

# ՀԱՅ ՇԱՐԺՈՒՄ ARMENIAN ACTION

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The newspaper of the California State University, Fresno Armenian Students Organization

Armenian Studies Program,  
CSUF, Fresno, CA 93740

April 24th silent vigil

## CSUF, ASO to share free-speech area

By Mark Malkasian

The Armenian Students Organization and the CSUF administration agreed Friday, March 28, to avoid a possible angry confrontation on April 24.

April 24, the international day of mourning for the two million victims of the Armenian Genocide, coincides this year with the opening day of CSUF's Vintage Days festivities. Initially, the ASO was denied permission to even pass out fliers on the fringes of the free-speech area during the Vintage Days parade.

The ASO, however, took the issue up the administration ladder and Friday, Dr. William Corcoran, Dean of Student Affairs, approved the ASO's plans for a silent vigil in the free-speech area.

"We wouldn't do this for any other group," Corcoran told ASO representatives Bryan Bedrosian, Barlow Der Mugrdachian, Mark Malkasian and John Tufenkjian.

"But considering the significance of your cause, we are willing to compromise usual policy on this issue," he said.

Corcoran stressed that he was chiefly concerned with the progress of the Vintage Days parade. Anything that impedes its movement might disrupt the day's schedule, he said.

In accordance with Corcoran's request, the ASO's vigil will not block the parade route but will assemble near the water fountain in the east end of the free-speech area.

A check of the spring-semester calendar in January first revealed the

### An appeal for support

The ASO's April 24 silent vigil offers a rare opportunity for all Fresno Armenians to collectively share the meaning of the 1915 Genocide with the Fresno community.

The vigil, however, will not succeed without the massive participation of the Armenian community. With that in mind, the ASO urges that all Armenians join with them in commemorating the two million martyrs of the Armenian Genocide.

The vigil, encircling a cross, will begin at 11 a.m. in the east end of the free-speech area, near the fountain. The ASO expects several local clergymen to join in the service.

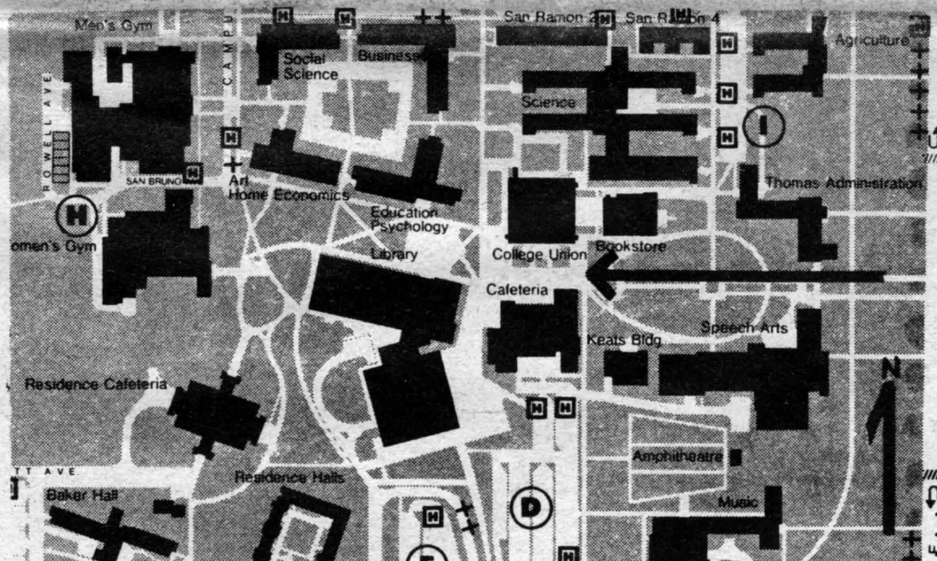
The ASO's April 24th Committee

has initiated a campaign to increase campus awareness of the Armenian Genocide.

The April 24th Committee also encourages suggestions from the community regarding the vigil service. For further information call Bryan Bedrosian at 225-3741 or Mark Malkasian at 439-0673.

"I fully support the ASO's vigil," said UACC Chairman Allan Y. Jendian. "I plan to attend and I hope to see many others there also. Armenians must never forget the two million martyrs. And neither must we allow the Fresno community to forget."

Campus parking for April 24 will be free.



The ASO's silent vigil will be held in the free-speech area on April 24, beginning at 11 a.m. Above is a map of the free-speech area. The arrow points to the vigil area. Campus parking is free on April 24.

potential conflict. Prior to that time, both the ASO and the campus administration were unaware of the problem.

The ASO brought the matter to the attention of the Vintage Days Committee late in January. Last year the ASO distributed fliers and black armbands to commemorate April 24 and the organization requested permission to conduct similar activities this year.

The Vintage Days Committee, however, said the free-speech area was off limits at noon, indicating that tightly planned schedules allowed no flexibility.

The issue surfaced again in early March when the ASO addressed a letter to Sharon Weber, Vintage Days Advisor. The letter was also sent to CSUF President Harold Haak, Corcoran,

Dr. Dickran Kouymjian, Director of the Armenian Studies Program, Associated Students President Dave Ditor and the editors of the "Insight" and "The Daily Collegian." The letter read as follows:

Dear Ms. Weber:

The letter before you concerns an issue of vital importance to the CSUF Armenian Student Organization and Armenians everywhere.

Perhaps you are unaware of the fact that April 24, the official opening of Vintage Days, conflicts with the international day of mourning of the Armenian community. On this day, 65 years ago, the Turkish government began the systematic extermination of the Armenian people. The Turkish plan of annihilation resulted in the deaths of two million Armenians and eradication of the Armenian nation from its ancient homeland. To this day, the Turkish government refuses to acknowledge this heinous act against humanity.

The ASO appreciates the significance of Vintage Days at CSUF and we trust that CSUF administrators recognize the significance of the Armenian Genocide. Unfortunately, the scheduling of Vintage Days 1980 prevents CSUF Armenians

## ASO to host student convention

The CSUF Armenian Students Organization will host the second Armenian College Students Convention next year.

The first such gathering of Armenian students was held February 15-17 at Columbia University in New York. More than 115 students from 10 states and Canada attended this landmark conference. CSUF was represented by four delegates: ASO President John Tufenkjian, ASO Vice President Jim Karagosian, Cindy Avakian, former ASA president at UC Berkeley, and Dr. Dickran

Kouymjian, chairman of the Armenian Studies Program at CSUF.

