

ԶԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ

ՓԻԹԸՐ ՓԵՅՍԻ ԸՆՏՐՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ ՀԱՅԱՆԴՈՒՅԹ՝ ԹԵ...

ԳՈՒԽՆԴԱՅԵՐ,
Անգլիարենականկախլրագրող

Այս օրերին շատ մարդիկ լսելով Սպիտակ տան հաղորդումները եզրակացնում են, որ իրանի վրայ ամերիկեան յարձակումը մօտալուտ է: Եթէ նախագահ Պուչն արձակի հրամանը, ապա գնդապետ Փիթը Փէյսը՝ աշխատակազմի միացեալ ղեկավարների նախագահը, կանգնելու է դժուարին ընտրութեան առաջ:

Աւագ սերնդի ամերիկացի բարձրաստիճան գինուրականներն իրենց մտահոգութիւնն էին արտայալում ժամանակին իրաք ներխուութելու մարտավարութեան նպատակայարմարութեան եւ նոյնիսկ օրինականութեան վերաբերեալ, բայց նրանցից ոչ մէկը չհրաժարուեց կատարել հրամանը, երբ նախագահն արձակեց իր վճռուք: Պարզ էր, որ Ամերիկան հետապութեամբ եւ արագօրէն յաղթելու էր այդ պատերազմը, իսկ հետեւանքները ոչ ոքի չէին հետաքրքրում: Բայց իրանի վրայ յարձակումը բոլորովին տարբեր է: Իրանը իրաք չէ: Այստեղ հետեւակային զօրքեր չեն կարող ընդգրկուել, նախ, քանի որ բոլորը գտնուում են իրաքում եւ յետոց, որովհետեւ ամէն մի փորձառու գնդապետ դիտի, որ Ամերիկան այդ պատերազմում չի կարող յաղթանակել: Միայն օդային յարձակումներով յաղթել պատերազմում հնարաւոր չէ: Դրանց միջոցով նոյնիսկ հնարաւոր չէ կործանել իրանի բոլոր միջուկային օքչեկտ-

ները: Դրանք բազմաթիւ են, սփոռուած եւ երբեմն խորը թաղուած գետնի տակ: Ճիշտ է, շատ իրանցիներ կը գոհուեն, բայց յետո՞յ: Էլ ի՞նչ կարող է անել Ամերիկան: Շատ քիչ բան, երեւի, մինչդեռ իրանը ունի գործողութիւնների լայն հնարաւորութիւն:

Իրանը կարող է ողողել իրաքը արդիական գինամթերքով, ուղարկել կամաւորներ կոտուելու ամերիկացիների դէմ, միջազգային շուկան տակնուվրաց անել՝ դադարեցնելով նաւթիւ արտահանումները, փակել ամերոջ Ծոցի «դարապաները» եւ խոչընդոտել տանկերացին երթեւեկութիւնը, եւ վերջապէս դրանով առաջացնել համաշխարհային անտեսական ճգնաժամ: Իսկ ամերիկեան կողմից օդային յարձակումները սաստկացնելու դէպում դիմել առաւել վճռական ու կոպիտ միջոցառումների:

Նման պարագաներում գնդապետ Փէյսը կը յարձակուի՝ իրանի վրայ, եթէ Պուշը հրամայի: Նրա միակ այլընտրանմքը կը լինի, երեւի, հրաժարական տալը: Նա ունի այդ իրաւունքը: Ռազմական կարգապահութեան օրէնքներով կաշկանդուած լինելով հանդերձ, նրա նման բարձրաստիճան պաշտօնեաներն ունեն նաև բաղաքական պատասխանատութիւն: Քապինեղի նախարարների նման նրանք չեն կարող հակառակուել կառավարութեան որոշումներին՝ պաշտօնում գտնուելու ժամանակահաստուածում, բայց նրանք իրաւունք ունեն, եւ նոյնիսկ պարտաւոր են նախընտրել:

Հրաժարական տալ, քանի ի կատարած մի որոշում, որը նրանց կարծիքով աղետալի հետեւանքներ կ'ունենայ:

Փէյսի (եւ նրան հետեւելով նաեւ ուրիշների) հրաժարականը ուժեղ հարուած կը լինի: Այն անմիջապէս կը կամեցնի յարձակումը իրանի վրայ: Սպիտակ տունն ասիպուած կը լինի գոնել մէկ ուրիշին, ով ի կատար կ'ածէր իր որոշումները: Ճիշտ է, Սպիտակ տունն անկամակած կը գտնէր այդ մէկին, բայց նման ցնցող երեւոյթը կոնգրեսին հաւանաբար կը ատիպէր վերագտնել իր «ողնաշարը» եւ չսատարել մէկ ուրիշ անօրինական պատերազմի անձագերծմանը:

Սա ինդրի սոսկ ենթադրական քննարկում չէ: Երկու կողմերն էլ (անձնակազմի ղեկավարներն ու Սպիտակ տունը) պէտք է հասկանան, որ հրաժարականի տարբերակն օրակարգի հարց: Յիշենք իրանի պայթուցիկ զրահախոց (ՊԶ) զէնքերի շուրջը բարձրացուած աղմուկը (դրանցից բոլոր մեծ տէրութիւններն էլ ունեն արդէն վաղուց): Փետրուարի 11-ին Պաղտատում գտնուող Մ. Նահանգների բարձրաստիճան գինծառայողներ պնդում էին, որ 2004-ից մինչեւ մեր օրերը ամերիկեան գինուորների սպանութիւնները հենց նմանատիպ զէնքերից են եղել, պատրաստուած իրանում եւ փոխանցուած իրաքի այլախոհներին «իրանեան կառավարութեան բարձրագոյն էշելունների» միջոցով: Սպիտակ տան խօսնակ թոնի Անոռուն կառչելով այդ թեմայից, առաջ քաշեց այն վարկածը, որ դրանք փոխանցուում էին իրանեան յեղափոխական պահակախմբի «Քուղու» միաւորման

