**As the youth organization of the only Armenian revolutionary and socialist party, the Armenian Youth Federation strives for the establishment of a Free, Independent and United Armenia. The realization of such a goal, considering the current international status quo and the modest potentials of our people, is definitely not an easy task and will undoubtedly require a continuous and long-term struggle on all fronts on behalf of the Armenian people. Let there be no mistake, however: as long and as difficult the path to the liberation of the homeland may be, the Armenian Youth Federation sees its goal as an attainable one.**

Furthermore, as the largest and most active Armenian political youth movement in Western America, the Armenian Youth Federation believes that on the road to the liberation, all available and necessary means may and ought to be utilized. The re-evaluation of these means is seen as a healthy and desirable process, which must take place at every phase of the struggle. Such re-evaluations help the organization not to lose perspective of its primary goal and prevent it from becoming alienated through a pre-occupation with its daily administrative routines.

And as the youth organization of an Armenian democratic political party, the AYF, through its constitution and by-laws, provides its membership with the structure necessary for the re-evaluation of established programs and the initiation of newer ones which will aid the struggle. This democratic structure, however, must be accompanied with the active participation of the membership. It is with the active utilization of this structure by the membership that the organization can cross greater distances on its path leading to the final destination. This active participation requires the members to not only carry out all the decisions of the elected executive and legislative bodies of the organization, but it also demands...
Sources of Militancy

Note: English translations appearing in Haytoug intend to provide materials otherwise inaccessible to the English-speaking Armenian youth. "Sources of Militancy" is the translation of an editorial which appeared in the June 1987 (18th year, No. 4) issue of Droshak—the official publication of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. "Paths of Protest" is the translation of an article which appeared in the May 1987 (18th year, No. 3) issue of Droshak. The official views of the author and/or publication are contained in the Armenian original.

The demanding Armenian people is in search of new means of protest.

In one place, four Armenian youths refuse to give in to police threats and prefer to continue their sit-in protest in front of the Turkish consulate and to be arrested rather than withdraw in the face of Turkish haughtiness and diplomatic inaccessibility.

In another place, young Armenians disarm a Turkish ambassador from his diplomatic costume while he is trying to cover-up a horde of genocidal and expansionist crimes by standing in front of the public's eye with the mask of a "Europeanized" country.

And yet elsewhere, a small Armenian community in a unified outburst protests against a television station which on the very day of April 24th insulted the collective pride of the Armenian people by broadcasting a pro-Turkish film.

It is thus evident that the Armenian youth cannot rest.

In a just feeling of anger, it stands in solidarity with Armenian political prisoners incarcerated in the jails of so-called "democratic" countries, and it misses no opportunity to make its voice of condemnation heard by all "jailers."

It presents itself not as a pleading, but rather as a demanding entity to all those political and diplomatic circles which deal with the Armenian Cause as a bargaining chip in international forums and tribunals.

It constantly seeks means and opportunities of confrontation with our historical enemy in the large and small capitals of the world, in order to keep the idea of indebtedness to the Armenian people alive in the world's historical memory.

And the struggle of the Armenian Cause continues by generating new ways of self-inspiration.
Face to face with superpowers' intrigues to discredit the Armenian Cause by presenting it as an aspect of international terrorism, our people has now mobilized whole communities through uncompromising financial and moral sacrifices in order to assert that "we are all political prisoners."

In the wake of conspiracies which seek to exploit the internal disagreements within the Armenian people, to encourage to the fullest the divisions within it, and to create segmentation, our ideological movement now lends a hand to all Armenian political currents without exception, with the utmost determination to open the path toward national unity.

And the Armenian militant will seek additional sources of internal energy.

"Or vor katch ebb, nand glashbarea... (Those who are brave for what do they wait?)"

The roads of retreat and surrender have long since been closed for our people.

"If our historical enemy and its supporting allies do not wish to understand the language of peaceful methods, the Armenian Cause has already renewed its readiness to speak in the language of militancy."

If our historical enemy and its supporting allies do not wish to understand the language of peaceful methods, the Armenian Cause has already renewed its readiness to speak in the language of militancy.

And if there is an elaborate conspiracy to misrepresent or a strange their just demands of the Armenian people, let the re-intensification of our movement today testify to our resolve to break the chain that surrounds us.

