EDITORIAL

For The Years Ahead...

This being the second year a Tri-regional seminar has taken place, a still young effort to succeed in its ultimate goals has taken itself one step further. Participants from the first Tri-regional have had the opportunity to utilize their learnings and this year's new ungers have been trusted with new responsibilities along with inevitable expectations.

Certain questions have risen as to how everything acquired and all the inspiration circulating for the two weeks can be put into practical use immediately in our organization. Perhaps, as this leadership seminar is improved each year, a very specific groundwork will be laid out as to how each participant should put his or her knowledge into this practical use.

Several things became extremely evident during the second Tri-regional. The most apparent factor was the importance of each individual person's potential in the organization. It was almost sad to realize how much further our cause would be if each AYF member was 100% devoted and had a very definite priority that dominated all else. What we had at the seminar was a strong collective effort and the will. What seemed to be lacking when some of us got back was the necessary seriousness with which some other ungers were willing to work. There should never be such a letdown even if it was to a small degree. Perhaps it was a little disturbing and discouraging to realize - with all the facts given - that if each and every Armenian cared about our cause, we would be ahead in our pursuit by unbelievable leaps.

The only other thing really evident and perhaps reinforced by a passive attitude prevailing in some ungers is the absolute necessity of leadership in our organization. Each seminars are the start of a long road ahead. A road whose obstacles seem to increase each year with its major hindrance being time; time that seems to take its toll on more and more Armenians who grow further away from their national heritage and our cause.

My purpose now is not to offer solutions to the hazardous problems of assimilation, apathy or lack of leadership; but to point out some of the issues future seminars should address even more closely. For now, each participant must find his or her own way to put all that was acquired into some form of practical usage in the organization and entertain the thought of future possibilities to improve forthcoming Tri-regionals.

TALIN GUREGHIAN
Western USA
Ժամանակակից Վաճառական

Համաձայնագիր Վաճառական կայսերեց և զարմանել էր երեխաների, այդտեղ ամբողջությունը հանձնելու աշխատակազմի համար էլ փորձ էր կտրվել և պատրաստվել։

Դերասանուհին իջված էր՝ Պայթերի և Վարդենիկի բանաստեղծություններով, և նախագծել էր երեխաների համար դիցարանների երբեմնական մշակութային ուխտերի կազմակերպությունը։

Վաճառականը աշխատանքի ժամանակ էր դիմում դերասանուհիների երաժշտության ու կենսագրության, ինչպես նաև իր զարմաների համար։

Վաճառականը տարբեր համալսարաններ էր կազմել երեխաների համար, և մշակել էր երեխաների համար զարմաների կենսագրության եւ համայնքային կազմակերպություններ։

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THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is the major organization which deals with international problems and acts as a forum for the nations of the world.

The U.N. Charter was drawn by the representatives of fifty countries at the United Nations Conference, which met at San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945. They deliberated on proposals worked out by the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The U.N. officially came into existence on October 24, 1945 when signed by fifty-one nations.


The General Assembly is the main deliberative organ. It is composed of representatives of all member states, each of which has one vote. Decisions on important questions such as recommendations on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require a two-thirds majority. Decisions on other questions are reached by a simple majority. An agenda is prepared and each of the items are debated either in committee or in the General Assembly itself.

The U.N. Convention on the prevention and punishment of genocide brought forth a resolution which was adopted on December 9, 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly. This was ratified by Turkey on July 31, 1950.

Considering the work being done by different arms of the A.R.F. to bring the Armenian case to the public's eye, notably the A.N.C.A., perhaps the next step may be a resolution on the floor of the General Assembly. This would bring not only the public's attention, but would notify the governments of the world that a solution is necessary to the Armenian Question.

TOROS DIMITIAN
Canada

The Armenian Youth in the U.S.

