all over the world offers to the ideas of human dignity and social justice. But most of all, the Armenian community in its struggle against the forces of assimilation, has been able to transmute its bond to the hopes and ideals of its future generation who in turn have turned them to real-life situations and sacrifices within a well-thought strategy for political success.

Today, the silence of international courts and large and medium governments concerning the Armenian Case in no way weakens the legal basis of the national political cause pursued by the Armenian people.

Present unfavorable conditions cannot be a reason for not pursuing rights, for not pursuing a cause.

“We shall return,” said Karosin Nideh. We shall forge our destiny based upon the principle of the right of national self-determination, based on the lawful equality in the family of nations.

Go Armenian youth. Let God bless you. Show this world that Armenians can no longer remain E.T.'s; that Armenians can no longer remain refugees.

Our strength is in our collective struggle against our oppressors; a constant struggle until total liberation. We must never forget that history never witnessed a failing liberation struggle.

Go Armenian youth. Show the world that chains and prisons cannot eliminate the national aspirations of the Armenian people. Show the world that statements cannot erase history and that oppression breeds resistance.


Raffy Ardashian
New York

հասցվեք սրահին

ռաֆֆի արծաթաձեռ

Փառք է մեր հայրերի երկրի համար: Մեր հայերը երկիրների մոտ գտնվում են, որտեղ նրանք կարող են զբաղվել կազմակերպականությամբ, միավորվել և զարգացնել երկրի կենսագրությունը. Մեր հայերը երկիրների մոտ գտնվում են, որտեղ նրանք կարող են զբաղվել կազմակերպականությամբ, միավորվել և զարգացնել երկրի կենսագրությունը. Մեր հայերը երկիրների մոտ գտնվում են, որտեղ նրանք կարող են զբաղվել կազմակերպականությամբ, միավորվել և զարգացնել երկրի կենսագրությունը. Մեր հայերը երկիրների մոտ գտնվում են, որտեղ նրանք կարող են զբաղվել կազմակերպականությամբ, միավորվել և զարգացնել երկրի կենսագրությունը. Մեր հայերը երկիրների մոտ գտնվում են, որտեղ նրանք կարող են զբաղվել կազմակերպականությամբ, միավորվել և զարգացնել երկրի կենսագրությունը. Մեր հայերը երկիրների մոտ գտնվում են, որտեղ նրանք կարող են զբաղվել կազմակերպականությամբ, միավորվել և զարգացնել երկրի կենսագրությունը. Մեր հայերը երկիրների մոտ գտնվում են, որտեղ նրանք կարող են զբաղվել կազմակերպականությամբ, միավորվել և զարգացնել երկրի կենսագրությունը.
Գրողը ուր բառ ուղղարձան է, բայց տակ է, որ միայն համարվում է, որ այն անրում է հայ գրության մեջ պատմությունների համար

Մաշկիկ սնվեցլիք է, որ գլխավոր չէ, որ միայն համարվում է, որ այն անրում է հայ գրության մեջ պատմությունների համար

Մայր սնվեցլիք

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթներ և առանձին կազմակերպում տվել են հայ գրության մեջ պատմությունների համար

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթներ և առանձին կազմակերպում տվել են հայ գրության մեջ պատմություն

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթներ և առանձին կազմակերպում տվել են հայ գրության մեջ պատմություն

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթներ և առանձին կազմակերպում տվել են հայ գրության մեջ պատմություն

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ

Այս գրքի հսկայական կազմակերպման հարմար թաղանթ
THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT

On Acts of Justice Against the Unrepentant Turk

When the scale of justice hangs from the hand of He who holds it, in whose distinct touch it Invariably falls leftward; and When protests and petitions lead him not To adjust the balance, to show the Exact and just weight: then it is That the spirit of revolt comes forward Audaciously and fearlessly To bring that scale per force Into equitable balance.

When the store of violence meted the weak Passes all endurance; when the Victims of the iron fist find themselves Being forced into slavery, only through Which will his master allow him life, then it is That the spirit of revolt bursts forth, when The persecuted draws his sword of justice And turns on his oppressor.

When the unrelenting evil unwills to listen to protest and Sows poison as the bloody husbandman he is, the locust he is, When he spreads death to the four winds so that None will dare stand to him and chide him of His crimes, it is then the spirit of revolt That flames forth, to balance the scale, For mankind's sake.

