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1984

PUBLICATION OF A.R.F NORTH AMERICAN TRI-REGIONAL YOUTH SEMINAR

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EDITORIAL

Sixty-nine years ago, the Turkish Government decided to extraminate the Armenian People, but it only succeeded in dispersing Armenians to all corners of the world. And yet today, even though physically still existent, the Armenian People seem to be psychologically massacred. Most of us are indifferent to our political situation and future. Most of us seem content to live on foreign land and eventually assimilate into other cultures.

But we, the ARF Youth, are not content with our situation. We are aware of our desperate plight in the Diaspora, and we are aware of the forces that are attempting to direct and shape our thoughts and lives. It is a reality that we cannot survive in the Diaspora as Armenians. There are constant and vigorous assimilation pressures which, only after a few generations, will cause the extinction of the Armenian People. We cannot allow these forces to suffocate our existence. We cannot let our unique Armenian character lose its identity in other cultures.

The survival of the Armenian People intrinsically requires a free homeland. And, today, we must struggle for this homeland. It falls upon our shoulders, the Armenian Youth, to disturb the indifference of the Armenian People, to shake the foundations of Armenian Diasporan 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.

National liberation movements do not occur by themselves. They require leaders who have open-minded and extensive knowledge of their sociological and political situation, yet who have strict discipline in their thoughts and lives.

We, the ARF Youth, have taken the first step in this direction. We have committed ourselves to the just cause of our people. And, we have taken the initiative to educate ourselves with the proper knowledge and discipline which is necessary to lead a successful liberation movement. As the first step, ARF Youth from Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Toronto, Washington, Vancouver, Indianapolis, Detroit, Hartford, Cleveland, and New York gathered at Camp Haleastan, Massachusetts, for a two week tri-regional intensive educational seminar. The participants analyzed and discussed topics which dealt with liberation movements, Armenian and ARF History, Armenian Renaissance literature, political ideologies and many other issues.

We, the ARF Youth, have taken the initiative to prepare ourselves for the future. We invite all Armenian youth to join us in our struggle, so that the fate of our people will for once be in our own hands.
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A.R.F. YOUTH TRI—REGIONAL SEMINAR

The Central Executives of the three regions of North America:
— Armenian Youth Federation-Youth Organization of the ARF Eastern USA
— Armenian Youth Federation-Youth Organization of the ARF Western USA
— ARF Youth Organization of Canada

organized a two week educational seminar, which was held at Camp Halastan, Franklin, MA, from June 16-29.
A group of forty youths representing the three regions gathered for an extensive and comprehensive series of educational lectures.
The main goal of this seminar was to establish a common educational base among the membership of all three regions.
In addition to the lectures, group discussions, leadership and communication workshops, and presentation from each of the participants took place.
All these activities will prepare each participant upon his return to his/her region with the necessary skill and knowledge to improve the educational process their organization.
From the first day of the seminar, the participants established an atmosphere of fraternalism which aided in the success of their program. Their willingness to co-operate and their self-discipline all worked towards reaching the established goals of the seminar.
A great number of individuals contributed their time and expertise to assure that the participants would receive the best possible education by authorities in the particular fields.
The following topics and lectures comprised the seminar’s educational program:

Armenian History 1880-1907
Armenian History 1907-1918
ARF History
ARF By-Laws and Structure
ARF Strategy
ARF Drakir
Leadership Seminar
Communication Seminar
The Political Geography of Armenia (Geopolitics)
Diaspora Communities and Youth
Modern Turkey
Soviet Armenia
Slide Show on Soviet Armenia
Panel Discussion-The ARF Press

Lecture on Hap Tod Activities in the US and Canada

The Communities and the Political Organizations of the Diaspora

Political Culture
The Armenian Renaissance in the 19th Century
The Republic of Armenia
The Turkish Denial of the Armenian Genocide
A Slide Presentation on the Republic of Armenia by
National Liberation Movements and the Armenian Experience

The success of the first seminar organized for the needs of the youth of the ARF of the three regions in North America has led the organizing bodies to feel that this is merely the first step towards broader programs, which can lead to a better understanding and cooperation between all of these regions, which in return will lead us towards more concrete work, placing us in our eventual path, on the road to a Free, Independent, and United Armenia.

Central Executives of:
A.R.F. YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF CANADA
A.Y.F. YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF THE A.R.F.
EASTERN U.S.A.
A.Y.F. YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF THE A.R.F.
WESTERN U.S.A.
A Brief History of Mankind

By Ara Oshagan
Western USA

The process of the history of man has an economic and materialistic basis. Every major stage in this process is a direct result of the economic and physical conditions surrounding man and it proceeds only through the physical and material interaction of man with the world. It begins with man being oppressed by both man and the surrounding natural forces and it will culminate in man’s emancipation from himself and natural forces. The basic driving force of this process is the inherent contradictions within each stage of history and the eventual and inevitable resolution of these contradictions.