DIKO SHEKHERDEMIAN
Western USA

How and when did the Armenians settle in the United States? Armenians have lived in the U.S. as early as the 1600's. In the 1890's 70,000 Armenians immigrated to the U.S. due to the sanguinary massacres organized by Sultan Abdal Hamid. Immigration to the U.S. occurred because of anticipation of labor opportunities. Although intentions of staying in America were little, toilsome circumstances in the homeland granted the Armenians no other alternative.

Between the years 1920-1922, deportation from Cilicia led 30,000 Armenians to the U.S. 1960-1980, 35,000 Armenians emigrated from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Jordan. Present day, approximately 600,000 Armenians live in the U.S.
How can one interpret the affect of "American thinking" on Armenian youth? One needs to contemplate two major prevailing American concepts - freedom, and the ideology of Capitalism.

Freedom and Independence? Are they not ideals in which we vehemently believe? Yes, of course they are. But bear in mind that these are equivocal words. That is, they have many interpretations. The American Phrase, "this is a free country" compels the Armenian youth to become more susceptible to the accentuation of "independence" and in making haphazard decisions. In many cases this independence conducts the youth away from an Armenian environment due to dominating American influence. I feel, the more an idea is stressed, the more one is apt to "understand" and accept it. Independence may mislead the Armenian youth towards acceptance of (extreme as they may seem) punk rock movements or idolization of "Prince" which confiscates energy, time, and mind away from measures of preserving the Armenian identity, culture, and cause.

Another significant, predominating American idea is the ideology of Capitalism, an economic system characterized by private ownership which utilizes laborers for the gain of an elite. Capitalism, in this nation, is being consumed and digested by all. Therefore, we must be on the alert.

A person who detects weaknesses in others and does not attempt to understand or assist, is himself weak. It is quite a pity then, for the many who criticize the Armenian Youth of assimilation, and assume no effort to aid. The Armenian Youth Federation is essential in preventing assimilation. The A.Y.F. Manifesto states "We believe that the A.Y.F. should be one of the main forces in the political and cultural activities of its people... It is our feeling that in order to achieve our supreme goal of a free, independent, and united Armenia, we as a political movement should be prepared to initiate any and all steps necessary to achieve this goal."

The Manifesto points out two vital ideas - of being a main force in cultural activities, and initiating any and all steps necessary. Not only should the A.Y.F. emphasize politics but also Armenian culture. Assimilation is encountered due to the fact that we live in the diaspora.

The Armenian youth, furthermore, encounters a psychological problem, the problem of a dual personality. The youth is being pulled by two strings, each pulling towards opposite poles. One side is being hauled by Americans who require the youth to conduct themselves as Americans in order to "melt in." The other, by parents and relatives who pressure the youth to conduct themselves as Armenians.

A significant role of the A.Y.F. and you should be to complement this second current in order to fortify the beliefs planted within the Armenian youth by their families and schools. The paths are many. The important step is to take the initiative.


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Հայաստանի հայ ժողովուրդի ճանաչումը

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Սարդար, Շարիմ, Բարձր
The Seminar's Educational Program

LECTURE
Revolutionary Culture
Ideology
Hai Tad Activities in the U.S. and Canada
Armenian History 1890-1920
Armenian History in the Diaspora
Workshop / Tserakir
A.R.F. Strategies
Present-Day Issues
Round Table Discussion

LECTURER
Prof. Vahe Oshagan
Prof. Vahe Oshagan
Ung. Berj Karapetian
Ung. Gerard Libaridian
Ung. Gerard Libaridian
Prof. Zareh Sourouzian
Ung. Vahig Gurjian
Ung. Razmik Midlian
Gerard Libaridian
Vahe Oshagan
Isabel Kaprielian
Ung. John Kossakian
Ung. Ohan Baliyan
Ung. Vrej-Armen Artinian
Ung. Armen Hovannisian
Ung. Vrej-Armen Artinian
Vahig Gurjian
Sarkis Ghazarian
Ung. Viken Hovsepian
Ung. John Kossakian
Ung. Razmik Shirinian
Ung. Yeznig Kazandjian

