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Whereas the education of the Armenian youth is a necessity for the progress of the Armenian Liberation Struggle, and by taking into consideration that a large number of the Armenian youth living in the western United States is more fluent in English than Armenian, the Haytoug Editorial Staff has made the conscious and time consuming effort to translate some of the Armenian articles into English.

However, by also realizing the importance of the prolongation of the existence of Armenian culture in the Diaspora, the Haytoug Editorial Staff asks its readers to consciously take the initiative of also reading the articles in Armenian—even if this could require an extra effort.

The Armenian articles are not printed for decorative purposes.

The Haytoug Editorial Staff would also like to bring to the attention of its readers that in the case of the articles printed in two languages, the language of the larger title, is the one which the article was originally written in. The translations could sometimes alter the original meaning of the article. Hence, the official views of Haytoug and/or the authors are contained in the articles written in their original language.
"As the modern means of the mass media are perfected, our efforts to keep the Diaspora Armenians in internal Armenian communities become more difficult."

Since the first days of December, the modern means of the mass media have been put to action to produce a chaos within hours which in the past would have been impossible to produce within months. The time is the Christmas season, and the chaos is the reproduction of green, red, and white in audio and visual in incomprehensible constructions.

The Christmas season and its songs are omnipresent, as every store takes on a genuine appearance of Christmas decorations. During this time of the year, it is different for anyone. Armenian or not, to avoid this atmosphere.

For our community, a situation of double contradiction is created during this season. Our historical tradition calls for us to celebrate January 6 as the birthday of Christ, but the general atmosphere dictates us to celebrate December 25. This contradiction leads our community to react by adopting various solutions to the problem. Some of us are satisfied just by celebrating December 25, others celebrate both December 25 and January 6, believing this to be the ultimate compromise; while the rest celebrate only the 6th.

We are in no way opposed to the idea of celebrating religious or any other holidays and, we respect the tradition within the Armenian Protestant and Catholic communities to celebrate December 25. What is vital for us, however, is that under all circumstances, these occasions aid us in our efforts to maintain our culture under all difficult conditions in the Diaspora, and that they be used as a weapon to protect us from the foreign traditions which penetrate us.

When we view our presence within the Diaspora to be a temporary one, or, in other words, as a stage during which we can organize and revitalize our forces on the road to struggle to regain our homeland, we will realize that the question of whether to celebrate December 25 or not becomes one of fundamental importance. Naturally, on this road to struggle, the protection of our culture (see the Haytoug Editorial of October/November issue) is not our only task, but it is for us an important one.

It is especially important that the politicized, or at least politically aware youth realize this danger which indirect-
...We are aware of the forces that are attempting to direct and shape our thoughts and lives... We cannot allow these forces to suffocate our existence...

...It falls upon our shoulders, the Armenian Youth, to disturb the indifference of the Armenian people, to shake the foundations of Armenian Diaspora life, oblige each Armenian to be aware of the political realities concerning the Armenian People, and to struggle towards the just resolution of our cause.

"The Revolutionary Front"
June 1984

COMMUNIQUE
19 November, 1984

The Armenian Revolutionary Army, claiming today’s attack against Mr. Enver, a Turkish diplomat posted in Vienna, Austria, continues to battle according to its plans.

We remind that we are the sons of the Armenian people and that we work solely to the service of its just cause.

We reaffirm our total independence regarding the different imperialistic currents. East as well as the West, which act directly or by way of its agents, and we proclaim our attachment, without reserve, to a policy of clearly expressed non-alignment.

Our combat which emanates from the National Liberation Struggle of the Armenian people is undertaken against the reactionary Turkish government.

It will conclude, when, taking note of the legality of the Armenian Cause, the Turkish government begins negotiations with the representatives of the Armenian people.

Until then, we will; continue our struggle with the same resolve expressed by our commandos in Lisbon and we warn the Government of Turkey as well as its representatives in the four corners of the world.

LONG LIVE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ARMENIA.

LONG LIVE THE FIGHTERS OF THE ARMENIAN CAUSE.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE LIBERATION OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE.

ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY ARMY
Against the current

Note: The following is strictly a translation of an editorial of Aztak Shapatoriq. Aztak Shapatoriq is the official publication of the ARF Bureau. The official views of the publication are contained in the Armenian original.

The everyday lives of Armenians living in the Diaspora is subject to a "current" or influx of foreign influences, and it is this current that the Armenian communities worldwide are "rowing" against today.

As methods and means in the ever-expanding field of the mass media improve, so proportionately, the internal structure of the Armenian communities becomes vulnerable—their efforts in keeping the Armenian public at large informed and in touch with Armenian issues becoming increasingly more difficult.

There was a time, when the younger generation, under the "protective wing" of the Armenian school, could receive a well-rounded education, having no pressing plans in keeping pace with public establishments. This would in turn protect itself from the imposition of "outside" values and traditions.

There was a time, when because of an economic, social or cultural "distinctiveness," Armenians were secure within their nearly exclusive Armenian communities, easily able to exist and evade all or any foreign influences.

Times have changed indeed, and the Armenian Diaspora is undergoing long-lasting and consequently tremendous and far-reaching changes; and the detrimental effects or "wounds" caused by such changes have surfaced and have become all too prevalent. This situation is recognizable not only from community to community, but also to Armenians living within the same community.

A natural outcome of all this is the improving state of our organizational methods and means.

The Armenian press and Armenian books today play an even more influential role in keeping strong communication ties between Armenians in the Diaspora, thus minimizing great geographical distances between communitites.

The Armenian school system today possesses and even greater means in improving itself as a high level educational institution, thus making itself available to a greater number of Armenian youth.

This same effort or endeavor is evident in all our other institutions and organizations which are taking the initative in keeping communication ties with their contacts and members worldwide.

Therefore it is true that the Armenian diaspora, lacking a national base from which to perpetuate, has chosen to "row against the current." It is also true that in its near seventy year history, the Armenian diaspora is waging its struggle with "uneven arms" for the first time. We must not overlook the fact that this struggle is set within wholly defined margins or boundaries.

Every Armenian today must make a conscious effort to immerse himself within his national reality, his cultural values and traditions, by becoming a part of these efforts to widen communication channels. Even the most populated Armenian communities today are not only pressured by mass "exoduses," but also, as a direct result of a whole different outlook and an increasing lean toward a more bourgeois-type lifestyle, their protective shell is weakening; thus resisting less and less the forceful pressures of assimilation and its consequences.

In reality, the assimilative process and its danger of an uprooting of cultural identity, is by no means exclusive to Armenians: it is a crisis affecting all of mankind. There is a "great leveller" at work, taking cultures and nations under its "great rolling pin," treading on every individual's values and rights.

Every individual today, regardless of where he comes from and where he lives, first and foremost concerns himself with his economic situation and with those external forces which have bearing on the shaping of his life. And those forces which possess today's greatest tool, the powers of audio-visual technology, step beyond the realm of changing the individual's lifestyle, and go on to impose their cultural and political ideals.

It is obvious that the possession of these "arms" of self-defense lie only with those who, in a political sense, are still considered by today's standards to be part of a closed, or sheltered community. But this security is only temporary, as it is only a matter of time until the "current" will take all collectivity into its all-engulfing course.

As long as the Armenian diaspora was a self-contained community of peoples, the "arms" used to wage the struggle against this current were not unbalanced or insufficient.

In other words, in protection against external influential factors, the Diaspora's natural defense system, self-containment or an isolationist policy within the communities, is not sufficient any longer. The vitality of the Diaspora is dependent not only upon its ability to retain
Who Are They?

WESTERN SAHARA and the POLISARIO

By Nora Kalebjian

Geography

The region known today as the Western Sahara (also referred to as the Spanish Sahara or the Sahara Occidental) spans over an area of approximately 103,000 square miles on the northwestern coast of the African continent and overlapping the borders of southern Morocco and northern Mauritania with about 20 miles of common borders with Algeria. Under Spanish rule, this area was divided into the Saquiet al-Hamra region in the north and the Rio do Oro region in the south. As a result of a Tripartite Agreement by Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania signed on November 14, 1975, which defined the borders of the region, Spain withdrew its colonial rule over the area, and Morocco took control over all of the Saquiet el-Hamra region and the upper half of the Rio do Oro region, while Mauritania began its rule over the southern part of the Rio do Oro region, until August of 1979, when Mauritania renounced its claim to the southern portion of Western Sahara. This region was subsequently annexed by Morocco.

The geographical character of the Western Sahara is comprised of sharp cliffs and empty bays along the Atlantic coast with flat, stony desert inland. The Saquiet el-Hamra is one of the few important rivers in the region.

The sandy desert and rocky terrain of the southeast have greatly aided the Polisario in its fight for the region, whose effective camouflage in the area misled some Mauritanian troops in one instance described by a Mauritanian soldier who was captured as a result.

Demography

Prior to embarking upon an attempt to determine the demographical features of the Western Sahara, it must be considered that there is generally a lack of any objective figures in this area; it seems that the few groups or institutions which claim to have accurate numbers also have obvious reasons to present the demographic situation in a way which serves their own interests.

