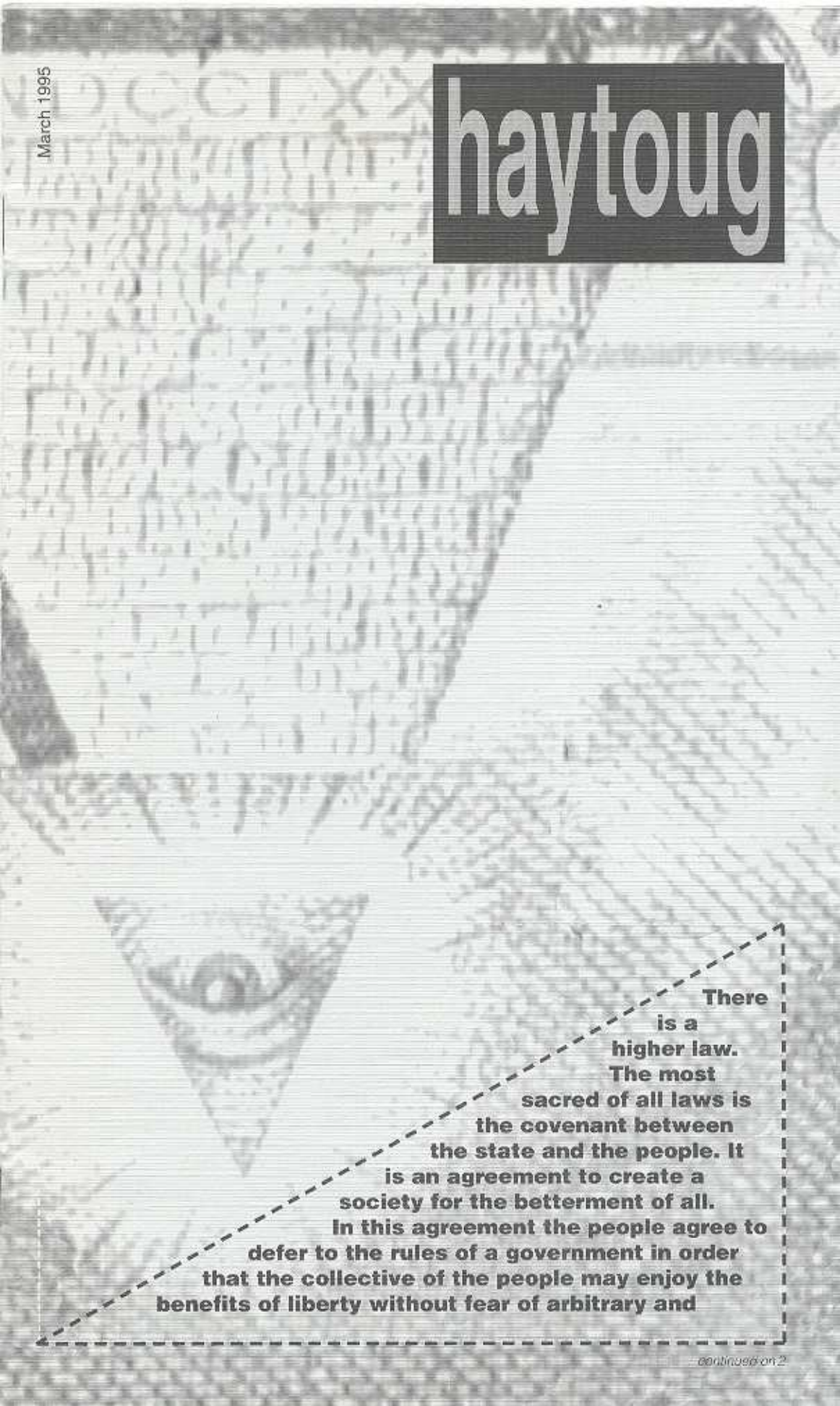


# haytoug



**There  
is a  
higher law.  
The most  
sacred of all laws is  
the covenant between  
the state and the people. It  
is an agreement to create a  
society for the betterment of all.  
In this agreement the people agree to  
defer to the rules of a government in order  
that the collective of the people may enjoy the  
benefits of liberty without fear of arbitrary and**



coercive repression.

This covenant is the foundation of modern society. It places the state in a position of servitude to the true sovereign—the people. The state's function is to activate its mechanisms for the full enjoyment of liberty by the people. And it is only for that purpose that the people consent to join in forming a state.

The state, as its chief agent in running these mechanisms, institutes governments. To put it simply, government is the state's staff.

The personnel which compose the government have entered into the sacred societal covenant. They are the faces of the state and are responsible for maintaining the state's end of the agreement.

When the government adheres to the agreement set out in the covenant, it is bestowed with the sovereignty of the people. It may act for all of society because it acts on behalf of society.

But what is to be said for governments which break the covenant?