The paths of protest are renewed when the determination to struggle continues.

Paths of Protest

- It is true that the opportunity to become revolutionary is not lacking for the Armenian youth, so long as he remains fervent in maintaining his national pride and aware of the call for regaining his national rights.

This fact was proven by four youngers of the Armenian Youth Federation—ARF Youth Organization of Western America, on April 24th during the demonstration in Los Angeles by their resolute and audacious action.

Such action was taken by the four youngers who were enraged by the sight of the closed doors of the Turkish consulate (in front of which the demonstration was taking place) and the Turkish disregard toward Armenian demands. The four youngers stormed the warnings of the police and as a show of protest, decided to enter the building and sit in front of the closed doors of the Consulate, to read aloud the Armenian demands. After about three hours, the sit-in was unexpectedly ended when the police—seeing that the youths did not adhere to their warnings to abandon their positions—arrested the four youngers and took them to the police station. The four Dashnaktsfront youths were released on bail the same day and their hearing was set for May 15, 1987.

Naturally, it is not the scope of this unique act of protest that leads to its illumination. Rather, more than the act itself, it is the position taken by the four Armenian youths that primarily causes their action to be placed in the limelight. It is a position which on the one hand inspires an optimism that views the gradual taking root of a healthy revolutionary spirit in our youth, and on the other hand does not condition the process of revolutionization upon a narrow conception of armed operations, thereby taking it farther and giving a message to the Armenian youth that the Armenian Cause does not recognize weakness so long as there are those youths who are prepared to sacrifice everything in the name of justice.

Their example is more compelling especially these days when our historical enemy uses all its strength to make its centers and diplomats inaccessible. A tactical approach of routine peaceful protest helps the Armenian people to rebel against the forced deprivation of its rights and aids in the strengthening of the healthy revolutionary spirit within the Armenian youth geared toward actively forcing the Turkish government to live up to its duty.

It is for these reasons that our youth must remain attentive toward the message of our revolutionary youths in their effort to seek and find new paths of protest.
«Սպասեք պաշտպանական բուժի և մշակող գործընկերներին. Ձեզ էստեր ստիպված էքսպրեսիոնալ դիմացմամբ բարեփոխություններ»... ָ

Ասամբ- Վեդեց Ստեփանովիչ, Մարիա Ստեփանովիչ, Իվանա Արտակյան և Սերգեյ Ուրագլյան գերբաժանմանը 1982-ին, Ժամանակակից թուջ հարցազրույցի ժամանակ, խախտված էր Հայաստանի բանահետության մարմինը, և ճանաչելի հանրային համակարգում, որոնք առաջանցել էին վարչության երկրորդ քարտուղարներին, որոնք հանդիպում էին ոչ միայն աշխատակիցներին, հայ հանրապետության բանակողներին, ու սակայն առավելապես այսպիսի ու բարեկարգիչ առավելապես մասնակիցներին: Բայց, երբեք արագածույց էին հետևել փակ գաղափարների, և թուջ հարցազրույցի ժամանակ, այսպիսի համակարգերը համարվել էին իրական համարժեքներ: Ստեփանովիչները, Ստեփանօվիչները, Իվանա Արտակյանը և Սերգեյ Ուրագլյանը սակայն համարվել էին մնացուցակից, որ լինի հետևանք հանդես գալ աշխատակիցներին, և ապաստանի, իրավիճակի երկրորդ քարտուղարներին, որոնք հայ հանրապետության բանակողներին, մասնակիցներին զարգացնում էին: Սակայն, Հայաստանի բանակող դաշնակարգի մարմինը համարել է այդպիսի համակարգերը իրական համարժեքներ, և թուջ հարցազրույցի ժամանակ, այսպիսի համակարգերը համարվել էին իրական համարժեքներ: Բայց, երբեք արագածույց էին հետևել փակ գաղափարների, և թուջ հարցազրույցի ժամանակ, այդպիսի համակարգերը համարվել էին իրական համարժեքներ: Սակայն, համարել էին այդպիսի համակարգերը իրական համարժեքներ, և թուջ հարցազրույցի ժամանակ, այդպիսի համակարգերը համարվել էին իրական համարժեքներ:
«Ամուսուն».