The history of man has no clear-cut beginning. As man evolved from apes, he found himself roaming the land in small bands. These bands were very mobile and hunted for their food. Their basic social structure was the family where the father was the dominating figure and the rest of the family was essentially his servants. This was the first human social structure and it was based on the exploitation of a small group by one person. As these hunting bands slowly grew larger, it became increasingly difficult to be mobile. At about the same time and most probably by mistake, someone discovered that soil could be used to produce food. Simultaneously with the need to become less mobile, the agricultural revolution occurred, enabling some groups to settle down permanently, while other groups still roamed the lands. Gradually, increasing clashes between these two ways of subsistence made life very unstable. For greater protection, a few groups settled down together in one area. This was the birth of the village. Though the social structure was now much more complicated, its basic elements did not change. Instead of the father, now there was the chief of the village who ruled the rest of the villages. Again, the basic element of this patriarchal system was the exploitation of a large group by one person.

Over long periods of time, the villages grew so large that one person could not administer them alone. Along with the greater divisions of labor, a group of rulers evolved to administer the complications of village life. These groups usually consisted of the people closest to the chief—most often the family. Slowly, some villages became so large that they were no longer villages, but these towns or cities and the patriarchal system evolved into the feudal. The structure of the feudal system consisted of a small ruling class—usually the king and his aristocracy—who dominated and exploited the working peasantry. The basic element of this system was also exploitation.

We must stop thinking about the world, and start changing it.

With the general advancement of the sciences, the kings and their aristocracies, whose interests never reached beyond their immediate environment, experienced an awakening of their cultural and scientific interests. These new interests created economic burdens upon the aristocracy, who in turn began taxation or simply increased taxation of the peasantry. To administer this taxation policy, middlemen were appointed to collect the taxes. These middlemen soon took advantage of their position and by over-taxation of the peasantry or by other means, slowly accumulated their own wealth. Before long, these tax collectors, called the bourgeoisie, became as rich as the economically weakened kings and aristocracy. A time came when the bourgeoisie finally realized their economic and physical strength and overthrew the old king and his nobility.

The feudal system has an inherent contradiction which ultimately caused its collapse. The increasing strength of the middlemen, or bourgeoisie, is what destroyed the kings. But, it was the kings themselves who originally created this class of middlemen and provided the means for them to become wealthy. In fact, due to economic developments the kings and nobility caused their own destruction.

The bourgeoisie revolution was made under the guise of fraternity, freedom, and equality for all men. But, in fact, the bourgeois class simply replaced the nobility in the exploitation of workers and peasants. This new system, called capitalism, was again based on the exploitation of the many by a few. But in the capitalist system, the basis of exploitation is economic, and it is on an international level. Just as in a factory, the owners abuse the labor of the workers by low pay, long hours or other means; on the international level, one nation, through its multinational corporations, exploits the natural resources of another. The dominating class today is a small group of multi-millionaires who own these multi-national corporations and who have strong influence upon governments.

The capitalist system also has an inherent contradiction. In order to optimize the production of the laborers, an owner must organize them. But organization is the first step in collective strength. This collective strength along with increasing severity of the intrinsic injustices between the dominating class and the working class will culminate in a socialist revolution by the workers. This final resolution will not be created by a small class of men, but by the working masses themselves who will then become the dominating class. The actual producers of this world’s wealth will finally benefit from their own production. The socialist revolution will be the final step in the emancipation of man from himself. Man will live in a free, equal and classless society within which he can live and

Continued on Page 23
A Sociological and Demographical View of the Problems of Armenian Organizations

By Ara Chalian
Eastern USA

A study of the demographic and sociological trends that have shaped the lives of the Armenian people for the past hundred years reveals the basis of the communication, motivation, and assimilation problems that our youth organizations face today. To advance our organization we must address and solve the situations created by these social and demographic trends.

The first trend, beginning in 1800s, was the increasing numbers of Armenians in Historic Armenia. Therefore a change in the balance of power occurred, resulting in a shift that furthered the Armenians. By 1915, not more than 60%of the 4 to 4 1/2 million Armenians lived in Historic Armenia. The fact that almost half of the Armenian population lived away from the homeland was an abnormal situation. By 1925, ten years after the Genocide, there were approximately 3 million Armenians and only 20% lived in Soviet Armenia. For the first time in history the majority of the Armenian people lived outside their homeland. In the case of most cultures, the dispersal would have signaled the end of the people and their culture, but Armenians chose a different fate. During the following decades there was a heavy repatriation to Soviet Armenia, but the dispersal of the rest of Armenian population was the seed from which the other demographic and sociological trends germinated.

The second phenomenon is the worsening of communication and information transmission between communities of Diaspora; this situation is further complicated by the increasing importance of information transmission and communication sources of non-Armenian origin. This condition is a direct result of the demographic disposal of the Armenians—the complex and varied interests of society, and the change of the strict Armenian patriarchal family structure to the Western mode of independent and equal-family life.

These demographic and social conditions provide a populace vulnerable to intrusion and manipulation by Western television, newspapers, magazines and radio. The Armenian newspapers and other media forms are present but they are inferior in quality and in number to their Western counterparts. This communication crisis effects Armenian organizations and their leadership, making it difficult to exchange information, educate, and mobilize the Diaspora communities. This is one difficulty that one clearly notices in Armenian organizations. For example, in the US, the AYF chapter executives have difficulty contacting their members, collecting them in one place for activities, and competing with American TV and radio for their attention.