When governments become self serving, when they neglect the people, even repress the people to maintain power, when individuals in office use their power for personal benefit, when the voice of the people is only tolerated in cases when it praises the government, when liberty is smashed under the boots of the militia, when the interests of society are less important than that of the bureaucrat, when government ceases to be the servant of the people and places itself as the master of the people, then the people as the true sovereign may, by any means necessary or available, cast off its oppressor. When the government has committed such violence against the people, then the people no longer bear any allegiance to that government. It ceases to be legitimate, and any act which those rulers attempt to institute is void.

If the rulers attempt to continue they are committing further acts of violence against the people, and the people are justified in retaliating.

In the words of John Locke, the father of consensual political theory, "He therefore who may resist, must be allowed to strike."

The enemy is now among us. If our independence is to mean anything, then it must serve the purpose for which many have endured much suffering—the progress of our society in liberty.

Any who would attempt to thwart and twist that holy endeavor is an enemy of our nation, and will bear the full consequences of the violence they commit.

The fate of the new nomenklatura is already sealed. It will follow in the steps of its predecessor, but its greater abusiveness will be met with greater consequences.

**haytoug**

***For the social, economic and political liberation of  
the Armenian people***

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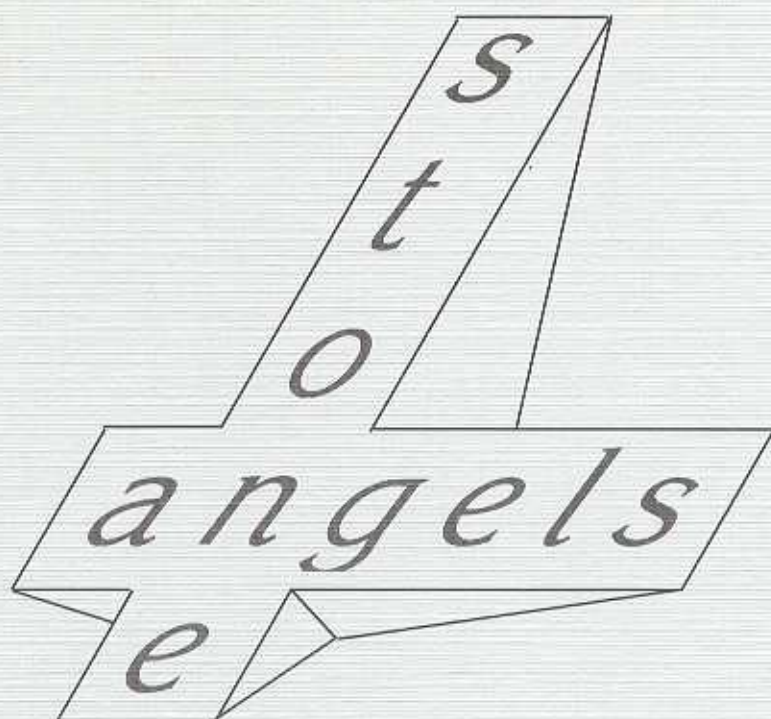
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by AKM  
From *Asbarez*

A man with no legs, long white beard, long white hair, white gown down to his no legs—a stump of a man-mountain—on a square, wheeled cart, clubbing his way through the epic, through the septic, through the skeptic.

This is what welcomes you into the city, the longer road, the harder road, to the home you never had. This...and a beautificent, young schoolgirl, almond eyes ablaze with a fire that has already melted centuries. A schoolgirl in a one piece swimsuit, there at the edge of the lake-this inland sea. She welcomes you, she caresses you with her prosthetic limbs, her metal crutches, with that stare of love she eats your lifeless heart, rejuvenating it. She welcomes you to the city.

She welcomes you, and so do the olive drab clad irregulars, with their cheaply copied Chinese versions of European tennis shoes and fold

down AK's already mimicking prosthesis, foreboding young men with copied/caricatured hard looks and Raybans—making them look and feel like death squad impotents from South America or Beirut or Vietnam.

This is what welcomes you to the longer road.

\*\*\*

You may get a little squeamish watching the mothers and sisters and fathers at the 18 year old freedom fighter's gravesite, crying, wailing-wailing at the gravesite. These open graves like so many of their mothers gaping wombs at birth. Wailing, contorting, opening—the first home they ever had. But, now in untimely (but, oh so timely) death, you must dig an orifice into Mother Earth's bodice so you can finally go home.

Welcome.

Welcome home...with a few hundred rounds of AK ammo, or a few thousand rubles at 400 to one American, these rounds shot off, or



these rubles spent in a fuss, linger then flutter like a last good-bye or some primordial toast...I'm surprised no one else dies from the shots raining down from the hazy, burning skies.

