Renewed Will

EDITORIAL

Note: The following is a translation of the Armenian version of the editorial which appears in this issue. The official title of Haytagh is "Haytagh: The official voice of the Armenian Youth Federation, being published with the financial support of the American Youth of America (AYA). The editorial, which appears in this issue, presents the views of the editorial board as a means to the expression of the thoughts of the political leadership of the Armenian Youth of America. Among the factors affecting the editorial, are the interests of the Federation and the need for the continuation of its publication. The reasons for the interruption of the Federation's publication are many and generally stem from the economic conditions, the financial support, and the political situation. The editorial board is committed to continuing its publication despite the difficulties it may face. The editorial board is also committed to the expression of the views and opinions of the Armenian Youth of America.
"Our Kristapor"

Note: Whereas there is a large group of English-speaking Armenian youth in the western United States, Haytoug will publish translated articles from other Armenian youth publications. These translations are intended to provide the English-speaking Armenian youth with the material they would not otherwise have access to. The following is a translation of an editorial which appeared in the April-September 1985 issue of Gaitzer —the youth publication of the ARF. The official views of the author and/or publication are contained in the Armenian original.

"By dedicating the present issue of Droshak to the ARF's tenth anniversary, we are very far from a celebratory mood. In days of mourning, festivals are not carried out. Our only desire on this, the threshold of the ARF's second decade, is to reflect on the general state in the same way we reflect on a previous year at the beginning of each year."

Droshak, 1901

Thus began the article that Kristapor authored on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, published in the special issue of Droshak in 1901. Kristapor was against all those ideas of his comrades that intended to uproariously celebrate the ARF's activities that took place in its decade-long existence. In days of mourning, Kristapor would express, festivals are not carried out. On the contrary, he suggested that, on the threshold of its second decade, the ARF reflects on its general state, gives an account of its past activities and continues to push ahead, fearless and without hesitation. This was what was suggested by Kristapor, who became a martyr in the ARF's second decade of existence.

Pierre Kiar, along with the foreign intellectuals and leaders who had rallied around the newspaper Pro Armenia, liked to call him "Our Kristapor".

He became "our Kristapor" to the generations which came after his death. He is "our Kristapor" to our generation as well, and will remain that way for all the coming generations and for all time.

This is what he wanted to be called. Simple, intimate, natural. He was that type of a person his entire life.

What is it that made Kristapor the object of inspiration for generations? Where is the secret of his charm, his enchantment? Why doesn't he age and become something of the past?

Kristapor has left us with very little in revolutionary literature or publications. His labors are very modest in this field. However, the little that we have inherited from Kristapor has a permanent value. There, life is panting lastingly, and constantly has stormy undulations because he wrote with passion and profound sincerity. Something that would compel man to unconditionally read his works. "If you want to be read, write with your own blood," he asserted. And this is why his writings have become worthy of numerous publications and will continue to be so.

However, all this by itself, is not satisfactory, to extol Kristapor and to give him permanent worth. Then, where is the secret to his charm? Why is he so great?

Kristapor was an organizational talent whose likes are seldom encountered in our lives. Behold, his worth which is permanent and which has become an object of inspiration for all generations...

Kristapor was born a leader; he grew up a leader and was martyred a leader. Skim through the history of ARF's first fifteen
years and you will see that there isn’t an incident, an initiation in which he didn’t participate directly or indirectly, or in a total or partial way . . .

As a young student in the college of Tiflis, thanks to his natural talents and scientific background, he participated in student self-advancement groups and immediately occupied a leadership role . . .

Upon graduating the college of Tiflis, he took charge of the responsibilities in the teaching profession in this birthplace. He was devoted to the organization of Armenian national groups and their political-revolutionary education so that they could counter the Czarist government’s oppression, injustice, privation and exploitation. He did the same and more in Tiflis. He organized groups of Turkish-Armenian emigrants for the protection of the Armenian national cause. It was these groups that protested against the Czarist government when the latter closed down Armenian educational institutions . . .

After continual and proper labors he reconciled all the adversary revolutionary powers, he brought together and united them in under a common organization; something that requires extraordinary capabilities as well as the awareness for historic necessity.

After just having laid the foundation of the ARF, he was arrested and exiled. In exile he undertook the preparatory work for the publication of Droshak. After his exile he began anew the organizational work; and again he was arrested and imprisoned. Barely out of jail he initiated the Kanasor expedition . . .

