













## ԼՈՐԱ ԳՈՒՅՈՒՄԵԱՆ ԵՒ ՄԻՆԱՍ ԳՈԲԱՅԵԱՆ ՊԱՐԳԵՒԱՏՐՈՒԾ Ս. ՍԱՐԱԿ ԵՒ Ս. ՄԵՍՐՈՊ ՇՔԱՆՇԱՆՈՎ



**Ապրիլ 22ին, 2012 Առաջնորդանիստ Սրբոց Հետոնդեանց Մայր Տաճարին մէջ, թեմակալ Առաջնորդ՝ Գեղշ. Տ. Յովնան Արք. Տէրտէրէան, Հայերէն առաջին զիրքի տպագրութեան 500ամեակին առթիւ, Ամենայն Հայոց Կաթողիկոսի կողմէ առաքուած Ս. Սահակ եւ Ս. Մեսրոպ Շքանշանով պարզեատրեց կրթական մշակներ՝ Դոկտ. Մինաս Գոճայեանը եւ Օրիորդ Լորա Գուլյումճեանը:**

Օրիորդ Լորա Գուլյումճեանին առաքուած Կոնդակին մէջ վեհափառ Հայրապետը կը գրէր.-

«ԱՄՆ Հայոց Արեւմտեան թեմի Առաջնորդ Գերաշնորհ Տ. Յովնան Արքեպիսկոպոս Տէրտէրէանից գուռնակութեամբ տեղեկացնաք Զեր ազգանուէր արդիւմաշատ գործունէութեան մասին; Մեր ժողովրդի ազգային ու հոգեւոր կենաքի գորացմանը աւանդ բերելու նախանձախնդրութեամբ՝ Դուք երկար տարիներ Զեր զիտելիքներն ու փորձառութիւնը ազնիւ, համբերատար ոգով ի սպաս էք բերել հասակ առնող մատաղ հայորդիների կրթութեան ու

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## ԻՐԱՔԵՐԱՅ ՄԻՌԻԹԵԱՆ ԳՐԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵԿՈՆ ՆՈՒԻՐՈՒԱԾ՝ ՀԱՅ ԲԱՆԱՍՏԵՂՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԻՇԽԱՆ ՎԱՐԱՆ ԹԵՐԵԵԱՆԻ

Ուրբաթ, 27 Ապրիլի երեկոյան, Կլենտէյլի Հայ Կաթողիկէ եկեղեցոյ Գուլյումճեան սրահին մէջ ներկայ եղանք գրական շահեկան դասախոսութեան մը, նուիրուած հայ բանաստեղութեան իշխան վահան Թէքէեանի:

Լու Անձելսի իրաքահայ Միութեան նախաձեռնութեամբ կայացած սոյն միջոցառումին ներկայ էր զրաքը հոծ հասարակութիւն մը:

Հանդիսութեան կը նախազահէր ԱՄՆ-ի եւ Գանատացի Կաթողիկէ համայնքի առաջնորդ Արհիապատիւ Միքայէլ եպս. Մուրատեանը:

Իր բացման խօսքին մէջ օրուան հանդիսավարը՝ Իրաքահայ Միութեան ժրաշան ատենապետ Խաչիկ ձանոցեան, ողջունեց ներկայ զրաքը հասարակութիւնն ու քոյլ կազմակերպութեանց ներկայացուցիները: Տուալ հակիր տեղեկութիւնն իր միունքութեան մասին, որոնցմէ կարեւրագոյնն էր մատ 1100 իրաքահայերու Հայաստան ներգաղթելու օժանդակութիւնը:

Բանաստեղծ վահան Թէքէեանի ստեղծագործութիւններէն հատընտիր նմուշներ կարդաց Տիկ.

## ՆՇՈՒԵՑԱԲ «ՆՈՐ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ» ՕՐԱԹԵՐԹԻ 20-ԱՄԵԱԿԸ

Շուրջ 350 հոգիներու ներկայութեամբ տօնախմբուեցաւ մեր պաշտօնակից «Նոր Հայաստան» օրաթերթի 20րդ տարեդարձը: Արդարեւ, Կիրակի 29 Ապրիլի, 2012, միշտակելի օր մը պիտի մնայ բոլոր անոնց մօտ որոնք ներկայ եղան կլենտէյլի իրանահայ Միութեան շքեղ դահլիճի հանդիսութեան:

Մայրէ ծայր լեցուն սրահին մէջ կը նշարուէին օրուան հովանաւոր ԱՄՆ-ի եւ Գանատացի Հայ Կաթողիկէ Առաջնորդ Արքի. Տ. Միքայէլ եպս. Մուրատեան, սոյն միջոցառումի նախագահ Տէրիկ եւ Տէրիկ Արշամ Միութեան, Արեւմտեան թեմի առաջնորդ Գեղշ. Տ. Յովնան Արքի եւ Կիլիկիոյ Կաթողիկոսութեան ներկայացուցիչներ Տ. Յովսէփ եւ Տ. Կոմիտաս քահանաները, Հայ քաղաքական կուսակցութեանց քոյլ կազմակերպութիւնը: Տիկ Հայ առաջնորդ Գերաշնորհ Գրէկէեանը առաջնորդ Գերաշնորհ Գրէկէեանը:

Օրուան հանդիսավարներն էին Օֆելի Հովեան եւ Սարգիս Մաճառեան: Անոնք՝ Հակիրճ բացման խօսքերով կը առին հայ մամուլի միաժամանակ վիճակուած իւրաքանչուկ առաքելութիւնը:

Կլենտէյլ քաղաքի քաղաքապետութեան անունով ողջոյնի խօսքով հանդէս եկաւ Արտաշէս Քաստիսին մասին: Ան ծնած է Սուրիա: Ուսումն ստացած է Լիբանանի ջմմառի մայրավանքին մէջ: Ապա շարունակած է Հուոմի Կրիկորիանա համալսարանին մէջ: Հոգեւոր ծառայութիւններ կատարած է Պաղտատ, Դամասկոս, Յունաստան, Պէյրութ եւ ներկային ԱՄՆ:

Սրտի խօսքերով հանդէս եկան ծանօթ մտաւրականներ եւ հասարակական գործիչներ՝ Թորգոմ Փոստաձեան, Փանոս Թիթիգեան, Տօքթ.

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Վարդան թաշճեան, Տիգրան Սարգսեան, Արա Ահարոնեան եւ Սամուէլ Դավագեան:

Հայ Կաթողիկէ Ս. Գրիգոր Լուսաւորիչ եկեղեցւոյ երգչախումբին կատարմամբ (դեկավար՝ մայստրո Կրէկ Սարոյեան) ունկնդրուեցան «Ով Հայոց Աշխարհ» «Հայաստան» եւ «Երեւան էրեբունի» երգերը: Նաեւ Ատրինէ եւ Անահիտ Խաչիկեան քոյրերու «Դու ինչպէս մի ասող» գովերգը, դաշնամուրի ընկերակցութեամբ Հմայեակ Յովհանիսիսանի:

Օրուան գլխաւոր բանախօսն էր Հայր Անտոն Ռ. Վրդ. Աղամեան: Ան իւրաքանչուկ բանաստեղծական եւ հուետորական ոճով, պանծացուց հայ մամուլին ու անոր առաքելութիւնը: Իսկ Լու Անձելսի (Նոր Հայաստան) օրաթերթին համար ըստաւ. «Քսան տարիէ ի վեր կը կատարէ իր առաքելութիւնը լաւագոյն մակարդակի վրայ որպէս լրատու եւ դաստիարակ: Բիւրեղեաց մեծասքանչով կը ներկայանաց հանրութեան միշտ հետամուտ, բարձր, անադարտ պահելու ազգային Քրիստոնէական Մշակութային եւ բարոյական կլզբունքները»: Ան ի մէջ այլոց ըստ նաեւ ... «Կանզ մի առներ: Խիզախօրէն շարունակէ տողանցքը: Եղիր հայ ընթերցողին քիմքը գգուող համեղ պատառու...: Զկայ փախուած: Պիտի տոկանք ու գոյատեւենք: Հայ մամուլին առաքելութիւնը նուիրական ու անփոխարինելի է»:

Օֆելիա Հովեանի ասմունքն էն ետք ելոյթ ունեցաւ էսթրատախին սիրուած երգիչ Ասթիս Հարմանտեան, մեզի հրամցնելով իր հարուստացուածական իշխանութեան նուիրական ու անփոխարինելի է»:

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Տարիար, 5 Մայիս 2012

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# massis Weekly

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## Armenian Press Not Free, According to Freedom House Annual Report

NEW YORK -- Freedom House has rated Armenian media Not Free in its annual 2012 Freedom of Press report.

With 65 points, the country ranks the 149th in the organization's index. Armenia lags behind its neighbors, Georgia and Turkey, which place 111th and 127th, respectively.

Azerbaijan and Russia share the 172nd position with 80 scores. Both countries have been rated Not Free. Iran, which has scores 92 points, is the 192nd country in the ranking.

The section on Central and Eastern Europe says that only seven countries in the region (24%) were classified as Free, with 13 (45%) being Partly Free and nine (31%) -- Not Free.

A serious decline was observed particularly in Hungary and Macedonia.

"The world's eight worst-rated countries, with scores of between 90



and 100 points, are Belarus, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Iran, North Korea, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. In these states, independent media are either nonexistent or barely able to operate, the press acts as a mouthpiece for the regime, citizens' access to unbiased information is severely limited, and dissent is crushed through imprisonment, torture, and other forms of repression," reads the report.

## OSCE Representatives Visit Armenia's Borders Where Azerbaijani Aggressors Killed Three Soldiers



Bullets riddled car in which three Armenian Soldiers were killed

YEREVAN -- Field representatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe visited on Monday a western section of Armenia's border with Azerbaijan where three Armenian soldiers were killed last week.

The four OSCE representatives monitored the ceasefire regime there from either side of the heavy militarized frontier. No shooting incidents occurred during the procedure.

The OSCE Chairman-in-Office field assistants Hristo Hristov and Irji Aberle inspected the scene of the incident, and subsequently the aforementioned vehicle kept at a Military Police department. The car riddled with bullets was examined and photographed by them. The Armenian Ministry of Defense representatives informed the field assistants that the attack was preceded by the flights of an Azerbaijani unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV). The UAV was made in Israel.

Armenian military commanders on the ground said the contracted servicemen -- Aram Yesayan, Arshak Nersisian and Davit Abgarian -- died in an ambush attack carried out by Azerbaijani troops.