Առաջին համարված հունիսի ռազմական նպատակները շարունակում են անում փորձելով փոխերարկված ուժերով շահադող, ինչպես զուգակցության կողմից նշված մասին են։

Էլի Բարդուն։ Ես պետք է ապահովեն, որ համարված հունիսի ռազմական նպատակները շարունակում են ամբական ժամանակները։ Ժամանակիցերը սկսեցին իրենց կողմերը հրաժեշտությունները տալով։

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"This struggle will finally and inevitably result in the complete recognition of inviolable human rights and in the liberation and independence of the oppressed and persecuted nations within their own territories. This will be achieved in the framework of a worldwide socialist family based on the inviolability of the rights of these nations to unhindered self-determination and on the brotherhood and peaceful cooperation of all individuals and peoples."

—ARF-D Program, 1982
«Մասը բավարար» բանակ

Այսօր՝ «Մասը բավարար» բանակում շարունակվում է բանակի աջակցություն։ Այգում մեծապես աճում է արդունակություն։ 2000 մարդ ստանում է համարակալված։ Մասին այսպիսի կազմակերպություններ են կազմվել։ Այսօր սկսվում է բանակի աջակցության վարագործություն։ Երկարաձգվող ժամանակաշրջանում կարող է տեսնել բնական պատմություն։

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Այսօր՝ «Մասը բավարար» բանակում շարունակվում է բանակի աջակցություն։ Այգում մեծապես աճում է արդունակություն։ 2000 մարդ ստանում է համարակալված։ Մասին այսպիսի կազմակերպություններ են կազմվել։ Այսօր սկսվում է բանակի աջակցության վարագործություն։ Երկարաձգվող ժամանակաշրջանում կարող է տեսնել բնական պատմություն։

Բանակի աջակցության համար կարող է տեսնել բնական պատմություն։ Երկարաձգվող ժամանակաշրջանում կարող է տեսնել բնական պատմություն։
Stanford Shaw: Silenced on One Front Still Active on Others
An overview of activities against Prof. Stanford Shaw's distortions

by E. Chooljian

Stanford Shaw, distiller of history and exploiter of academic freedom, returned to UCLA in winter of 1986 to teach History 111B covering Ottoman & Turkish History. As in the past, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey was used as a textbook for the course; a book which grossly misleads the students as to the circumstances surrounding the Armenian Genocide. To put it bluntly, Shaw suggested that the Armenian Genocide never took place.

But who is Stanford Shaw and by what sources does he claim the Armenian Genocide did not occur? Stanford Shaw started his academic career at Harvard University in 1958 as assistant professor of Near Eastern Studies and rose to the position of associate professor by 1968, when he started teaching at UCLA, where he would later become a tenured professor. Professor Shaw has written books concerning Turkish and Near Eastern history, each partially discredited by academics for various reasons such as inconsistencies, lack of sources, and use of unsubstantiated sources.

In History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II, Shaw indirectly questions the validity of the Armenian Genocide; he creates a controversy surrounding the issue, through which he turns the planned murder of a nation, the killing of 1.5 million innocent Armenian men, women and children, into a morbid number's game. Shaw writes “Armenians claim that as many as 2 million were massacred, but no counts of the dead were ever taken, and the actual total can only be estimated. The claims are based on the supposition that the prewar Armenian population of the Empire was 2.5 million. According to the Ottoman Census of 1914, however, it was at most 1.3 million... At 100,000 remained in Turkey after the war one can conclude that only 300,000 died if one accepts the Ottoman census report, or 1.5 million if the Armenian figures are utilized.” It should be mentioned that these “Armenian figures” are based on records found in the U.S., French, German and British archives, while the “Ottoman census records” are found in the Turkish archives, which by the way are not open to all academics for study and verification, but only to those who accept Turkish Government's distorted version of history.

To combat this barrage of misinformation, the UCLA Armenian Student Association (ASA) with the support of the Armenian community, planned demonstrations against Professor Shaw to enlighten the academics and students, requested that university officials stop Shaw from teaching this particular class and ban his book at the ASUCLA student store.

When Shaw taught this class in the winter quarter of 1982, the ASA planned and carried out three demonstrations in front of Shaw's class which led to a meeting of four Armenian representatives with Chancellor Young of UCLA where they presented a list of demands. Although the Chancellor refused the demands, the activities caused significant turmoil on the UCLA campus and a great deal of publicity in the UCLA Daily Bruin. This plus the unrelated assassination of a Turkish official in Westwood in January 1982 probably caused Professor Shaw's rapid departure in mid-quarter.