Dr. Talia Sultihan
Dr. Onnig Keshaikian
Ung. Gabriel Injejian

History of the Armenian Community in Canada
History of the Armenian Community in the U.S.
A.R.F. Structure and By-Laws
Modern Turkey
Soviet Armenia Slide Show
Western Armenia Slide Show
A.R.F. Press
Round Table Discussion

National Liberation Movements
The Kurdish NLM
The Palestinian NLM
The Armenian NLM
Communication, Leadership Workshop
Armenian Educational Institutions
Revolutionary Culture

Today, when Armeniandiasporan communities around the world are trying desperately to unite under one organizational banner, the dire need for some sort of revolutionary culture comes to the fore. The fact that we live in intellectually and politically dormant communities makes the task of creating a veritable revolutionary culture all the more difficult, if not impossible. A culture, which should theoretically reflect the "masses" and feed from them -- a process which would generate political and intellectual ferment. One cannot grow and perpetuate without the other.

Theory and the practice of putting to work thoughts, plans and ideals, have never come to terms with each other. The existence of a revolutionary culture is an ideal, if we take the term in its "orthodox" definition. Dr. Vahe Oshagan emphasized that a revolutionary culture must be a permanent and total culture, living by its own absolutes. A real revolutionary culture, a la Sartre, means a culture which has the ability to create a "real" revolution, in its strict sense.

A revolutionary culture, as dictated by the factors which shape and determine our reality in the diaspora, means that culture which has the power to "revolutionize" the populus, predominantly the youth, i.e., a culture which incites intellectual activity, and so on. By this definition as well, the revolutionary culture must be a total culture, which has the power to reach and touch the masses with its ideology, which further entails that it be a permanent culture -- permanent in the sense that it will begin a chain, much like a thought process, giving birth to new movements, new ways of thinking, and a more thorough, less muddled ideology.

In light of our present "reality", such a perfectly formed total entity may be just too much to ask for. And it has been. At least when superficially viewing some of the diasporan Armenian literary movements, we can see that such a total revolutionary culture could not have been created. A movement like "Menk" (Paris, 1930's) was very dynamic -- so dynamic that it was doomed to splinter in a very short time. MENK brought together intellectuals from the extreme right and left of the political spectrum. This fact (that individual members did not create a united political front) did not aid in the movement's down spiral so much as its catering only to a certain elite.

"I believe that a radical negation of the existing culture is the only possible option for young militants -- a negation which will often take the form of violent contestation."

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE
New Left Review, No. 58 (1969)

In contrast, one major Soviet Armenians literary figure was able to defy this elitist trend, building up mass support ironically in both Soviet Armenia and in the diaspora, speaking to all Armenians with a simple, poetic yet profound language. This effect on a generation of Armenian writers both w/in Soviet Armenia and in the diaspora, is immeasurable. His efforts were not stilled by his own dynamism or an "elitism." He did bring on the revolution -- a revolution of words, thoughts and ideas. His name was Barouy Sevak.

And the legacy of revolutionary words continues—ironically, predominantly in Soviet

(cont. on p. 15)
It is Not One Way Or The Other

Berj Karapetian’s lecture about the Armenian National Committee was scheduled as one of the first educational seminars to be given at the Tri-regional seminar this year. Even though some of the participants had previously heard his speech and were well acquainted with the topic, some others (particularly those from the Eastern region and Canada) had not heard about an ANC prior to this occasion. The ANC and its activities were introduced during this lecture, but the remaining topics of the seminar were not directed particularly towards integrating the ANC and its accomplishments as a major part of our struggle today. ANC “type” activities, (as they were regarded by some) were an option, an issue that some were for and many against. A debate took place centering on whether we should concentrate on becoming more involved in the American political system and whether or not doing so would somehow increase the process of assimilation for us. As a result of all this, many people adopted the false notion that there are two very separate ways of pursuing our cause (in very simple terms - politically or by revolutionary means) and they sided with one or the other. Those not familiar enough with the ANC - or simply not pragmatic enough - proclaimed that we will reach our goals “only by force and revolutionary activity.”