President Serzh Sarkisian and the Defense Ministry in Yerevan have also effectively blamed Azerbaijan for the deaths. In a weekend statement, the ministry reaffirmed Sarkisian's pledge that "the enemy will not remain unpunished."

"Without succumbing to the enemy's provocations, Armenian Armed Forces will carry out actions commensurate with the situation along the entire Line of Contact," it said without elaborating.

Andranik Mkrtumian, a senior official from the army's General Staff, told the OSCE monitors that a total of five Armenian soldiers have been killed and seven others wounded along the entire Tavush section of the border so far this year.

## Days Before Parliamentary Elections International Observers Report Multiple Campaign Irregularities



Schoolchildren at an election campaign rally held by the ruling Republican Party in Armavir province

YEREVAN -- Schoolchildren, teachers and other public-sector employees have been pressured to attend election campaign rallies held by the ruling Republican Party of Armenia, observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe said on Friday.

In an interim report, the election observation mission deployed by the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) said its members have witnessed such instances in at least two parts of the country since the start of campaigning for the May 6 parliamentary elections.

"While Article 18.6 of the Electoral Code prohibits campaigning and distribution of campaign material by pedagogical staff and in educational institutions, OSCE/ODIHR long-term observers (LTOs) reported a number of cases of teachers and students involved in the HHK campaign," reads the report.

"In Echmiadzin, on 11 April students and teachers were released from school to attend a ruling party rally," it says. "On 14 April in Arabkir (a district of Yerevan), teachers asked students to attend, after classes, a similar rally with President [Serzh] Sarkisian. LTOs observed Republican majoritarian candidates (constituencies 19 and 21, Armavir province) campaigning in schools with students and teachers present."

According to Armenian media reports, the practice has been the norm across the country during both the current and previous election campaigns.

The OSCE/ODIHR mission also cited other instances of "the use of administrative resources" by the ruling party, including the announcement by an ambulance of an HHK rally in the southeastern town of Kapan. "OSCE/

Continued on page 6

## Azerbaijan Blackmailing West to Pressure Armenia on Karabakh Conflict

BAKU — "Azerbaijan may rethink its pro-Western stance and realign with 'a new bloc' if it doesn't get more support, particularly regarding Nagorno Karabakh conflict," Bloomberg Businessweek quoted head of foreign relations department of Azerbaijani President's administration as saying.

"The Caspian Sea nation wants Europe and the U.S. to exert pressure on Armenia," Novruz Mammadov said.

According to him, "Azerbaijan has already received a proposal to join another political union."

"We aren't paying attention to those proposals for now. But if it continues like this, we may consider it in five to ten years. We're expecting help from the West on the Karabakh issue," Mammadov said, reminding the "West" that 35% of NATO supplies to Afghanistan are implemented through



Novruz Mammadov

Azerbaijan.

He also accused some Western media of seeking to stoke tensions between Azerbaijan and Iran after Foreign Policy magazine reported last month that his nation had offered some of its airports to Israel for possible air strikes against Iran, citing unnamed U.S. intelligence agents. Azerbaijan has strongly rejected the report.

## Nalbandian Discusses Economic Cooperation, Karabakh Conflict and Iran Nuclear Standoff In Tehran



Iranian President Ahmadinejad welcoming Armenian Foreign Minister Nalbandian

TEHRAN -- On the invitation of Iran's FM Ali Akbar Salehi, Armenian Foreign Affairs Minister Edward Nalbandian arrived in Tehran Sunday on an official visit. And he was received by the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

The two sides discussed the implementation of Armenian-Iranian joint economic programs, and Iran's President stressed the importance of these programs calling for a free trade agreement between the two countries. "Preparing conditions for free trade activities at the two countries' borders will remarkably aid in facilitating trade exchanges and traders' visits," Ahmadinejad said.

In Tehran, Edward Nalbandian also held talks with his Iranian counterpart, Ali Akbar Salehi. They examined the avenues for further improving the friendly ties between both countries, and the activities of the Armenian-Iranian Intergovernmental Commission. They reflected on bilateral cooperation, and exchanged views on expanding the legal framework.

Salehi gave details on the latest developments with respect to Iran's nuclear program and the renewed negotiations with key Western powers as

well as Russia and China.

A Foreign Ministry statement quoted Nalbandian as hailing a "positive trend" which he said emerged at the Istanbul meeting and expressing hope that the interested parties will make further progress at Baghdad.

"Positive signals can be seen in solving Iran's nuclear issue and we hope they will result in a settlement of this issue," the chief Armenian diplomat said on Sunday at an ensuing joint news conference with Salehi, according to the Fars news agency. He also defended Tehran's right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

During the meeting, Armenia's FM briefed his Iranian colleague on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict's settlement talks. They agreed to hold their next meeting in Armenia's capital, Yerevan.

In Tehran, Armenia's FM was also hosted at the Iranian parliament, where he met with the Speaker, Ali Larijani. Nalbandian underscored the effective cooperation between the legislative bodies of Armenia and Iran in strengthening bilateral relations.

FM Edward also met with Saeed Jalili, secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council and the country's Chief Nuclear Negotiator.

## Hrant Dink, Sevag Balikci Murders in Context of Armenian Genocide

ISTANBUL -- Ali Topuz, a reporter for the Turkey-based Radikal newspaper, addressed the causes of the Armenian Genocide.

Begun on April 24, the Armenian Genocide did not end the following day. To understand the causes well, one should study the period from Abdulhamit to the murders of Hrant Dink and Sevag Balikci. The Armenian Genocide in 1915 does not cover the earlier committed murders, Topuz writes.