The third trend is the slow convergence of social classes in Armenian communities which tends to make Armenians more like each other. For example, on one hand, the disappearance of the peasant/farmer and factory worker, and on the other hand, the existence of an aristocracy. We are a middle class society. This makes social interaction easy but chokes off the creative thinking by different social and professional experiences. The resulting uniformity of thought makes the consideration and acceptance of new ideas more difficult. This is a phenomenon that is well demonstrated by the American experience which has made us a middle class society. The intellectual stagnation is a negative factor that will be reversed by the creative thought inspired by higher education and training in analytical thought. The education required is not strictly an American college education. To be a constructive and 'creative thinker, our ranks must learn Armenian History and political thought. We must then apply our education to help produce realistic ideas and solutions to Armenian issues. The social class convergence effects our organizations in a leadership crisis which reveals a lack of innovative thinking.

The forth phenomenon is the increasing number of minor areas of concentration of Armenian population.75% to 80%live in five or six major areas of concentration; among them, USA, France, Iran, and Lebanon. Medium areas have shifted to Egypt, Iraq, and Canada. Minor areas include many eastern and western European countries, South America, and Africa. The increasing number of minor areas of population tend to complicate, weaken, and frustrate Armenian unity, political movements, and actions. The main problem is that Armenian national interests are pitted against local Armenian concerns. As Armenians began populating an increasing number of minor communities, the fragmentation of Armenian thinking and leadership became a reality.

The fifth phenomenon is the political instability of the Middle East, especially Lebanon, Iran, Cyprus, Turkey and Iraq. This turmoil region’s Armenian population is 1/3 of the Diaspora. First, the situation has resulted in personal, physical, and economic insecurity. This, in turn, has lead to emigration. Second, the psychological effect has been the transition from a long term view of life to a view of the future in terms of hours, days or rounds of shelling. This unhealthy fragmentation of the collective and individual vision of the Armenian future results in selfishness and even self-destructive feelings. The ability of Armenian organizations and political minds to function productively is seriously compromised by the strain that the political instability places on the individual’s spirit. One must also realize that this troubled Middle East region has traditionally been the source of the most creative and innovative ARF leaders and thinkers. The current situation could have serious future implications if these leaders and thinkers are not able to mature in the conditions created by the wars in the Middle East.

I believe an overview of the

Cont. on page 23
ARF Ideology: Documentation or Implementation?

By Raffy Tchakmakian
Canada &
Amtraniq Kasbarian
Eastern USA

In our organization's program, the underlying general theory around which our work revolves is socialism. However, due to the present conditions in the diaspora the ARF and its youth have not practiced or even emphasized this theory and its applications. Our work reflects very few socialist tendencies, if any, and the responsibility for sustaining the socialist ideology is left up to respective individuals.

Before embracing an examination of socialism's main points, we should make clear the origins of the ideology in the ARF. From the beginning, the ARF's founders did not adopt socialism as a matter of expediency, but as a point of fundamental ideological importance, which lent coherence to their national goals and aspirations. Within this unique concept of socialism, the immediate goal of the ARF was determined to be the establishment of a free, independent, and united Armenian state. Only then, the ARF would work for realization of the long range goal of establishing a democratic and socialist republic.

Socialism, as espoused by the ARF, is quite different from other types of "socialism" present in the world. Today, most socialist nations either profess the ultimate goal of communism; i.e., a world state, or adopt a totalitarian mode of government under the guise of socialism. The ARF supports the co-existence of socialism and nationalism, where the people own and distribute the fruits of their labor within the state, which in turn, is part of a mutually cooperative federation of states:

"Socialism strives for the public ownership of the means of production—land mines, factories and the means of communication and exchange. It aims to organize the whole economy and direct it collectively within democratic and decentralized system...Prompted by the prospect of establishing a universal brotherhood of free nations, socialism aims to abolish all artificially established boundaries and distinctions between nations."

Therefore, the ARF's ultimate hope is that a world order of socialism will be created where every nation will retain its distinct character and cultural heritage.

"Each nation has the natural and inalienable right to its fatherland...as the essential factor for the nation's survival, progress, and creativity."

ARF Drakir

Socialism is destined to achieve the ideals of human rights and liberties and to establish the hegemony of the free man, of the free citizen, and liberated labor. Socialism is destined to realize full freedom of human thought, speech conscience, creativity, labor and political activity."

"Socialism is destined to Realize full freedom of human thought, speech, conscience, creativity, labor and political activity."

ARF Drakir

so that the people may concentrate on the important endeavors in life. "Socialism is the most idealistic and revolutionary movement for the emancipation of the individual and the working masses."

Our organization is truly revolutionary. According to ARF ideology, revolution, not necessarily violent, must occur in the minds of the people and in the relations between nations. Thus, we must drastically alter the geopolitical arrangement of states in the Caucasus and in Eastern Anatolia. The present political positions deny our existence as a nation and continue past injustices committed against the Armenians.

Socialism is the foundation out of which ARF has been created. Our lack of clear understanding on this issue has been a long standing shortcoming, and a stronger commitment to our socialist ideology on a day to day basis can only add to our integrity as ARF-ers and AYF-ers. Indeed, it is this socialist ideology which gives out the pursuit of Hai Tad its distinctive character. Although some feel that socialism is difficult to practice in the diaspora, we emphasize that it is just as important a goal as the attainment of a free, independent, and united Armenia. We suggest that our organization seeks greater cooperation with other socialist states and institutions—which is based on mutual interest—in the hope of promoting the interrelated goals mentioned above. Furthermore we must make sure that this cooperation reflects a more basic trend toward incorporating socialism into our everyday lives.
"So, I would like to define a new term—'freedom fighterism'—and I would like to define it as follows: the struggle for the self-preservation and the national liberation of a people through the use of violence. I would like to further define it as JUSTICE."