It is generally accepted as an historical reality, however, that there exist several tribes in the Western Saharan region, numerically the most important of which are the Reguibat Lgouacem of the coastal area of Saquiet el-Hamra, the Izargun Tekna predominant in the area around el-Aioun, and the Ouled Delim and Bou...
Sba in the area known as the Tiris el-Gharbia in the south.

Growing urbanization, to which the phosphate-mining industry has been a catalyst, has led many of the Saharans to leave their traditional ways of life and to migrate to the cities of Ojahla (Villa Cisneros), Bou Craa, Smara, and the port city of el-Aouin, where most phosphate warehouses and refining facilities are located. However, some of the indigenous tribes have maintained their nomadic modus vivendi.

The Spanish census taken in 1974 (Censo '74) recorded Sahraouis population at 73,497, of whom 38,336 were men and 35,161 were women. This census, being conducted by the Spanish state which had enough reasons to play down the importance of the region in demographic terms, could hardly be considered an accurate estimation of the Sahraouis population. An even more extreme case of an attempt to reduce the numerical importance of the Sahraouis living in the area, Moroccan and Mauritanian sources have held that "the figure purporting (by the Spanish census) to be the total number of Sahraouis was excessive" due to the fact that since the 1960s, many Sahraouis have taken refuge in Morocco or Mauritania. On the other hand, the advocates of Sahraouis self-determination consider the population to be much more numerous that that reported by the 1974 census. Their extreme suggestions run up to 600,000 Sahraouis, presenting a probable exaggeration of their own. It is interesting to note that although almost all sources on the Western Sahara recognize the possible inaccuracy of the Censo '74, they do not indulge in a suggestion of their own. The only varying proposal encountered is that by the Man's Domain world atlas, which estimates the Western Saharan population to be 90,000. Considering these discrepancies in estimating the population growth since the early 1970's, we were inclined to accept 100,000 to 120,000 as being a fair estimation.

Early History

Spain, originally interested in the preservation of its colonial rule over the Canary Islands and their military and commercial security, set out in 1984—the eve of the Berlin Conference—for what was to become a full military and administrative rule over the Western Sahara, by dispatching 400 soldiers at the coastal city of Villa Cisneros and soon formalized its claims for the coast from Cape Blaine to Cape Bojador. This claim was to be officially accepted by the other European powers present at the Berlin Conference which had been called with the express purpose of dividing up Africa among the European powers."

As the power controlling the Western Saharan coast, Spain "legally" had claim on territory up to 150 miles inland from the sea. But "it was nearly 50 years before Spain made any serious attempt to control the whole of what came to be known as the Spanish Sahara." Losing the war against the US in 1893, Spain became vulnerable to French demands on salt mining in the southeastern portion of Western Sahara and of what is today northeast Mauritania. Indeed, in the early 1900's, France was the dominant power in northeast Africa with control over Morocco and Mauritania. This unchallenged rule met the rebellion by the Reguibat leader Ma ul-Aineen, who was chased by the French northward into Western Sahara to the city of Smara. Practically autonomous, Ma ul-Aineen, possibly with German support, attempted an invasion of Morocco on 1910. He was defeated. After his death, his son al-Hiba attempted an invasion of Morocco once more in 1912, but was soon driven out. Back into Western Sahara, al-Hiba, and all of the inland Western Saharan population for that matter, lived autonomously until 1934 when Spain, supported by France, went inland. This, of course, was not so easy a task. Several tribes rebelled and attacked Spanish garrisons and army posts until 1958 after the Operation Escouillon undertaken with the assistance of France), when Spain declared the area to have been "pacificed."

The Conflict in Western Sahara

1956 to 1970

If Morocco is independent it is not completely unified. Morocco's independence must be completed. On the south, Morocco's frontiers end at St. Louis of Senegal. It is necessary to struggle until total unification.

These words of Mr. Allal el-Fassi, a leader of the popular Moroccon Istiqlal party, declared in 1956 were, in retrospect, not only Mr. el-Fassi's thoughts, but also those of the conservative current in the country headed by King Mohammed V; these thoughts were soon to be translated into a lengthy armed struggle waged by Istiqlal's Army for the Liberation of the Sahara (ALS) with the tacit support of the government and the Forces Armees Royales (FAR) in a campaign to help their "Mauritanian brothers to free themselves and rejoin Morocco, our common fatherland." This was a clear demonstration of the Moroccan appetite towards the Sahara as far south as Mauritania, let alone its determination of having a historic claim over the Western Sahara.

We believe that it is the indisputable and inviolable right of all nations and peoples to have their own independent and sovereign states so that they can determine their own destinies. Furthermore, we believe that individuals can best develop their fullest potential only under conditions in which their cultural identity and national self-determination are assured. These beliefs undeniably place us in a position of solidarity with all disenfranchised peoples and their liberation movements...

AYF Manifesto
WESTERN SAHARA and the POLISARIO

These armed activities faced some degree of counter-insurgency campaigns, the most successful one being the joint Franco-Spanish campaign in February, 1958, called Operation Ecouvillon, which drove many of the insurgents into southern Morocco.

With the independence of Mauritania from the French and its subsequent admission to the United Nations in October, 1961, Morocco’s claim over Mauritania rapidly lost its credibility. Western Sahara, for its part, by a final decree in November, 1962, was transformed into a Spanish province under the Directorate of Establishment and Provinces of Africa with a local government structure headed by the Governor-General and represented in the Spanish Parliament by three representatives. King Hassan II, who had ascended to the throne in early 1961, soon understood that a change in strategy was necessary: it was best to concentrate on preparing for the decolonization of Western Sahara, at least morally reinforced by the 1960 UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples). In fact, in early 1965, King Hassan arranged for several tribal leaders from the Rio de Oro region to declare their formal allegiance to him and to the Moroccan state; in December of the same year, the United Nations called on Spain to decolonize the Ifni area in mainland Morocco and all of the Western Sahara. Without losing much time, Spain embarked on a series of reactions:

Announcing early in 1966, a massive development programme costing 250 million pesetas. In March, 800 tribal chiefs, representing 6,947 tons, signed a memorandum in favour of union with Spain; in October, a similar memorandum was signed, reputedly by over 90 percent of the population. Six tribal leaders took these documents to the UN in November, and another delegation pleaded Spain’s cause for her before the Fourth (Decolonization) Committee of the UN. Nevertheless, the General Assembly reaffirmed the “inalienable right of the peoples of Ifni and the Sahara to self-determination” in accordance with Resolution 1514.

This was a clear indication of the existing unfavorable atmosphere on the international level vis-a-vis colonization. By a decree enacted on May 11, 1967. Spain declared its assent to the principle of self-determination and announced, as a first step, its intention to create the Jema’a (also spelled Yema’a) which was to be a general assembly acting as a representative of the area population, four nominees by the appointed Governor-General, two City Mayors (el-Aioun and Villa Cisneros), and the President of Cabildo province. As it was clear from the first day, this purely advisory body was enacted by a country which had no immediate plans to evacuate the region; rather, Spain went on in its operations in the mining fields of the area, continuing its development of the industry. In September, 1969, Mauritanian President Moktar Ould Daddah accepted in the name of ‘Muslim unity’ King Hassan’s invitation to participate in the Islamic Conference in Rabat. With the mediation of Algerian President Houari Boumedienne, at the end of 1969, Moroccan-Mauritanian relations were declared as normalized, which in turn meant that Morocco did recognize the Mauritanian state, by King Hassan declaring that he “had never believed in Istiqala’s claims to Mauritania.

1970 marked a turning point in the history of the area. On June 17 of that year, supporters of the Oshod (Organization for the Liberation of Sequester el-Hamra and Oued el-Dheb), reinforced by the efforts of the MLS (Movement pour la Liberation du Sahara), organized a counter-demonstration in el-Aioun to the one staged Spanish celebrating the integration of Sahara with Spain. The demonstration led to riots and the subsequent killing of 16 demonstrators by Spanish troops and the arrest of several of the leaders of the movement, including Muhammed Basiri.

On September 14, 1970, three months after the demonstration in el-Aioun, a tripartite meeting between the leaders of Algeria, Mauritania, and Morocco determined to come up with “a common strategy to hasten the decolonization of Western Sahara.” Following this, the Morshob was organized, mainly attracting Moroccan intellectuals and immediately recognized by the Organization of African Unity.

POLISARIO and the National Liberation Movement

True political activism in the Western Sahara began among the educated elite, a phenomenon not uncommon among colonized nations. Groups of students, consisting of the sons of some of the wealthier tribal leaders of the region, pursued higher education in the universities of Europe. Awakening to political consciousness as a result of their educations, these students began to organize groups such as the aforementioned Oshod (Organization for the Liberation of Saquet el-Hamra and Oued el-Dheb), the MLS (Movement pour la Liberation du Sahara), and the Polisario (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquet el-Hamra and Rio de Oro).