Abdulhamit's sins are not to be compared with the ones by the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide. However, Abdulhamit's sins remain sins.

The Turkish journalist points out two causes of the Armenian Genocide. One of them is that the principles of the Ittihad ve Terakki (Union and Progress) party were rejected and remained mere theory. They did not keep their prom-

ises, but decided that all the peoples living in the Ottoman Empire must speak one language and practice one religion - socially homogeneous society was to be formed. Abdulhamit was the one to lay the foundations for that.

The so-called Turk-Islam synthesis and Abdulhamit's ideas were used both by Ittihad ve Terakki and, later, by the republic. Minister of the Interior Naim Sahin is just repeating the Ittihad-Kemalist slogan: "The state is true life."

The Armenian Genocide was not committed by Ittihad ve Terakki alone. It was continued. If not so, how did the Hrant Dink murder case reached its present state? Why has not the Uludere tragedy been properly investigated? Why are demands for Kurdish education consistently rejected? Why have the grandsons of Young Turks, Kemalists and Abdulhamit been ruling over the last ten years? Such are the

## Sarkisian Orders Dismantling of Controversial Park Kiosks During Campaigning Tour



Sarkisian touring Mashdots Boulevard Kiosk with Taron Markarian

YEREVAN (Armenianow.com) - In what was likely a pre-election publicity stunt, on May 1 President Serzh Sarkisian visited the Yerevan park that has been a point of environmental protests in the past three months and urged the city mayor, Taron Markarian, accompanying him on the trip to get the "ugly pavilions" dismantled.

"You did everything right, made the right decision on the temporary placement of pavilions. In fact, it all was supposed to be dismantled within two or three years. But, my dear Taron, you can see yourself that this is not so nice, and it would be nice to find a way to dismantle it. That would be the right decision," said President Sarkisian, who is also the leader of the ruling Republican Party of Armenia, now leading his political force's campaign ahead of the May 6 parliamentary elections. The comments appeared on the presidential website along with video provided to television companies.

It is more than 80 days that environmental activists have been regularly on protest in the park off Yerevan's central Mashtots Boulevard trying to prevent the construction of trading pavilions that had earlier been dismantled from the sidewalk of another downtown street as part of the program of the mayor's office aimed at removing illegal shops and kiosks from city streets.

A month ago, well-known scholars joined the young activists, setting up 10 so-called "Dismantling Brigades" that since then have three times attempted to dismantle the pavilions by themselves but each encountered heavy

questions raised by the Turkish journalist.

Hrant Dink, Editor of the Turkey-based Agos newspaper, was murdered in Istanbul on Jan. 19, 2007.

Sevag Balikci was murdered on April 24, 2011, just 23 days before

police cordons. The last such attempt was made on April 29 and it turned nasty as clashes between activists and police resulted in some light injuries on both sides, with seven activists briefly detained.

The dismantlers vowed to make the next attempt on May 6, Election Day. It is this circumstance that many say proved decisive for Sarkisian to visit the site and urge the mayor to end the strife.

Meanwhile, the public organizations dealing with the problem of the Mashtots Park issued a statement saying that the responsibility for the illegal installation of the shops is on the mayor of Yerevan and that power in the city must be returned to its citizens. They also called for the condemnation of what they believe to be police misconduct, instead of calling it achievement and thanking police officers for their service.

"Serzh Sarkisian did not address the rights of Armenian citizens and the protection of the prevailing public interest in any way," protesters' said in their statement, demanding that the decision on construction in the party be officially recognized as null and void.

Member of the first dismantling brigade, blogger Armen Hovhannisan, who was briefly detained during the Sunday action, said that such issues are resolved with the participation of representative bodies and within the framework of the law. He wondered why there was a need to change the decision a couple of days before the elections. They should have waited for the decision of the court, he said.

demobilization. His fiancée told that his commander had brutally beaten him because of 50 liras lost in the military unit. After the incident Sevag lodged a complaint. However, he was threatened and forced into withdrawing his complaint.

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## 97 Years Later, on the Road to Ayash...

BY Pinar Ogunc  
(Radikal, 24 April 2012)

Everything started on that train departing from Haydarpasa on April 24th, 1915. With Ara Sarafian, we followed the prisoners, a few of whom survived and wrote their memoirs. We looked at Ayash through the eyes of these survivors.

"If Talat bey knew what disasters and bereavement we have faced as a family, he would end this situation... My poor wife, you have suffered so much misery because of this tyranny, and now, as a result lost your sight, what police chief would not show pity on you after seeing your condition? But what is the use? Our suffering will always remain with us." (Teotig, Monument of April 11)

Smpad Piurad, an Armenian writer and educator, was on that same train departing from Haydarpasha on April 24th, 1915. He did not have the slightest idea of his doom while heading to the town of Ayash (Ankara province) with a group of people, most of whom were Armenian writers, poets, and journalists. This letter, written to his wife in mid-June, was the last one he wrote.

What happened in 1915? Almost a century later, one still waits for time to cover up the past. As the years go by, we know less about what was done to Armenians in 1915. Those who could easily talk on the issue in the first years of the Turkish republic have remained silent. Because we knew less than we should, we surrendered to a blind stubbornness by way of daily political games. Something precious was taken away from the Turkish nation. We forgot to feel the pain of others. Everything was locked away in the word "genocide", all efforts directed to decrease the number of Armenians who embarrassingly lost their lives. Have we come down to 300 thousand from 800 thousand victims? Even so, where is the pain and shame even if 300 thousand perished?