By Artsounk

Lisbon, Portugal, July 1983: Five Armenian men blew up the Turkish Consulate in Lisbon, Portugal. Their bodies were found underneath the collapsed building. A note was left behind saying that they were freedom fighters whose mission was a "sacrifice on the altar of freedom."

A terrorist or freedom fighter, who is to decide? Most people would say that the five men who sacrificed their lives were terrorists. I would not. I call them freedom fighters.

A freedom fighter struggles not for himself, as a terrorist does (for money, for instance), but for a cause, for the liberation of a people. He is not a criminal or a madman. He is a rational, thinking human being who considers the freedom of his people more important than his own life. He has calculated and specific targets which represent the injustices against which he struggles. Of course, only the freedom fighter's own people agree with this view. For example, in the Armenian Liberation Movement, the Armenian is considered a terrorist by the world, but, in the opinion of most Arméniens and sympathizers to the Armenian Cause, he is a freedom fighter.

A freedom fighter can also be called a hero. As Webster's Dictionary defines the word hero: "an illustrious warrior; a man admired for his achievements and qualities; one that shows great courage." Hence, in reality, freedom fighters are heroes since they all exemplify the qualities of a hero.

On the other hand, in the Turkish, Spanish, or Jewish points of view (governments targeted by Armenian, Basque, and Palestinian freedom fighters, respectively), freedom fighters are seen as terrorists who are criminals or fanatic animals. But, these governments only care to protect their own interests and deliberately ignore a freedom fighter's cause. Only after all other means have failed, a freedom fighter turns to political violence to achieve his goal.

Freedom fighters exist due to distinct political and sociological reasons. They are usually part of a national liberation movement which has its own roots in the social and economic conditions of a people. In the case of the Arméniens, the present national liberation movement is due to the severe difficulty of preserving the Armenian individual as an Armenian in the diaspora. The cause of this is rooted in the 1915 deportations and massacres of the Armenian population in Turkey, which dispersed Arméniens to nearly every foreign country in the world. The Armenian Liberation Movement has been going on since the creation of the diaspora, but the armed struggle is a recent phenomenon. The armed movement is a result of 60 years of futile diplomatic attempts at a resolution of the Armenian Cause. Freedom fighters fight for a basic human right: the right to a free homeland. They are not madmen, but rather human beings who long for a homeland—their own homeland.

Therefore, we now have two terms to define freedom fighters: hero and human.

According to Roget's College Thesaurus, terrorism is "anarchy, tyranny, intimidation, agitation." May we thus conclude that a terrorist is an anarchist, tyrant, intimidator, or agitator? Not necessarily. Let us take, for example, the word 'anarchist'-one who rebels against any authority. Clearly, a terrorist is not always a person who rebels against authority. In fact, the majority of terrorist acts today are executed by the authorities themselves—repressive governments in Africa or South America regularly use terrorist tactics to keep control of their population. Just as plainly, an anarchist is not always a terrorist. There are many peaceful ways to protest authority. So, I would like to define a new term—freedom fighterism—and I would like to define it as follows: the struggle for the self-preservation and the national liberation of a people through the use of violence. I would like to further define it as justice.

It is a fact of history that almost all nations that exist today were established through the use of terrorism. Lest we forget the Revolutionary War or the Boston Tea Party! What tyranny went on then? Was this not terrorism? Do these...
SOVIET ARMENIA

By Satenig Dulgarian &
Arshalouys Arslanian
Eastern USA

In 1918 Armenia’s territory consisted of 10 to 12,000 sq. kms; however, in two years it expanded to a total area of 71,000 sq. kms. This included the capital city of Yerevan, Alexandrapol, Etchmiadzin, Gars, Akhalkalak, Ardahan, Nakhichevan and the region of Gharabagh. In 1920, Ardahan and Gars were taken over by the Turks; Gharabagh and Nakhichevan fell into the hands of Azeris, and Akhalkalak was seized by the Georgians. On December 2, 1920, the lands under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Republic, were officially transferred to the Soviets.

Today, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of 29,000 sq. kms of territory. It is surrounded by Turkey, Iran, Soviet Azerbaijan, and Soviet Georgia.

The land of Soviet Armenia is very rugged and mountainous, with only 20 percent of this land suited for agriculture. This furtile land is mainly the Ararat plains, which separates Soviet Armenia from Turkey.

Mount Arakadz is the highest peak in Soviet Armenia. Its height is 4,000 meters above sea-level and even to this day it is considered to have volcanic movements. At the top of the mountain there is a lake 400 meters deep. It is one of the highest lakes in the world.

The largest Lake in Soviet Armenia is Lake Sevan. It is known for its trout—Ishkhan Tsouq. There are two famous ancient Armenian churches on the shores of Lake Sevan. For many years, the lake served as an electrical source and for irrigation purposes. As a result, the lake’s water level receded dangerously every year. To save the lake, an underground tunnel was funded by the Soviet government.