In reaction to the emerging movement, the Spaniards set up a nationalist movement, though not a guerrilla one, called the Partido de
Unidad Nacional Saharaui (PUNS) in October, 1974, in preparation for the meeting of the Jema’a in November and led by Khalil Henna Quld Rashid, a graduate of Madrid University. In protest against the creation of the PUNS, the Polisario attacked by burning the Bu Craa el-Alouin conveyor belt. The PUNS attempted to hold its national congress in February, 1975, in el-Alouin, but was again thwarted by the Polisario, whose members occupied the PUNS headquarters and prevented the meeting from taking place. Ultimately, the PUNS was discredited when it failed to mobilize any significant support with which to impress the visiting United Nations mission in May. During the summer of 1975, it became evident that Spain had abandoned the PUNS and was negotiating directly with the Polisario.

Officially founded by its First Congress on May 10, 1973, the Polisario carried out its first armed attack against the Spanish only ten days later. At first ill-equipped until June, 1975, when Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania signed an agreement handing Western Sahara over to the latter two, after which Algerian and Libyan aid multiplied, the Polisario was involved in less than 50 major confrontations during which it claims killed 30 killed and taken prisoner, while claiming to have killed 200 enemy soldiers. It is said that although the Polisario carried on a successful campaign in conjunction with the Moroeb (formally the Oshod), the Spanish government been in a “normal state” (a relatively calm internal political scene), it could have if not destroyed, at least considerably weaken the Polisario through “intense use of helicopters and by poisoning wells.”

After one year of official existence and at its Second Congress in 1974, the Polisario Front defined its platform: “Independence, a non-aligned Arab Republic, Armed Struggle.” This in any way was a very vague political manifesto. Internationally, the Polisario supported Algerian policies and considered that “a policy of mutual aid with Algeria is an essential element in order to put to stop to manoeuvres against the Third World.” They made clear that once they were fully independent, they wanted to “cooperate with everyone,” including the United States, and especially in the economic domain. This intended cooperation would be in the exploitation of the phosphates, the revenues from which would serve to finance the building of roads, hospitals, schools, and other badly needed social services.

Organizationally, the Polisario is structured on traditional cell lines. The Congress, held once every four years, is the supreme authority of the organization. Delegates are sent to Congress from the small highly mobile cells, and Congress elects a political bureau and the Secretary-General. Ultimate executive control over both the military and the civil wings of the movement lies with the Secretary-General and the Executive Council. In addition, there also exist a number of liaison and specialized committees.

The nine-member Executive Council includes the Secretary-General, his deputy, the Prime Minister, and ministers of the interior and defense, and the President of the Congress. Underneath the Executive Council is the 21 member Political Bureau, whose members sit in the Parliament along with 20 members elected every year by local assemblies. At the local level, the Polisario is organized based upon the models of the Algerian wilaya and French communes.

It is estimated that the People’s Liberation Army, the military arm of the Polisario, consists of about 20,000 forces, mainly comprised of nomads. Its commander-in-chief is the Secretary-General of the Front. Recently, the Polisario has been putting forces up to 5,000 soldiers on the field in its attacks against Morocco.

The diplomatic arm of the Polisario Front is the self-proclaimed Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), founded on February 27, 1976, and enjoying the recognition of nearly 50 countries, 28 of which are African. Other countries which have officially recognized the SADR include Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Cuba, Mexico, Algeria, Libya, Syria, and the Democratic Republic of Yemen. In addition, the British Labour Party, the French and Italian Communist parties, and the Spanish Socialist Party have all recognized the Polisario, though not the SADR.

The well-organized nature of the Polisario is evident in the spread of its missions throughout the world. In most African countries, the Polisario has a full-scale embassy with an am-

(bassador. There is an ambassador in Cuba, and roving ambassador in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Polisario also has offices in New York and in nearly every European country, and frequent high-level visits are made to Kuwait and the Gulf states (except Saudi Arabia which supports Morocco), and to the Far East.

The Third Congress of Polisario, held in September, 1978, succeeded in establishing a more concrete policy than its predecessor, the Second Congress. In 1978, then, the Front identified its conditions for any “just and durable settlement”:

1. Recognition of the national sovereignty of the Sahrawi people over the whole of their territory and respect for their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence;

2. Recognition of the territorial integrity of the Western Sahara in accordance with the principle of the historic frontiers inherited from colonial times and recognized internationally;

3. Respect for the principle of non-use of force by the SADR’s neighbors in their relationship with the Sahrawi state and non-interference in its internal affairs;

4. Respect for the principle of settling differences by peaceful means on the part of the SADR’s neighbors.

It is significant to note that the Polisario considers itself to be an Islamic movement and even at one time considered the possibility of adopting the word “Islamic” to its name. It refrained from doing so, however, due to the potentially adverse reactions of sub-Saharan African states. The Polisario is, however, one of the supporters (albeit only in principle) of Iran in the raging Iran-Iraq war and has gradually moved from the Algerian to the Libyan (pan-Arab, pan-Islamic) sphere of influence.

Based upon this analysis of the Polisario, there can be no doubt that the Front is highly effective and quite successful. In the words of John Gretton, “What finally put the seal on Polisario’s success, both internally and externally, was the visit of the UN mission in May. Rather like the Rhodesian government with the Pearce Commission, Spain produced all the tribal chiefs and the PUNS to meet the mission, who then asked, ‘where are...”

(cont. on pg. 26)
AN INTERVIEW WITH THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE OF THE A.Y.F. OF WESTERN U.S.A. ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE

HAYTOUG—Do you think that the reaction of the Turkish government (to Armenian political violence) will reduce the support of the Armenian people for the Armenian Liberation Struggle?

C.E.—On the contrary, all Turkish reactions further strengthen the Armenian people's, and especially the youth's commitment, to struggle on all fronts.

HAYTOUG—Would you state some examples of Turkish reactions on the political-diplomatic levels?

C.E.—On a political-diplomatic level, the Turkish government has created an organized mechanism to insure the support of the West in its struggle against pro-Armenian activities. In this area, concrete evidence of such organized activity has been witnessed in the United States and France. By reacting to the successful activities of the Armenian Cause committees in the United States and France, the Turkish government, utilizing its economic resources and military threats, attempted (and to a certain degree succeeded) in creating impediments for the progress of such activities.

In France, as you are aware, on January 6, 1984, on the occasion of the Armenian Christmas, President Francois Mitterand officially recognized the Armenian Genocide and made public statements in support of the Armenian Cause. Under pressures from the Turkish government, however, the French government, through its diplomatic representatives, has changed its firm position regarding this issue since. Consequently, “reconciliatory” statements were made, at times, in total contradiction with President Mitterand’s initial proclamation.

In the United States, a resolution drafted by certain congressmen sympathetic to the Armenian Cause, proclaiming April 24 as a day marking “man's inhumanity to man” and especially, a day of remembrance for the 1.5 million victims of the Armenian Genocide perpetrated by the Turkish government, created an immense chaos within Turkish governmental circles. Through the State Department, the Turkish government strongly pressured the US House of Representatives and the Senate, in order to assure the failure of such a resolution’s passage. Although the efforts of the Turkish government failed in the House of Representatives, they succeeded in halting the approval of the resolution in the Senate.

Both in France and the United States, as well as in other
HAYTOUG — Has the Turkish government created a counter-propaganda mechanism?

C.E. — On the level of counter-propaganda, the Turkish government has created an even more extensive mechanism in several areas.

As a reaction to the positive propaganda surrounding the Armenian Cause, created by the Armenian Liberation Movement’s armed struggle, the Turkish government has initiated a massive counter-propaganda by hiring American and European public-relation firms. These firms, by receiving massive funds from the Turkish government, utilize their connections with media personnel to spread anti-Armenian propaganda on television programs and newspaper columns.

In a different area, the Turkish government through massive funds has created a Turkish-American association which, with the support of the Turkish Ambassador in Washington, engages itself in anti-Armenian propaganda. Under this association’s name letters are frequently sent to American politicians in order to secure their cooperation with the organization. In addition, the association publishes a report where articles distorting historical facts appear.

The creation of the Turkish-American association is an obstacle for the activities of the Armenian Cause committees. For this reason, in the last several years, the ARF Armenian Cause committees in western and eastern United States have regularly communicated with American officials, through letters and direct contacts, informing them of the activities of the Armenian Cause committees and their future plans.

Lately, the Turkish government is also making special efforts to spread its anti-Armenian propaganda in academic circles. As a result of these efforts, a “Turkish Studies Center” has been created with a $3 million fund (at present this amount has risen to $5 million). The Turkish government with its hired “historians” has started to publish books that distort the history, in an effort to refute the Armenian Genocide, and to penetrate high-quality academic organizations where anti-Armenian propaganda could be spread.

In this area, it is significant to note the “Turkish Studies Center’s” activities within the Middle East Studies Association. Through planned and continuous attempts, the Turks were able to elect a Turkish historian, Kemal...
Karpat, as chairman of this organization. In addition, during the previous three years, with the sponsorship of the “Turkish Studies Center,” the academic forum of the annual MESA Conference has been utilized by Turkish and American “historians” to spread anti-Armenian propaganda. Armenian historians, among them Prof. Richard Hovanissian, have succeeded in making the Armenian Genocide a focal issue during certain sessions of this same conference. Through their individual efforts, however, the lack of human and material resources have been an obstacle to the advancement of such activities in this field.