The participants talked, argued, heard letters from New York Mayor Ed Koch and Ronald Reagan, and came away with a noteworthy consensus on issues vital to the Armenian-American community. The students were unanimously opposed to continued diversions among Armenians. The Church schism and rivalries among organizations failed to factionalize the students. Rather, the convention called for Armenian unity and an end to internecine conflict.

Secondly, the students were concerned with the survival of Armenians in America. Nearly everyone agreed that assimilation threatens to consume a large portion of the Armenian-American community and must be stalled. Involvement in Armenian organizations stressing career placement, professional service and internships was suggested as a way to re-instill Armenian identity.

Finally, the American political process was viewed as an important vehicle for the pursuit of the Armen-

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# A closer look at Armenian terrorism

By Mark Malkasian

The Armenian Question has reached a critical juncture.

At issue: How should we pursue the Armenian Question?

Through 1) briefcase-toting lobbyists hosting champagne brunches, or through 2) sinister gunmen belonging to organizations with sinister-sounding names?

The lobbyists tell us that they are making progress. They send us photos of prominent Armenians posing next to government officials in the Oval Office. The terrorists tell us they are making progress. They send us photos of bullet-ridden bodies heaped on European sidewalks.

Both the lobbyists and the terrorists share much in common. Both consider the Turks enemy No. 1 (although they consider each other enemy No. 2). Both are working toward the re-establishment of the Armenian homeland (I presume). And both have pursued a rather predictable and unimaginative course.

The lobbyists have been criticized for their "hypocrisy" and "insincerity." (In terms of sacrifice and dedication, attending champagne brunches cannot compare with sleeping in dingy tenements with a .38 automatic under your pillow.) We are, of course, all familiar with the "lobbyist" type. He may be our neighbor, or the lawyer who handles our income-tax returns. Generally, he's like "us" (or at least like the image of "us"). He wears fairly conservative business suits, always gives a hand at church functions and graciously asks local politicians to put in a good word about "the Armenian" in their next foreign-affairs speech. The "lobbyist" type is a good man. Obviously, he does possess a genuine interest in the Armenian Question, even if he perhaps does not fully perceive the political ramifications. But, plainly, our likable Mr. Armenian lobbyist is the natural fall guy for the failings of the Armenian people.

When something goes wrong -- when President Carter attends a Jewish observance of the Holocaust on April 24 instead of meeting with Armenians or when the "Christian Science Monitor" groups Armenians with Muslims -- we attack our community leaders. And, of course, with all their goodwill and hand shaking, they take our abuse, almost gladly. They are public figures, threatening to no one, and inevitably they become targets of Armenian frustration.

The terrorist, however, is perceived quite differently.

"Armenian terrorist" -- the term itself seems incongruent, especially to more staid Armenian-Americans.

Aside from the immediate reaction of shock, we offer no criticism of the Armenian terrorist. He, of course, cannot be identified. We only see his work -- the occasional bodies of Turkish diplomats bobbing to the surface of our daily newspaper. It all adds to the mystique.

Occasionally, a community leader will lament that the terrorists are destroying the "Armenian image," overlooking the fact that most Armenians, even most Fresnoans, know nothing about Armenians beyond shish kebab and Middle-Eastern accents.

Clearly, the terrorist question demands a more thorough analysis, something more substantial than mute indignation can provide. It may make us squirm and sweat a bit but the terrorist question must be confronted -- intelligently, seriously and, most important, critically.

## A primer on terrorism

For some, the terrorist question is simple: Murder is morally wrong and cannot be condoned, even in the pursuit of a just cause. This is my position. The argument, however, does not end there. The nations of the world do not operate on the basis of morality, certainly not a morality that questions the power of the state to murder.

Therefore, the terrorist question and the Armenian Question must also be debated as a political issue.

Terrorists must be assumed to be rational people. Obviously, they have objectives -- objectives that somehow justify murder as a means to an end. Terrorists who share common objectives form organizations -- "strength in numbers, division of labor," etc. When terrorists attract enough support, or enough power, they may form governments, thus providing a legal sanction for murder.

The issue of human life matters little once one accepts the premise that the means justify the end. Murder is but one of many means. However, it has become a common tool of terrorism (and government).

Basically, terrorist groups pursue one of three objectives:

1. **COERCION:** Compel the government to grant concessions through a war of attrition. The aim is not to overthrow the government but to simply outlast it. Terrorists strike at the vital interests of the state in hopes of convincing the government that resistance is futile. The terrorists also hope that the people will eventually become demoralized and concede defeat. The Zionist Irgun employed coercive terrorism against the British in Palestine. Today it is practiced by the IRA in Northern Ireland and the Baluchs in Southwest Pakistan. Armenians cannot expect to pressure the Turks into establishing an Armenian homeland through coercive terrorism. Turkey's internal problems -- 2,500 deaths in the past two years from political violence and an economy on the brink of bankruptcy -- overshadow any injuries Armenian terrorists might be able to inflict.

2. **PROVOCATION:** Spark revolution by destabilizing the government. These terrorist acts are intended to contribute to the general atmosphere of confusion and undermine the people's confidence in the government. The Social Revolutionaries practiced this method in Tsarist Russia. Modern adherents include the Red Brigade (Italy), the Weathermen (United States) and Turkey's own leftists and rightists. If Armenians hope to provoke the collapse of the Turkish government, terrorism is certainly not appropriate. The present regime is much more likely to succumb through its own ineptitude, without a nudge by Armenian terrorism. In fact, Armenian-perpetrated assassinations may indeed arouse Turkish nationalism and serve as a catalyst for national solidarity.

3. **PUBLICITY:** Attract attention through the media. This approach has developed simultaneously with the emergence of the mass media. International publicity is expected to arouse international sympathy. Terrorist targets are selected for their "media" value. The South Moluccans (in the Netherlands) and the Croatians (plane hijackings in the United States) used this technique in the 1970s. It is largely a weapon of the powerless.

Presumably, Armenian terrorism is designed to arouse international attention and sympathy. (Although the terrorists would undoubtedly insist that Armenians must be self-sufficient and cannot rely on the perfidious Western powers.) Armenian terrorism has succeeded somewhat in raising world consciousness regarding the Armenian Question. Assassination reports routinely contain an almost obligatory reference to the Armenian Genocide and the death of "800,000...one million...one and a half million...or many" Armenians. The media, however, is a fickle political vehicle. The Turkish government has only to fill newspaper libraries with "Turkish historical interpretations" of the Armenian Genocide. And, evidently, the Turks are already aware of this technique. Recently, a "New York Times" article by Marvin Howe quoted Turkish sources exclusively in an overview of Armenian terrorism and the Genocide. ("The New York Times" syndicate circulates throughout the US and throughout the world.)