As of 1984, Soviet Armenia has a population of 3.3 million people. 89 percent of which is Armenian. The other 11 percent are Azeris, some Russians and Kurds. Soviet Armenian families remain small (1-3 children) compared to the families of the Azeri minority in Soviet Armenia (5-6 children). There is a vast movement of Armenians to the capital, Yerevan, where ½ of the population now resides. Attempts are being made to encourage people to stay in villages.

The everyday life of the Soviet Armenian in Yerevan is flexible, simple, and has several advantages. For instance, all medical care and education is free. Rent and public utilities are inexpensive, amounting to about 6-7 rubles a month. Cars and telephones are plentiful in Soviet Armenia. The disadvantages include low salaries and expensive food and clothing. Most families are forced to live in small apartments which are old and ill-suited for basic needs.

The Armenian culture in Soviet Armenia, which is socialist in content and nationalistic in form, serves to educate the people. Armenians illustrate their best talents in the areas of music, art, and architecture. Even though there are many constraints in the arts, Armenians prove to be very talented artists. There is also a great interest in renovating Armenian churches for their architectural value.

The educational system is an important part of Soviet Armenian life. There are two types of schools. The first is where Armenian is the first language, yet Russian is a mandatory course. The second type of schools teach Russian as the first language. The Russian school system seems too dominate over the Armenian school system. Because of the sciences and other subjects that are in Russian, Armenian parents send

their children to Russian schools.

There are about 13 colleges which are known as institutes in Soviet Armenia. One major institute is Yerevan State University which has a student population of 10,000. Armenians from abroad along with non-Armenians from all over the world attend this institute.

Soviet Armenia is one of the 15 republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The government is operated by the Council of Ministers who deals mostly with local problems. The real decision making power lies in the hands of the Armenian Communist Party’s Central Committee.

Soviet Armenia is a very modern industrialized republic. Although it cannot compete with other countries, Soviet Armenia has “light” industry, which includes wines, mineral water, apparel, synthetics, and computers. In Yerevan there are efforts to advance public utilities, including Cont. on page 23
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Yeridasart ungerner yev ungerouhineh,
While being amongst you and participating in your first tri-regional, two-week leadership seminar, I was overjoyed with your youthful enthusiasm. I was proud of your pure Armenianism, and my faith in the unconquerability of our organization was multiplied.

You can be sure dear ungers, that as long as the ARF has zealous and conscious youth like you, the enemy will never succeed in bringing this organization to its knees—no matter who that enemy is.

Saturday night’s gathering will remain as one of the most unforgettable moments in my life; you created so much warmth and Armenianism with your dances and revolutionary songs—all of you one body and one soul. When your fellow unger, who arrived late, announced that he could not bear the atmosphere of the event he had come from, where 500 “odor” Armenians (students!) had gathered, I realized how Armenian you really are.

I do not tell you of these impressions so that you feel unnecessarily proud and think of yourselves superior to your peers, but so that you realize the heavy responsibility the organization is entrusting with you.

Yes, my ungers, you will all return to your chapters and share the Armenian and revolutionary spirit with your fellow ungers. You must also do the same with your peers in the “odor” Armenian circles, mold them into ARMENIAN Armenians and enlist them too for the Armenian Cause.

In order to be able to do this properly, you must continue educating yourselves not only in the ideas of your organizations, but especially in your culture; that is mastering your mother tongue and history, and becoming the keepers of the rich cultural heritage of your people. This seminar was a new and important step in that direction.

Continue...

Vrej Armen

(Transliteration)
THE KURDS

By Anush Maghdesian
Western USA

The Kurds of the Middle East have been a nomadic, tribal people throughout history, which has caused little social and political progress among them. However, since the slaughter of Turkish Kurds (and the resulting loss of the old leaders) by the Kemal-regime, and after the Kurdish uprisings in the 1920s, the modern Kurdish peoples have developed a more unified nationalistic self-concept. Presently, the Kurdish Democratic Party has been organized among some of the Kurds in Iran and Iraq, and in Turkey through a center in Paris.

The Kurds number close to 20 million in the Middle East, with the following distribution: 6-8 million in eastern Turkey (Turkey's total population is about 40 million), 3-4 million in northern Iraq, 4 million in north-western Iran, and about one million in and around Soviet Armenia. Because the Kurds are so large in number, and because they have territorial claims to southeastern Turkey (some Kurds incorrectly include Van), northern Syria, north-western Iran and northern Iraq, the Kurds face oppression and suppression in all these regions. (Only Soviet Armenian Kurds enjoy cultural freedom.) In recent history, the Kurds have staged uprisings against the Turkish government in the 1920's and again in the 30's, in Iraq, in the early 70's and actually had established an independent Kurdistan in what is now north-western Iran in 1945 (which lasted less than a year). Besides suppressing the Kurdish peoples within their own borders, the governments of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria support and encourage conflicts between the Kurds of different regions.

In recent years, in the ongoing battle over borders, both the Iranian and Iraqi parties support the Kurds under one another's rule, to encourage turmoil and revolt within their enemy's borders.

In Turkey, the Kurds constitute close to ¼ of the country's population, and are essentially the sole inhabitants of what is now eastern Turkey. As part of the strategy of Kurdish suppression in the 1980's, the Turkish government has gone as far many other intellectuals) expressed the belief that if the Kurds could be educated, they could be a great ally to the Armenians. If not, they could do us much harm. After the fall of the

"Armenians with their knowledge, advancement, and organization, together with the military strength of the Kurds, would have the ability to stage one of the most successful liberation struggles in history."

as stationing garrisons in all Kurdish villages and cities, and moving two of its armies to this region.