The publication of the yearbook, Journal, by the Armenian Review and the Society of Armenian Studies is a commendable effort which contributes to the development of Armenian Studies. However, taking into consideration the limited circulation of this publication, it is imperative to find additional means of involvement in academic circles. To this end, efforts are already being made, a good example of which is the creation of the Zoryan Institute.

HAYTOUG—Finally, how does the Turkish government counter-act on the military level?

C.E.—On the military level, the Turkish government, through statements made by its president and other high ranking officials, has warned that “punishing squads” will be formed and sent to the diaspora in a mission to kidnap and bring to trial the leaders of the underground Armenian military organizations. Such statements on behalf of an official government are by themselves proof of a corrupted regime that violates international rules and standards. For this reason, no foreign government will approve self-claimed Turkish “justice” groups.

In any case, similar declarations will in no way frighten the Armenian communities around the world, since they enjoy the protection of their governments as legal citizens of the countries in which they live.
Հայսել լսանչության համար պատասխանչություն տալիս եմ պատմության ստորագրական բարձրակալության տեղեկատվություն։ Պատմության բարձրակալության տեղեկատվությունը, որից հիմնականում դա հայ ժողովրդի պատմությունների դասեր է ներդիր, հայ ժողովուրդի պատմության հիմնականություններից է։ Պատմության բարձրակալության տեղեկատվությունը կարող է հայ ժողովուրդի պատմության հիմնական համար լինել։

Այս ճանաչելի պատմիչներից մեկը եղել է Հայկ Սասունյան, այն արդյունավետ և երկրորդ հայկական պատմական կենտրոնում դարձավ։ Պատմության բարձրակալության տեղեկատվության մեջ այն կարելի է դասեր հանդիպել հայկական պատմության հիմնական հատորներից մեկի միջոցով։ Պատմության բարձրակալության տեղեկատվության մեջ այն կարելի է դասեր հանդիպել հայկական պատմության հիմնական հատորներից մեկի միջոցով։

Write to HAMPIG SASSOUNI
E. 3-34
P. O. Box C88440
Tamal, CA 94964

Write to HARUTIUN LEVONIAN
K. 533/83
Zavor Okruzogn Suda Bôvica
11000 Beagroa
Bacvanska Ul.
YUGOSLAVIE

Write to RAFFI ELBEKIAN
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YUGOSLAVIE
The Role of the ARF Expeditionary Khoumps

The Example of Khan and Nevrouz

In September 1903, with the mission of providing weapons to the Armenians of Sassoun, the ARF organized a large expeditionary khoup (group, band), consisting of two regiments, one mounted, one infantry. Khan led the horsemen; Nevrouz, the infantrymen.

This educational tells of the expedition of Khan and Nevrouz, stressing its importance for the Armenian Liberation Movement, both in the sense of getting guns to the Yergir (the Homeland) and inspiring the Armenian people with revolutionary fervor.

In order to become acquainted with the role played by the expeditionary khoup, the fedayees who created it, and the general atmosphere of the time, this educational explains the historic details of this revolutionary undertaking through Khan’s song.

1903, a night in September...

There was no moon, the night was dark. a khoup was moving quickly. We saw that it was brave Khan’s khoup, They were armed with Mosin rifles.

The Armenian fedayee doesn’t recognize fatigue and hunger; he hides in daylights so the enemy won’t find him, and he marches the whole night to get guns and ammunition to Armenian peasants.

(cont. on pg. 22)
Առաջին թերթ

Այս դասության կողմերից չափազանց գտնվող է շատ կարևորագույն, նպատակով այն կարևոր փաստերից հաջորդող հարցերը, որոնցից որոշ այն պատահականություններ էին զարգացած, որոնք իրենից են հաջողվել, իսկ այլն են բնականության իր վրա երկրաչափական իրավիճակների էկոլոգիական վերլուծություններ:

Առաջինը խորը ժամանակի նպատակ էր, որ պատրաստված այս փաստերը կերպարվեի հարցերի հետ, որոնք էկոլոգիական իրավիճակների էկոլոգիական վերլուծություն

Այս ժամանակվա խորհրդանշումները ներկայացնում են միայն մի շարք փաստեր, որոնք ուղղված են դասավանդական մաթեմատիկայի հետևանյութերի մեջ: Այս ջանույթները մաթեմատիկայի հետևանյութերի մեջ են առկա և տեսնելու համար կարևոր են հանգեցնում, որպեսզի դասավանդական մաթեմատիկայի հետևանյութերի մեջ ուղղված հանգեցնում կարելի լինի: Այս ժամանակվա խորհրդանշումները իրավիճակների էկոլոգիական վերլուծությունների մեջ են տեսնելու համար կարևոր են հանգեցնում, որպեսզի դասավանդական մաթեմատիկայի հետևանյութերի մեջ ուղղված հանգեցնում կարելի լինի:
Հնչելու զարմունքը եղել է հայտնի ծառայություն՝ ռազմական և տնտեսական գործունեության տարածման համար. Հիմնադրվել է 1863 թվականին։ 

Անկախ նախագահ Պողոս Սարգսյանի (իսպանացի)՝ Պետրոս Սարգսյանցի գործունեության գրանցման համար։ 

Պողոս Սարգսյանի հայ գրականությունը և կոմունալ գործունեությունը համարվում էր հայտնի։
IMPRESSIONS...

The MESA Conference: What were the Turks attempting

By Ara Oshagan

The Sheraton-Palace Hotel in downtown San Francisco hardly seems like an appropriate setting for a political and scholarly clash between the Armenians and the Turks. But during the MESA (Middle Eastern Studies Association) conference held from November 28 to December 1, 1984, this setting was indeed realized. The most notable day of the conference was November 30, the day the Turkish Studies Association organized a panel discussion on the “recent Turkish Historiography on World War I and its Aftermath.” Speaking on behalf of the TSA were three Turkish professors, and as a late addition, Dr. Heath Lowry, the head of the Institute of Turkish Studies in Washington, D.C.

The first speaker, Prof. Ergil, argued that the Armenian National Movement in the Ottoman Empire was bound to fail because it was based on foreign help, and that the Armenian resistance was unjustified. He quoted a few statements from foreign observers claiming the Armenians were well-off under the Turkish rule.

The second speaker, Dr. Sallhi Somyel, from the Turkish Historical Association, argued along the same lines. He claimed that all the trouble in Turkey started only after the Turks were given rights to protect the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and later the great powers used that right to create dissent among the minorities. He further claimed that Christians were “privileged” in that they did not serve in the military.

The third speaker, a colleague reading Dr. Oke’s from Bogazici University paper, went into the details of the Lausanne Peace Conference. It was mostly factual and based upon the Public Records Office in London.

The last speaker was Dr. Heath Lowry. Dr. Lowry, apparently forgetting the topic of the panel, spoke seriously and scholarly for 20 minutes about a small footnote found in Dr. Richard Hovanissian’s massive second volume of the Republic of Armenia. The footnote referred to a lieutenant who was an Armenian intelligence gatherer in Turkey in 1922. Dr. Lowry took this small reference and divided it into eight parts, and then, he proceeded to disprove the validity of the seven of those eight parts. His main argument rested on the fact that Hovanissian used an unpublished and partially unreliable Ph.D. dissertation as the source of the footnote. Using this as a basis, he then advised all present that due to this unreliability, Dr. Hovanissian’s books must be read with “caution.”

Is this what scholars should be discussing? Is this what the Turkish scholars were there to discuss? The topic of the panel discussion was “Recent Turkish Historiography on World War I and Its Aftermath.” None of the speakers even reached the World War I era, much less its aftermath. As Dr. Hovanissian asked in his response to the accusations, why was Lowry’s whole paper dedicated to that minuscule note? Is there a hidden agenda here? Clearly, there was a hidden agenda. The Turkish “scholars” certainly were not there to discuss World War I or its aftermath. They were there first to change the topic of discussion to another area, apparently thinking they could refute Armenian scholars more easily in that area, and second to provide their own altered version of history, supposedly based on facts. But they could not even do this. The fact is contrary to Prof. Ergil’s claim and as pointed out by Rodric Davidson (one of the most prominent American historians of the Ottoman Empire), almost all national liberation movements depend on foreign aid to succeed. The only problem with the Armenian movement was that the foreign help never came. It is true that some wealthy Armenians were well-off in Turkish cities, but did

Dr. Ergil bother to find statements that referred to Armenians living in the villages of the country? Dr. Somyel says the Christians were “privileged” people because they did not serve in the military. The fact is that Armenians were forced to serve in the military and as inferiors—the highest rank they could achieve was that of officer’s aid. Dr. Heath Lowry’s paper was probably seen as the final and decisive blow of victory of the Turkish scholars (again using the term loosely), actually it was only the final decisive blow of embarrassment. It not only made mockery of scholarly criticism, but the final conclusion had no logical connection with the paper. With some sort of absurd reasoning Dr. Lowry thought by disapproving the validity of one footnote he could disprove the validity of three massive volumes of Armenian history and the validity of Dr. Hovanissian as a historian. The footnote is incorrect, as Dr. Hovanissian himself admitted, but that gives no grounds to infer that Dr. Hovanissian’s books should be read with “caution.” The whole organization and presentation of the panel had some non-academic purpose—to influence the opinions of the other scholars that were present. The panel was turned into a propaganda period, but it did not succeed in its purpose, it only succeeded in making explicit the amaturism of the so-called Turkish scholars, scholars, and making those scholars that were to be the targets of the Turkish hidden agenda, rethink their position about the Armenian Question with a more positive view of the Armenians. In fact, what actually happened was the reverse of what the Turks planned to do. Of course, this fiasco was the work of the Turkish government who now seems to be trying all sorts of ridiculous ways to alter the true claims of the Armenian people. It persists in denying justice to the Armenian people and as a direct consequence it must alter and hide the truth about history. When will the Turkish government have enough courage to rise to the level of humanity and admit the atrocities in its past, so that justice may be done to both the Armenian and the Turkish peoples?
VOICE YOUR OPINION...