կողմից, եւ այդ պատճառով էլ կառավարութիւնը պէտք է «պատասխանատութիւն կրի» դրա համար:

Համարեաց իրաքեան սցենարի կրկնութիւնն ենք տեսնուած այս տեղ: Բայց յանկարծ անսպասելի մի բան կատարուեց: Գնդապետ Փէյսը, գտնուելով Աւստրալիայում, յայտարարեց, որ այդ հարցում «իրանի ներգրաւուած լինելը ապացուուած չէ»: Մի օր անց ձաքարթայում նա կրկնեց, որ ճիշտ է իրանում պատրաստուածը (գէնքը) օգտագործում էր իրաքում, բայց ապացուց չկար, որ կառավարութիւնը ներգրաւուած էր այդ գործընթացին:

Փորձառու գնդապետները հենց այնպէս, պատահաբար չեն հակադրում իրենց քաղաքական առաջնորդներին: Սպիտակ տունը հասկացաւ ակնարկը եւ մի փոքր նահանջեց: «Դեռ չգիտենք ճշգրիտ, թէ արդեօք վերեւներից Քուղուն հրահանգուել է անել այդ ամէնը, թէ ոչ: Բայց մտադիր եմ մի բան անել այդ առթիւ: Մենք կը պաշտպաններ զինուորներին», ասաց Պուշը Փետրուարի 14-ին:

Ինչպէս երեւում է քաղաքացիների եւ զինուորականների միջեւ հակամարտութիւն է հասունանում Մ. Նահանգներում, որն ակելի լուրջ է թւում էր արանք վերեւներից Քուղուն հրահանգուել է անել այդ ամէնը, թէ ոչ: Բայց մտադիր եմ մի բան անել այդ առթիւ: Մենք կը պաշտպաններ զինուորներին», ասաց Պուշը Փետրուարի 14-ին:

Բայց այս անգամ, եթէ գնդապետը (Փէյսը) գործի համաձայն իր համոզմունքների, ապա ճիշտ վարուածի օրերին:

Բայց այս անգամ, եթէ գնդապետը (Փէյսը) գործի համաձայն իր համոզմունքների, ապա ճիշտ վարուածի լինի:

ՀԱՄԱՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՈԳԵԿՈՉՈՒՄ

Նոյնորուած

ՀՐԱՆԴ ՏԻՒՄ Յ Հ Յ Ա Տ Ա Կ Ի Ւ

Կիրակի, II Մարտ, 2007

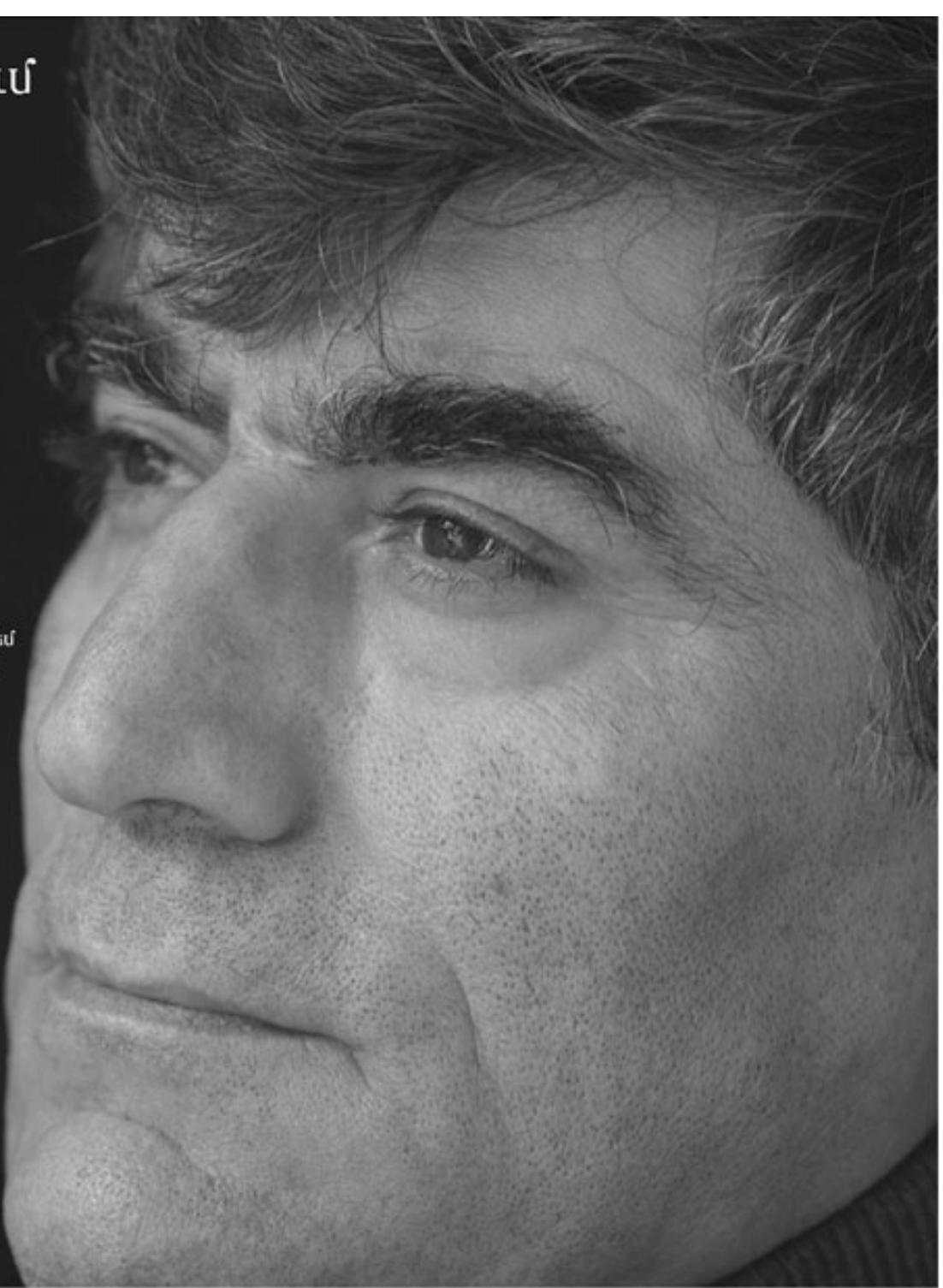
5:00 - 7:00 կ.ե.