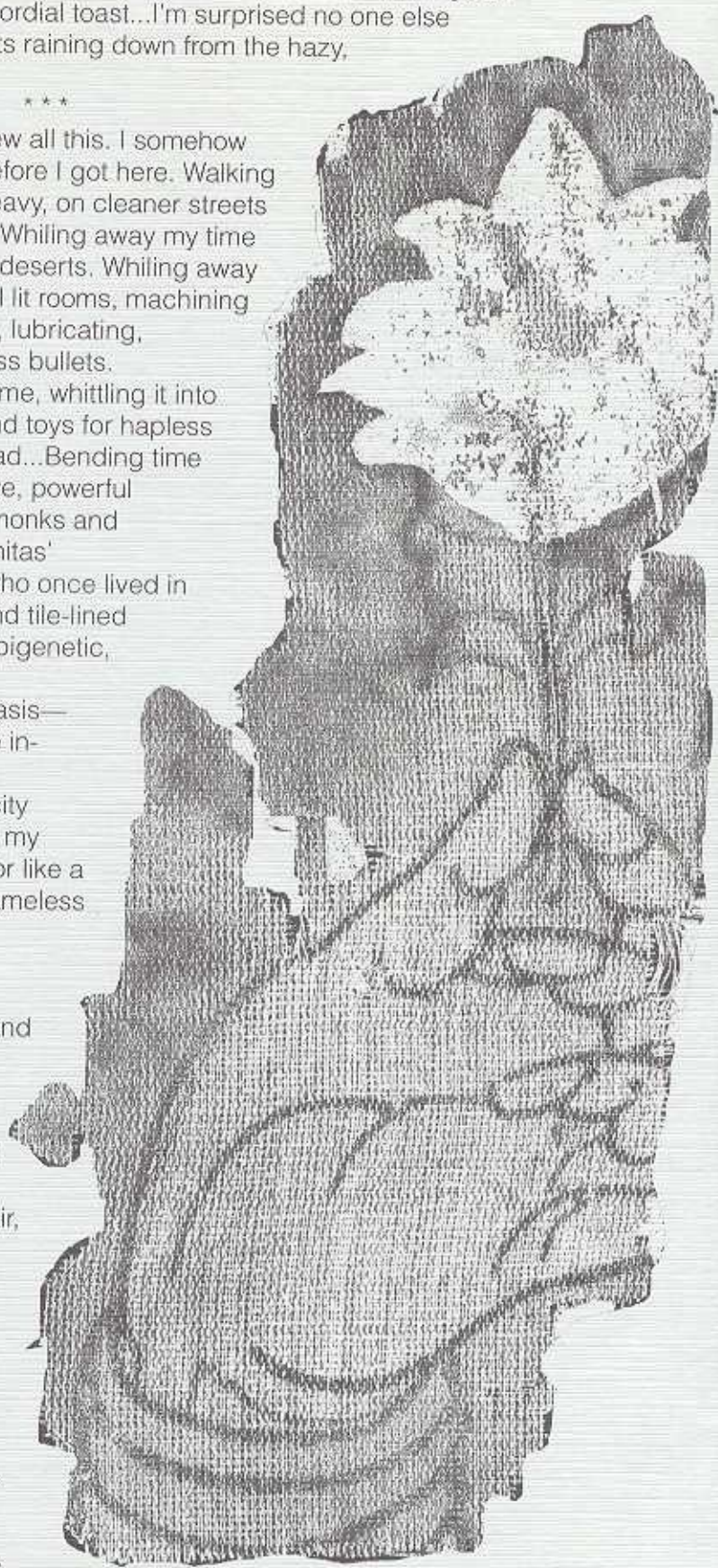
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I somehow knew all this. I somehow knew this even before I got here. Walking with jackboots, heavy, on cleaner streets and better roads. Whiling away my time in the hot winded deserts. Whiling away the time in small ill lit rooms, machining tools, molten lead, lubricating, fabricating printless bullets.

Whiling away time, whittling it into flutes, figurines and toys for hapless children I never had...Bending time in that introspective, powerful schizophrenia of monks and monkeys and Komitas' institutionalized, who once lived in trees and rocks and tile-lined rooms. With this epigenetic, chemical imbalance/metastasis—walking, sitting the in-betweens, inside coffeeshops and city streets, displaying my lacadasia and vigor like a bazaar king or shameless whore.

\*\*\*

The day is hot, putrefying brains and colons, fruit in throngs, rancid. These smells play with the pungence of mint or eucalyptus in the air, nearby... I see the child playing hopscotch on tombstones. I see the child playing games upon the faces of his ancestors. Molting, decomposed grandparents and great-grandparents.





They smile rottingly into the soles of his little feet. He's jumping, shaking the dead more than the maggots usually do.

The stones, the rocks around here are old. They live unlike the dead for eternities, swaying slightly with the exchange of lovers' breath, with the sons and daughters of the dead now playing in these graveyards, in these gardens which they-the dead-never knew in life.

Night falls. The air grows a little cooler, a little cleaner. Lovers walk hand in hand, hips swaying in unison near the monastery. Angels carved in stone, stone that has become lace from a different spool. Angels carved in stone, intricacies unveiled in the dark like the language of lovers. The angels smile at night reliving a past they never had. The lovers walk through the stench of lambs blood, a dove's feather hangs loosely to the bottom of a shoe unbeknownst to the owner. The waft of sacrifices new and old mixes with the odors of this long night. Trees, flowers, dead lambs and doves-in turn, all these, melding with her nest.