Terrorists as Politicians

Note: The following editorial appeared in the December 17, 1984 edition of the Los Angeles Times Metro Section.

A federal judge in New York City has dignified the murderous terrorism of the Irish Republican Army as a legitimate form of political warfare and, with that extraordinary conclusion, has refused to permit the extradition of a convicted assassin.

Judge John E. Sprizzo has in effect legitimized the murder of any law enforcement officer in uniform so long as the killer claims a political motive for his action and can assert that he belongs to a well-organized group. The judge’s dangerous illogic ignores the wise findings of many courts, including those of the Republic of Ireland, that have distinguished between terrorism and the legitimate exercise of political opposition.

In this case, the judge argued that the actions of the British army, after an attempted ambush of an army patrol, resulted in the killing of an officer by Joseph Patrick Thomas Doherty. But his argument does not stop there. He also asserts that the Provisional Irish Republican Army—by its organization, discipline and command structure—should be distinguished from other international terrorist groups, like Italy’s Red Brigades, and cloaked with political legitimacy. Such distinctions are patently absurd.

Extradition was denied on grounds that Doherty’s crime was a “political offense” not covered by the extradition treaty. And terrorism was encouraged in the name of the rule of law that it seeks, by every means at its disposal, to destroy.

One of the many resolutions passed at last year’s AYF Annual Convention was for AYF ungers to make an extra effort to read and analyze literature printed about other liberation movements, assuming their actions may have some sort of influence on our movements and our Cause.

The ruling stated in the above editorial may or may not have great consequences or repercussions on other liberation movements within the US government’s sphere of influence.

Is this ruling perhaps the beginning of an “accommodating” or “understanding” attitude on the part of the US government officials towards the so-called “terrorist” groups and/or liberation movements? Is this of any importance to us as a liberation movement at all, anyway? Voice your opinion in a letter to the Haytoug Editorial Staff...

HAYTOUG

PAST MONTH IN REVIEW

BILBAO★ On Thursday, November 22, Spanish police had confrontations with the Basque protestors, who had proclaimed a strike in the three Basque provinces in Spain. The strike was organized to protest the assassination of Santiago Bernardo, leader of the Henry Batioum Party. The Basque people continue their liberation struggle.

WASHINGTON, D.C.★ On Wednesday, November 28, officials of the Reagan administration announced the intentions of the administration’s 1985 plan to supply 280 million dollars as aid to the Afghan rebels. With the approval of this plan the US would have allocated 625 million dollars to the Afghan guerrillas.

BEIRUT★ According to Lebanese military sources, on Tuesday, November 27, Israeli jet fighters attacked Palestinian locations east of Beirut. The explosions killed at least five people and diminished three buildings. Israeli military forces have been launching similar attacks on areas populated by Palestinians since the beginning of the Lebanese civil war.

MANAGUA★ Sandanitstan government officials announced that the anti-Sandanistas have increased their attacks on the coffee fields in Nicaragua, where people were working in harvesting the coffee. The anti-Sandanistas want to hurt Nicaragua’s economy in an attempt to overthrow the leftist government. They are backed by the US government.

LONDON★ The Reuters news agency reported on Friday, November 2, that the British police have uncovered guns and ammunition in the Kensington area. The same source also claimed that the arsenals belonged to Libyans and Armenian militants.

Update re: Father Manuel Vergatian

In an interview given in Detroit, Patriarch Shenor Kolostian revealed that Father Manuel Vergatian had been transferred from the prison in Istanbul to one in Tchankate, where he stayed until the 10th of September (the same date the Patriarch left Turkey...). According to certain sources, Vergatian has now been transferred to one of the islands of the Marmara.

Father Vergatian was sentenced to prison by Turkish authorities nearly three years ago on the charges of possessing an Armenian folk music cassette and for naming his dog “Ataturk.”
Սարյան Զալեհ Սամբարյան

Առաջին հարկում նշեմ Օրենսդիրի Հայաստանի համագիտակցության փոստային նշանակությունը Հայաստանի կառավարության և պաշտոնական գործունեության մեջ։

Սարյան Զալեհ Սամբարյանը ծնվել է 1882 թ. հոկտեմբերի 14-ին, Երևանում։

Սարյանը 1917 թ. հայ զորամասում եղել է Հայաստանի կառավարության ներկայացուցիչ։ 1920 թ. հայ զորամասում եղել է Հայաստանի կառավարության ներկայացուցիչ։

Սարյանը 1923 թ. հայ զորամասում եղել է Հայաստանի կառավարության ներկայացուցիչ։

Սարյանը 1925 թ. հայ զորամասում եղել է Հայաստանի կառավարության ներկայացուցիչ։
PAST MONTH IN REVIEW

LONDON ★ Turkey’s government has put on trial the leaders of the Writers’ Union of Turkey, headed by the 68-year-old Aziz Nesin, reported the October issue of Index on Censorship of London. The military prosecutor calls the writers’ union an “illegal society” and asks for sentences of 8-15 years. Intellectuals and many organizations with political orientation have been repressed greatly by the Turkish government.

ANKARA ★ Turkey has tried to stay neutral in the Iran—Iraq war, because of its economic interests. However, Turkey has announced that if any Iranian attacks should take place on the petroleum pipelines between Kirkuk and Youmoultalk, Turkey will take this as an attack and will react immediately.

In turn, Iran has criticized Turkey’s military operation in Iraq to repress the Kurdish revolutionaries.

WARSAW ★ After a lengthy search, the Polish Domestic Safety Commission found the body of the priest Popoleynski. The body was found in the water reservoir of the Vestula river. The body of the priest had disappeared for eleven days. Meanwhile, the police had arrested three security agents, one of which had confessed that they had thrown the priest’s body into the river. The priest was an advocate of the Solidarity Front.

TRIPOLI ★ On Wednesday, October 31,UPI reported that on Tuesday, October 20, two people were publicly shot to death in Tripoli—a city 42 miles north of Beirut. The gunmen were accused of killing six people during a clash on October 20. Later, one of the executed men was found to be innocent.
Lowell Seniors Write to Elbekian and Levonian

Note: The following sample letter was sent in by the Lowell AYF Armen Garo Senior Chapter in order to encourage and inspire their fellow ungers to write to Raffi Elbekian and Harutun Levonian. Both men are incarcerated in Yugoslavia.

Dear Unger:

Just to let you know that we, here in the United States, are voicing our firm and liberal support to you as you remain imprisoned for a crime worthy of attribute among the Armenian people.

In this vast world of ours everything is transitory except the will to fight for what we believe is right and just.

Freedom and independence became a reality in 1918, simply because the Armenian didn’t allow tears to close his eyes and fought to preserve that precious link between our glorious past and bright future.

Their devotion and spirit of sacrifice is synonymous to your ideals in which we can comprehend the truth that nations never die as long as we never allow discouragement to turn into despair.

/ The Turkish infidels dismembered us on the field of battle in 1915, but we have risen to the occasion behind the triumphant flutter of our still glorious Armenian Tricolor which, we are confident, will once again fly in the mellow breezes of our beloved Mount Ararat.

You will be there to witness that grand moment, Unger, as long as the fierce hope for justice and liberation remains in the hearts of every Armenian living on the face of the earth.

We must speak of these traits in the same breath. It must be a clear voice—sincere, and without hypocrisy.

Our history is far from ended. In fact, I think it’s just beginning, thanks to you and many others like you who are willing to stand face to face with our aggressors in bringing these despots to their knees in retaliation of their heinous crimes.

We must become vigilant, dedicated fighters for freedom if liberty under God, is to survive in this world.

Fraternally,
Lowell Armen Garo AYF Senior Chapter

Hartford-New Britain AYF-YOARF Members “Attend” Turkish Dance Workshop

Ungers of the Hartford-New Britain AYF-YOARF Ararat Senior Chapter noticed a newspaper advertisement for a Turkish dance workshop to be held in the area.