Glendale Civic Auditorium
1401 N. Verdugo Rd.
Glendale, CA 91208

Հայաստանեաց Եկեղեցւոյ Հիախսային Ամերիկայի Արեամտեան Թեմ Առաջնորդարան Հայոց Հիախսային Ամերիկայի Արեամտեան Թեմի Հիախսային Ամերիկայի Հայ Աթուարանական Սինոքիւն
Հայ Կաթողիկէ Համայնք

Ամերիկայի Հայկական Համագումար
Հայ Իրաւաբանական Սինոքիւն
Հայ Ամերիկայի Նորուած
Հայկական Բարեգործական Ըստիանուր Սինոքիւն
Ամերիկայի Հայ Յանձնախումբ-Արեամտեան Շրջան
Հայ Օգլութեան Սինոքիւն-Արեամտեան Շրջան
Հայ Դատի Նորուած
Լու Անշելս Իրաւահայ Սինոքիւն
Հայ Ուսանողներու Սինոքիւն
Գալիքորնիոյ Հայ Երիտասարդաց Սինոքիւն
Հայրենիք Սինոքիւն
Բասարական Սինոքիւն
Նոր Սերունդ Մշակութային Սինոքիւն
Պոլսահայ Սինոքիւն
Ս. Աստուածածին Հայոց Առաք. Եկեղեցի-Քուրա Մէսա
UCLA Համալսարանի Հայագիտական Մրագիր
Հայ Մասնագիտներու Զանձն

Մուտքը ազատ



ԳԱՂՈՒԹԱՅԻՆ

ՎԱՐԴԱՆԱՆՑԻ ՏՕՆԱԿԱՏԱՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՍՈՒՐԲ ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ԼՈՒՏԱՒՈՐԻՉ Ա. ԵՒ Մ. ՅՈՎԱՅՐԵԱՆ ՎԱՐԺԱՐԱՆԵՆ ՆԵՐՍ

Թեև մեռաւ Վարդանը քաջ, Բայց ես կամ ու կը մնամ,
Միշտ հաւատով աննահանջ, Մեկ ձեռքիս սուր, միւս ձեռքիս խաչ...

ԼԻԶԱ.ՄԱՆՈՅԵԱՆ

Երրորդ դասարնախ աշակերտներուն տպաւորիչ ուխտերգով սկսաւ մեր վարժարանէն ներս

որոնք արտասանեցին վահան թէ-քէանին «Խորհուրդ Վարդանան-քը»: Յայտագիրի վերջին բաժինը տրամադրուած էր վարժարանիս երգչախումբին, որ խանդավառո-



Վարդանի ու իր հետ նահատակուած զինուորներուն լիշտավակին նուրբուած երեկոն: Աշակերտները մէջ մէկ սուր ու խաչ բռնած ուխտեցին մնալ հայ՝ գիտակցելով վարդանանց նահատակներուն փոխանցած պատգամի կարեւորութեան:

Տօնակատարութիւնը տեղի ունեցաւ, Հինգչարթի, Փետրուար 15, 2007ի երեկոյեան, վարժարանիս Գալուստեան-Շունայեանց սրահէն ներս, ներկայութեամբ եկեղեցւոյս հովիւ Տ. Պարետ Մ. Վրդ. Երէցեանի, դպրոցիս ինսամակալ մարմնի անդամն երուն, անօրէնին, ուսուցչական կազմին, Ա.-Հ. Կարգի աշակերտութեան ընտանիքներուն եւ վարժարանիս բարեկամներուն:

Յայտագիրը՝ որուն մաս կազմած էին վարժարանի բոլոր աշակերտները, այլազանութեամբ հարուստ էր: Ե. Կարգի աշակերտները ներկաներուն փոխանցեցին վարդանանց պատերազմի պատմութիւնը: Ապա, Դ. Կարգի աշակերտները ներկայացուցին թատրոն մը՝ Տիկին Ժանէթ Քասունիին «Քաջ վարդանը», ուր բոլոր աշակերտներն ալ գեղեցկօրէն մարմնաւորած էին իրենց գերերը. Հրաշալի էին նամանաւանդ վարդանն ու Ղեւոնդ Երէցը մարմնաւորող աշակերտներուն՝ Ալօ Պապելեանին ու Ալէքս Ճանսգեանին գերակատարութիւնները, որոնք իրավէս վճռակած դեկավարներու գիտակցութեամբ, մարտահրաւէր տալով առաջնորդեցին իրենց «բանակը» պատերազմի դաշտ:

Ապա, սրահին ու բեմին վրան սողանցեցին Ա. Կարգի աշակերտները, երգելով Տիկին Անի Յովակիմեանի «1,2,3 միշտ քայլենք առաջ, Քաջ վարդանի թոռնիկներն ենք քաջ» երգը: Որմէ ետք, բեմի պաստառին վրաց երեւցաւ վարդանի կաղնիին նկարը, եւ Բ. Դասարանի աշակերտ-աշակերտուհիները, մարմնաւորելով մեր նորիքայ մեծ մայրիկն ու իր շուրջը հաւաքուած թոռնիկ-թոռնուհիները, տեղեկացուցին վարդանի Մասունին մասին եւ խոստացան միշտ շիշել ու վառ պահել վարդանի մշատակը:

Վերջապէս, բեմ բարձրացան Զ. եւ է. Կարգի աշակերտները,



քին մէջ ընդ մէջ ցուցադրուեցան Հ. Կարգի աշակերտներուն «Power Point» համակարգիչի ծրագրով պատրաստուած Վարդանի մասին երեք աշխատամիրութիւններ:

Օրուան հանդիսավարներն էին Ե. Կարգի աշակերտներէն Կարօ Մկրտչեանն ու Կրէյս Խանլեանը, որոնք լաւապէս կատարեցին իրենց սահմանուած աշխատանքը:

Տ. Պարետ Մ. Վրդ. Երէցեանի, դպրոցիս ինսամակալ մարմնի անդամն երուն, անօրէնին, ուսուցչական կազմին, Ա.-Հ. Կարգի աշա-

մարտը, որ առաջնորդեց Նուարսակի դաշնագրի ասորագրութեան, ապա ովկելով հայ ժողովուրդի խոճի եւ կամքի ազատութիւնը:

Հայր Սուրբին խօսքէն ետք, տնօրէն Շահէ Մանկրեան խօսք առնելով շնորհակալութիւն յայտնեց յայտագրին մասնակցող բոլոր աշակերտներուն եւ պատրաստող ուսուցչուհիներուն, ու ապա հրաւիրեց հանդիսատեսները մոմավառութեան հանդիսութեան եւ եկեղեցի առաջնորդեց զիրենք, ուր Հայր Սուրբը պատարագ մատուցեց ի յիշտավակ Վարդանանց նահատակներու անմահ հոգիներուն:

բէն երգեց «կարմիր վարդանը» երգը:

Մինչ այդ, յայտագրի ընթաց-

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massis Weekly

Volume 27, No. 7

Saturday, MARCH 10, 2007

Opposition Parties Fail to Form a United List S. D. Hunchakian Party To Contest the May 12 Parliamentary Elections Separately

YEREVAN -- In an internet web conference organized by the Social Democrat Hunchakian party's central board and joined by S.D.H.P regional board members from six continents, S.D.H.P Armenia chairwoman, Lyudmila Sargsian, notified the participants that the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party has registered with RA Central Electoral Commission and will partake in a proportional system of the upcoming May parliamentary elections.

Sargsian also addressed the lack of opposition forces to agree upon a united front against the ruling regime. The S.D.H.P. has been preparing and organizing throughout Armenia for the past three years and has chosen to conform itself to the proportional system and not to take part in the single mandate electoral system. This decision was made by the party to insure that it does not clash with other oppositional like-minded individuals and dilute the oppositional votes.

During the elections, Sargsian stated that the 120 year strong S.D.H.P will adhere to the platform that was agreed upon in the 18th General Assembly of S.D.H.P World Congress. With the existing situation of corruption in Armenia, economic electoral oligarchical system, distrust in judicial bodies, and based on the S. D. H. Party's socialist and democratic ideology, the party has concluded that the establishment of true democracy in Armenia is the most important endeavor. To achieve economic and social justice in Armenia there must be democracy, the foundation of which is the peaceful change of authority through free and just elections.

S.D.H.P considers the principle of the free self-determination of nations the

basis for the resolution of the Artsakh question. The S. D. Hunchakian Party considers the unification of Mountainous Karabakh with Armenia or its acquisition of independent status as appropriate. During negotiations, any land belonging to Armenia cannot be subject to deals or exchange, either in the form of area, nor as "passageway" or "route." Any agreement on the resolution of the Artsakh issue must bear the signature of the legitimate authorities in Artsakh and merit the consent of Artsakh's populace.

S.D.H.P considers the duty of the next parliament to focus on preserving and enhancing national, educational and cultural programs within the State and the maintaining of an unrelenting stance in the pursuance of the Armenian Cause. Official Armenian-Turkish discussion must be conditional on the recognition of the Genocide.

The future parliament must better extend its national-spiritual mission, and operate to ensure that Armenian religious centers are within a non-partisan and non-political existence.

The social, economic, civic and educational demands of the Javakhk Armenians are just and legitimate. These demands must become a national concern and be insured and addressed by the Armenian government.

With the confines of a free and fair electoral process, Sargsian insured that the 120 year old Social Democrat Hunchakian party will make great inroads within the next parliament. Twenty-nine parties are competing for 90 proportional-based seats and 173 politicians are running for the remaining 41 seats that are awarded to individual candidates.

SDHP "Sarkis Dkhrouni" Union Presents Results of Corruption Survey



YEREVAN --In response to the denial of corruption at Universities in Armenia, the Social Democrat Hunchakian party "Sarkis Dkhrouni" youth association conducted a press

conference on Tuesday, March 6 presenting evidence disproving the claims made by University leaders.

Continued on page 2

Free Vote 'Key to EU-Armenia Ties'

YEREVAN -- Armenia will miss an important opportunity to deepen its relationship with the European Union if it fails to ensure the freedom and fairness of its parliamentary elections, a visiting senior EU diplomat warned on Friday.

"It will mean that an opportunity has been lost to build, in the short and medium terms, a firm relationship based on mutual values and mutual trust," Peter Semneby, the EU's special representative to the South Caucasus,

said of a possible repeat of serious irregularities in the elections slated for May 12.

Preparations for the crucial polls dominated the agenda of Semneby latest trip to Yerevan, which involved talks with Prime Minister Andranik Markarian and other Armenian officials. Markarian's office quoted the Brussels-based diplomat as saying that their proper conduct will be "critical"

Continued on page 4

ACA Announces Endorsements For Glendale Elections



GLENDALE -- For the upcoming Glendale City Municipal elections on April 3, the Armenian Council of America-PAC on March 6 announced its endorsement of current Glendale Unified School Board member Greg Krikorian and Glendale community activist and former Public Information Officer for the Glendale Police Department, Chahe Keuroghelian, for the two City Council seats.