The day is long, the smells overwhelming. But, with night the angels sing. Singing sanguine melodies discernible only by the heartfelt, they dance to the endless song.

The lovers lay in wait. That is they wait for the old man's departure. He cries, weeps, leaving flowers upon his wife's grave, upon the graves of his children—an orphan man. His hardened, leather hands, his coarse unshaven face, all softened, fragile now, his eyes betray his every other feature. His moist eyes make him a little boy again. An infant again crying for his mother's nipple. Even the angels, in anticipation of the lovers' game, cast down their eyes until his difficult departure.

The lovers lay in waste. That is, they lay themselves down upon the fallen leaves and freshly cut grass, there in the graveyards of the fallen. The angels look up trying to catch a glimpse. In these hard times, what with the curfew and the shooting, the lovers come rarely. The angels look up and in their own silent language plead with the angel closest to the lovers. They plead with he/she (the gender of angels?) to describe in detail the game—the lovers game. They squawk and scream and jabber now, like so many children. And only the graveyard dogs, a sensitive and ancient breed, notice the halting in the angels' usually melodic dialogues and, so, they squat behind their favorite tombstones and turn to watch.

The lovers lay in wont. That is, they lay in the cool stillness of the fallen, in the serenity of the dead. The damp leaves, the dew drop grass, made moister still by the soil beneath. The breeze finally slips on and through them, hands taking the rhythm of a nearby stream. The angels gasp at the miracle, they weep at the sight.

The lovers play the oldest game—in the graveyards of the fallen.

★

Someone cuts away the face of a stone angel from a monastery wall.

Someone cuts away the face of a stone angel with an electric saw.

Someone cuts it away and the screams are heard for millennia in a torrent of back surging pain. Moving back toward itself until it meets its future, a full sweep, the circle closes—the pain will never go away.

★

The angels face now sits flat, upon a glass coffee table next to an equally flat sitting pack of Marlboro cigarettes-red, in the hard pack-in a land far, far away.



# The Ceremonial Significance

by t a

And to confirm your love and dedication to each other it is an accepted act of faith in our culture (as well as in the cultures of others) to adopt each other as husband and wife in front of witnesses of your choice/the choice of your family.

I'm not sure this is all necessary. It is definitely necessary to those who need the security of accepting each other with all the values of commitment in front of others. And to others it is a satisfaction to the soul and an inability to comprehend the significant essence of this moment., but as a respect to inquiry--that of the accepted past-- follows the motion of the familiar. The conscious-unfamiliarity of now the person being viewed arouses motion from the subconscious in accordance to the nostalgia of the familiar/accepted/expected which bonds to your particular culture. This specific act of the satisfaction to the soul is most particular in those who have not given much to the culture for its continuation and hope to release the phlegm which often forms its way at moments when thoughts are on the existence of the person pertaining directly to the culture of belonging. But let's move through the minds of the couple, skipping blindly to the Armenian church wedding ceremony.

I have read articles/books (not many) pertaining to our church, and I have decided to share my thoughts on a particular ceremonial vow (given) of a significant moment of a new transition in the lives of a formulating commitment, which in turn brings said words and done motions to a finale and yet a continuation of the cycle of life.

Ceremonial vows: that from the bible used, translates and represents the particular religion practiced. It is unfortunate that what is being translated from the vows at our wedding ceremonies negates the ideas and thoughts of our church. And instills in us questions of uninquired answers from the significant moment and dubitable thoughts. The Armenian church has been one of the first to have kept discriminatory steps away. But so that we will be able to focus on the present we will not refer to the past for support, because my statement is just on its own and supported by the structure of justice.

Being involved with weddings these past few years closer than before--perhaps due to my age--I have come across persons who share my thoughts, persons who prior to going through the ceremony finally came face to face



with the question or vow or statement "...you shall obey..." We so often speak of justice/equality because we have felt the unjust, we have experienced segregation by powers who chose to be the all mighty by their own simple decision. And yet we keep ceremonial vows which are so significant to the two accepting unity, simultaneously becoming an acceptance of separation, unjust. The reason some of the Armenian youth get married in the Armenian church today is that it is an Armenian church and an attachment exists.