My objective here is to stress, as adamantly as possible, the reality that does not permit us to dismiss any options in pursuing our cause today; the absolute necessity to fully grasp the fact that we need to balance our alternatives; and the importance of not getting caught up in our own actions as to limit our flexibility.

Concentrating on three main areas for our purpose-our involvement in the United States political system, revolutionary activity and the third being our organization’s stand towards Soviet Armenia- there are several options regarding positions we should take. Limiting myself to viewpoints expressed in the ARF and concerning only with politics in this country (US), the options are hardly black and white.

There is the first group of people (by “group of people” meaning positions taken) who believe in a strong stand against Soviet Armenia (the regime); who are also for heavy involvement in the US political system. Then there is a second group (perhaps the majority viewpoint at this time) which holds a mild stand against Soviet Armenia; which is for our involvement in US politics; which is also pro-revolutionary activity. Of course further on the spectrum there are those who are against our involvement whatsoever in US politics and, as we move further from views expressed in our organization, we get closer to a pro-Soviet Armenia stand and so on.

Those who are against our involvement in the US government proclaim that as long as there are two superpowers in conflict, (presuming this will always be the case) there is only one thing which is certain and that is their interests regarding the other. Here comes Turkey’s significance as an ally. Thus, we will never be able to work through the US system and we will go on wasting our already limited resources. Others supporting the same stand give the argument of ideology. The United States is an imperialistic, capitalist nation and our organization which is found on socialist principles cannot hold its integrity “converting” when need be. This latter attitude may be a noble one indeed, but considering practicability and our need to deal with other governments, it is an attitude that only restricts us.

These positions have their options. Basically, we can resort to revolutionary activity alone or we can hold an anti-US position perhaps without having anything in conflict with the Soviet Armenia regime. Opinions vary.

The arguments for working within the US political system are many. Those who proclaim that the US is a democratic nation believing in human rights and that is why they will help us are probably as unsubstantial as those who think we cannot work within US politics because we are based on socialist ideologies. However, many believe that “US vs. USSR” is a natural situation, the way of the world, and siding with the US will eventually help us get our lands back. This last
position, though predominating, may also be a rather defeatist attitude. It often reinforces the belief that the situations necessary for our goals to prevail are out of our hands at the present time. Thus, we have to adopt a strategy dealing with that fact.

Perhaps we are getting too caught up in expectations and downfalls and forgetting that we might have to wait for an "evolutionary" change. One thing for certain is that eventually-in the very end, we will get our demands by political means. Going along with the premise that the status of the world must change for us to be able to realize our goals, we must go with a strategy nevertheless. Terrorism and military means are tactical ways. We cannot make them our strategic angle alone. We utilize revolutionary activity as a tactic to change the status quo. But, in the process, political progress is a must-it will be our strategy for the long run.

When we use revolutionary activity in our pursuit, there is a lot of pressure put on us and we have to be able to counter that pressure through political means.

It has been said that when the time comes, we must be politically aware and, most of all, see the opportunities when presented to us. Lately, when we speak of ANC "type" activities, there is the tendency to limit ourselves to the resolutions in Congress. We must never lose sight that the goals of the ANC are not these resolutions but "to make American policy makers aware of the political relevancy of the Armenian case and to politicize the Armenian people to become more vocal and assertive in the pursuit of their rights." As to the resolutions, they are the vehicles the ANC has adopted now, and we must not be disillusioned thinking about results in the foreseeable future. There are those who suggest that the ANC should work more at a local level. This is an option and a matter of changing vehicles. For those who seek immediate benefits because of all the resources we have devoted to ANC activities, for now, the defensive reaction we have been getting from Turkey over the resolutions is progress enough.