So many things are discussed but there is no denial of the official historical view related to those Armenians who were arrested and forced onto the train departing from Haydarpasha in 1915. We now know a great deal more about these deportees because of an article, "What Happened in April 24th, 1915?" written in 2008 by the former General Director of State Archives, Yusuf Sarinay, who has since been appointed to the Undersecretariat of the Prime Ministry at the beginning of this year. While denying the ultimate fate of the deportees, Sarinay gave a long list of the men who were sent to Ayash.

Ara Sarafian is a well-known historian in Turkey. His mother's side is from Harput, and his father's side from Tavşanlı (Kutahya). Sarafian, the director of the Gomidas Institute (London), says that he feels himself to be from Harput. That's why, he adds, he addresses the Turkish Government, and not the Armenia one, in my work. He hopes the Gomidas Institute will soon open a branch in Turkey.

Sarafian is also different for other reasons. Why? Because we are on our

The following article was published in the Turkish daily Radikal, on 24 April 2012. It was written by Pinar Ogunc, who accompanied historian Ara Sarafian on a trip to Ayash, on the trail of around 85 Armenian political prisoners who were sent there following the arrests in Constantinople on 24 April 1915. According to Sarafian, 70 of these prisoners were killed in the following few months. His trip was part of a broader project examining these arrests and the ultimate fate of the prisoners concerned.



way to Ayash in April, 2012. "Diaspora Armenians are afraid. They think they will not be left in peace if they come to Turkey. Some of them even think they will be killed. I want to show that one can take the plane to Ankara, rent a car, and drive to Ayash."

### Two Enlightening Memoirs

Sarafian is being accompanied by documentary filmmaker Gagik Karagheuzian. They have worked together for years. Karagheuzian, whose father fled to Iran after his own father was killed, has an Iranian mother. Since very little is known of his family's experiences, what he knows about his family history comes from books and other sources. Sarafian tells Karagheuzian who Sabiha Gokcen was while boarding the aircraft departing from Sabiha Gokcen Airport. This is how the day starts. When we land, Sarafian will drive directly to Ayash, without the need for a map.

What will we find in Ayash? The April 24 [1915] train stopped at Sindjankoy [Sincanköy]. The Ayash prisoners were separated from the Chankiri prisoners. According to Sarafian, the total number of prisoners was around 220, Sarinay states 235.

Around 15 of the 80-85 prisoners taken to Ayash were eventually released because they were not very political. The remaining 71 were alleged conspirators against the state, mostly supporters of the Tashnagtoutiun. "However, these were political charges," Sarafian states, "The Tashnags were a legal party. In the 1908 revolution, they were on the same side as the Union and Progress Party!"

We have the memoirs of prisoners who were released, some published as early as 1919. One memoir was written by Dr. Avedis Nakashian, and the other by Piuzant Bozadjian, a nephew of a well known writer and publisher known as Teotig. They described where the prison was, what life was like inside, and what happened then. With such notes in our hands, we arrive at Ayash, as the car descends a hill.

lady we see in her garden if she knows of an old cemetery nearby. She gives the names of several holy graves. Ayash is a paradise of holy graves. Just think of it, there is even a grave called Soil Father for children who eat soil! A moment later, the woman mentions the cemetery, which just a couple of yards up the road. Perhaps the prison was located where their house is located now. The other possibility is on the other road nearby.

### "Peace at home"

The official Turkish view claims that the Ayash prisoners were held there until end of World War I and then released. But Sarafian says that there was no communication from the prisoners after the summer of 1915 and no trace of them have been found since. Hampartsum Boyadjian (Mourad), a former revolutionary against Abdul-Hamid and a member of the Ottoman parliament, was one of the few who were supposedly tried by a court-martial (and executed). Another group of Ayash prisoners were sent to a court martial in Diyarbakir but never reached that city. They disappeared and were reportedly killed. According to Sarafian, a large group of the remaining Ayash prisoners were sent to Ankara and deported with other Armenians. They too disappeared, while yet another group of around 25 prisoners, were massacred at Ayash Beli, nearby. This is how Nakashian was informed by a Turkish notable about these murders. The prisoners were tied together, marched for two hours, and killed at Ayash Beli. But Sarafian is unable to provide additional evidence. However, on his way back, he finds Ayash Beli (which is not on the map), jumps out of the car, not caring for the sudden rain, and looks at the horizon to take pictures. He thinks he might be amongst the few Armenians who have come to Ayash for almost a century.

While counting his steps in Ayash, in order to locate the prison, something happened which I may say "the director has exaggerated" if I had seen it in a movie. A municipality truck stopped by and the cheerful driver said, "You're just in time. I will fly the

**Continued on page 4**

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## The Armenia Genocide 1915/16

### Selected Documents from the Political Archives of the German Foreign Ministry

By Wolfgang & Sigrid Gust (Ed.)

Our book is dealing in depth with the Armenian Genocide during World War I. It is a compilation of official documents from the German Foreign Ministry at the time when Germany was the most important ally of Turkey. At that time, German consuls were present in most parts of eastern Turkey (except Van), where the majority of Armenians suffered and perished. German diplomats and informants collected eyewitness reports and other material and were able to send all these documents to the German Embassy in Constantinople. As they could use ciphered telegrams which were not accessible even by the Austrian ally, and certainly not by the American diplomats, all documents were sent without any censorship.