The Armenians and the Kurds share more than just Indo-European origins. Some groups of Kurds can be traced back to Armenian descent. Most importantly, we share a common enemy, and are both involved in liberation struggles. Judging by the degree of importance the Kurds possess in stability of Turkey, and the Kurds' apparent willingness to make extreme physical sacrifices, the Kurds could be considered a possible ally for the Armenians.

Back in the 19th century, Khrimian Hairig (also Kristapor Michaelian and Republic of Armenia, until about 1940 the ARF was in fact involved in aiding and educating the Kurdish people. In a recent article in the British monthly, the Economist, the author stated that the Armenians, with their knowledge, advancement, and organization, together with the military strength of the Kurds, would have the ability to stage one of the most successful liberation struggles in history.

Perhaps not. But as a part of our liberation struggle, it might be to our advantage to study the Kurdish situation far more seriously than we presently do.
Անվճարական
Արհիվային Լիճ

Պատմության պետական կազմակերպություն, տեղական բյուրոյակություն։ Պատմության պետական կազմակերպությունը համարվում է ունենալ բյուրոյակության համար ուսումնասիրությունների և հրապարակումների բազա։ Պատմության պետական կազմակերպությունը համարվում է տեղական բյուրոյակության համար պատմական տեղեկատվության համար։ Պատմության պետական կազմակերպությունը համարվում է ունենալ բյուրոյակության համար ուսումնասիրությունների և հրապարակումների բազա։

Անվճարական
Արհիվային Լիճ

Պատմության պետական կազմակերպություն, տեղական բյուրոյակություն։ Պատմության պետական կազմակերպությունը համարվում է ունենալ բյուրոյակության համար ուսումնասիրությունների և հրապարակումների բազա։ Պատմության պետական կազմակերպությունը համարվում է տեղական բյուրոյակության համար պատմական տեղեկատվության համար։ Պատմության պետական կազմակերպությունը համարվում է ունենալ բյուրոյակության համար ուսումնասիրությունների և հրապարակումների բազա։
SOCIALISM

By Sonia Etmekjian
Canada

Socialism is the ideology of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. It is the most idealistic and revolutionary movement for the emancipation of the individual and the working masses. Basically it is an economic revolutionary movement, but depending on place and circumstance, it may simultaneously provide leadership for political and cultural revolutions.

Capitalism, an ideology created to justify economic inequality and oppression, will one day collapse because it exploits the workers for the benefit of an elite. In contrast, the socialist ideology states that all people, peasants and technicians will struggle with their collective effort to achieve the liberation of the working masses.

Private ownership is utilized in both socialist and capitalist ideologies. Capitalists favor private ownership, because it makes it possible for an individual or privately owned corporation to exploit laborers and accumulate an extensive surplus in capital. Socialism strives for the public ownership of the means of production—land, mines, factories and the means of communication and exchange. It aims to organize the whole economy and direct it within a democratic and decentralized system. This system does not require the total seizure of private ownership. It helps to preserve and develop these privately owned units which will not exploit the labor of others or accumulate surplus capital.

Human rights in the capitalist and socialist point of view are the same in the literary sense, but they are very different in practice. Capitalism is supposedly based on equality, fraternity, and liberty, but in fact one small class exploits a huge working class. Socialism is the realization of the free man and the development of a society in which men will be freed from the domination of natural forces, as well as from social, ethnic, political, economic, and class discrimination, oppression, violence and exploitation. It is also destined to realize full freedom of human thought, speech, creativity, conscience, labor, and political activity. It also strives toward the free, multifaceted, harmonious development of the individual and society.

It is inevitable that one day the capitalist system will collapse and therefore bring forth the socialist system of life. But, socialism will not evolve spontaneously. It must be created through the common struggle of all working people. The ARF is a socialist revolutionary party which strives to eventually establish a Free, Independent, United, Democratic, and Socialist Armenia.
By Hagop Poladian
Canada

One of the greatest challenges facing members of our youth organization is the responsibility they encounter when they assume a leadership role, be they in executive bodies or in committees. These members not only have to represent the organization in the public arena, but they also have to educate, organize, and administer the entire membership to which they belong. For persons who do not have experience in communicating with a group of people, or in organizing their programs, this leadership role could prove to be a harrowing experience. In many instances we have seen members who find themselves in this situation, and unfortunately those who could not find a solution either resigned from their posts or left the organization completely.

The task of administering an organization whose membership consists of young, mostly inexperienced but dynamic people, requires leaders who possess certain traits or characteristics with which they can actualize the optimum results from their group. The leader within an organization like ours should have the ability to efficiently organize its members in order to accomplish an objective, be it from the most menial duties like setting up chairs for meeting, or the most important tasks relating to Hai Tad. He should also be knowledgeable with the platform of his organization and hence apply it to the jobs at hand. Unfortunately, any weakness or shortcoming on his part will have a negative effect on the desired objective and portray him as an incapable leader. One of the most important or effective countermeasures to this problem is the respect and confidence which the members afford him. I cannot emphasize enough the importance of these two words because very few members will give their utmost if the persons to whom they have vested authority, are found to be unworthy of respect or untrustworthy. The members should not feel that they are subordinate to those who are unable to legitimize their positions, this situation is directly a consequence of the concept of power, and its subsequent use by leaders within the organization. Power is never the sole possession of the individual, but rather an instrument which the collectivity democratically affords an individual, with which he administers to the best interests of the collectivity. Leaders, therefore should not forget that they are elected to serve, the collectivity, that there is no room for self-interest or profit and that they are always accountable to the collectivity. The greatest detriment to vested authority is contempt, for once it exists it could have a cancerous effect throughout the organization.