Among the quotes attributed to Turkish scholars and journalists were:

- "Armenians probably killed as many Turks as Turks did Armenians in earlier massacres - about one million on both sides."

- "most of my family was killed by Armenians. My grandfather, who was from a village near Van, tells how when he was 16, his father was killed by Armenian rebels and along with thousands of other Turks fled south with his 4-year-old brother and mother, who died on the way."

- "The Armenian community is not against the Turkish people - there are only a few hundred Armenians against the Turks."

- "The Armenian Question is over and has been for years."

And this comes from one of America's most reputable newspapers. Clearly, if the Armenian Question is to be decided in the Western press, the US State Department, military exigencies - and time - are on the side of the Turks. The truth would become submerged in agonizing and fruitless debate. Yes, we have bundles of documents - all verified and some even supplied by Turkish sources. The Turks, however, can submit their own documents, falsified and deceitfully manufactured, but nonetheless authentic in appearance. And if the Turks need scholarly support they can turn to such "objective" professors as UCLA's Stanford Shaw. In the eyes of the media - and consequently the eyes of the world - the first genocide of the 20th century could be reduced to another Balkanized, ethnic squabble in some remote corner of the world. Armenians would control neither the ammunition nor the participants of a media battle.

## Justifying murder

Few Armenians have questioned the wisdom of Armenian terrorism. Generally, we approach terrorism as a "kill or not to kill" issue, with little attention paid to the Armenian Question. The terrorists themselves may have applied similar logic: first deciding that the Armenian Genocide justified the destruction of human life and then directing their conclusion at Turkish diplomats.

Undoubtedly, the Armenian Question ranks highly among terrorist causes. The Armenian Genocide was a horrendous crime - a crime compounded by Turkish

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## The apathy of CSUF Hyes

By Bill Erysian

It has always been the policy of this newspaper to serve as a forum for the viewpoints generated by members of the Armenian Students Organization of California State University, Fresno. Indeed, "Hye Sharzhoom" (Armenian Action) provides a distinct opportunity for all Armenian students to exercise their right of free expression.

Although the ASO has witnessed a steady growth in the past two years, "Hye Sharzhoom" continues to represent the opinions of only a small minority of the group. This type of imbalance should not exist.

In order for a newspaper to operate as an effective and valid organizational organ, it requires constant input from its members. A greater degree of participation, therefore, is urged of the many Armenian students this newspaper belongs to.

It's crucial that members of the ASO recognize the advantages of using the "Hye Sharzhoom."

Unlike other minority newspapers

on the CSUF campus, "Hye Sharzhoom" operates on a fairly independent basis from the Associated Student Senate. Apart from the budget allocation the club receives from the Senate, this newspaper has few restraints on its contents. The paper operates as a direct voice of the ASO and the Armenian Studies Program.

With the emergence of the ASO as a nationally recognized group, the responsibilities of its members have increased. The ASO received a raise in its budget from \$1,000 to \$1,750, and also plans to host the 1981 Armenian College Students Convention.

As the group flourishes, so should the exchange of ideas. What better way than to take advantages of the services of a publication that has the largest distribution of any Armenian newspaper in the nation.

"Hye Sharzhoom" urges equality of expression within the ASO. In turn, the contribution of more ideas serves to boost the awareness of Armenians and foster a spirit of progress.



# Letters to the Editor

## What's wrong with Hyes in the 'melting pot'?

*This letter is in response to the Opinion article that appeared in the January 11, 1980 issue of the Hye Sharzhoom.*

I have always been proud and aware of my Armenian background. I feel that it sort of sets me apart from a lot of other people that I know and interact with. Many people feel the same way for similar reasons. They may be Mexican-Americans, Afro-Americans or German-Americans. These labels are looked upon by many as distinguishing characteristics. The people may feel a certain pride for this distinction. They should.

The United States of America has been good to the Armenian people, and we have been good to this country. As with other groups the road has not always been smooth. We overcame the initial discrimination and have done very well in our new home. There are certain groups that have yet to have the success that we have had, and we should be aware of that. Too often some Armenian-Americans forget about the kind of discrimination that they suffered when they first came to this country. Oh yes, they'll still tell you about what it was like being called "dirty Armenian" and feeling the hatred that was directed at them by persons who had arrived earlier in this country than they. Unfortunately, now that many of us who were lucky enough to have "made it" have done so, we forget. There are others who are still below us on the economic ladder. They should not be forgotten.

The Opinion article decried the fact that Armenians are being assimilated. True, we are. I am now an American, not an Armenian. Yes, I do feel a strong bond to my past culture, as most Armenian-Americans do. This is reflected in the strength of my church and the rich culture that has been transplanted to the San Joaquin Valley from Armenia many years ago.

What I object to is the portraying of the assimilation that is taking place as some sort of evil thing. There must and will be a certain amount of assimilation taking place as years go by. It's inevitable. If the U.S. were to maintain all of the cultures in their original form we would have a bitter and stratified society. I need only point to Quebec Province in Canada as an example.

In the San Joaquin Valley there are some 70 ethnic groups represented. I think that this is great. But, could you imagine what would happen if all of these groups decided to start emphasizing themselves above all others at the same time? We Armenians are not the only group that has gotten a raw deal in history. What if all these groups decide to reject the so-called "sterile WASP traditions" of the U.S. That would make the problems that the Canadians face with Quebec look like a Sunday school picnic.

Although I am not a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) I do resent that label when it is stated in the phrase "sterile WASP traditions." Quite frankly, I don't think that there is much that is sterile about the traditions of the U.S., no matter what group we are talk-

ing about. The U.S. has a richly diverse ethnic tradition. I mean that whether we're talking about any of the white, black, red, brown or yellow people that live in this country. It is inherently unfair for anyone to say that those traditions are any less rich than our own.

In this Opinion article it was stated that 64 years after the "Armenocide" the Armenian-American was still a refugee and essentially homeless. I am not homeless in any sense of the word. After speaking with members of my own family and others, I don't feel that they agree with that statement either. We are secure and happy to live our lives in peace, to worship as we chose, and to do just about anything else that we wish to do. If that is the definition of a refugee, so be it.