After taking this issue up in a meeting they decided to make flyers entitled “A Dance through the History” which contained a detailed account of Turkish history, including the Armenian Genocide. The flyers were placed on the car windshields of each participant.

Few of the ungers made their way into the church hall where the workshop was taking place, only to hear the Turkish instructor say... “and this particular dance comes from the Turkish city of Van” The senior ungers wanted to shout out “from the Armenian city of Van” but not being there for destructive reasons they simply walked out.

ARF Khoumps...
(cont. from pg. 14)

The Yergir of the Armenians, who are suffering under the Ottoman yoke, is subject to daily lootings, oppression and exploitation; they kidnap Armenian girls, kill the peasants, burn their homes, take the wheat they have harvested.

All this happens illegally, at the whim of a Kurdish chief, instigated by a Turkish pasha or the Turkish government.

For the Armenian peasant, living on his own homeland, even the home built with his own labor and members of his family are taken from him by force, unjustly.

The Armenian peasant needs those guns; he is determined never to bow his head again.

Leaving his work, his home and his family, he takes to the mountains and joins fedayee khoumps in order to protect the people of the entire village.

For the Armenian youth of the Caucasus, their dream is to reach the people of the Yergir. They want to form volunteer battalions, but neither the political nor the material means exist; only the experienced ones are chosen, only those capable of revolutionary sacrifice... They know well what kind of dangers lie on the road to the Yergir; they know that only the few reach anywhere. In other words, there is persecution against the Armenian revolutionaries. But every Armenian youth has taken an oath to sell his life dearly and die on the soil of the Yergir. He knows very well that it is not with his death that the Turkish tyranny is going to be toppled. But he is convinced that it is with the sacrifice of others like him and the perpetual struggle that the Armenian people will be free.

The united experienced khoumps of Khan and Nevruz were organized to serve that purpose; their mission was to provide to the people of Sassoun and organize revolutionary work.

They were unfamiliar with the villages and people there, but the important thing was that they would be on Armenian soil and would fight alongside the Armenian people.

The mounted khoump of the dedicated and brave fedayees moved forward like fire.
Their lives dedicated to their people,
The brave Khan leading them,
They were going to the Turkish border,
They were flying like fire.

Their rifles on their shoulders
They had unfurled the flag,
They were going joyfully,
Singing songs of freedom.

After going along two different routes, the khoums of Khan and Nevroz had planned to meet at the plain of Pahsen and continue together to Moush and Sassoun.

Khan’s khoum reaches Pahsen as planned. There it has a skirmish with Kurds, who run away terrified and inform the Turkish military authorities. Rid of the Kurds, Khan’s khoum can safely continue. Khan, binoculars at his eyes, waits for Nevroz’s khoum which seems nowhere in sight.

When he notices the movements of Turkish forces far away, he realizes that his ungers are in battle...

The khoums that were transporting weapons had decided to reach their destination together; it was not possible to leave their ungers alone against the enemy on the difficult and unfamiliar terrain of Yergir.

Turning to his ungers Khan says: “Let no one say that to save his own worthless head he has left his ungers and went away. Boys, gather the horses and tie them together. We aren’t moving from here.”

When the brave Khan went to Pahsen
They fired cannons.
From the Mosin of the Armenian braves
The bullets roared.

The unequal battle had begun.
Three days, three nights... a regular army on one side, and on the other, two khoums composed of 150 fedayees. One side has numbers and cannons; the other has the determination to reach its goal or die, making the enemy pay dearly.

The fighters have no positions, surrounded in Konatzer by the forces of Reshid Beg and the Turkish army.

It is in this terrifying battle that Khan, the intrepid ARF fighter, his unforgettable assistant Hmayag, and many brave fedayees were killed.

Out of the 70 in Khan’s khoum, only 13 survive, turning themselves into the Russian border patrol.

Nevroz’s khoum meets with the same fate. Only a few, fighting and exhausted, reach the Yergir.

The opinion that whoever has tasted the bitterness of fighting and death does not want to confront these again is wrong. On the contrary, experience proved that the fedayee who saw death and tasted battle kept alive in him the “ideal,” the faith; and it is for this reason that, of the fedayees who survived from the khoums of Khan and Nevroz, not one remained alive in the future. They fell heroically in various battles.

And that is why all the ones who had been saved again took to the dangerous road to Yergir, this time with more determination. They reached...

The Return of the ‘AYF Days’

MONTEBELLO—On Sunday, December 2, the Monteello Vahan Cardashian Chapter hosted the First AYF Day of this fiscal year, sponsored by the Central Executive. Although the number of ungers participating in the day’s program were fewer than in previous years, the score of the ungers present at the event will never forget the event.

The day opened with an educational by Prof. Alice Taylor from UCLA. Her insightful commentary on Armenian Art and her beautiful slides of Armenian architectural monuments, such as the Akhtamar monastery, educated the AYF ungers on the subject too often overlooked. The presentation concluded with a question and answer session with her audience of nearly 60 ungers and ungerouhis.

The ungers next divided themselves into different groups and played volleyball, soccer and engaged in general ‘kef.’ After seemingly hours of activity the AYFers reconvened for the intellectually stimulating Quiz Bowl. The questions prepared by the Monteello Chapter Social Committee, challenged everyone’s knowledge of sports, history and general information. The limited number of AYFers attending compelled the participants to compete in a ‘Battle of Sexes,’ rather than the envisioned competition by chapters. Eventually, the ungerouhis defeated the ungers by one point, correctly identifying Diego Maradona’s current soccer club.

The day’s schedule also included the delicious lunch and the dinner-prepared by the Monteello chapter.

Evening with the LA5

On December 14, 8:00 p.m., the Pasadena Nigol Touman Chapter sponsored “An Evening with the LA5” at their Armenian Center in Pasadena. Unger Bedig Tashjian, C.E. advisor to the chapter, gave a few opening remarks on behalf of the Nigol Touman seniors, after which unger Apraham Boghigian, relating the message of the Central Executive, gave information concerning the legal status of the LA5, as well as an update on the proceedings, etc.

One of the evening’s focal points was the showing of a videotape, a motley of briefs and editorials from Turkish news networks, regarding the Lisbon 5 and Armenian “terrorist” groups in general, and was narrated by unger Nairy Harbouyan, the evening’s coordinator.

The evening ended with a few revolutionary songs by Karnig Sarkissian, accompanied by Dikran Berberian on guitar. Attendance was minimal, and not very spirited, actually quite a depressing show in the part of AYFers in general. It was quite sad that unger Karnig stood on stage (undoubtedly at a trying emotional time in his life) and sang to an audience which wouldn’t reciprocate the moral support he was showing.

Vartush Matevosian
HOUSTON—The newly formed Houston AYF Dro Chapter held its second annual gathering on the evening of Saturday, November 3. Ten members of the chapter took the final oath to become fully-pledged members of the Armenian Youth Federation. Present were the members, their advisors, parents, and guests. The honorary guest of the evening was Agham Alphan Boghigian who had come from Los Angeles office of the Central Executive. He presented a slide show concerning the AYF history and activities. His presence and the environment of the oath ceremony had a tremendous influence on the members. Since that evening, the chapter has been more active and spirited towards its activities.

It is hoped that Houston chapter will continue to prosper. Even though the chapter is geographically far from the rest of the chapters, the Houston ungers would like the rest of the chapters to know that they will always be working together to achieve the goals of the Armenian Youth Federation.

"The only purpose of any youth organization is to give the youth an opportunity to develop their good qualities."
Juniors Demonstrate Great Enthusiasm

ORNAGE COUNTY — The Aghpiur Serop Junior Chapter this year consists of 23 members. The juniors have demonstrated a renewed enthusiasm through the many activities this fall and winter.

On December 1, the Torrance Ararat Chapter was invited to attend a joint meeting, however, the attendance was not satisfactory.

On December 7, Hollywood Junior Chapter had invited the Aghpiur Serop Jr. Chapter for a joint meeting. Sixteen ungers attended from the Orange County Juniors. Ung. Hrach Hintelian gave the educational; questions were asked afterwards.

The Orange County juniors are very much excited about the coming events of the year.
the people?" and found them in the background all shouting for Polisario. More than that, though, the mission, by confirming that Polisario appeared to be representative of the people as a whole, and by announcing that discreetly even before the official publication of its report in October, gave Polisario the international approval they had so far lacked."

1975 to 1975

Following the June, 1970, riots and the tripartite meeting of Algerian, Moroccan, and Mauritanian heads of states later that year, the anti-Spanish campaign in Western Sahara received the dual profile of true political activism and armed struggle. By mid-1972, it is reported that the anti-Spanish guerrilla activities were to a degree which alarmed the Spanish government and made it declare a state of emergency and a news blackout. In 1973, the Spanish Embassy in Nouakchott (the capital of Mauritania) was attacked. In that same year, according to one source, two important elements influenced the events of 1974 and 1975:

1. Formal foundation of the Polisario as an organized military force; and
2. Morocco's attempt to widen its base of external support.