Therefore, these reports from the German consuls and their informants give an authentic picture of the deportation and killings of Armenian people in an intensity only comparable to the American documentation. But there is one major difference: the German reports were transferred in real time, whereas most of the American reports were written years later. Another important difference is that the German diplomats were much closer to the Turkish officials than the Americans, due to their political and military partnership.

The reports of the German ambassadors in Constantinople included two aspects. Firstly, they reported directly to Berlin what they had heard from their consuls and informants. Secondly, they collected and forwarded documents in which the interference of the major Turkish politicians (particularly Talaat, Enver, Djemal and Halil) with German acting and thinking was evident.

The documents from inside the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin demonstrate the German policy concerning Turkey and the so called "Armenian question": whereas most of the German consuls and their eyewitnesses very much expressed sympathy for the Ar-

menians, the higher ranking Germans in Berlin were executing German "Realpolitik" in quite another sense. To give one example: After the German Christian community was worried by reports from Turkey, chancellor Bethmann Hollweg promised solidarity with the Christians and therefore also with the Armenians. In reality, he was close to the Turkish ally. In response to a telegram from the German Ambassador Wolff-Metternich asking for less consideration for Turkey but more moral help for the Armenians, Bethmann Hollweg wrote: "Our only aim is to keep Turkey on our side until the end of the war, no matter whether as a result Armenians do perish or not."

In 1919, the German Johannes Lepsius, a well known friend of the Armenians, published a part of these documents, but most of them were manipulated by the German Foreign Ministry. The purpose of this manipulation was to conceal the German co-responsibility due to the ongoing conference in Paris. It is unknown if those manipulations happened with the consent of Lepsius but probably they did not. Lepsius only got copies from the Ministry which he did not compare to the originals.

Our book is subdivided into four parts.

Part 1 compiles documents as testimony of the genocide. For most of the consuls and their informants there was no doubt that all actions were aimed at a complete annihilation of the Armenian people.

Part 2 gives a summary about German affirmations, hesitations and political actions at the German Embassy in Constantinople.

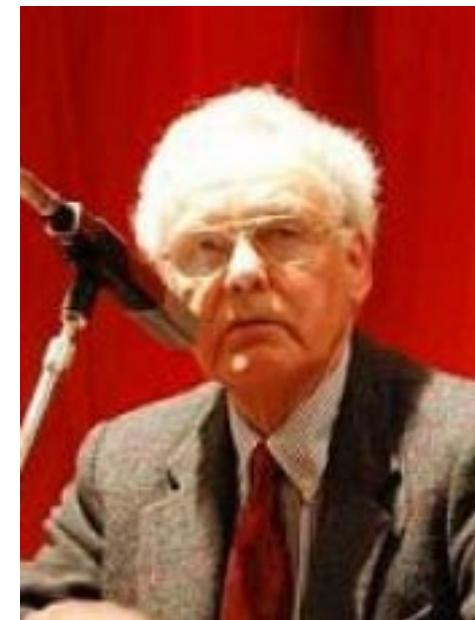
Part 3 deals with actions of important German officers against the Armenian people, including even German orders for deportations.

Finally, part 4 informs about the German political activities in Berlin and Constantinople, culminating in the conclusion that Germany has a clear co-responsibility for the Armenian geno-

cide. This is based on the fact that the Germans finally accepted the deportation of all Armenians (except for those of Constantinople), including women and children, although knowing from the reports of their consuls that this would mean a death-warrant for most of them. While testimonies of the genocide are known from other sources, our documents of German co-responsibility are completely new and have never been published before.

The book will have approximately 800 pages in the original German version (ten percent less in the English version due to translation), consisting of about 650 pages for 240 documents (including 80 published by Lepsius but mostly in a falsified version), an introduction of 100 pages and other elements (preface, index, glossary etc.). If we manage to finance proofreading, typesetting, layout and printing, we could sell the book for Euro 50 each, allowing a high circulation with 2000 copies for Germany and 3000 English copies.

The Zoryan Institute paid 70,000 US\$ for film-copies, a reader-printer and for the translation of about 300 documents. Therefore, the Institute will be mentioned as sponsor on the cover of the English version. Our financial requirements to finish the two books



will be about Euro 10,000 for the remaining translations (introduction, prefaces, index etc) and about Euro 25,000 for proofreading, typesetting, layout and printing of each version, which makes a total of Euro 60,000. In return, this sponsor of this sum will be entitled to design the cover layout of the original German version as well as pages inside both versions.

The cover layout designed by a former Art-Director of the German Publisher Rowohlt could be sent to you if you want.

## 97 Years Later, on the Road to Ayash...

Continued from page 3

flag now." I then realised the distant flag post which seemed as if it were a kilometer tall. It was dangerous to fly the giant flag in such weather. Once, I was told, it flew across to the next hill. But it's April 23rd and mandatory to fly it.

While hoisting the flag, the man shouted, "Don't come closer, it's very dangerous." I waited near an Ataturk monument, where it said "..., peace in the world." No one could climb five meters and erase the first part, "peace at home," but it so has happened, somehow, on its own. Hmm...