It was also stated that one must choose to be an Armenian or an American. Here is my choice: I am an American of Armenian descent. I have a rich heritage to call on in a land that still does exist in name and reality. Even in the Soviet Union our people cannot be held back. We have one of the most independent republics in the U.S.S.R. True, it is not a perfect existence from the Armenian nationalists' standpoint, but groups such as these are seldom, if ever, satisfied. The more radical of these persons soil the reputation of all persons of Armenian descent by doing such things as murdering Turkish diplomats and their family members. These are not Armenian nationalists, they are blood-thirsty murderers and should be treated as such.

The U.S. government came under attack in the Opinion piece for resuming arms sales to Turkey. This criticism is uninformed and short-sighted. While Turkey is not my favorite country historically (My grandfather on my father's side narrowly escaped with his brother from Armenia when the rest of his family was murdered in 1915-16 by the Turkish Army) that arms' deal was the price negotiated by our government for the use of Turkish soil so we could keep our military listening posts in operation. Those bases we have are used to tell us if the Soviets are obeying arms' control treaties among other things. They have become even more important since the loss of our listening posts in Iran. Besides, the government that was responsible for the murder of my grandfather's family is not the one that runs Turkey today. Hatred for hatred's sake has never brought a person back from the grave. In this case the only thing that it would accomplish would be to allow the Soviet Union a little more freedom to do as it pleases.

One of the headlines that appeared over the Opinion article was the question: "will Hyes fall into the 'melting pot'?" My answer to that question is that we fell into that pot long ago. Yes, we are not as Armenian as we used to be. But, we have given our culture to many people in the United States. We have not become poorer for this. We have instead enriched the American stewpot with our influence. At the same time I have become familiar with other

peoples' cultures and I know that I am a better person for it. The time has come for all those who comprise the 'melting pot' of America to raise their heads with pride. Cultural identity is a good thing. Not just for Armenian-Americans, but for everyone. We must remember one thing, however; as proud as we are of our past, we are Americans and even greater things lie in the future-- if we work together.

Tom Bohigian

## Defining Armenian and American nationalism

Two opinion articles have been written to the Hye Sharzhoom. The first letter appeared in the Jan. 11, 1980 issue and the second letter is in this edition of the Hye Sharzhoom. Both articles take very idealistic and opposite views on whether we should be classified as Armenians or Americans.

In the first article "Assimilation Threatens Armenian-American's" the author states that there is a dual identity in the life of the Armenians and we must now choose to be either Armenian or American. A good Armenian cannot be a good American, he said. Rather than confront this identity crisis many Armenian-Americans have chosen to become "better" Americans.

The second author, Tom Bohigian, says he is an American first, but makes it clear that he still has a strong bond to his past culture, as do most Armenian-Americans.

Both articles present interesting views, but why should we even make a choice? It seems that both authors are confused with nationality and citizenship. America gave us the opportunity to prosper and our cultural background gave us the initiative to succeed. Trying to compare the two would be crass.

This country is a melting pot. Having the attitude that we should give up our cultural ties to fight solely for the American dream or solely fight to free Armenia are both idealistic views. To accomplish anything in this country we must have a combination of both views. However, many Armenian-Americans have the "look forward" attitude, which is we're proud of our past, but we must look forward and forgive and forget.

I ask you how can you forgive a crime that is non-existent in the eye's of its perpetrator and forget that two million Armenians were massacred.

To this day the Turkish government claims that the death of two million Armenians was due to a revolutionary war and bad environmental conditions, not a genocide. Their effort to rewrite history is unjust.

Until the Turks and the rest of the world recognize the massacre of two million Armenians our accomplishments as a culture will never exceed our heinous loss.

Warren Paboojian

## Praise from 'Uhuru'

Dear Editors:

I recently had the opportunity to read an edition of the "Hye Sharzhoom," and I must congratulate you and your staff for putting together a very enlightening interesting publication. Being a Black student, I was especially pleased with interview with Professor George. The interview illustrated to some degree the relationship between Armenians and Blacks in America. I believe that although the Black experience and history is somewhat unrelated to that of the Armenian people, Blacks and Armenians do share some common goals.

In conclusion, I would again like to congratulate you on your work, and I look forward to reading more of your newspaper.

David Booker

Editor, "Uhuru na Umoja"

## Fall course meets GE requirements

A new, general-education course in Armenian Studies will be offered at CSUF this fall.

The course, entitled "Introduction to Armenian Studies," will be found under the new "Armenian Studies" listing. The course number is ARM S 10. Dr. Dickran Kouymjian, who will teach the course, received approval from the university's General Education Committee to have the three-credit course count as part of the G.E. requirement under the Social Sciences category for all students.

Meeting at prime time on Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 1010-1100, the class will introduce students to various areas of Armenian studies: history, literature, language, art, politics, Church history and doctrine, the Armenian Question and Genocide, and the Diaspora. Students will also become acquainted with various library resources in Armenian studies, bibliography and historical methodology, and research techniques and problems.

Other courses to be taught in the fall semester include: History 108T, Armenian History (3 credits) MWF, 1210-1300; Armenian 1A, Introduction to Armenian language (4 credits) MTWF, 1500-1600; Armenian Studies 50T, American Writers of Armenian Origin (1 credit) TH, 1910-2000; and Ethnic Studies 130T, Armenian Art (1 credit) Saturdays, Oct. 4 and 11, 0830-1630. Community members may attend any of these courses through the University Extension Division by paying \$39.00 per credit, or, if they wish to attend without earning credit, they may take advantage of the Armenian Studies Program special half-price sale of only \$20.00 per credit. For further information call the Armenian Studies Office, 487-2832.



# Tavloo, pinochle and khema on peda Asbarez hall: 'Exactly as I imagined it'

By Bryan Bedrosian

The Asbarez hall. All my life I had heard of the Asbarez hall - that mythical place where old Armenian men go to play cards and tavloo, smoke, drink Armenian coffee, and read Armenian newspapers.

This past month I went to visit the Asbarez hall on several occasions to see if my imagination was correct.

My first impressions of the hall were somewhat of a letdown. What I saw was simply a plain brick building located behind an alley with the faded words, "Asbarez hall," written in Armenian and English.

As I opened the door, however, my disappointment was instantly replaced by the smell of cigars, the slap of cards on the tables, the clatter of dice hitting the tavloo boards and the voices of old men arguing with one another in Armenian.

Entering the hall, I realized that this place was exactly as I imagined it; old men dressed in suits and ties, smoking cigars and playing tavloo or cards on old kitchen tables and sitting on old chairs.

On the walls hung pictures of Armenian heroes, such as General Antranig; off in the corner sat a piano; off in another corner, the kitchen; and in front - a small stage.