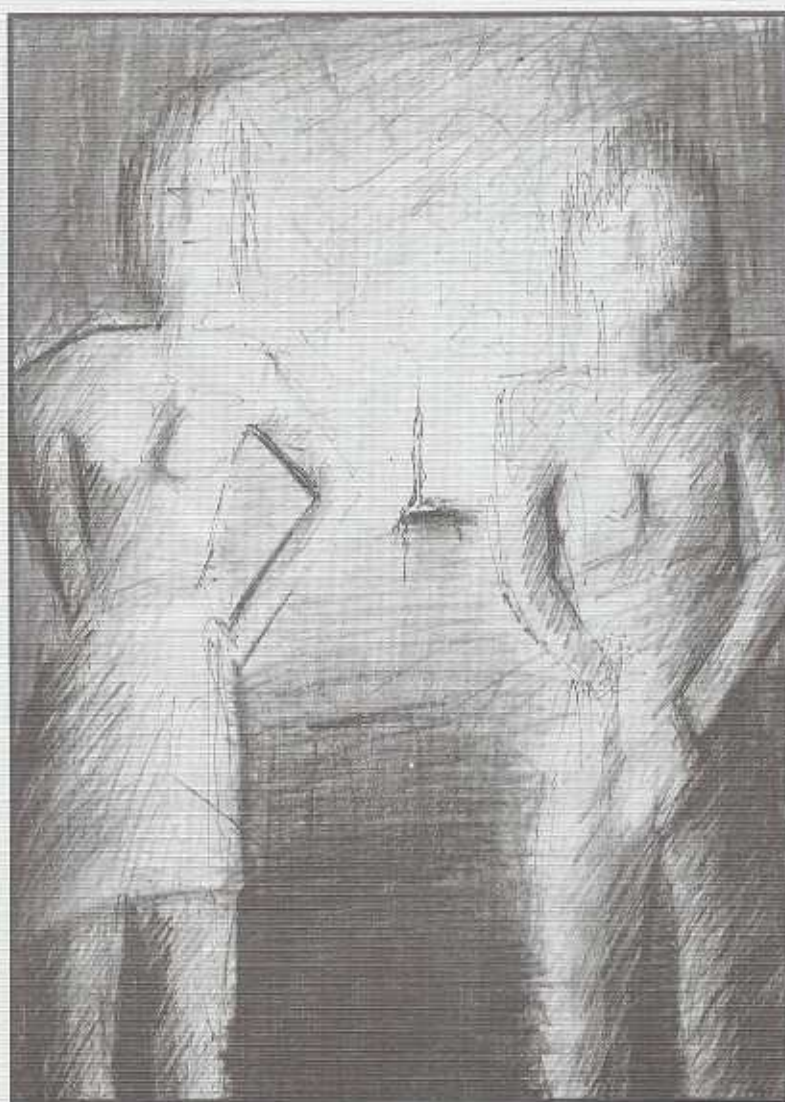
When the Armenian church reflects being Armenian, of belonging to its culture, it needs also to reflect the cultural experience of the particular people.

Armenian youth are trying to find ways of avoiding the vows that so do not represent our cultural experiences and of their own Armenian/human identity when reflecting upon the specific moments of our history. And therefore, the youth today after asking for the conversion in the vows to respond to the intrinsic nature of their respective identities, always being denied are emotionally detaching themselves from our church by moving through the ceremony as only an act, an act of resentment and remorse, to satisfy their surrounding. In doing so, an imposition is being placed upon one of their most significant moments of life experience--a hybrid deconstruction of belief in the holy ceremony. It is no longer holy. It has been raped of its piety--the attachment is broken. The ceremonial significance is now a significant moment of separation.

And others just follow the path of many who have no attachment. And this path is subliminally inaugurated by the insincere traditionalism of our church.

Life is a transitional cycle--an adaptation to the learnings in moments of time. A revolution.

"God is the almighty, God is just...." These words are so often uttered by those who are called "servants





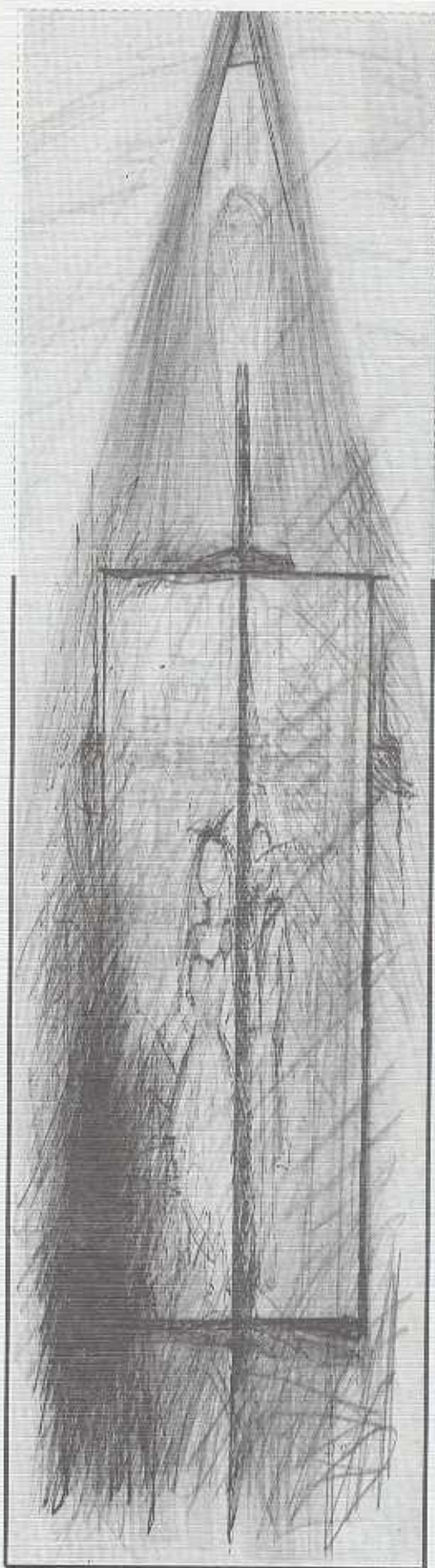
of God." If these words are to represent the clergy, then the clergy should make it an integral part of their devoted existence. In accordance to these said quotations, no one shall be above the unwritten rules of existence --one existing above another--unless the "servants of God" make it so.