In summer 1986, Shaw again started to teach the class although no protests were made. Shaw "graciously" let the ASA show a movie concerning the Armenian Genocide — again trying to show the Armenian Genocide as a controversial issue. Noting the absence...
of demonstrations or strong protests, Shaw decided to teach the course again in winter quarter of 1987. This time the Armenian students refused to remain unheard. After some initial “indecisiveness,” plans to hold a rally and vigil were finalized by mid-quarter.

Survivors, representatives of campus student groups, and Executive Director of ANC, ung. Berdj Karapetian denounced Shaw's teachings, and affirmed that such lies should not be allowed in the classrooms of any school or university. Next, the ASA launched its second plan. It asked survivors to be present during Shaw's history class, holding placards about the Armenian Genocide. A series of demonstrations were planned to voice the truth about the genocide, and expose Shaw's lies. Although only two demonstrations took place, about 150 Armenians were present at the second demonstration which culminated in a meeting with the head of the UCLA History Department. Dr. Howe listened to the agonizing and horrible stories of some of the survivors, and met with a delegation of Armenians after the demonstration, and promised to investigate the matter. But that was not all. It seemed that Cambridge Press, the publisher of Shaw's book, fed up with the controversy and protests surrounding the text, had decided to stop its publication altogether. Hence, the book cannot be used as a textbook at any university. Also, a confidential source assured the ASA that Stanford Shaw will not teach History 111B for at least a year or maybe even longer.

However, the Armenians' battle against the falsification of history is far from over — for Shaw belongs to that vast network of “academicians,” covertly supported by the Turkish government to promote Turkish image and rewrite their history. In response to House Joint Resolution 192, the Turkish American Association published a petition condemning the efforts to commemorate the Armenian Genocide, signed by 79 “scholars,” one of whom was Stanford Shaw. Also, in response to State Assembly Bill 1273 which requires the teaching of Armenian Genocide in grades 7 through 12 of California public schools, Shaw criticized the Board of Education sub-committee for even considering the Armenian Genocide in a letter which offended the committee and prompted a sharp response from them.

As Armenian youth, but more specifically as AYF members, we must constantly be aware of the actions of those such as Shaw, and let our voices be heard in protest. We must follow the example of those anger who took the time to attend the demonstrations against distortion of Armenian (and Turkish) history. Issues such as this affect the Armenian nation as a whole, and all members of the Armenian Youth Federation must be ready and willing to act accordingly.

* As a long term goal, the ASA formed a committee of graduate students to prepare a detailed report and case against professor Shaw to be presented before the UCLA Academic Senate who has the authority to relinquish Shaw's position as a tenured professor and thereby discarding him in the academic community.

Shaw's Response to Teaching of Armenian Genocide in Grades 7 through 12 of California Public Schools

History Department
University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA 90095
22 December 1986

Mrs. Bonnie J. Kaslan,

Dear Mrs. Kaslan,

Thank you for your letter of December 15 and the enclosed copy of the proposed California State Department of Education's proposed "Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide." Insofar as Turkish and Armenian history are concerned, the model contains numerous errors of fact as well as interpretations which are at great variance from these held by Middle Eastern and Turkish historians throughout the world. For example, the continued use of the term "the Armenian genocide," along with indications that this idea is rejected only by the Turkish government is contradicted by the statement published late last year by 69 leading Ottoman and Middle Eastern historians, including world-famous professors at Columbia, Princeton, and Chicago as well as at our own major California universities, which indicated that considerably more research is needed on the subject and that the sufferings of the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire during and after World War I equaled those of the Armenians and could not be ignored without grave accusations of religious and racial prejudice. The statement indicated that the Armenians claims of genocide cannot be substantiated at this time. There is no doubt that many Armenians died and suffered at that time, but to also old millions of Turks and other Muslims during the Russian invasion of eastern Anatolia during World War I, the Greek invasion of southeastern Anatolia immediately after the war, and the Franco-Armenian invasion of Giolca in 1919-1921. One must also take into consideration the millions of Turks who were slaughtered by Czarist Russia during its 19th century movement across Central Asia, and by the Greeks, Serbs and Bulgars during their successful war for independence in the 19th century. All people of the area suffered, and to mention one without the others most certainly is racial prejudice of the worst sort.