One of the ideal ways to undermine this situation is to know your members and give them opportunities to know you. It is not sufficient to become an acquaintance, you must dig deep and find out what your members like and dislike, what their feedback is to certain situations, what problems and ambiguities they are encountering, make their problems your problems because they are really the organization’s problems. This act of interest will surely create a degree of respect and confidence, especially among new members. Hence, one must also be a good listener and be available as much as possible in order to accomplish this task, because many potential problems could be prevented in this manner.

The previously stated characteristics are in no way an exhaustive one, there is multitude of organizational and behavioral concepts which must be considered in order to truly comprehend the role of a leader.

One does not have to fulfill all these prerequisites to become a successful leader. However, I believe that once someone takes into account and analyzes the preferred required attributes, he can then make his job as easy or as difficult as he wishes. There is no such thing as a born leader, but there is such thing as giving it your best effort and by utilizing the characteristics relative to becoming a good leader, you will find that it really isn’t lonely at the top.
Impressions
from a lecture

By Zvig Khanzadian
Western USA

During the AYF Tri-Regional Seminar, we were fortunate enough to have unger Sarkis Zetlian speak to us about the difficulties of our organization. He gave us specific directives to improve our situation.

—Since most of the ARF members do not send their children to AYF, we should put an extra effort to recruit them as potential future members.

—Since the United States has a great organizing ability, we should learn this quality and utilize it to improve our organization.

—Since the United States represents a tremendous power in the United Nations, we, the American Armenians, should make a great effort to introduce the Armenian Cause to the American Government. We should build such a potential force that we can have a greater input on U.S. foreign policies, especially on issues concerning Turkey.

—We, the Youth Organization of the ARF, should understand the means to obtain our objectives. For example: we should utilize the Armenian schools and churches as the means for our objectives.

—Since our immediate objective is to politicize our communities, we, as AYF members, should first educate ourselves in our ideology and then, without specific instructions from our party, should take the initiative and spread our ideology like missionaries.

Who is a Tashnagtsgan?

—A Tashnagtsgan should be brave. He should use his courage for the benefit of the party when and where it is needed.

—The party and the unger should mutually be honest towards each other, but the honesty should not be abused and be turned into naivety.

—To be a good Tashnagtsgan the most important is the individual’s soul. The Armenian language is a secondary quality which can be learned through greater knowledge about the Armenian Cause.
We Will Make the Future!

By Antranig Kasbarian
Eastern USA

Having just completed an evening of intense discussion with the youth from all three North American regions, I offer the following observations as to the overall spirit of the group here at Camp Haiastan.

I see that, despite our regional differences, we have blended together perfectly here, and as a result, I have regained the feeling that I am part of one nation. No longer am I an Armenian-American, or even an American-Armenian—I am first and foremost an Armenian. Here, during these two weeks, I have come to realize, not only in thought, but in deed, that I am among my true brothers and sisters—my true ungers. The historical reality that we were and still are one nation separated only because of events that were beyond our control inspires me to work side by side with my ungers around the world. Here, we have overcome differences in language ability, as well as cultural upbringing to unite behind the common cause of the Armenian nation.

For the first time in my life, I feel as if I were in Armenia. Of course, in reality I am not, and I will continue to struggle until we gain the real thing; but I have gained a taste of what is to be Armenian—meaning a full-time Armenian. I have experienced the greatest joy in seeing my ungers exhibiting dedication, hard work, sacrifice and above all, the fraternal spirit that is so often lacking in present day Armenian life. This spirit will inspire me to work ever harder for my goals—our goals.

With fellow Armenians such as these, I know that we will one day free our homeland, and return together to rebuild the independent socialist Armenian Republic.
The faster we unite, the better it is for our cause. It is clear that a split community will favor Turkey and disfavor us, the Armenian people. Therefore, we must form a united front against our enemy. We might have different ideologies but we do have one common goal, which is the formation of a united Armenian state. All political parties should work together in pursuit of this goal.

Time is running out, and if we do not act quickly, it will be more difficult to find a just solution to the Armenian Cause.

Giving fancy speeches about unification is not enough. We should act together as a strong unit. We should also understand that our enemy is Turkey, and that an Armenian cannot be considered an enemy just because he belongs to another political party or organization.

Let us forget the tragic past and mistakes. It is our generation that has to take the important step towards unification.

Vatche Iskedjian
Canada
By Arshalouys
Eastern USA

Armenia, you are a land with your people, lost among the other Nations of the world
A people of great intelligence, honor and respect
But, a people who were abused
A people of lost brothers and sisters, of lost souls, of lost soil and lands, of lost treasured artifacts.
We are a people of continuous will
Enemies have marched through our villages, leaving only destruction of our people, causing pain, anger frustration, and death behind.
You haven’t been given any reason, any consideration, any cause for destruction from animals
The enemies tried desperately to destroy us, to try to wipe us off the face of the Earth
But, as a people, we still remain standing strong
We strive to contribute to the purpose, the responsibilities, the morals, and The Cause, “Our Cause.”