In other countries, the issues and conditions are considerably different. When we look at the three concerns, (our involvement in US politics, revolutionary activity and a stand towards Soviet Armenia) only one is really constant everywhere and that is revolutionary activity. This constitutes its popularity. Also, the fact that when two things seem to contradict at times (revolutionary means vs. political means), it is easier to take sides instead of grasping the broader picture of political realities.

Then we look at the immediate and long term effects of our options, none of them give us a very clear picture of what their long range benefits are. Our involvement in US politics may not be particularly encouraging at the moment and our stand towards Soviet Armenia is just as vague in terms of result. Thus, revolutionary activity is the only option that gets us a "fulfilling" reaction in the immediate future-even if it is basically propaganda. So we have ardent proclaimers that it is the only way.

I do not think anyone believes that the United States will help us if it is not for self-interest. The fact that the ANC is working as the political arm of the ARF and a controversy exists even in the names ("revolutionary"), is evidence that we ourselves are using the US political system. We cannot afford to be trapped by our own ideals and limit our angles. We are also not overly optimistic about our ability to work within the US system; within the government manipulations; within the political "circumstances" and considerations that often undermine our cause entirely.

We must give ourselves all the flexibility to utilize our options to our benefits. When we see that our involvement in US politics is not getting us anywhere (to put it in simple terms), and we see it is taking up too much of our resources, we

(cont. on p. 14)
You're Out!

A feeble man equipped with a dagger (edge as dull as an iron slab's), backpack, empty, and a potato sack, to blend him into the background of the rough mountains. All out of luck. He walks and walks, stumbles and walks as if he's drunk. He walks and walks, fumbles and falls like a ship that is sunk.

This land is barren. “So how can I sink?” he asks in vain. Old man gazing at the farthest plain, in this ballpark power, money and the sophisticated determine the course of a game.

"How can I help?" he barks in pain. (Like a crippled dog). Old man grazing in the farthest plain, just sit at the sidelines with a muzzle over your face and watch the game. My faded mind can not hear another one of your haunting stories.

Don't worry, we'll surge soon (at least that is what the loud leaders say) and amend your wounds, hopefully before your ilk is extinct.

VIKEN BERBERIAN
Western USA

should have the option to increase revolutionary activity to "stir" things up. Perhaps, to have that option, we must always keep our involvement in the US political system at a safe minimum so that we will have a political base to work with. Then, for example, if we see that there is more potential in increasing our involvement in US politics and decreasing or halting revolutionary activity— we shall have the alternative that suits our cause best.

Thus, we cannot afford to be pro or con revolutionary means or pro or con the ANC's activities. Many people talk about losing the "mystique"; the revolutionary aspect of our organization by submerging into US politics. Others are certain it will instigate further assimilation. Yet, ideology has to include a means and a practical way to pursue its goals or else it becomes a dream. Of course our organizations must only improve efforts to educate Armenians and as much as possible prevent assimilation. But, as long as our goals are absolutely definite and we are 100% convinced of them, our means to attain them can never let us lose sight of them. It is a matter of dedication and compromise. Commitment due only to conviction will enable us to accept the fact that we may not see any results in the foreseeable future and go on with the utmost devotion.

It is perfectly normal and absolutely necessary to wonder how we will ever get our hands from Turkey or ponder upon how we think we will halt Turkish efforts to prevent our pursuit. It is difficult for these dilemmas to create and nurture the completely dedicated person, a person who must learn to deal with the situation our cause is facing. However, reality must never slow down our struggle even if it gives us a dim view of progress because in the end there is no one but us we can really rely on.

(Note: When speaking about "options", it is important to realize that we are not limited to those alternatives discussed and other viewpoints exist which might tend to contradict even the "accepted" ways of our Organization's direction today.)

TALIN GUREGHIAN
Western USA
...On The Topic Of Assimilation

When two Armenians meet the first words they say to each other is “Where were you born?” Why is it that when we meet we do not realize that we are all Armenians, victims of a genocide, guests in foreign lands, and barred from our own. Take myself for example, I am nineteen years old, I’ve dwelled in three countries and six houses - not homes but four-walled cells. How many more countries must I sojourn before I live in my country and my home?