In its campaign to rally support, King Hassan was fairly successful: his appeal to the superpowers resulted in the moral support of the Soviet Union condemning the Spanish presence in Western Sahara and the continued military support of the United States, coupled with the Nixon-Kissinger administration's pressures on Spain. Morocco's involvement in the October 1973 Arab War against Israel earned for itself the "gratitude from Arab radicals and conservatives alike." The sharp rise in the phosphate prices in 1974 as a side effect to the 1973 oil boom brought King Hassan's "preameditated annexationist ambitions" into a new climax. With a faithful army on his side—the "unfaithfuls" having been eliminated for good as a result of the 1971 and 1973 abortive coup attempt—and what he thought to be enough international support in his favor, the King embarked on his mission to Moroccanize the Western Sahara. Obviously, the tripartite alliance by now fallen into pieces.

1975 to present

Further Complications

1975 was the second cornerstone in the history of Western Sahara conflict.

In early 1975, Morocco mobilized 17,000 troops, which was one-third of its armed ground forces—points along its southern border. The issue of the Western Sahara was now in front of the International Court of Justice for an opinion. On October 16, 1975, the Court presented its most discreet and ambiguous opinion by which it endorsed none of the involved states' claims. It reaffirmed the UN Resolution on the Rights of Peoples to Self-Determination. November 7 of that same year, the first contingents of the 350,000 Moroccans taking part in King Hassan's "Green March" arrived at the border. Two days later, the King ordered the peaceful marches to return, because their "objectives have been obtained."

At this juncture, it should be noted that Spain was undergoing one of its more difficult political periods; the internal conflicts and the Marxist control of neighboring Portugal, coupled with the death of General Franco, and with the subsequent crises of succession, Spain found itself in a confused period of time.

On November 14, an agreement between Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania was signed in Madrid, by which Spain agreed to evacuate the Western Sahara by February 28, 1976, handing it over to Morocco and Mauritania, in return for which Spain would retain 35 percent of the Fosbucraa Company mining the Bu Craa phosphate and some fishing rights along the coast. Against strong Polisario opposition, Morocco had occupied two-thirds of northern Western Sahara while Mauritania completed its invasion in mid-January, 1976, by settling in the southern part of Western Sahara.

Algeria immediately expelled the 25,000 Moroccans living in Algeria. A new crisis had begun. The Polisario, although carrying a considerable degree of attacks against Morocco, concentrated its campaign on Mauritania, which later proved to be successful. In fact, despite the considerable French economic and military support, as a result of a failing economy caused by the 1977-78 drought, the world economic recession and the fall of market prices for Mauritania's exports, coupled with the increasing defense spending caused by the war against the Polisario, the Ould Daddah regime soon lost its legitimacy; it was toppled by a military coup d'etat in July, 1978. Now with a new regime in power in Mauritania, a peace treaty was immediately signed by the Mauritanian government and the Polisario, by which Mauritania agreed to cancel its claims on the Western Sahara and consequently to withdraw from the region. Morocco did not lose time in immediately annexing in official terms the territory evacuated by Mauritania. Mauritania, being out of the picture, allowed the Polisario to wage full-scale war directly against its only remaining target, Morocco. The confrontations escalated rapidly. Morocco increasingly armed with US and French apparatus, while the Polisario itself was one of the most sophisticated weaponry (from "Stalin organs" to SAM anti-aircraft missiles) provided by Algeria and Libya. 1981 and 1982 brought increased OAU and UN resolutions and subsequent efforts to bring about a solution to the issue. A referendum proposed by both the OAU and the UN which will determine the will of the Sahraouis on the issue has been time and time again rejected by Morocco, which insists on its historical claims to the territory.

On November 18, 1983, the Los Angeles Times reported the following:

"Algerian-backed guerrillas fighting Morocco for control of the Western Sahara said that they have met in secret with Moroccan officials."
Mustapha Bashir, a member of the Executive Committee for the rebel Polisario Front, insisted that Moroccans have to negotiate because they cannot win the war in Western Sahara... He said that Morocco controls a perimeter around the phosphate mines but that the rest of the sparsely populated region is in Polisario hands.

**Conclusion**

It is becoming increasingly difficult, as is evident from this analysis, to foresee a simple solution for the Western Sahara conflict. Although the war in the Western Sahara may have begun as a clear-cut conflict, the stakes have gradually become higher; it is now obvious that any long-range solution to the problem would necessarily have to be in the context of a broader regional settlement rather than being limited to the Western Sahara conflict itself in order to be effective.

Attempts to mediate and to resolve the conflict have thus far failed miserably. King Hassan’s government remains determined to recover the territory and to integrate it with the Moroccan state; Algeria continues to support Sahraoui self-determination, as does Libya, and insists that the dispute must be resolved through negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario. The increasing likelihood of a direct confrontation between Algeria and Morocco if the war is prolonged to its struggle to secure international recognition for the SADR.

As John Damis points out, at various times since 1975, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Tunisia, Iraq, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Guinea, Togo, Kuwait, Gabon, France, Spain, the PLO, the Arab League, and the OAU have tried to encourage a reconciliation between the warring parties. The “attempts” to provide a solution by the United Nations have been nothing more than resolutions which were previously discussed and need not be reiterated here. However, none of the attempts made by any third party has succeeded not only due to the will and determination of each warring party to emerge from the conflict victoriously, but also due to several important underlying factors, the most significant of which is the legitimacy of King Hassan’s regime.

King Hassan has many reasons to want to prolong the conflict. The issue is not as simple as it may appear, especially considering the possible consequences on the Moroccan international political scene and the fate of the King should the outcome of the conflict be unfavorable to Morocco. The King, therefore, is caught in the middle of a dilemma: on the one hand is the rising cost of war in a failing economy, anti-war sentiments and demoralizations in the people and the armed forces, while on the other hand are the threats to his rule. Thus, any resolution to the conflict, in order to be acceptable to Morocco, would have to provide the King with the means by which to make a peaceful exit from a costly war without admitting defeat. In other words, it would have to be a face-saving device for the King (with his own country) and for Morocco (within the international community).

On the other side, however, is the Polisario, which apparently has no intention to accept anything less than full and total independence and sovereignty for the entirety of its Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic. As long as it is backed by Algeria and Libya—and there is no foreseeable reason why the support should not last—the Polisario possesses the determination, manpower, and ability to prolong the conflict.

The Polisario Front appears committed to a long struggle. As a movement that began with few material or political assets, the Polisario has very little to lose. In this sense it can well afford to be uncompromising in its demands for full independence of all of the Western Sahara. As a liberation movement challenging an established power, the Polisario does not have to win the Saharan conflict in the conventional sense of forcing Morocco to accept its terms. As a new force challenging the status quo, all the Polisario must do over the next several years is to avoid losing—that is, it must avoid either being eliminated by Morocco or reduced to a level where it is no longer taken seriously by the international community. By seizing the military offensive from Morocco on 1978-1979 and by achieving recognition for the SADR by nearly fifty states, the Polisario Front has done considerably better than avoiding defeat.

It is quite evident, then, that there appears to be no end in sight to resolve the Western Saharan conflict. In retrospect, it seems that Mauritania emerged as the most well-advanced party to the conflict, by making its exit from the war in a face-saving manner. Perhaps the overthrow of King Hassan and the establishment of a new government in Morocco can lead to an effective solution to the conflict. As it stands now, however, the parties which are currently involved apparently have no intention of backing down, and as the war is prolonged, the stability of the entire North African region remains threatened. With all of the vested interests of various countries, including the superpowers, the war in the Western Sahara is more likely to get worse before it gets better.
ed the Yergir and carried out their oaths. Finally, they reached their goal. They saw Lake Van, Sassoun, Mouch. They lived on the soil of their own country, with the people, with their pain, their hardship, and with their perpetual struggle.

It was in this manner that determined national ideas were formed among the people, clinging to their national soil. It wasn’t one region’s Armenians who represented the people, or certain class that represented the nation. The nation was a vast collective whose voice the Turks wanted to drown in various provinces. And all of those who struggled against this united oppression, all of those who came from different regions, united and raised the flag of revolution. They awakened in the people a collective awareness, and thus, the “ideal” of a collective interest goal, of unity, of nation, of homeland and struggle, was clarified and formed.

For the ARF, the organization of this operation (the expeditionary undertaking of Khan and Nevrouz) became the last of its kind. Afterwards, the ARF applied other methods of providing the people of the Yergir with guns and help.

The goal of the khomp of Khan and Nevrouz was to reach the Yergir and to fight and die for it. The important thing was to plant the idea of one struggle—one cause—in the awareness of the people. It was with these khompats that went to the Yergir that the national liberation movement gained momentum.

The example of these heroes, who were martyred on the road to the Yergir, made a great impact on the Armenian people. These fedayees became an example and a symbol for the Armenian youth of Kars and all Caucasus.

In Khvoy, Kars, Yerevan, Tiflis and other cities the excitement and the determination to struggle that was created by the activities of the khompats motivated hundreds of youths towards actual work. They were ready to continue in the example of Khan, and to participate in the noble work of the revolution, even if that meant risking their futures and their lives.

On the soil of Armenia
The warrior shed his blood;
Remember, Armenians, do not forget
The sacred name of the brave Khan.