Armenia, you are our home you are the air we breathe
It is you to whom we achieve our goal of freedom
The spirit, the inspiration, the fraternalism, all will help us win
To struggle as one,
To fight as one
And die as all
To serve for our main just cause
A longing but, United, Free, and Independent Armenia.

By Arshalouys
Eastern USA

Youthful dreams become reality
As the years pass one by one
Tired muscles strive for success
And each for last one bit of energy
Accepting pain, frustration, and defeat
Looking to the future,
Hoping for victory
Seeking the goals,
Lifting the spirit,
Feeling the means of pride and respect
Striving for the freedom of our country, Armenia
**FATE?**

By Maria Torossian  
Western USA

The night was rainy and cold. The knock came from afar and the young man, his eyes half closed, struggled out of bed to answer the door. As it opened, his brother was waiting for an embrace; he was thought to be dead many years ago.

No one knew where he had been for a long time. He disappeared after a revolutionary act. Rumors have it that he was in hiding, but a letter came home that he was killed.

His face lost all expression, believing he had seen a ghost. He struggled to utter a word but nothing came out. A cold breeze blew in the door and after five minutes of staring at each other, they spoke to each other, for the first time in fifteen years.

"Hello," he said.

"My God, it's you," tear drops rolled down his yellow face.

They cried, holding each other so tight that if they were children, they could have choked each other. The night was spent admiring one another and after endless hours of speaking, they went to bed. They closed their eyes, each taking a deep breath, feeling satisfaction and triumph.

And the days went by. After so many years of absence, the two brothers spent everyday together, catching up on the years that had passed. One rainy afternoon while walking on a street, a bomb exploded, killing both brothers.
Tricolor Brigade Strikes Again!

Franklin, MA—Sunday, June 17, 1984, three terrorists took over W-ARF radio station in Camp Haiastan. Here they held three hostages, in exchange for the station manager (who was a Turk). This violent act was heard all over the camp. Later, one of the hostages turned out to be an IBF agent.

When the leader of the terrorists, Antranig Kasba, spoke with the board of trustees of the station, the following demands were made:

—The Tricolor Brigade wants the camp to know how bad the radio station is.

—Let the people know that the employees are being paid to play Turkish music.

After hours of negotiations, the two parties did not come to a final settlement. During the negotiations, a member of the Tricolor Brigade, Hagop Mati, decided to exchange one of the hostages. At the time of this exchange five armed men came crashing into the station. After furious fighting the Tricolor Brigade was unsuccessful in keeping control of the station. However, the terrorist group escaped unharmed.

Later, another member of the terrorist group, Chris Keo said: "We will never stop struggling until justice is done." Comrade Keo added: "If we make it, we make it; but if we don't, we will strike again; sometimes, somewhere, but we will strike again!!"

Hagop Matiossian
Eastern USA
A Brief History...  
continued from page 5

think without oppression.

But the socialist revolution will not occur by itself. It requires the unified struggle of all working, poor, and oppressed people, as well as all revolutionary movements and liberation struggles, and finally of all human beings who cannot bear to live with the injustices of this world.

In the words of Karl Marx: we must stop thinking about the world, and start changing it.

A Sociological and Demographical...

Cont. from page 7

sociological and demographical trends in the Armenian life reveals a need for the better education of our members from their earliest age, to establish in their minds their duties and responsibilities as ARF-ers and future ARF-ers, and to help them better utilize the facilities and opportunities that are available in the various parts of the Diaspora. By this initial step, the solution of the Armenian Cause will be in the hands of capable youth and it will progress rapidly towards a just solution.

SOVET ARMENIA

Cont. from page 10

new subways, airports, and the nuclear power stations. As a result, some Armenians from Tiflis and Baku are moving into Yerevan.

In general, Soviet Armenia is a highly industrialized republic. Its economic development is on a par with most industrialized countries. As it is stated, "It is Armenia, and it is tangible." Almost 50 percent of the Armenian people live in Soviet Armenia. This nucleus will inevitably be the core of the Free, Independent, United, Democratic, and Socialist Armenia.

Who is to decide?

Continued from page 9

events fit the definition of anarchism? Was George Washington, father of this nation, an anarchist? Of course not. He simply fought for the freedom of his people. Let us also not forget about the real American, the American Indian, who was massacred so that this country could be established. The very same class of people who today rule this nation and who stand for freedom and democracy were once themselves called terrorists by some and freedom fighters by others. As it is said, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." This cannot be denied.

GENOCIDE TO RESISTANCE 1915-1984
Գետի վրայից հեռանալու է վերապատճառ
գյուղի ամառ զարգացած է և սև է.

Առաջին սալածի վրա ժամանակ
գյուղի ամառը զատ է տեսանել,

Երեք սալածի վրա ժամանակ
գյուղի ամառը զգալ է.

Չեք իմ բանի վրա ժամանակ
գյուղի ամառը զգալ է.

Ասենք, վերականգնել Ադրբեջան
Անհետքի ամառ զգալ է.

Կանգնել Ադրբեջանի ամառ
Անհետքի ամառ զգալ է.