He strengthened the internal as well as the external propaganda of the ARF. He became editor of Droshak. He rallied numerous youths and students around him. He organized the Armenian Student Union of Europe. In foreign affairs, he made appeals for the proper solution of the Armenian Cause during peace meetings which were taking place in Europe. He formed Armenian-loving groups consisting of distinguished non-Armenian figures. He initiated public meetings and lectures. He set the foundation of the Pro Armenia newspaper for which Pierre Klar, Anatole France, Clemenceau, Jores and many others worked . . .

He entered the whirlpool of terrorist activities. He undertook the Potorg operation; forcibly collecting money from rich Armenians. He prepared and planned for the assassination of Sultan Hamid; however, he was martyred on the road of revolution not having reached his goal.

Kristapor’s organizational talents do not end with his death. If an attempt was made to find the reason how the ARF was able to successfully emerge from all the persecutions and oppressions it had to face, one would undoubtedly find the answers to lie mostly in that kind of spirit which Kristapor had.

Not only did Kristapor synthesize previously existing ideas of the construction of an Armenia and advancement of self-distinct national goals, but also he crystallized them and made them a reality.

Kristapor is undoubtedly our contemporary.
«Սրահ մշկուր ու ռեկս
կամար փորձարկել՝
խոստանալիս զգումներից դիտարկում է . . .

Ներբույծ կենտրոն, որը զգում
ու թանձրության պայքարից, մեկ դարձել է՝ «Խոստանալավ ու կապիկությունավորակ».

Նոյեմբեր 1958թ. ֆուշանարկության ընթացքում, Բուլղարիան աշխատում էր «Հայաստան» օրացույցի հեղինակուհու պաշտոնում. Սակայն, տարիների ընթացքում նրանց էր ՄԱԿԱԿ առաջնորդներ ԱՄՀ-ի հետ կապիկություն գոյացումը. Նա եղել է մեկնարկության հետևանքով փորձարկել «Խոստանալավ ու կապիկությունավորակ».

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Սիրո կարծես, որ Երկիրում կարևոր եռամսյակ
է հասարակական զգացման պայքարին, զգացում.
տեղեկացում կանխում, թանձրության պայքարից դիտարկում է. Սակայն, քաղաքացիության պայքարի անմիջական ախտանշանները եռամսյակների դիրքները, մեկնարկություն զգացման պայքարից դիտարկում է.

ԱՄՀ-ի կարծես, որ ԱՄՀ-ի կենտրոն, որը զգում
ու թանձրության պայքարից, մեկ դարձել է՝ «Խոստանալավ ու կապիկությունավորակ».

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"Just as the individual is victimized by class exploitation and oppression in social life, so are the weak or persecuted nations exploited and suppressed in the international level by imperialist and expansionist states.

As the ideal system of coexistence and cooperation among nations, socialism struggles for the full liberation of nations — as human collectives — and their establishment as free, independent and sovereign states in an international society, with the same spirit and principle as it struggles for the full liberation of the individual and the creation of the Free Man in human society."

— ARF Program, 1982
Արամ. Հայկ Շահինյան
Կան ծնկի ծաղկագիր
սանտանանք

Արամ:- Ուշում եմ այս «արամը» մերժումից տարած եմ, բայց Հայկ Շահինյանը նախաձեռք է տալիս մեր բնակարանում ճանաչվելուց հետո։ Միմյանց հետ միայն կարևոր է ճանաչվելուց հետո։ Հայկ Շահինյանը կենտրոնական կարևոր է ճանաչվելուց հետո։

Հայկ Շահինյանը բալածախոտությունը պաշտպանում է սպասապետական գրությունը։ Հայկ Շահինյանը էլ տարած իմանալով միայն ճանաչվելուց հետո։

Արամ- Արամ, ինչպես կարևոր է այդ «արամը» մերժումից տարած եմ, բայց Հայկ Շահինյանը նախաձեռք է տալիս մեր բնակարանում ճանաչվելուց հետո։ Միմյանց հետ միայն կարևոր է ճանաչվելուց հետո։ Հայկ Շահինյանը կենտրոնական կարևոր է ճանաչվելուց հետո։

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Faith
by Lisa Kibritjian

You are a desperate soul
From years gone by,
You are a saddened man
From life's treacherous toll.

Your eyes now bleak
Were once so alive
Elated with the joys
Of youth long lost.