The first people to greet me were Dickran, the manager, and Apo. Apo is a frequent visitor of the hall. He treated me to lunch. During and after lunch we did a lot of talking about Armenian problems in general and the hall in particular.

I remarked that I noticed a lot of younger men like him were present that day. He said that the younger

men enjoy coming on Saturdays for lunch, a little tavloo, card playing, and visiting with their friends. He commented that this was how a lot of the older people started. In their younger days they would stop by on

Saturdays for lunch and eventually they became Asbarez hall regulars.

I also asked him if the numbers of people had increased or decreased over the years. He said that during the 1960's only the old people were

coming. With the start of the 1970's however, and the influx of Armenians from overseas, business picked up. The hall was one of the few places in town where Armenian was the prevalent language, a more familiar atmosphere for newcomers. In fact, the hall is now open Wednesday nights for the young people, he said.

Most of these young people are Armenians from overseas and they consider the hall a social center. These young people, he said, have rejuvenated the life of the hall.

After a few more cups of Armenian coffee and some more talk I left Apo to talk with Dickran. While I was talking with Apo I kept hearing the old men shout, "Dickran sourj indzee per!" "Dickran beera indzee per!" Dickran would then go to the kitchen and return with their requests. But Dickran was more than a waiter. He was also a combination fix-it man, host, and bookkeeper. With the help of his wife Ani, the cook, Dickran has managed the hall for about two years.

I asked him to talk a little bit about the older people who visit. He told me that the average age was about 75 and many were in their 90's. He also told me that many of the old men come everyday, seven days a week, staying from opening at 8:30 a.m. to closing at 5 p.m. You could even find them in here on Sunday mornings, playing cards of tavloo, he said.

I noticed behind him a paper which read: "tavloo - 30¢, fonti - 40¢, rummy - 35¢, and pinochle - 35¢." Dickran explained that this was the cost the hall charged to play. Whoever lost would normally end up paying for the game.

Saturdays are always the busiest day, he said, since it is the only day lunch is served. The lunch? Why khema on peda bread, of course.

After talking with Dickran I wandered around the hall, sitting at one card game, then the next, watching and listening to the men as they played. At one card game I sat at, the men were all dressed in suits and ties, smoking cigars, bantering back and forth in Armenian, "I passed my turn to you," "Wait your turn," "I'm going to butcher you next game!"

They would play tavloo, yelling out the numbers in Turkish, "eki, bear," they believed the harder they slapped the cards, the better chance they would have of winning.

I returned to the Asbarez hall on several other occasions and I thoroughly enjoyed my visits. Just watching the old men yell and laugh in Armenian made me feel as if I were in a different place and time. Perhaps a coffee house, or "sourjarran," in Armenia at the turn of the century.

## Convention:

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ian Question. Participation in the American system was not considered a snub of Armenian identity but rather an effort to "make your ethnicity and national identity work together," as Mayor Koch noted.

The core of the conference revolved around 10 thought-provoking seminars organized by the Columbia Armenian Club. Dr. Kouymjian and Dr. Harry Keyishian moderated a discussion on "Armenian Academics in the United States," surveying the level of Armenian studies throughout the nation.

In a report to the ASO membership, Dr. Kouymjian noted the intense interest in the Armenian Question among students.

"You are articulate, well informed and violently concerned," Dr. Kouymjian told convention delegates.

These same students, however, often lacked the basic background in Armenian history, culture and politics necessary to debate the Armenian Question, he said.

CSUF's three other delegates concurred with Dr. Kouymjian's perception and agreed that Armenian

student groups in the United States should emphasize education in Armenian subjects.

Avakian also moderated a seminar in which she and Richard Balekdjian of Columbia led discussion on "College Student Clubs: Organization and Function."

Three problems common to all college clubs dominated the seminar: 1. Participation, 2. Activities; and 3. Funding. The students also emphasized the importance of new ideas and challenging projects besides reviewing the nuts and bolts of club organizations.

Other seminar topics were: Church unity, Armenian involvement in the American political process, Armenian identity in the United States, secular and sacred activities, the American media, Armenian institutions, the Armenian Question and the Armenian tradition.

Upon its return, the CSUF delegation sent a letter to participating Armenian student clubs throughout the U.S. reporting on the ASO's plans for the 1981 convention. The ASO also presented a convention report to the Associated Student Senate and the CSUF administration.

Recognizing the importance of the convention, the AS Senate provided nearly \$1,400 in expense money to the ASO delegates. The ASO thanked the student governing board for its unprecedented gesture of support but pledged to return the money in full.



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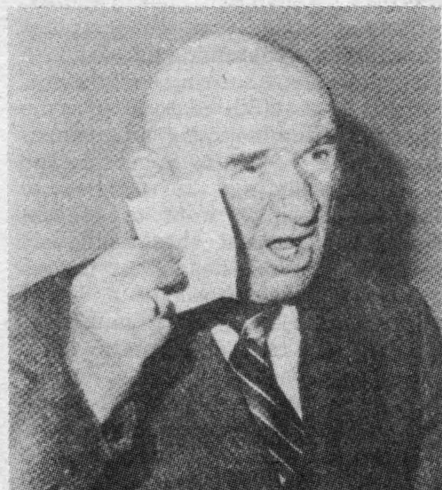
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## 'Ghost of Stalin' at trial

# Soviet war hero decries Zadikyan execution



General Grigorenko

Soviet war hero General Petro Grigorenko was imprisoned several times in the USSR for criticizing the regime, including, from 1968 to 1974, for protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Stripped of his Soviet citizenship while visiting here in 1978, he was granted U.S. asylum. General Grigorenko has been an activist in the international campaign against human rights violations in the USSR. This freedom of issue article was translated by Vladimir Chestnoy.

by Petro Grigorenko

In late January of this year, an event took place in Moscow which did not attract the attention of the world press, despite the most tragic consequences with which it was fraught—not only for the Soviet Union, but for the entire world.

I am going to describe that event. On January 29, Professor Andrei Sakharov told foreign correspondents that "a Moscow court had condemned to capital punishment Stepan Zadikyan, a thirty-three-year-old Armenian student," and two others. The sentence, said the academician, "was somehow linked to the blast in the Moscow subway in 1977," and he stated further that "to the best of my knowledge, Zadikyan had not been in Moscow either before or during the explosion in the subway (emphasis added)."

The communique issued the next day (January 30, 1979) by TASS, the Soviet news agency, said that the parents had been notified about the death sentence on January 26, and that "the sentence was executed."