It is not a question of women's rights, it is a question of human rights. It is, in conclusion, about justice. A word which slips out so easily through our mouths, because our cultural experience has given us no choice but to cling to it and from it build an awareness in our circumference. We are introduced to justice through injustices imposed upon us. Seize the moment. Ponder your thoughts. Are you uttering justice without any inclination or thought as to what you might be insinuating by the word? The word and its existence pertain to all things, beings and actions. It has no boundaries, it does not pertain only to rape, to slaughter. It is inclusive of all that is not balanced to give it a balance in relation to existence.

Justice is for all at all stages of life. Hypocrisy is not just.

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*Tamar Abkarian is an architect residing in the San Fernando Valley.*





*Silence in the face of injustice is a crime in itself. We have decided to separate ourselves from the accomplices to the Turkish crimes against the Armenian people at the turn of the century and raise our voices to a deafening volume.*

*We are the third generation of Genocide survivors. Though much removed from the slaughter faced by our predecessors, our quest for justice is immortal.*

*Our generation is armed with unlimited determination to reach the goals which three generations have valued so much—recognition of and retribution for crimes committed against the Armenian people embodied in the attempted genocide by the Turks, whose failure we have and will continue to make exceedingly clear.*

*These goals will be reached through a union of a new generation.*

*Athletic, political, religious and scholastic Armenian youth organizations announce a concord of purpose. The 80th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide is upon us, and we, the Armenian youth, must mobilize all our resources, through various efforts, for these objectives. Together we will embark on a campaign to realize our sacred goals and call upon all youth with a sense of justice to join in the effort.*

*Only after justice is done can we mourn in peace.*

**Youth Council--  
80th Anniversary of the  
Armenian Genocide  
Commemorative Committee**



Quest for Justice





# The Toast

by Arby Nahapetian

I was recently reminded of an interesting anecdote regarding an Armenian family on the way to their son's engagement. The story tells of the groom, who after great toil, had been able to get his hands on a bottle of vintage Cognac from France. The bottle was to have provided the traditional toast that the groom's father makes to the happiness of the future couple. And indeed, the groom very proudly presented his find to his father expecting a hearty thank you for his efforts. Yet, when the father told his son that the French Cognac was unnecessary, and that he had his own bottle prepared, the son was greatly dismayed. After a short disagreement, however, the father prevailed, and the vintage was left in the cabinet.

During the toast, the father revealed that the brandy he was pouring was none other than Ararat Cognac. He told the story of how he had purchased the bottle during a trip to Armenia many years ago with the hope of pouring it at this very occasion. He also told of his son's objection to his choice in disregarding the expensive and rare delicacy from the beautiful orchards of France. The father agreed, that no amount of imagination could make the Ararat go down with the same smoothness or refinement as could its French counterpart. Yet, he had chosen to bring this "cognac" instead of the other.

The father began to reminisce about his own engagement and the advice given to him on that day by his own father. As a young groom, he had been told that he had reached the point of his life where he would become the new link in a very old chain. His initiation would not be a tangible ceremony but rather an acknowledgement of the older links in the chain. The young groom had shrugged the advice off as antiquated rhetoric, but it had now come to haunt him at his own son's engagement. He reminded the audience of the argument over the vintage, and said that he now understood the advice given to him eons ago. While looking at his son, he reminded everyone that these old links did not come from the manicured valleys of France, but rather from the rugged and tortured steppes of the Caucasus. And it was on this note, that the father asked the guests to raise their glasses, and drink to the day when his son and new bride would raise their own glasses of Ararat to the new links in that very old chain.

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*Arby Nahapetian is a senior at UCLA majoring in Economics.*



# Our Ideology\*

by Garo R. Madenlian

Man's complete liberation will never be fully realized until all of human thought as well as the labor of all peoples serve to benefit the entire human race. More specifically, all peoples from around the globe must concentrate their efforts on the well being of the human population. Every individual must have the benefit of the whole population in mind. He must put the needs of the human race ahead of his personal interests and he must exemplify this through his actions.

Throughout history there have always been entities or individuals who were not interested in the betterment of society. They were only concerned with themselves, their personal comfort and their pleasures. There were the exploiters, the oppressors and the rulers. They have made use of the planet's human and natural resources meanly and unjustly for their own gains. They exercised their control over the people through unjust laws, regulations and cruel punishments to deter disobedience. The same remains true today.

Through their exploitation of the labor force, a class system was created. A system in which the

minority of the people hold power over the masses by continually robbing the working majority of the products of its labor. By further oppressing the labor force, the gap has widened between what we now call the working class and the ruling class.