MARDIROS KAZANDJIAN

CULTURAL MATERIALISM:
THE STRUGGLE FOR A SCIENCE OF CULTURE

Cultural Materialism is a strategy attempting to understand the causes of differences and similarities among societies and cultures. It is based on the simple premise that human social life is a response to the practical problems of earthly existence.

In its commitment to the rules of scientific method, Cultural Materialism opposes strategies that deny the legitimacy or the feasibility of scientific accounts of human behaviors— for example, humanist claims that there is no determinism (the doctrine that man is not a free agent, and that his actions and mental activity are governed by causes or motives outside his own will in human affairs. Cultural Materialism, with its emphasis upon the encounter between womb and belly and earth and water, also opposes numerous strategies that set forth from words, ideas, high moral values, and aesthetic and religious beliefs to understand the everyday events of ordinary human life. Aligned in this regard with the teachings of Karl Marx, Cultural Materialism nonetheless starts apart from the Marx-Engels-Lenin strategy of dialectical materialism. Condemned by dialectical materialists as "vulgar materialists" or "mechanical materialists", cultural materialists seek to improve Marx's original strategy by dropping the Hegelian that all systems evolve through a dialectic of negations and by adding reproductive pressure and ecological variables to the conjunction of material conditions studied by Marxist-Leninists. The "materialism" in "Cultural Materialism" is therefore intended as an acknowledgment of the debt owed to Marx's formulation of the determining influence of production and other material processes. The word "cultural" comes to the fore because the material causes of socio-cultural phenomena differ from those which pertain strictly to inorganic or organic determinants. Cultural Materialism, for example, stands opposed to biological reactionist materialism such as those embodied in racial, socio-biological, or ethiological explanations of cultural differences and similarities. "Cultural" also draws attention to the fact that the strategy is a product of anthropology and its sub-fields—a synthesis which transcends ethnic and national boundaries.

Cultural Materialism is a non-Hegelian strategy, whose epistemological assumptions are rooted in the philosophical traditions of David Hume and the British empiricists—assumptions that led to Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, and the birth of anthropology as an academic discipline. Yet Cultural Materialism is not a monistic alternative to dialectics. Rather, it is concerned with systemic interactions between thought and behavior, with conflicts as well as harmonies, gradual and revolutionary change, function, and dysfunction, positive and negative feedback.

If you want to learn more about the concept, read Marvin Harris' CULTURAL MATERIALISM or contact HAYTOUG's Editorial Staff for further references.
JUNIORS CATCH OLYMPIC FEVER

A.Y.F. Junior Olympics—the largest single junior activity—were held the weekend of March 25th, 1983. Friday night, seven Junior Chapters including Montebello Vahan Cardashian, Valley Simon Vratsian, Orange County Agahpiar Sarop, Torrance Ararat, Hollywood Koko Saliba, Pasadena Nigol Touman, and Glendale Simon Zavian emersed themselves in mental combat with the Simon Vratsian Chapter emerging victorious. After a good night’s sleep, juniors were seen bright and early Saturday morning warming up for the events. They had been preparing for weeks. Each chapter ran hard and fast, encouraged by their team members hoping for their chapter’s final victory. During the course of the afternoon, the few seniors and parents present witnessed the outstanding performances of the four individuals who later received high point trophies: ungers Zabel Moskian (Vahan Cardashian), Raffi Haroutounian (Nigol Touman), Sirvat Markarian (Vahan Cardashian), and Ara Ajounian (Vahan Cardashian). The Victory Ball was held Saturday evening where the juniors danced the night away to Armenian and American music. The lack of senior support at this gala event was disturbing. The winners of the day’s grueling events were announced to an anxious yet hopeful crowd. The Montebello Vahan Cardashian Juniors claimed the laurels of victory and danced the traditional victory Halsah around the coveted trophy. Although each chapter was spirited and enthusiastic, the Torrance Ararat Juniors were singled out and presented with a “Spirit Award”—an award which would have justifiably been given to each participating chapter. The excellent weekend was accented with the Annual Olympic Picnic Sunday afternoon. Here, seniors made their presence felt and added to the overall strength of this extravaganza. After a non-existent basketball tournament, juniors settled down to hamburgers, chips, and drinks, courtesy of the A.R.S. Anahid Chapter and of resident

C.E.J. chef Vahe Peroomian. Volleyball, football, soccer, frisbee, and backgammon games were followed by an impromptu water fight won by the three-man San Francisco delegation.

At dusk, good-byes were exchanged with hopes of seeing new ungers soon.

Kathy Fundukian