### The chain of events

There seems to be nothing remarkable about the affair. Some terrorists were seized who exploded bombs in crowded places. They were brought to trial and then shot without mercy. It seems quite logical and reasonable. But let us look at the circumstances of this case more attentively.

The explosion in a Moscow subway car occurred on January 8, 1977, more than two years ago. Seven people were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The blast made a tremendous impression on Moscovites. The senseless act of brutality has not been forgotten, even to this day. Then what should the author-

ities, including the police, have done after apprehending those who committed such an atrocity?

I think that, after the arrest of the terrorists, the authorities should have immediately announced it. This was, in fact, done. On July 7, 1977, a half-year after the blast, TASS reported that "the security bodies had arrested several persons who confessed to the explosion in the Moscow subway, as well as some other crimes." The authorities seemed to be acting correctly—but they brought the wrong people to trial. In July 1977, the men now executed continued to live peacefully in their homes. They were actually arrested only in the fall of 1977. About those who were detained in July, we have heard no more. Thus, we ask these quite natural and legitimate questions: Was anybody at all arrested in July 1977, and if nobody was, why was the TASS communique on the alleged arrest issued?

The people now shot as the blast culprits were apprehended almost ten months after that tragic day. The search for the criminals went on for a very long time, and one would suppose that, when the authorities finally decided to make the arrest, the guilt of the suspects had been proven conclusively. But the further developments run counter to this logical assumption. As a matter of fact, as many as sixteen months passed from the arrest until the "trial," which is six months more than the maximum lawful time-limit for the investigation and preparation of a case for trial. Why? There is no answer, but let us keep in mind that the Soviet authorities did not hurry either in seeking the culprits or in carrying on the investigation.

Moreover, throughout the whole period from their arrest until their execution, the alleged culprits were held not only in the strictest possible isolation, but also in utter secrecy. They were clandestinely transported from Armenia to Moscow, and the place of their custody was concealed even from their families.

Yet, most surprising of all was the procedure in the court of "justice."

In what manner should terrorists have tried who start waging a war against defenseless civilians? Every sensible person will reply: Only by means of an open trial, with radio, TV, and press coverage, so that everybody could see what kind of people the criminals were, and evaluate their characters. And how were they actually tried? In an absolutely secret manner. It is still not known where the trial took place, when it began, how long it lasted, or when the sentence was passed. No members of the public attended the trial. Absent was even that usual, characteristically Soviet, trial-hall "public," consisting of secret police officers in plain clothes, who fill up the court premises during the trials of human-rights defenders. Nor were there any relatives, or witnesses. Neither was there a counsel for the defense. Only the judges and the attorney for the prosecution (the so-called "procurator") were allowed to be present. Thus, we have grounds to conclude that there was no trial—even in the Soviet meaning of this word. What did take place was a typical session of the virtually revived, notorious *troika* (a board

of three during the Stalin era, which usually arrived at a death sentence).

When was the sentence executed? Again, unknown. The parents were notified about the sentence on January 26, a Friday. In accordance with the prevailing practice, they were probably informed later in the day rather than earlier. Two non-business days followed. This means that the parents of—to take one of the three—Stepan Zadikyan, were able to begin appealing on behalf of their son only on Monday, January 29. And at that time he was already dead.

Was he still alive on January 26? If so, was he shot on Saturday, Sunday, or at dawn of Monday? Whatever the details, everything was arranged in such a way as to exclude a last rendezvous with relatives and ensure that nobody should see alive the people doomed to execution, so that they could tell nobody what they had experienced during those terrible sixteen months.

I did not know any of the people involved, but I can see them. I can recall the secret police bringing me, just freshly torn away from my family—in the same way as those three Armenian martyrs—to the Yerevan prison. Then the KGB deliver us to Moscow. Together with these doomed people I go along the deadly corridors of the capital's Lefortovo jail...Or did the KGB, perhaps, for the sake of still greater isolation, reopen for them the nightmare dungeons of the old Lubyanka prison? Long ago, I had the bad luck to experience that prison, too, and even now I see clearly its cells, crowded with the ghosts of those tortured there and then killed. Is it into these cells that the KGB beasts are throwing the people about whom I am now writing...Then the dreadful days and nights begin, ever more horrible. There is no single human face all around. There is absolutely nobody nearby to whom one can say a human word—and hope for understanding. You are surrounded, exclusively, by jailers and executioners. Instead of interhuman communication—torture. Yes, torture. Brutal, inhuman. (If there had been no torture, there would have been no need to hurry so feverishly with the execution). The only thing sustaining you morally, is the hope for the trial, for an advocate. ("Oh, it is there that I'll be able to tell about the torturing!...") But the death sentence, and the very last, slender hope of a tormented and doomed human being is the hope for the last rendezvous. ("It is during that last meeting that my desperate outcry about the horrors of a Soviet torture chamber will reach all the world—through my parents!") Alas, there is no last rendezvous either. How dreadful it is to die, being aware that the executioners remain unexposed and unpunished.

Yet, truth will triumph, and the executioners will not escape denunciation and punishment! Because we have seen and continue to see, all your sufferings—and we will never forgive your murders.

### The question of guilt

The only question that remains to be clarified is why the three accused per-

sons were tortured and killed. It is self-evident that they did not detonate a bomb in the subway. One of the most honest people of our time, a great scientist who does not make an assertion unless he has sufficiently convincing proofs, Andrei Sakharov, has stated publicly, for all the world to hear, that the sentence passed "was either an error—or a deliberately illegal sentence." He rules out the very possibility of guilt. The victims are innocent. The problem is reduced only to whether the judges have committed a crime or just made a mistake.

Who, then, detonated the bomb? The KGB. This is also self-evident. In order to understand the purpose of such an undertaking, let us refer to history. In 1934, an NKVD—manipulated murderer killed Sergei Kirov, a prominent Soviet Communist Party leader—a killing that was directed by Stalin himself. By this act, Stalin achieved two goals: He eliminated a possible political rival, and he created a pretext for the purge of opposing elements. The trial of Nikolayev, the murderer, and of a whole group of the supporters of Grigori Zinovyev (another notable Party figure)—which group was linked to the murder case artificially—was, in reality, nothing more than the first step in the making of punishment, and shot speedily. Then followed trials of the leaders of the Zinovyev faction, and the pivotal testimony was that of the previously executed members of that faction.