The ACA also announced its endorsement of Elizabeth Manassarian for one of the two open seats in the Glendale Unified School District Governing Board.

As for the Glendale Community College Board of Trustees elections, the ACA is endorsing Tony Tartaglia, a current member of the GCC Board of Trustees.

"After carefully reviewing the backgrounds of these candidates and analyzing their views on certain issues relevant to the Armenian-American community, we can wholeheartedly say that they are the most qualified candidates," stated ACA Executive Director Peter Darakjian. "We encourage everyone in

the community to vote for our endorsed candidates because we believe they will best represent our interests as a whole."

Additionally, ACA board chairman Vasken Khodanian stated, "Having worked with these candidates at different capacities in the past and knowing them on a personal level gives us the confidence we need to make a sound judgement on their performance in the future."

Besides endorsing the above officials, ACA is also actively engaged in educating the Armenian-American community about the importance of voting including conducting voter registration and urging every citizen to fulfill their civic duty.

The Armenian Council of America -PAC is a non-partisan federally registered political action committee dedicated to educating the Armenian-American community in local political affairs, as well as actively pursuing Armenian-American participation in their respective local governments, to support political candidates who share the values of the Armenian American community.

More Congressmen Sign on HR 106

The Armenian Council of America Ohio and Texas branches have expressed gratitude to their respective members of Congress for sponsoring House Resolution 106. The Resolution calls upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the United States reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing, and genocide documented in the U.S. record relating to the Armenian Genocide.

On March 1 Congressman Al Green of Texas co-sponsored H.R. 106 becoming the eighth congressman from Texas to do so. On the very same day Congressman Steven LaTourette from Ohio co-sponsored H.R. 106, becoming the fourth congressman from Ohio sponsor the House Resolution.

In a statement issued by the Armenian Council of America, the Texas chapter thanked Congressman Green for co-sponsoring the current legislation. "We have been good friends of the congressman and thank him for his deeds towards H.R. 106," stated Sarkis Ohanian, chairman of Texas chapter of the ACA.

Dr. Avedis Kazanjian, Chairman of the ACA mid east states, also conveyed his enthusiasm in gaining the support of Congressman LaTourette towards the legislation.

Both recognized that gaining the support of congressional members with little or no Armenian American constituency has proven to be increasingly challenging. "Currently there are only eight out of 32 members of Congress from Texas who have signed on to H.R. 106," stated Ohanian. "With the increasing

pressure of the Turkish government and the fact that the current administration is headed by a Texan, it has become a tremendously difficult uphill battle in confronting our (Texas) legislators to do the right thing," he added.

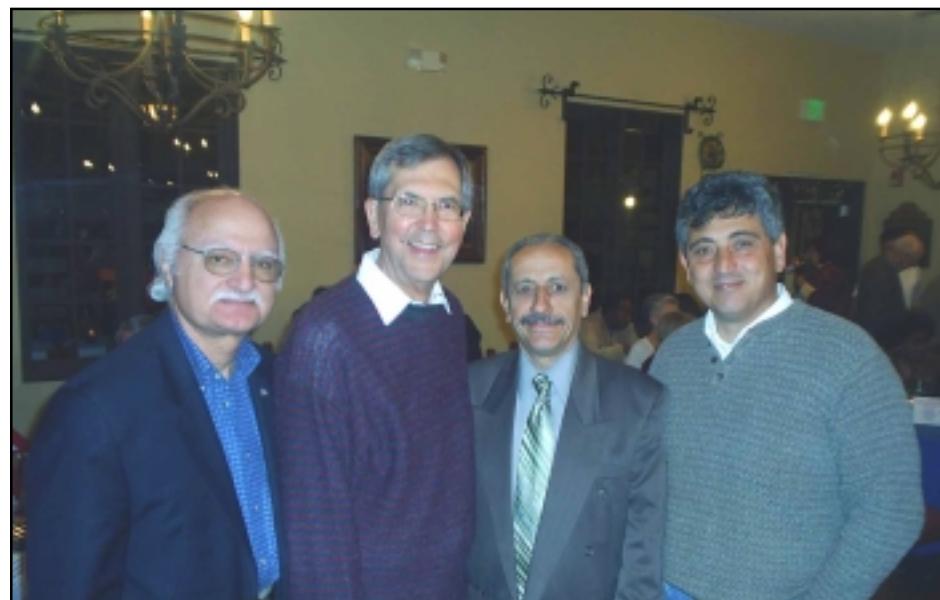
Dr. Kazanjian also confirmed that currently there are only four out of 18 members of Congress from Ohio who have signed on to the legislation. "Yes it is an uphill battle, yet we as Armenians have gone through fiercer struggles and have prevailed."

"As stated before, the Armenian Genocide resolution will not pass without the full support of congressional members that do not have a substantial constituency of Armenian Americans," declared Peter Darakjian, Executive Director of the ACA. "The Armenian Cause is continuously facing obstacles from all directions. The current administration is against our Cause, the State Department is stuck in the cold war mentality adhering to the needs of Turkey, the Turkish government and its well funded lobbying firms along with the Turkish media are decimating false information to combat the truth and our legislation."

Darakjian expects set backs facing Armenian related legislation in Congress, such as the delay within the Foreign Relations Committee due to committee ranking member Richard Lugar's request that consideration of S. Res. 65 be held over until the next committee business meeting will be overcome. "With the perseverance of Armenian Americans exposing historical truth we can overcome all obstacles placed against us," conveyed Darakjian.

Pasadena

ACA Endorsed Mayor Bill Bogaard Re-elected



ACA Board members with Mayor Bogaard at his victory party

PASADENA - Voters overwhelmingly returned Bill Bogaard to a third term as mayor Tuesday.

Other incumbent members of the City Council fared well on election night, with District 4 re-electing Steve Haderlein by a razor-thin margin and District 6 embracing Steve Madison.