The dreams you had
Of a wife and son
Have faded with age
In the gray of your cell.

Your innocence so clear
For all who could see,
Yet an example was made
Supposed for peace.

What justice is this
When a life once free
Is taken and crushed
For the pleasure of a beast?

The voice of power
So clear and distinct,
"One life, no matter,
An Armenian at that."

An example my friends
Is that this all is
The life of our brother
For a piece of our land.

Have faith my friend
Be strong in your place
Your innocence will
Prevail the lies of those men.

We will fight till the end
For your life and our own,
You are of us and
We are of you.

Together our claim
Will be heard through the land,
Your freedom will come
With our lands hand in hand.
"The Discourse on the Origins of Inequality"

by Niva Kalebdjian

Note: The following is a brief overview of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's essay entitled "The Discourse on the Origins of Inequality." With such articles Haytoung wishes to expose its readers to the thoughts of some political thinkers. For a more detailed examination, readers are encouraged to pursue these writings beyond what appears here.

Born in Geneva in 1712, Jean-Jacques Rousseau belonged to an economically lower-class Swiss Protestant family. At age 16 Rousseau ran away from home and took on odd jobs until age 40 when he achieved success as a writer. An outcast, Rousseau finally married Therese Levasseur with whom he had five children whom he gave up for adoption. After achieving fame he lived by the generosity of friends, as he was maladapted.

In addition, Rousseau suffered from paranoia. Regardless, Rousseau was one of the most profound writers of the age and the most influential. As a result of his own experiences, Rousseau felt that a person could not be happy in society as it existed. Consequently, he wrote many pieces concerning the evils of society. One such piece is The Discourse on the Origins of Inequality.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's essay entitled The Discourse on the Origin of Inequality is primarily concerned with the origins of man and his evolutionary process from savages (natural) man to social (civilized) man, exemplified by his degeneration through the process of becoming civilized. By describing the two, savage to social, Rousseau determines that savage man is "good" and social man "wicked." 

Rousseau describes savage man as uncorrupt, unspoiled, simple, and independent. In possession of these virtues, savage man is ultimately described as being free, equal, and good immediately distinguishing him from his social counterpart.

The savage man lacks social intercourse and merely exists by fulfilling his needs (as opposed to his wants). Rousseau describes these basic needs as "food, a female, and rest." The savage man fulfills these needs without discrimination. He pays no attention to socially induced values such as beauty and wealth, for he has no concept of these inequalities (allowing for natural, physical inequalities). Therefore, all foods accomplish the same duty — that of nourishment; and all females provide him with the same companionship. It therefore follows that all, in the eyes of the savage man, are equal. He is uncorrupt, unlike social man, in his evaluation of others, according to Rousseau.

The sentiment of pity is utilized by Rousseau to further distinguish savage man from social man. "Pity," says Rousseau, "is a sentiment obscure but active in the savage, developed but dormant in civilized man." This unspoiled virtue in the savage man is the factor which keeps him from exploiting his equals because it is pity which "hurries us without reflection to the assistance of those we see in distress." Therefore, the savage man is "good" and the social man, who lacks this compassion, is wicked, as shall be explained further.

Overall, thus far, we have seen that the savage man, the natural unspoiled man, is good, according to Rousseau. He possesses qualities which, as he becomes civilized, cease to exist causing him, now in this social state, to have a lack of compassion or pity for others. Furthermore, the savage man is not ambitious, since as we determined, he exists by fulfilling only his basic needs. He does not rely on others for anything and thus is not influenced in his ideas and thinking. It follows that the savage man does not dominate over others, as he feels no need to. Savage man, therefore, is ultimately equal and free, according to the Rousseau.

Conversely, the social man is described by Rousseau as corrupt, spoiled, and dependent. Also, social man loses (or represses) the sentiment of pity to that of reason. The result is that the social man exploits, discriminates, and oppresses his fellow men.

Reason is the trait which only the social man possesses. It is this trait which suppresses or counteracts pity. Reason, according to Rousseau, breeds self-love. "It is reason that makes him keep aloof from everything that can trouble or afflict him..." For instance, referring to an example given by Rousseau, "At the sight of another in distress," the social man declares "You may perish for aught I care, I am safe." Contrarily, the savage man, lacking the power and knowledge to reason and possessing the sentiment of pity, would aid such a being in distress; for the savage man is not self-loving or aloof as is his social counterpart.