Stalin's imitators not only write his biographies and spread them in 15-million circulations; they also imitate his cannibal actions. The case of the blast in the Moscow subway, seemingly a horrible caricature, reminds one of the case of Kirov's murder, as a result of which scores of "accomplices" were condemned to death. The difference is only in details. Then there was a bullet, now there was a bomb. Then the trial followed immediately, now it took place after two years. But the common characteristic of both "trials" is that, both then and now, the people brought to trial were innocent.

The abnormal gap between the more recent crime's date and that of the "trial" is a result of a struggle, of a stronger challenge than had been expected. The KGB tried, immediately after the explosion, to spread the gossip that the blast had been carried out by dissidents. More than ten human-rights defenders—spontaneously, without any prior coordination of their actions—made public statements to the effect that the subway explosion was, most likely, the responsibility of the KGB itself. I was one of those who made such a statement. Note, however, that the authorities reacted officially only to the declaration made by Professor Sakharov. He was warned that he would be arrested. Yet, the flow of the rumors from the KGB stopped instantaneously. The state security bosses, after having met with such a decisive rebuff, shifted to the secret preparation of a frameup, with a view to staging secretly a corresponding "trial." In order not to alarm public opinion, the KGB chose to arrest for that purpose not well-known libertarians, but rank-and-file people. As a

continued on page 12



# Vigil: April 24th service

continued from page 1

from sharing with their fellow students a fuller understanding of the Turkish crime against our people. The ASO hopes that future conflicts can be avoided. We would appreciate your acknowledgement in this matter. Thank you.

Sincerely,  
John Tufenkjian, ASO President  
Barlow Der Mugrdchian,  
Former ASO President  
Bryan Bedrosian,  
Former ASO President

The ASO's letter and Weber's reply were printed in both campus newspapers. In her response, Weber repeated the administration's concern over the "heavily congested free-speech area" but said that she would be willing to "work with the ASO to schedule an appropriate observance."

ASO executive members brought their case before Weber on Wednesday, March 19, discussing their planned vigil for nearly an hour. At the meeting Bedrosian explained that the vigil has two purposes - to commemorate and to inform.

"The ASO hopes to expose as many people as possible to the horror of the Armenian Genocide and the free-speech area at noon on April 24 affords that opportunity," he said.

Weber, however, remained firm. She said that the ASO could "possibly" conduct its vigil at 3 p.m., after traffic in the free-speech area resumes its normal flow, but noon was strictly reserved for Vintage Days.

The two sides of the April 24 question

were examined in a "Daily Collegian" article on Friday, March 21.

ASO President Tufenkjian captured the significance of April 24 for Armenian youth.

"We can't enjoy Vintage Days - we are the victims of what happened 65 years ago," he said.

The article detailed the historical background of the Genocide, quoting Bedrosian, and noted the Turkish government's refusal to acknowledge their crime.

On the other side of the issue, the administration maintained its hard-line stance on the use of the free-speech area but suggested that a compromise could be reached.

"It's just a simple logistics issue," said Robert Lundal, Student Affairs Advisor.

"It's just a simple question of that particular area not being available at that time (noon)," he said.

Corcoran, however, believes that there is room on the free-speech area for both activities on April 24 and expressed his sympathy for the Armenian cause at a March 24 meeting with ASO representatives - the first significant breakthrough in the impasse.

Corcoran was tentative in his support of the ASO's vigil but said he would pursue the matter further.

At Friday's meeting, with Lundal in attendance, Corcoran mapped out the Vintage Days parade route and marked possible sites for the ASO's vigil. The vigil area accepted by the ASO is approximately 75 feet from the center of the free-speech area. Corcoran and the ASO will meet again Wednesday, April 9, to work out further details.

Discusses animal-headed figures

## Kouymjian honored by NYU

By Ruth Thomason

Some years ago, I was wandering through Greenwich Village. I was pleasantly surprised to come upon a building of New York University with an Armenian name on it. Eagerly, I entered the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies.

The lobby was designed around parts of an 18th century Damascus home of a wealthy Moslem merchant family using Italian marble in what might be called Islamic Rococo style. An announcement board listed the week's activities -- nothing pertaining to Armenian studies. I left disappointed. I wanted to learn about things Armenian, and what better place could there be than a building bearing the name of an Armenian?

I was pleased, therefore, when I received word of a series of four illustrated lectures by Dr. Dickran Kouymjian, professor of Armenian History and Art at CSU Fresno, set at the Hagop Kevorkian Center in December 1979. Kouymjian's topic, "Continuity and Diversity in Armenian Art: The Iconography of Pentecost," marks the first time the Kevorkian lectureship has dealt with an Armenian topic and the first time an Armenian has been invited to present the lectures.

For more than a decade, Kouymjian has been interested in the artistic depiction of Pentecost, the Christian holiday which falls 50 days after the Resurrection of Christ (Easter Sunday). The major biblical text in the Acts of the Apostles explains that on the 50th day, the 12 disciples were gathered together in an upper room when "there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." (Acts 2:3,4).

Thus were the disciples each able to speak the language of the people to whom they were to spread the word of Christ. The basic elements or "iconography" of pentecostal representations include the 12 disciples seated in an upper room around a table, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove radiating the power to speak foreign languages, a throne representing Christ and peoples of various nations to whom the disciples would go to preach.

In the first lecture, entitled, "The Iconography of Pentecost and Its Uniquely Armenian Features," Kouymjian gave a general overview of Pentecost in various artistic traditions such as Syriac and Byzantine. He then introduced the earliest Armenian representations of Pentecost known to exist, a fresco now in crumbling condition at the Church of Aghtamar (915-921 A.D.) at Lake Van in historic

Armenia. Among the 150 Armenian Pentecosts Kouymjian has studied, a variety of styles and iconographies are found, some continuing into the 17th century, others occurring only once. However, in the 13th century, in some manuscript illuminations, an animal-headed figure begins to appear in the section representing the peoples to whom the disciples went to preach. Kouymjian discussed these uniquely Armenian animal-headed figures and the "Metamorphosis of a King" in his second lecture. Early in his research, he had tried to establish a relationship between the animal-headed figures and the legend of the Armenian King Trdat's conversion to Christianity in the early 4th century. The story is that the pagan king was turned into a wild pig after he had massacred a group of Christian virgins, and that it was the Christian evangelist, Gregory the Illuminator, who purged Trdat of his animal form and made him human again. The grateful king then established Christianity as the official religion of Armenia.