### "Let the legislators dispute, not the historians"

"I don't think the Armenian diaspora is seriously interested in all this. Practically none have read Yusuf Sarinay's article discussing and denying the fate of the prisoners who were sent here. There are too many talkers, but those professionals who actually read publications and documents in Turkish are no more than five or six people. I am often criticised because I engage such materials in spite of the official Turkish denialist position. But this is all part of my work. If we are going to make serious assertions about the Armenian Genocide, then we should listen to what is being said. As for the charge of 'genocide' and the assertion 'Let's leave the dispute to the historians,' I say, 'Leave it to the lawyers and judges.' Personally, I use the term genocide because it describes the events of 1915. I have no problem sitting down with historians who do not call it genocide, as long they are sincere and en-

gage in real discussions. The current dispute of whether it's a genocide or not has turned into a game, and it wastes much time."

### Survivors Narrate

Sarafian translates some passages from the memoirs of Dr. Avedis Nakashian.

"The prison was made of wood and measured 6 by 15 meters. There were some people like Kevork Mesrob who had been arrested instead of his son-in-law. It was not clear why an almost blind grocer from Pera, Haig Tiryakian, or the dog-catcher, Artin Asadourian had been brought there.

"We had to share our chores. Some prepared the fire, some did the cooking. We even gave special titles to some people. For example, Samuelov was the minister responsible for dishwashing. We had singing and poetry reading. There were famous poets like Siamanto and Levon Larents who had translated the Koran into Armenian. They were discussions about politics, life and the arts. The famous illustrator "Gigo" (Krikor Torosian) started drawing daily caricatures. He even thought about publishing them. It did not happen." Gigo was killed like most of the other prisoners.

Nakashian wrote how they prepared a telegram to Talat Pasha stating that they were innocent and imploring for Talaat's intercession. They argued about the use of the word "implore," as some people thought it was too demeaning. In the meantime, news of massacre and executions had started to come from different places. This was when despair started.

## International Observers Report Irregularities

Continued from page 1

ODIHR LTOs also noted staff from the local tax office discussing that they had been released early from work on condition that they attended a Republican rally in Talin (Aragatsotn province) on 20 April," it said.

Also catching the mission's attention was the distribution of tractors by Gagik Tsarukian, a wealthy businessman leading the Prosperous Armenia Party, a member of the governing coalition. Prosperous Armenia critics have denounced the practice as a form of vote buying banned by the Electoral Code.

The OSCE observers believe, however, the tractors have appeared in at

least six Armenian provinces "de facto as part of the party's campaign." According to a Prosperous Armenia brochure, the party attached importance to the creation of tractor stations in all provinces," they noted.

The mission was otherwise generally satisfied with the course of the campaign so far. "Contestants are generally able to campaign and have been provided with free venues and poster space," says its report. It also praises the Central Election Commission and its territorial divisions for working "in an open and transparent manner."

The OSCE/ODIHR mission is the largest international team to observe and assess the conduct of the upcoming elections. It is due to have about 300 members by polling day.







## ԲԱՐԵԿԱՄՈՒԹԵՆԵՆ ՍԵՐԻՆՉՈՒ ԿԱՆՑԻՆՔ ԱՌԱՑՎԱԾ ՎՆԱՍՆԵՐՈՒ

Վաստահութիւնը, անկեղծութիւնն ու հաղորդակցութիւնը հիմնական գործօններէն են կայուն բարեկամութիւն կերտելու, ինչպէս նաեւ իտէալագոյն տարրերն են սիրոյ առողջ յարաբերութիւն կերտելու: Այն զգացումները, որոնցմէ սկիզբ կ'առնէ բարեկամութիւնը, միեւնոյն են որոնք սէրը կը հիմնեն, որոնց վրայ կ'աւելնան անշուշտ մարմնային ու զգացական դրաւչութիւնը: Այս պարագային կարելի կ'ըլլա՞յ բարեկամութենէն սիրոյ անցնիլ: Ինչո՞ւ համար երկու բարեկամ կողմէրը կը վախնան արկածախնդրութիւն կատարելու իրենց բարեկամութեան գծով եւ դէպի հանգրուան քայլելու: Արդեօք գոյութիւն ունի՞ն որոշ միջոցներ, որոնք կ'օգնեն այդ բարեկամներուն անցնելու դէպի զգացական յարաբերութիւն, առանց ուեւ մէկուն վնասներ պատճառելու:

\* Զգացումներդ բարեկամի մը տեղեկացնելը դժուար հարց մըն է եւ այդ մէկը կրնայ խախտել բարեկամութեան հիմքերը: Հետեւաբար, պէտք է լաւ մտածես այս տիպի որեւէ քայլ առնելէ առաջ եւ պէտք է դուն քեզի հարց տաս, թէ ինչո՞ւ իրավու հետաքրքրուած ես, ի՞նչ բանը քեզի կը մղէ իրեն կառչելու: Արդեօք սովորութիւնը եւ իր ներկայութեան հանգիստ զգաց՞ն է հիմքը, թէ կայ ուրիշ զգացում մը, որ աւելի խորք ունի:

\* Եթէ որոշում առնես խոստովանելու, պէտք է ձգտիս աւելի երկար ժամանակ անցընելու այդ երկրորդ անձին հետ, որպէսզի հեղասահօրէն փոխադրութիք ժամադրուելու եւ տեսալցելու հանգրուանին, այս եթէ իր կողմէ որոշ ներգործութիւն նկատես: Սակայն, զգոյշ եղիր իրեն այս հարցով ուղակիօրէն հարցում ուղելէ իր բարեկամներուն ներկայութեան կամ ժամադրութիւն ինդրելու գծով «զլուխը ցացնելէ»: Նախընտրելի է քու զգացումներուդ մասին ճամբար զգացականօրէն պատրաստես, զինք նեղ կացութեան չմատնելու:

\* Որպէս յաջորդ քայլ, կրնաս զինք անուղղակիօրէն առիթի մը հրաւիրել, երբ երկուքով առանձին կ'ըլլաք, ինչպէս օրինակի համար շրջանին մէջ գտնուող նոր ճաշարան մը փորձէլ: Իսկ անոր մօտ ներգործութիւն տեսնելու պէտք է կրնաս առիթի մը հրաւիրել տարրութիւն դուրս մը հետեւաբար, տղամարդը պէտք չէ տատամի իր համակրանքը յայտնելու իր բարեկամուհին նկատմամբ եւ յարմար առիթը կը սպասէ այս զգացումը զգացական կամ մարմնային յարաբերութեան վերածութիւնը գոյացնէ: Հետեւաբար, տղամարդը պէտք չէ տատամի իր համակրանքը յայտնելու իր բարեկամուհին կատամամբ (գոյութեան պարագային), եւ կինն ալ պէտք չէ վախնայ անոր բարեկամութիւնը կորսնցնելէ: Շատ անհամաժամ է զգացումները բիւրեղացնել եւ ժամանակ չի կորսնցնել, որովհետեւ ձգձգելը հոգեկան վնասակար ճնշումը կը յարաջացնէ, որ կրնայ յարաբերութեան վնաս հայցնել եւ զայն այլանդակել, մասնաւնդ եթէ բարեկամութեան եւ սիրոյ միջեւ գտնուող նորմակ եւ սեւ դիմէրը:

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**Dr. Anahid Ekmekdjian**  
Chiropractor

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Եթե առողջութիւնը մեր մտահոգութիւնն է

## ԲԱՆԱՍԵՌ ԶԱՐԵ ՄԵԼՔՈՆԵԱՆԻ ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿԻՆ

### Շարունակուածէջ 15-էն

Ցէջ հասած է նոյնիսկ խորագիրի եւ խորհրդանշիչի համեմատութեան: Անկից բղիող տագնապը տիրական է թէեւ, սակայն տակաւին այդ չի նշանակեր, թէ յուետեսութեան մութքաւիդներուն մնացուն բնակիչն է բանաստեղծը: Ան պարզապէս՝ որպէս բանական եւ իրատես մարդ, չուզեր ինքնախաբութեան մշուներով պարուբել ինզինքնք: Նախատեսելով՝ նախապարաստուին է իրը: Ոչ թէ մահուան, այլ՝ կեանքի յետագայ՝ արդիւնաւէ՛տ դասաւորման: Մահը մահով յաղթահարելու տեսակ մը բանաստեղծական գիտունարքէ այդ, զայն չէզոքացնելու ուազմավարութիւն: Որովհետեւ խորքին մէջ կեանքը սիրող, զայն հազար ու մէկ երանքներով յաղթահարելով բանաստեղծն ու սքանչէլի սիրերգակը ա'լ հոգեվիճակ կը թէլադրեն մեզի: Եւ որովհետեւ նաեւ անոր համար՝ որ շատ յաճախ ալ ան մահուան մօտեցած է զուարթափուութեան, ժափսի եւ նոյնիսկ հեգնանքի արհամարհամնքով ալ: Անոր մէջ տեսած ու երգած է կեանքը ինքնարքի վերանձիւութիւնը: Ժատամուրու մերժերէն ծարածակուող նոր ծաղկեանքն է սիրերին մասնէլի սիրահարէ բացէ ի բաց, թէ՝ «Ես՝ կեանքի՝ սիրահար՝» Մահի կը սիրեմ՝ ապրելո՛ւ համար:

Ու մահուան ետեւէ՛ն կը վազեմ շարունակի:-

Մենանի՝ «ապրած ըլլալու» փա'ստը՝ միակ...»

Տակաւին երկար է շարքը Մելքոնեանի բանաստեղծական սեւեռումներուն: Բաց հարկ է աւարտել՝ անդրադապնալու նաեւ բանաստեղծական իր ուրուն արուեստին:

Զարեկ Մելքոնեան Բանաստեղծէ տարերքով, յորդող անսապատ շունչով եւ լայն, պէտքափառ տեսադաշտով: Իր խուզարպող, միշտ հարցադրող, անտողոք յարատեւութեամբ հետապնդող մտածողական խորացումները արժուուն պահանջներն են որ կը համար միշտ կը դասաւորեն զգացական իր աշխարհին հոսքն ու ընթացքը: Իսկ իր հարուստ, ճկուն ու շքեղ լեզուն ու ոճը, հեգասահ ու ընական գեղեցկութեան եւ զմայլանքի վայելքները կը պարգետեն մեզի:

Զարեկ Մելքոնեան Բանաստեղծէ առաջնաբան է գլխագիրով:

Բանաստեղծը պէտք չունի որեւէ աւելորդ մակդիրի: Բայց ինքնին մակդիր մըն է՝ չնորհի եւ կոչումի: Իսկ իսկական բանաստեղծը չի՝ մեռնիր, կը մնայ միշտ երիտասարդ:

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