Throughout history the unfortunate differences between the classes have been exploited by the ruling minority; those who make up a physical minority of the population have almost all the power. This unjust difference between the classes has existed, and has not been corrected, since time began. It may be plain to see in certain parts of the world. It is hidden and masked in others. In either case it has existed and it continues to exist. This form of exploitation and oppression has created the numerous social systems that man has lived in: slavery, medieval feudalism, state totalitarianism, communism and even capitalism.

The exploitation has led to the formation of dictatorships headed by rulers who have gained a considerable amount of economic and military power. They are never satisfied. They yearn for more growth and strength, and search for nations to conquer. Through colonialism, imperialism, militarism they attempt to gain even more power. In the process they trample the people, and exploit the working class to further advance their own personal agendas of conquest, be it economic or military.

Capitalism masks itself, and represents itself as the only true system in which all individuals have an equal opportunity to advance. The ruling minority has made a number of concessions to the working majority such as social



security and a sharing of the profits of economic progress. In fact capitalism is an enemy of the masses, of the labor force, of the working class, of the people. It breeds exploitation. It allows the population to be oppressed while congratulating and rewarding the ruling minority, through further authority, to continually gain power at the cost of the working majority. The concessions that were made were made only to fool the work force into believing that they prosper within the capitalist society. These concessions were actually made to hinder the progress of the individual and thus maintain the status quo. In other words they were necessary concessions for the survival of the economic structure of capitalism—the rich get richer and the poor get poorer and become even more dependent upon the rich.

These concessions are thought to be an advancement in the rights of the individual. A creation of a system where all individuals are equal does not yet exist and capitalism, even with these concessions, is nothing short of exploitation. The economic structure remains the same and production is dictated by the ruling minority. The improvement of living conditions and security for the individual and society are still dependent on the production capacity, which is governed by the ruling minority. Furthermore the main ideal behind a capitalist system remains intact and its presence is evident: exploit and oppress to rule.

The masses will not tolerate the status quo. The working majority is an important and large part of society. They, just as all men do, want to and need to be free. Men, as individuals and as part of the

collective human society, have always searched for justice and equality, they have always striven to be free. This has led to the formation of a natural movement, one that is just and true in essence, and leads to the liberation of the individual and of society. This movement is a conscious one, where the individuals are aware of the situation and realize the importance of the movement. For if it were not for this movement the human race would be condemned to slavery for eternity.

Socialism is the idealistic movement that fights for the freedom of the individual, the working masses and all of humanity. It is the only movement that guarantees the rights of all individuals everywhere. It is an economic—revolutionary movement,

whose success will enhance the lives of all peoples and nations. The revolution is not only for the workers, it is for all peoples and nations. The revolution does however, conflict with the interests of

the ruling class. This draws the line between the loyalties to the two opposing forces. The ruling minority will do everything in its power to fight against the justice socialism will offer to all individuals. Therefore the liberation of the working masses will lead to the complete emancipation of man. However, this can only be achieved through the collective, united struggle of the workers. Almost everyone may be considered an integral part of the working masses: laborers, peasants, artisans, professionals, technicians, etc. The struggle will of course be joined by the revolutionary intelligentsia; by those who have fought for this ideal, who have struggled to keep this idea alive.

In order for the working class to be successful in achieving a socialist world, the masses use any





means necessary within an economic and political context. The working masses must gradually prepare themselves for the inevitable socialist world.

**The ideal of socialism is the realization of the Free Man and the development of a society in which man will be freed from the dominion of natural forces, as well as from racial, religious-denominational, social, ethnic, political, economic and class discrimination, oppression, violence and exploitation.**

**Socialism will realize the full freedom of human thought, speech, conscience, creativity, labor and political activity. It will also achieve the ideals of human rights and liberties and to establish the dominant influence of the Free Man, of the Free Citizen, and of the Liberated Laborer. Socialism encourages and strives for the free, multifaceted, and harmonious development of the individual and society.**



Just as individuals are exploited and oppressed within almost all countries, weaker and less developed nations are exploited by the economically and militarily advanced nations who are generally expansionists—capitalists.

Socialism is the struggle to free all nations and peoples, weak or powerful, economically sound or destitute, militarily advanced or inadequate. Socialism is the ideal system of cooperation and coexistence among all nations. Within this system all nations and peoples must be liberated and be free, independent and sovereign states. All must be equal to one another.

Currently the majority of peoples around the world have not advanced past a pre-industrial socioeconomic level. Those that show signs of progress have not fully achieved

what the major industrialized countries have. In other words most of the world is at a pre-industrial stage of development. The histories of pre-industrial countries are directly related to that of industrialized nations. The industrialized nations are able to capitalize on the misfortunes of the less developed countries and bring them into their spheres of capitalist influence.

The economically advanced states take advantage of the military might they possess, as a result of their superior technology, to impose their will on nations, states and even entire continents. They force entire peoples to live within a system that best suits the needs of their own state. They exploit entire countries

and nations in order to take control of raw materials and transportation routes. This is a necessary and logical step for the capitalist to control new markets and gain capital for further industrializing his own nation,

while at the same time robbing the pre-industrial nation of its natural resources and exploiting the population. The capitalist seldom thinks twice about exploiting others for his own benefit. For him it is the only way.