There are many other statements in the model curriculum which simply are not correct. There never was, or is, any "Turkish stereotyping of Armenians." I have encountered much more of the reverse. There was no "Armenian position of neutrality" during World War I — there was a statement of neutrality which was not carried out in practice. Most Armenian leaders in the Ottoman Empire actively supported the Allied cause, as Boghos Nubar Pasha pointed out to the Allied leaders on numerous occasions during the Paris Peace Conference that followed the war. There were never any "pals to annihilate the Armenian people" on the part of the Ottoman government; the so-called Naim Bey papers which Armenian nationalists have produced to substantiate these claims are evident forgeries.

In sum, that portion of the model curriculum which refers to Turkish-Armenian relations during the late Ottoman period contains grave errors, reflects racial prejudice of the worst sort, and in fact constitutes a savage attack on the Nazi holocaust against the Jews, something which did happen and which should not be compromised by association with other, less substantiated claims. Having lost relatives myself in the Nazi holocaust, and suffered a great deal from anti-Semitic behavior, I deeply resent its being used in this manner.

These statements in the proposed model curriculum in no way reflect what is taught on the subject, either at the University of California, Los Angeles or at the University of California, Berkeley, let alone at other major universities in the United States. Those portions of the statement that deal with Armenian-Turkish relations should be entirely rewritten if the State of California does not want to become the laughing-stock of the Academic World.

Yours sincerely,
Stanford J. Shaw

Write to
RAFFI ELBEKIAN
3156/2
KP DOM
Sr. Mitrovica
22000
YUGOSLAVIA
ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ

ՈՒՆԱԿԱՆԵԼ ԱԶԱՐԻՆԵՐ

□ 1980-1899 թվականներին, երբ Հայոց ցեղասպանության ժողովածուները հաղթելու համար մարտական զինվորների կազմակերպման սահմաններն էին հաստատված, սակայն կանգնած էին գործադիր որոշումներ, որոնցից երկուսը էին դեռևս առաջին անգամ փոխադարձ տեղի ունենալու երկնային բարերարությունները, Բռնցում նրանց ու պատմության մեջ «Արմենական» անունը, ժողովածուներ, որոնք պատմության տեղակայություններում են գրանցվել, 23 հունիսի 1899 թ., երբ հայերը և ադրբեջանցիները տարանջատվեցին:

Հայոց ցեղասպանության հիմնականում երկու դարձելու ուղին, որը

Հայոց ցեղասպանության մեջ էպարծ հաջողություններ են հայտնվել քաղաքի կենտրոնում, որոնցից են Զաքինծո, Բնակա, և Արամուս։ Հայոց ցեղասպանության տարելիցի համար են հայտնի ուսումնասիրություններ տարածվել։ Հայոց ցեղասպանության անդամները, որոնք զբաղվում էին պատմության ցուցադրման համար, են զբաղվում այս ցեղասպանության տարբերությունների համար:

1990-1899 թվականներին, Հայոց ցեղասպանության հանդիսատես

Պիտկու Ֆիրդուս` նույն դեպքերի` ամբողջական

Հայոց ցեղասպանության տարբերություններ, որոնք զբաղվում են պատմության ցուցադրման համար:

Write to
HAMPIG SASSOUNIAN
P.O.Box C-88440
Building A-7 #227
Reprisa, California
95671
USA
"We believe that the Armenian Youth Federation—ARF Youth Organization of Western America, has a key role to play in the political and cultural activities of its people, especially through its political and structural ties to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. We believe that in order to achieve our supreme goal, we, as a political movement, must be prepared to take any and all steps necessary to achieve this goal."

—AYF Manifesto
The Last Tangible Elements

by Zabelle Bodikian

To all those who need to understand, among whom is NNF:

Most of us have a hard time understanding the feeling of Armenianism (or lack of it) coming from some of our ungers who unfortunately grew up without some of the luxuries that others take for granted. For some of us, it is even hard to think of the Armenian church, schools and organizations as luxuries. However, it would be even harder for us to think of life without them.