I don’t feel it makes an ounce of a difference where an Armenian’s place of birth is. It was not our choice. However, we can make it different for our children and future generations to come. Why should they be deprived of their rightful lands? During the seminar I was talking to an unger on this subject; he told me that his birthplace was “unfortunately Lebanon.” This came as a shock to me; I had never heard it put this way. It later dawned on me that the unger’s wish was to say, “I was born in ARMENIA!” We should respond like the unger, to Armenians and non-Armenians, using the adverb “Unfortunately” when giving our birthplace. I have seen too many times Armenians be proud of their unfortunate birthplace. They kiss the Lebanese flag, praise Tehran, and pledge to the U.S. flag. The end result is assimilation – an involuntary process, so it seems! If the individual lets this assimilation process get the better of his Armenianism, then he must be held totally responsible.

Being an Armenian is a difficult task in many aspects. We should use all our strength to survive. Our language is vital for our existence. Our culture is also essential in our survival; ergo, we must preserve it. Our land is at present split in two, we should aim to get it back in its entirety. The path leading to assimilation is a Utopic one, indeed. No! Thank you! I would rather be found dead in a Turkish prison.

I have lived in Tehran, Beirut, and Providence, and have acquired three lifestyles: a bourgeoisie, one of constant fear, and a life full of anger and frustration. I do not need a new SAAB Turbo, nor a yacht, nor a multi-million twenty room mansion off the coast of Newport.

I want the land outlined in the A.R.F. Dzrakir: A democratic and socialist republic of Free, Independent, and United Armenia.

ANNET ARAKELIAN
Eastern USA

(cont. from p. 11)

Armenia. When Gevorg Emin wrote in “Siroman-Tyoj Menakhosoutyoyun” that he could “not breathe, not live in such a land,” he knew that he was declaring war on a regime. He and Vahakn Tavitian were placed under house arrest — no more is known. Information filters through slowly to the diasporan Armenian communities.

It is difficult to come to terms with what a revolutionary culture is, and what it must be in order to make a difference. We know we need the revolution — today everyone needs the revolution — but more so important for the Armenians. We mustn’t lock up the ideal of the revolutionary culture up in the Ivory Tower with our scholars. Today’s ARF youth realizes that he must “revolutionize” his life in order to revolutionize the ideas of others as well. For us, revolution and culture are not mutually exclusive entities, but ideas whose meanings and implications are intricately bound. The creation of a revolutionary culture is left to this generation. We must make sure that no “Fodanch” es die any more diasporan deaths.

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Ամբողջ աշխարհի հետ միասնական էջին ենթակա էջին էջի մյուսով միասնական էջին էջի մյուսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջին էջի մյոււսով միասնական էջի
The Key to Nationhood

A people who do their nation merit
are a people whose hearts are filled with Spirit.

Built upon individually
the force of this Spirit will be revealed collectively.

It is through the...

Strengthening of one's mind, one's soul
(and his ungers').

Through the...

Persistence in getting up and doing that One more,
that incomprehensible thing; not react, but act.

Through the...

Inexhaustibility in withstanding internal and
external forces and conflicts - relentlessly.

Through the...

Resistance in extinguishing one's weakness, one's
strengths will be fortified perseveringly.

Through the...

Indestructibility in one's Spirit is the existence of
an unsquelchable flame. Its fiery source is a demand
for justice, for freedom, unity and independence
of the Armenian people, of Nationhood.

Through the...

Transmitting of one's Spirit to the heart of all
Armenians, inflaming all with hope and determina-
tion - with Spirit, this is the key to Nationhood.

The Armenian Spirit...

KOHAR PARGHAMIAN
Eastern USA

We believe that when a people or nation is oppres-
sed by an imperialist power which refuses to relinquish
its control peacefully, it is the inviolable right of such
people or nation to use any means necessary, in-
cluding armed revolution, to ensure its liberation...

AYF Manifesto