Within the international context capitalist countries can only be regarded as colonialists and expansionists. The countries and peoples victimized by capitalism lost complete control over their economic progress. They become the servants of the ruling country (the capitalist) and are deprived of their right to progress into an industrialized nation. They have lost potential to develop independently and become a self-sufficient country in which they control their own destiny. And if by chance these



countries and peoples are able to gain their political independence, they would continue to be subservient to the advanced countries as a result of the depletion of their natural resources. They are exploited by the industrialized countries, the people are oppressed, and they will continue to be ruled over, even behind the smoke-screen of independence.

This leads to the assumption that there are actually two separate yet similar class structures. One is the internal structure within a specific country and the other is on an international level. It is one in which the minority of the countries have reached a certain stage of industrialization and are the dominant forces of the world and are able to handle their own affairs.

At the same time the majority of the countries, and those where the majority population of the world resides, continue to remain under the direct control of the great powers, either economically or militarily.



The freedom and welfare of the individual, society and humanity can only be achieved through the awareness that the struggle against exploitation and oppression is on two levels. One is within the country and the other on an international level. The battle must take place and be successful on both fronts for the rights of man to be guaranteed throughout the world.

The socialist movement is both national and international in its essence. It strives for the complete liberation of all nations and peoples creating a brotherhood of sovereign states. These sovereign states will be completely and totally equal, and will participate as such on international issues. This does not preclude the assimilation and

absorption of all peoples into one uniform culture. On the contrary, each nation offers a unique historical background as well as a distinct and unique culture. These qualities will only serve to enhance the socialist world by offering the population various choices of living.

The nation is an important entity within the socialist system because it represents a basic value for each group of peoples. Within the nation each individual has the opportunity to prosper and to communicate freely with his peers. It offers a forum in which various cultures may flourish. Within the socialist model of nations each individual is guaranteed security within each nation. However, socialism is opposed to chauvinism and racism

of any sort. No one nation may claim to be superior in any way. Socialism is also opposed to imperialist ideals of exploitation and oppression by any one nation over another. Each nation must have the right to self-determination and to establish their own independent states.

**Each nation has the natural and inalienable right to its own fatherland—its historic and geographic environment—as the essential factor for the nation's survival, progress and creativity.**

The struggle must take place with the simultaneous development of national liberation and socialist movements. It will result in the complete recognition of human rights throughout the world. It will include the liberation and independence of all oppressed and persecuted nations within their own territories. There will be no colonialism or expansionism. There will be no exploitation of individuals



or nations because this struggle will achieve a worldwide socialist system based on the inviolable right to self-determination of all nations. The countries throughout the world will coexist as a brotherhood, the peaceful cooperation of all individuals, peoples and nations will prevail.

**Democracy is the dominant characteristic of the socialist movement and socialist order, it derives inherently from them. Without broad democracy, socialism is incomprehensible, while democracy without socialism is a mere formality and incomplete.**

Within the socialist system all states must be democratic. The states will be governed in a decentralized manner in which all the means of production and public services will be placed under the collective ownership of the population.

Socialism includes the public ownership of the means of production. This includes the land, mines, factories and the means of communication. Within a socialist state the country will be composed of a democratic and decentralized system. The economy will be organized to accommodate the people, all individuals. Socialism does not require the abolition of all private ownership. On the contrary, it is necessary to have private ownership for individuals to be able to secure their needs and their household economies. To take care of themselves. This is precluded by the absence of an exploitation of labor or accumulation of surplus capital.

Within the socialist structure there will also be an organized agriculture system based on cooperative, public and private economies. No individual will be forced to work in a

specific area, they may work in the field of their choice.

It is the comprehension of these ideals that allows the movement to grow stronger and gain momentum. Within this movement lies the national liberation struggles of oppressed peoples and the progress of mankind to a just socioeconomic system based on equality of political, social and economic rights. The movement will utilize any and all means necessary to combat the forces of oppression and exploitation by the ruling minority. This movement will succeed through revolution if necessary.

Socialism will end the system of classes that now prevails around the world. There will not be a

subordinate class or a ruling class because all the classes will be equal, hence a class system will cease to exist.

All peoples and nations will be equal and will be unified within the socialist order. The

nations and peoples will cooperate with one another peacefully for they will all have united under the voluntary federation based on equality for all.

The liberation of nations and the emancipation of man is contingent upon a true socialist order throughout the world. Many sacrifices will have to be made by all nations and peoples. This socialist movement will succeed, through revolution, and bloodshed, if need be. It is the inevitable end to the evolution of society and will mark the beginning of mankind's rebirth.

\*Concepts in this article are derived from the *Dzrakir* of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. Citations are from the *Dzrakir*.

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Garo Madenlian is a member of the Montebello ARF Dro Chapter.





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The most important election in a democracy  
is the second election.

--President Bill Clinton