In Districts 1 and 2 however, the stage was set for a second round of voting.

Mayor Bogaard, who received 10,700 votes (88.8%), will serve his third term in office.

Bill Bogaard has received the endorsement of Armenian Council of America.

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Letter to the Editor of Asbarez

After centuries of being subjugated by foreigners, for the past 15 years we have finally become the masters of our own domain, capable of shaping our own common destiny. Needless to say, the many centuries of subjugation should serve as a powerful lesson for us to work closer with each other, in order to shape a worthwhile future for ourselves and generations to come.

Thus, it is utterly incomprehensible as to why an Armenian would label his fellow kin, who do not share his views, as "a-holes", "idiots", "traitors", who are "rife with absurdity", exhibit "shameless style", "emit moribund rales" and who "ought to be in rehab". Unfortunately, that is what Mr. Garen Yegparian has stated in his article published in the February 24, 2007 issue of your publication. It truly saddens us to find out that on the very same day of Hrant Dink's assassination, a man who championed dialogue even between enemies, Mr. Yegparian has gone to the vigil not to pay his respects to the fallen martyr, but to count how many people were in attendance.

The history of human civilization has shown that real progress is achievable only through the clash of differing opinions and not by the imposition of one's views over others.

While we strongly condemn Mr. Yegparian's vitriolic diatribes and disagree with his views, we would not call for him to be put into rehab, but rather be showcased as a role model. To achieve progress, some role models ought to be followed, while others should be avoided at all cost. Mr. Yegparian falls in the latter category.

Respectfully,
Gaidz Youth Organization

"Sarkis Dkhrouni" Union Presents Results of Survey

Continued from page 1

86 percent and Agricultural Universities made up 96 percent.

The Sarkis Dkhrouni youth association presented these findings to Levon Mkrtchyan, Minister of Education who has since accepted the claims. Nareg Sarkissian, Chairman of the youth association stated that the Minister has called for a formation of an independent board to investigate the matter closely. Yet the students are once again facing the denial of the truth.

The first press conference regarding this issue was held on Dec. 10, 2006. Although the Minister of Education has cooperated with the Sarkis Dkhrouni youth association, board members the Yerevan State Institution of higher education have yet to accept that corruption is lurking on university campuses in Armenia.



On 18 October 1994 a press conference called by the then Patriarch of the Armenian Church, Karekin Kazanjian, was held at the Armenian patriarchate in Kumkapi, Istanbul. It was organised to correct what the church saw as misinformation amounting to a slander campaign against the Armenian church in particular and the Armenian community in Turkey in general. The "highlight" of this campaign was an attempt by the patriarchate to voice protest against false, even lethal, accusations in Turkish media and political circles that Armenian clergymen were supporting Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) terrorists in their secessionist struggle against the Turkish state.

A photograph allegedly depicting an Armenian priest in the company of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, widely distributed on posters, was a key instrument of these accusations. Indeed, shouted slogans such as *Apo, Ermeni pici* ("Apo [Öcalan's nickname], Armenian bastard") were at the time commonly heard during nationalist demonstrations and street protests.

The patriarchate's communiqué on the matter categorically denied the existence of any ties between the Armenian community in Turkey and any terrorist organisation, and explained that the priest in the relevant photo was not a cleric of the Armenian church. The document went on to condemn such anti-Armenian insinuations in both print and broadcast media, expressing the serious concern that such false rumours, assumptions and misrepresentations were endangering the Armenian community in Turkey and making the lives of individual Armenians difficult.

The press conference - attended by some seventy Turkish and foreign journalists - was a tense affair. Several journalists harassed the patriarch with presumptuous questions laced with innuendo about contentious issues, including the PKK and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (Asala) - a small, Lebanon-based terrorist group that had killed thirty-four Turks (mainly diplomats) between 1975 and 1983, mainly in western Europe. (Asala had no presence, links or any type of backing among Armenians in Turkey, and minimal support even among diaspora Armenians).

As the interrogators became increasingly belligerent, a tall figure forced himself into the heart of the journalistic mêlée. "As a member of the patriarchate's press office, I would like to answer that question", Hrant Dink announced. He continued:

"Respectable representatives of the press, we are trying to shake off from our shoulders a discomfort which causes pressure. It is for this reason that we are trying to voice our protest against a false claim. Apart from that, all your questions have been answered many times before. The Armenians of Turkey are not terrorists and they have never provided aid to terrorism, from whichever direction that may come. From now on too, this is the way it is going to be. Armenians will never support terrorism. As citizens of this country, we would like to live in peace and tranquility. This is the message of this press conference. ... The Armenians, all Armenians in the world, especially Armenians in Turkey, at this moment have only one preoccupation: peace, peace, and peace" (see

Hrant Dink and Armenians in Turkey

By Hratch Tchilingirian

The assassination of the Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink on 19 January 2007 and its aftermath highlighted both change and resistance to change in Turkish society. To understand how far Turkey has travelled in the past generation, Hratch Tchilingirian examines the role of Hrant Dink himself in the context of the Armenian community of which he was voice, critic, and emblem.

Marmara [Istanbul], 19 October 1994).

This was the moment Hrant Dink fully entered public life. The occasion, the pressure, the times themselves were such that he chose - publicly, confidently and courageously - to address the "discomforts" and "burdens" put upon his community by the state and a highly politicised media. It was the moment Hrant Dink openly began to deal with the dilemma of being simultaneously a citizen of one country, Turkey, while being part of another nation, Armenia.

A time of silence

It was never going to be easy, for the challenge was at once institutional, legal, and political.

The Armenian community, like that of other minorities in Turkey, experienced shame, humiliation, harassment and intimidation across the long decades from the 1950s to the 1990s without being able to speak up in its defence - and in a very different atmosphere to later controversies over Article 301 and even minimal debate about the genocide of 1915. The Armenian community in Turkey in this period was characterised by its reclusive existence and collective silence.