Today, separated from our lands, living in foreign countries, we have not forgotten the brave Khan and the others. And we cannot forget the path of sacrifice they showed us for our liberation struggle.

Adolescent, youth, or elderly, we too vow to follow that path of sacrifice on our way to revolution, continuing the work started by our fedayees.

No matter how different the roads that lead to the Yergir today, it is the way of perpetual and enduring struggle that will take us to Yergir.

A Scene from the Battle from Roupen’s Memoirs

One hour had passed, and another danger. Four cannons begin to roar and tear up the ground around Nevrouz’s positions. The khomp’s eyes are turned to Chavaghzi Blond Hamo, who had earned three medals in the Russian army. He watches the movements and says:

“Boys, don’t worry, don’t return fire until their firing stops. You have one job to do. Whoever’s position is not deep enough into the ground, dig down with your bayonets and your nails if you have to. Whoever is deep enough, hide your heads and don’t move. If you’re hungry, eat; if you’re sleepy, sleep; if you’re tired, smoke and rest. I’ll be the look-out. When I blow the whistle, then we’ll have work to do.”

For two hours, the cannons rake the positions, throwing up the soil, which then covers the fighters who remain quiet. The enemy thinks the positions have turned into a graveyard and blows its horns. Forming three columns of men, they march forward, rifles on their shoulders.

“Why don’t they form a line? Either they think we’re dead, or they’re depending on their cannons,” our boys think. “But eventually the cannons will have to quiet down when their soldiers get within 100-200 yards of our position. Then we’ll show ourselves…”

Blond Hano, yelling through the noise, tells everyone: “Our luck is working. The crowd is the one who fires without orders when they’re still far away. Lower your sights on the guns; when you see my sign at 200 yards, fire.”

The enemy comes closer and closer. 2,000 yards. 1,000 yards. They come faster and faster. They are at 50 yards, when our boys begin to get nervous. “Be patient a little more,” and the cannons stop and the fedayees fire, moving down the thick columns of soldiers. Some panic and run forward, falling in front of the positions. Some sit where they are and fire. Some fall back and regroup. After 1.2 hours of this, they blow their horns and retreat under the bullets of the fedayees, just when the sun is living its last moments, falling behind the mountains.

Morale was high. Some say: “Let’s pursue and take the cannons.” But Hano, who knows better, says: “No, for today’s sake, let’s sing a song together. Everybody, Teh zargek, zargek…”

Khan

Parsegh Tirakian was born in 1863, in Direh monastery (Caesaria). At a young age the rebellious Parsegh often got into fights with Turks who insulted the Armenians or exploited them. Going to Istanbul, at first he leans towards the Hunchags and participates in the demonstration of Kum Kapu, during which his character as a fearless and daring fighter becomes apparent.

But Istanbul does not satisfy him. The news from the Yergir pulls him towards the mountains and valleys of Armenia. Joining the ARF, he participates in the expedition of Khanasor, after which he is known as Khan and becomes a famous fighter and khomp leader. Two of his battles (while transporting guns on the way of the Yergir) are famous. One occurs in 1899 in the village of Vahdon; the other, in 1903 in Pahsor, as the leader of the mounted khomp called “Lightning.” It was during this pitch-
ed battled that he fell on the field of glory, firing his last bullets.

Khan is one of our most popular heroes around whom many mythical tales have been told by the people and the song dedicated to him is still sung by our people today.

Nevrouz

His real name was Onnig. He was born on the shores of the Marmara Sea, in the city of Rodosto. He received his preliminary education in the local school and later worked as a tobacco cultivator.

He was married and had four children. Sometimes, giving each of his children a stick, and he, holding a sword, marching in front of them and singing nationalistic songs, formed a procession and would say, "My children, you will be soldiers of Armenia, and I, of provisions..."

In 1894, through the efforts of Nevrouz, the ARF chapter in Rodosto is organized. Quickly, he arms khumps in the various sections of the city. These khumps were to play their role in revolutionary work in the future.

Later, Nevrouz, leaves for Istanbul, and eventually Tiflis, to become closely acquainted with the editors of Droshak. In 1902, he takes part in Kristapor Mikaelian's Potos movement.

On September 17, 1903, Nevrouz's khump crosses the border to take weapons to Sassoun, but is noticed by Kurds in Kinnoos. During the battle which results, he dies heroically on the road to the Yergir.
AZTAG EDITORIAL:
(Cont. from pg. 5)

its cultural and national reality, but also to keep up with the times.

It naturally follows that the Armenian diaspora is now obliged, indeed must, find new means or "arms" with which to defend its internal structures and communication channels.

We must no longer be satisfied with the infrequent and often incoherent communication ties now existing between our communities today. Any Armenian who grudgingly follows the plight of the Sahkarovs on his local newsways should at the very least be kept up-to-date on the outcome of Hampig Sassounian's trial, for example. The community which holds its commemorative April 24th protest-gathering, should be kept aware of similar activities being organized and carried out not only in communities nationwide but worldwide. In the same vein, someone delivering an address at a year-end graduating ceremony should be able to inform the graduates of developments in Armenian educational institutions found elsewhere in the world.

At this point in our time and development, we need not use methods and means which are outside our immediate reach. What is required is the perfection of those processes already being utilized by communities in the Diaspora, which could result in a quantum leap forward where the improvement of communication lies between the geographically distant Armenians in the Diaspora is concerned.

Yet despite this, we are obliged to keep up with the times, thinking of alternate, more appropriate means for media. In already all of the Armenian communities, radio and broadcasting media have become really very useful, with their Armenian radio and TV hours and programs. Yet what is missing is a collectivity of power and energies, which naturally entails a greater effort to perfect and progress. We have totally overlooked or ignored the expanding frontier of videotapes, quickly becoming the single most influential medium used today. This medium, as well as others, is used by the most underdeveloped countries, and is a means which rarely captures the attention of our cultural organizations and leaders as a powerful method to "Armenianize."

We need not lengthen the list of examples here. Suffice it to say that if the endeavor is made, it will naturally follow that the corresponding more effective means will be produced.

The Armenian today, in his home, in the street, and even in educational institutions, is unwillingly subject to the influences of foreign conventions, morals, and values. We must follow that train of thought which dictates that we must finally make a conscious effort to see that Armenians look for and read Armenian newspapers and print materials, listen to Armenian music, and more often than not, choose to find themselves within a circle of fellow Armenians.

When we have resolved to "row against the current," it becomes obvious that periodic gatherings taking place to keep Armenians in contact with their national identity are not enough. When Armenians today are being "lured" away from their heritage, the indispensability of keeping their immediate surroundings as Armenian as possible becomes just as obvious.

The revitalization of organizational structures in the Diaspora confronts this great challenge as well.
ARMENIAN YOUTH FEDERATION
ACTIVITIES

Friday, January 4, 1985
Christmas Party, Rosdom seniors

Sunday, January 6
Quiz Bowl for all juniors, Nigel Touman Jr. Chapter
-Bake Sale at church, Aghpiur Serop Jr. Chapter

WEEKEND, JANUARY 12-13
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

Sunday, January 13
Bake Sale, Rosdom Jr. Chapter
-1st Anniversary Meeting, Sosse Chapter

Friday, January 18
Public Lecture at the Fresno State University
Kevork Chavouss Chapter

Weekend, January 18-20
Joint Camp Work Weekend and meeting,
Ashod Yergat and Ararad chapters
-Camp Weekend, Musa Dagh Chapter

Saturday, January 19
Asbarez Night, Orange County Sr. and Jr. chapters
-AYF Dance, Rosdom Sr. Chapter

Sunday, January 20
Rally Paper for all chapters Roupun Chapter
-Khrakhjank, Musa Dagh Chapter

Thursday, January 24
S.O.F.T. Nite, Rosdom Jr. Chapter

Friday, January 25
AYF 52nd Anniversary Dinner-Dance,
Central Executive
-Asbarez Night, Rosdom Chapter

Weekend, January 25-27
Camp Weekend, Nigel Touman Jr. Chapter
-Joint Ski Trip, Glendale and Torrance chapters

Saturday, January 26
Movie Night, Aghpiur Serop Jr. Chapter

Sunday, January 27
Soccer Match, Hollywood vs. Torrance
-Picnic, Glendale Senior and Junior chapters
-Rally Paper, Musa Dagh Chapter

Saturday, February 2, 1985
Field trip to Asbarez and Prelacy
Soghomon Tehlirian chapter

Weekend, February 1-3, 1985
Picnic, Aghpiur Serop and Kevork Chavouss chapters

Friday, February 8, 1985
Parents Night.
Soghomon Tehlirian Chapter

Friday, February 8, 1985
Asbarez Night, Rosdom Senior Chapter

Saturday, February 9, 1985
Senior Seminar, Central Executive

Saturday, February 9, 1985
Parangentan Dance, Rouben Chapter

Saturday, February 9, 1985
Trip to Magic Mountain.
Simon Zavarian Chapter
SLOBODA JE VREDNA BORBE

"freedom is worth fighting for"