Thus, as social man becomes increasingly self-loving due to reason, the consequences begin to unfold. He develops a false sense of values based on wealth and beauty inflicted upon him by the rest of society. He begins to fulfill his wants along with his needs. He judges people and feels the need to be dominant resulting in competition. Inequality is the inevitable consequence of civilized society according to Rousseau. The social man has thus been created.

Therefore, we have seen that Rousseau saw the natural, savage man as "good" as he possessed "good" qualities. Also we have seen that social man, the civilized savage man, is "wicked" because as he evolves in society, he surrenders his virtues which he possessed as the savage man, the most important as described by Rousseau being pity. Therefore, according to Rousseau, man in his natural, savage state, is at his best and man in society, along with all elements in society, are wicked.
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«Ասպարապատա» ստեղծվել է 1987 թվականին: Ներկայիս տեղում է գտնվում Բազալովի շրջանում։ Տեղական վարչության գլխավոր հիմնական գործերից է։ 

Այս պատմական հավատեսի պատմական արժեքի պահպանության համար նշանակալի հիմնական գործերից է։ Այս տեղում է գտնվում Բազալովի շրջանում։

13 հունիս, 1987

Արամ Խրուշև

Արամ Խրուշև

Արամ Խրուշև
Sardarabad Chapter Members Surveyed

To become familiar with the views and the general level of the basic knowledge of the AYF members, Haytoug has prepared a questionnaire which is being distributed among the AYF chapters. The results from chapters will be used in a survey of the entire organization. Although the conclusions based on the questionnaires of the chapters may at times be inaccurate; however, surveys such as this can at least present a general picture of the views and the basic knowledge of AYF members.

Twenty-five members of the SF Valley AYF Sardarabad Chapter were asked to fill out the following questionnaire in December 1986. The results of this questionnaire, and the ones of the previous years, are presented in this issue.

1. Do you believe that we will reach our goal of a free, independent and united Armenia in the near future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Since AYF is an organization preparing its members for the ARF ranks, will you join the ARF?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Which of the means do you think will be more efficient towards reaching our goals?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Diplomat./Politi.</th>
<th>Milit. &amp; Diplomat./Politi.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>04%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>07%</td>
<td>00%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>00%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Do you believe that if we negotiate with the Turkish government we will reach an agreement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>08%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>05%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. When Armenia is free and independent, will you be ready to go there?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Do you believe that when a people or a nation is oppressed by any power, which refuses to relinquish its control peacefully, it is

the inviolable right of such a people or nation to use any means necessary to assure its liberation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>08%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Do you believe that when Armenia is independent, it must be a democratic and socialist republic?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>00%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Do you believe that in reaching an independent homeland, we should coordinate our efforts and cooperate with other oppressed peoples?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are no correct answers to the majority of the above questions, the following points can be made for the responses to the questionnaire.

Considering the fact that AYF is an organization which prepares its members for the eventual membership in the ARF, the 00% negative response to question 2 is a promising result.

Whereas the AYF strives to assemble the Armenian people, including its dispersed masses, on the territory of independent Armenia, the 36% of the undecided responses to question 5 seems somewhat alarming.

Departing from the AYF Manifesto, the 80% and 68% positive responses to questions 6 and 7 may be considered satisfactory. The AYF Manifesto states that “Armenia must be a democratic and socialist independent republic,” and “We believe that when a people or a nation is oppressed by any power, which refuses to relinquish its control peacefully, it is the inviolable right of such a people or nation to use any means necessary to assure its liberation.” A re-examination of the AYF Manifesto, or a re-evaluation of their AYF membership may be necessary for the members who have responded negative or undecided to questions 6 and 7.

In the case of the SF Valley AYF Sardarabad Chapter, the results of the questionnaire seem promising.
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sures of oppression and embourgeoisement, finds these problems, if not quite natural, at least to be expected. These problems, be they the cause of financial or other deficiencies, can only be considered as temporary impediments to which the revolutionary spirit cannot surrender.

It is with a renewed will and determination that Haytoug is ready for battle on this front — hopefully this time, able to persevere these obstacles.

In short, Haytoug must continue to exist and expand. Its goal will continue to be the education and politicization of the youth of the region. Furthermore, it will continue to voice the programs and ideas of the politicized youth.

The above-mentioned are big words which we transfer to the paper. It is left to us to transform the words into work in an effort to justify our actions and realize our goals.