The defining institutions of the Armenian community in Turkey were and are the church and the school. Both faced (and face) perennial problems that kept Hrant Dink and his colleagues awake at night. The interference and heavy-handedness of the Turkish government in the Armenian community's process of electing a patriarch (in 1990, and again in 1998) were among the arduous legal problems enmeshing this key Armenian body. On the second occasion Hrant wrote:

"We are sad ... The (Armenian) community is deeply hurt by the uncertainty created by the escalation of the senseless crisis about the election of an acting patriarch. These are trying days ... We are observing with shame" (see "Uzgunuz", *Agos*, 21 August 1998).

The situation with the Armenian schools was (and is) no better. Hrant wrote many columns about the state of Armenian schools in Turkey, and took special interest in their administration. While criticising his own community for its shortcomings, he also berated the Turkish government for imposing numerous administrative restrictions on minority (and not only Armenian) schools.

Hrant passionately recorded the constant indignities experienced by Armenian educators. In August 1998 he wrote:

"If I am not mistaken, it was three years ago ... One of the vice-directors of the ministry of national education's Istanbul office - who was later convicted of corruption and bribe-taking - said the following to the "vice-principals" he appointed (whom the minority schools call "Turkish vice-principals"): "You are our eyes and ears ... You are to inform us of even the minutest mistakes

that these people make." He said this in the presence of the minority school principals, with total disregard for their dignity and common courtesy.

"... And what was I fantasising all these years ... With my 45-year-old brain, I was thinking: 'would, one day, a minister of national education start the ceremony for the new school year in a minority school?' Sweet thoughts ... My naïveté ... Sorry ..." (see "Kinkel ve Valilik", *Agos*, 21 August 1998 - translated excerpts posted on).

A voice of dignity

Hrant Dink and his colleagues were symbols as well as agents of change in relation to the Armenian community in Turkey. They were determined to express the indignation and resentment they experienced as citizens of the Republic of Turkey. If society and the political system did not allow them to voice their fears, concerns, and hopes for their community and for Turkey, the silence surrounding them - they believed - must be made audible.

It was to a large extent this combination - of the hunger to speak and the desire to address the "existential" problems surrounding the Armenian church and educational establishments - that sparked the creation of the bilingual weekly newspaper *Agos* in April 1996.

The five colleagues who founded *Agos* were: Diran Bakar, a lawyer; Luiz Bakar, also a lawyer and (since 1994) the spokesperson of the patriarchate; Harutjun Sesetian, a businessman; Anna Turay, a public-relations professional; and Hrant Dink, who at the time owned a bookshop.

The founding members - as is the case with any equivalent innovative project - were to have their differences in subsequent years. But at its heart, *Agos* (and Hrant in particular) remained consistent in the effort to open channels of communication and dialogue between the reclusive - and at times isolated - Armenian community and Turkish society.

Hrant defined one of the newspaper's purposes as "(trying) to identify and explain our problems to the government and to Turkish society", while acknowledging that "because of this, we sometimes have problems" (*Armenian International Magazine*, 11/3, March 2000). His core belief was that prejudices could be overcome by education and dialogue.

The target of this education and dialogue was not just misunderstanding and prejudice in Turkish society, but the Armenian community itself. Hrant's critical discourse about the Armenian community, and especially the Armenian patriarchate, was unpopular, costing him supporters and even friends.

In June 2001, for example, on the occasion of the 1,700th anniversary of Armenian Christianity, he wrote: "The Armenian church has suffered divisions throughout history and it is evident that it has not learned from its own history.

The 'one nation - one church' rule, which has been repeated almost everywhere during these last years, is nothing but a slogan void of content" (see "Spiritual Chess", *Agos*, 1 June 2004 - translated from Turkish by Anahit Dagci).

At the same time, many found his passion, genuine concern and sincerity disarming. Most people in the Armenian community saw *Agos* as a courageous publication where issues related to Armenian identity and community were discussed with refreshing openness, reason and a genuine desire to build bridges across large divides - whether within Turkey, with Armenia or with the diaspora.

In the course of this work, Hrant came to a profound realisation: that the resolution of the problems of the Armenian community in Turkey was intimately related to the progress of tolerance, democracy and freedom in Turkey.

Armenians, here and there

Dogu Ergil observed after Hrant's death that he had "aimed to promote the idea that there are other ethnic-cultural groups in Turkey than Turks and Muslims, and (that) they can very well blend into the nation cleansed of stereotypes and biases". Hrant wanted, said Ergil, to "defend Armenians against majority fanaticism in Turkey and to defend Turks/Turkey against the fanaticism and hypocrisy of foreigners and diaspora Armenians" (see "", EU Turkey Civic Commission, 25 January 2007).

In recent years, the "Armenian issue" - as the problem of the genocide is referred to in Turkey - had indeed become a central theme in Hrant's public discourse. The centrality of the "Armenian issue", in fact, has come to cast a shadow over the other problems of the Armenian community in Turkey: ownership of property, community foundations, education of clergy, school administration, and church elections among them. (Why, for example, should the affairs of minorities in Turkey still be "administered" by Turkey's council of ministers, interior ministry, the security and intelligence agencies, and the foreign ministry?).

If the central, heated question of genocide came to dominate discussion of Armenians and Turkey, it is one that Hrant Dink and a considerable segment of the Armenian diaspora could not agree on. On the eve of the 24 April commemorations in 2002, for example, he addressed members of the Armenian diaspora in France in an interview with *L'Express* newspaper.

"Do not seek Armenian identity among the 1915 graves", he advised. "I am ready to discuss all issues with you ... I am proud to be a Turkish Armenian. I want to represent, with my newspaper, the rebirth of this society. Armenia will never be safe unless Turkey achieves democratisation. I believe Turkey may be a chance for that young state which is on the brink of drowning. Tomorrow, thanks to Turkey, Armenia will get the chance to become neighbors with the European Union. Turkey is Armenia's only chance" (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 April 2002).