Well, I suppose that growing up surrounded by them lends us to be less understanding of the "other side." Although I hate to think of our people as split into sides over this issue, it is a reality. I, too, am a part of this "other side." However, I have come to realize the importance of these luxuries in the development of Armenianism. (I would like to define Armenianism here as true understanding of our people, our struggle and also a desire and demand to advance that struggle.)

Last year I attended an ARF junior seminar. There were ungers present who never had these luxuries at their disposal. I witnessed one very sad reflection of our people. These ungers were ridiculed for not understanding. (Coming from a luxurious community really breaks down our sensitivity.) These ungers were not any less willing to continue our struggle. In fact, it seemed the ungers' enthusiasm to learn about and continue this mad struggle of ours surpassed many.

Most of us come from Middle Eastern communities and had no other choice but to be Armenian. Our communities instilled that in us. We did not have to fight a community of assimilating values and ways to stay Armenian. Can we imagine that? An unger having to fight to understand his people? His history? His language? Not because the spirit was missing, but because the means were not there. His community was "luxury-less."

I remember growing up with my moss-back family. I fought with them to learn the Armenian language. There just wasn't time. Growing up in America brought on so many activities; Armenian studies was not among them. Unfortunately, I could not understand much of my people.

Through AYF I learned Mer Haireneak and Arinno Trosb and I learned the meanings of all of them as well. AYF strived to keep all of our American-Armenians together. AYF strived to instill some sense of nationalism in us. There was no room for the Armenian language.

I never believed that I could fully rationalize my ignorance of the language — none of us ever did. However, there was no one to justify it. We were all in the same situation. I knew it was important but so was staying Armenian — whatever that entailed.

I learned about the atrocities committed against my people. And along with my ungers, I wanted to help find justice for those atrocities. Our communities rejected this fervent nationalism we tried to adhere to — our Armenian communities. If our own people told us that we were wrong, how could we justify our desires? Between running from American schools and communities and struggling with our own Armenian communities, we became lost in an ever-winding circle. We fought with our own families to stay and be Armenian. We wanted that.

And then an unger is ridiculed for mere lack of luxuries.

We all want to learn. We need to learn. We understand and accept the importance.

Unfortunately, our people have managed to land on opposing sides of a single-sided issue.

We are destroying the last tangible elements to our goal...
Apolitical Intellectuals

One day
the apolitical
intellectuals
of my country
will be interrogated
by the simplest
of our people.

They will be asked
what they did
when their nation died out
slowly,
like a sweet fire,
small and alone.

No one will ask them
about their dress,
their long siestas
after lunch.
no one will want to know
about their sterile combats
with "the idea
of the nothing."
No one will care about
their higher financial learning.
They won't be questioned
on Greek mythology
or regarding their self-dissent
when someone within them
begins to die
the coward's death.

They'll be asked nothing
about their absurd
justifications
born in the shadow
of the total lie.

On that day
the simple men will come,
those who had no place
in the books and poems
of the apolitical intellectuals,
but daily delivered
their bread and milk,
their tortillas and eggs,
those who mended their clothes,
those who drove their cars,
who cared for their dogs and gardens
and worked for them,
and they'll ask:

"What did you do when the poor
suffered, when tenderness
and life
burned out in them?"

Apolitical intellectuals
of my sweet country,
you will not be able to answer.
A vulture of silence
will eat your gut out.
Your own misery
will pick at your souls
and you'll be mute
in your shame.

—Otto René Castillo
A Guatemalan Intellectual
their mental awareness to create ideas, to initiate means, and to test new plans of action to further the Armenian national liberation struggle. In short, the responsibilities of the membership do not end with attending the AYF-sponsored activities and carrying out the tasks entrusted to them by their respective elected bodies. To help the Armenian people enter the next phase of its struggle, the organization needs the active and creative participation of all its members. At the expense of being repetitious it should be stressed that "active participation" goes well beyond physical presence.

The "Free, Independent, and United Armenia" is not merely a slogan, but our primary destination, and we believe it to be an attainable one. We believe that to reach this destination all available means must be considered. Those who claim a belonging to the politicized segment of the Armenian youth have the responsibility of evaluating and implementing these means.

Let us not deceive ourselves. The bells will not toll without our active participation.
Official Publication of the
ARMENIAN YOUTH FEDERATION
ARF Youth Organization of Western America

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