More than the semantics of the issue, Hrant's approach to the issue of 1915 and Turkey-Armenia relations fo-

Glendale HOMENMEN Chapter Ladies Auxiliary Open House

GLENDALE -- The Armenian Athletic Association "Homenmen" women's auxiliary Glendale chapter organized an open house for Homenmen athletes and their parents on Sunday March 4 at the Glendale central library auditorium. The event was attended by young athletes and parents who wanted to learn more about the organization and its direction.

Seta Khodanian, master of ceremonies, briefly discussed the 86 year old history of Homenmen in general and more specifically talked about Homenmen's activities in the greater southern California area and in particular the city of Glendale. She also addressed some of the short and long range plans of the organization.

Homenmen Glendale chairman Vartan Kojababian addressed the hardship that parents, community leaders and the youth have gone through in the

past to make Homenmen not only a successful athletic organization, but also a learning step for youth to partake in professionalism. He stated that Homenmen creates a platform for discussion in activity giving youth the necessary skills to become well-informed, active members and leaders of their community.

Armenian Athletic Association "Homenmen" women's auxiliary Glendale chapter chairwoman Rozin DerTavitian addressed the audience on the meaning of being a Homenmen member, and following its credo "Sound Body, and a Sound Mind." She added that those who have participated in Homenmen throughout their youth and into their adulthood have achieved a higher level of success and happiness in both their personal and professional lives. Everyone was encouraged to proactively recruit their friends and family into the organization.

Hrant Dink and Armenians in Turkey

Continued from page 3

cused on the substance of reconciliation. "I know what happened to my grandparents", he told AFP. "It does not matter what you called it: genocide, massacres or deportation" (*Agence France Presse*, 8 October 2000). Hrant strongly believed - to the dismay of many in the diaspora - that the more essential thing was to influence Turkish public opinion. "The winning of the empathy and compassion of the Turkish population is far more important than the adoption of Armenian resolutions in hundreds of parliaments elsewhere".

Hrant spent considerable time and energy in seeking to persuade the diaspora that there is a new dynamic and a new openness in Turkey, involving an unprecedented interest in and discussion of Armenian issues. He said that "this process has been developing very slowly, just like the democratisation of Turkey", in a way that encouraged him to believe that "the taboo (of 1915) too will be broken".

Yet anyone who is familiar with "breaking taboos" in Turkey knows the extreme dangers involved in such a process. Hrant himself was well aware of the possible consequences: "We never deny our own history. But Armenians (in Turkey) are unable to discuss it for fear it will harm the community's existence" (see Ayla Jean Yackley, "Turks confront dark chapter of Armenian massacres", Reuters, 26 April 2005).

In his response to this predicament, Hrant displayed one of his largest virtues: courage. As he wrote in openDemocracy in 2005:

"Where fear is dominant, it produces symptoms of resistance to change at all levels of society. The more some people yearn and work for openness and enlightenment, the more others who are afraid of such changes struggle to keep society closed. In Turkey, the legal cases against Hrant Dink, Orhan Pamuk, Ragip Zarakolu or Murat Belge are examples of how the breaking of every taboo causes panic in the end. This is especially true of the Armenian issue: the greatest of all taboos in Turkey, one that was present at the creation of the state and which represents the principal "other" of Turkish national identity" ("", 13 December 2005).

Hrant Dink "was Turkey in its complexity", wrote Dogu Ergil. "He was a Turk against Armenian extremism and an Armenian against Turkish extremism."

The day of Hrant Dink's funeral was the evidence of how far Turkey had travelled since that press conference at Istanbul's Patriarchate in 1994. More than twelve years on, the *Ermeni pic* epithet hurled by nationalists was overtaken by the cries of *Hepimiz Ermeniz* ("We are all Armenians!") in the throats of tens of thousands of Turks. Hrant himself, in his life as much as his death, had played an enormous role in bringing about that change. He opened the door to a future that Armenians and Turks must find together.

[openDemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)

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Dr. Lawrence Baron to Speak on "Genres of Genocide" at Fresno State

FRESNO -- Dr. Lawrence Baron, Nasatir Chair in Modern Jewish History at San Diego State University, will give a lecture on "Genres of Genocide: Depicting the Armenian, Jewish, and Rwandan Genocides in Feature Films," at 7:30 PM on Tuesday, March 20, 2007. The lecture, part of the Spring 2007 Lecture Series of the Armenian Studies Program, will be held in the Alice Peters Auditorium, Room 191, in the University Business Center on the Fresno State campus.

This lecture examines how feature films draw on iconic documentary images to convey the uniqueness of the Armenian and Jewish experiences while simultaneously employing similar cinematic strategies to dramatize their stories. Clips from such films as *Ravished Armenia*, *Schindler's List*, *Mayrig*,

Ararat, and *Assignment Berlin* will illustrate the lecture.

Dr. Baron received his Ph.D. in Modern European Intellectual History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, in 1974. Since 1988 he has been Nasatir Chair in Modern Jewish History, at San Diego State University. He has also been Director of the Lipinsky Institute for Judaic Studies, San Diego State University, from 1988-present.

He has published *Projecting the Holocaust into the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

The lecture is free and open to the public. Relaxed parking is available in Lot J, after 7:00PM.

For information contact the Armenian Studies Program at 559-278-2669

Free Vote 'Key to EU-Armenia Ties'

Continued from page 1

for Armenia's democratization and European integration. Markarian was reported to assure him that his government has "the desire and the will" to hold a first-ever Armenian election recognized as democratic by the West.

"I haven't gotten any guaran-

tees, but I have a very strong sense that the authorities are aware of the importance of the elections," Semneby told RFE/RL after the talks. He stressed the fact that it will be the first major ballot since Armenia's and neighboring Azerbaijan's and Georgia's inclusion in the EU's European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) framework.

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