In his third lecture, "Dogs among Men and a Man among Dogs: St. Andrew and the Cynocephali," Kouymjian indicated he was no longer confident of the King Trdat theory. He feels the traditional identification of the figure as a dog-headed (cynocephalous) is correct in most cases where only a single head is evident; double-headed figures (man and animal) still require explanation. Kouymjian has developed his interpretation based on the theory that early authors, in discussing the missionary activity of the Apostle Andrew to the "land of the dog-head" (beit kalbin in Syriac texts) had confused the term "kalb" (dog) with Banu Kalb, the name of an important Arab tribe which converted to Christianity in the 5th or 6th century.

He illustrated this point with a slide of a pentecostal miniature from the Haroutune Hazarian collection. This single-page, unbound miniature, dated 1477, with a central figure whose head is rendered like that of a setter, has at both top and bottom of the page the Armenian words "Arabatsin", and "Shanaglukh" (dog-headed), respectively. Kouymjian feels that these inscriptions relate convincingly to the ministry of Andrew among the Arabs.

Kouymjian completed his series of lectures discussing the Armenian tradition of miniature painting as it relates to the iconography of Pentecosts. The Hagop Kevorkian Lectureship in Near Eastern Art and Civilization came home, so to speak, as it provided a forum for Armenian research to be shared with the public.

## Armenian Action

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# CSUF to house Armenian National Museum

The Armenian National Museum and Cultural Center project is gaining momentum with the decision to begin a major effort starting this spring to bring the proposed building to CSUF. The project, a substantial architectural complex, will house an Armenian museum, the Center for Armenian Studies and Research, elaborate document archives, a library, a meeting hall and conference rooms, photography storage and film archives, conservation laboratory and restoration facilities, a small auditorium, and projection rooms.

The multi-million dollar project was conceived shortly after the death of Dr. Louise Nalbandian, Professor of Armenian History at CSUF, in late 1973.

A group of individuals close to Prof. Nalbandian initiated a plan to build a museum and center partly in her memory. Among those most active in the project was brother Al Nalbandian, the famous art collector of San Francisco. Mr. Nalbandian promised the organizers of the project and Dr. Norman Baxter, former president of CSUF, that if a suitable museum building was erected on the CSUF campus he would donate his collection of Armenian painting, drawings, books, manuscripts and art objects. In addition to works by Arshile Gorky, Sarkis Khachadourian, Pushman and others, Mr. Nalbandian owns more than 100 works of the famous turn-of-the-century French artist of Armenian origin, Edgar Chahine.

The university, under Dr. Baxter's direction, accepted in principle the Armenian museum idea and even suggested as a possible site the area near the corner of Maple and Shaw. A series of proposed designs were executed by the San Francisco architectural firm of Albert Seyranian and Associates. One of the most popular of the designs is a modern four-level structure owing a clear debt to traditional Armenian church architecture.

This building would have approximately 60,000 square feet of usable space and would include, in addition to a series of galleries, a sculpture garden, a museum bookshop, administrative offices and study areas.

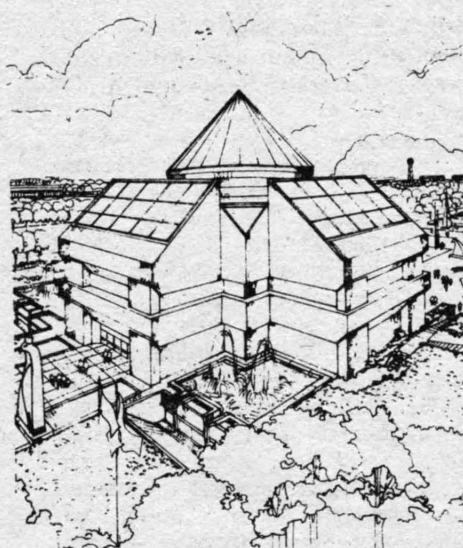
CSUF's new President, Dr. Harold H. Haak, is solidly behind the project, a unique enterprise by and for one of the unique ethnic groups of the multi-culture San Joaquin Valley. One proposal now being investigated is the establishment of a separate foundation to oversee the raising of funds for the building and to administer it once it has been realized. The foundation would lease university land at an agreed nominal price for a definite time period, but would retain control of the decision on the use of the building within limits acceptable to the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor's Office of the California State University and College system.

With the support of Dr. Haak and Dr. Joseph Satin, Dean of the School of Humanities and an early supporter of the project, Dr. Dickran Kouymjian, director of Armenian Studies at CSUF, is currently forming an Armenian Studies Advisory Board as well as a Museum Foundation Board to put the machinery in order for a massive local and national fund-raising drive. Mr. Leon Peters has also been very

close to the development of the project

The Armenian Museum will be a unique structure, comparable only to the Matenadaran, the Museum of Manuscripts, in Yerevan, Armenia. It will be the most important general Armenian museum, research, and cultural complex in the world. Already various individuals have pledged significant collections of Armenian art and archive documentation for preservation, safe keeping, and study in the proposed museum.

The large Armenian community of Fresno and the Valley will benefit by having in its midst the outstanding Armenian cultural center in the Western World. Many observers feel that this important project is just what Fresno Armenians need to rally around and use as a creative vehicle for the exposure of Armenia's rich 3000-year-old culture



to fellow Fresnoans and the rest of the world.

## An open letter regarding Armenian scholarships

Dear Fellow Armenians:

Each year more than a million dollars is given to Armenian university students in the form of scholarships. You and your organizations are to be commended for having placed a priority on the higher education of Armenian youth by establishing a vast and generous network of scholarships and aids to enable outstanding students with financial need to attend college with greater ease. Rarely has Armenian money been better invested.

I would like to ask each of you to consider adopting a plan in the awarding of all your scholarships to Armenian students. The provisions will directly aid the students and institutions where the instruction is provided. Under the plan, students given awards would be required to enroll in at least one course in Armenian studies during the academic year that the scholarship is in effect, providing that the college or university offered such a course. Any area would be acceptable: Armenian history, language, art literature, or other related disciplines.

Since there are now so many academic institutions in the United States which offer either Armenian studies or occasional courses — Harvard, Columbia, Pennsylvania, UCLA, CSUF, Michigan, Berkeley, Wayne State, Oberlin, Boston U., etc. — Such a plan would be more than just theoretical.

With such a system, the following would be accomplished. Armenians who provide scholarships would take comfort in knowing that part of their funds are being used to increase aware-

ness of recipients in the language or culture of Armenia's rich past. At the same time, Armenian studies programs which are for the most part funded — and generously so — by many of the same individuals and organizations providing scholarship money, would benefit by increased enrollments and a more dynamic curriculum.

The system, if properly adhered to, would provide a totally new impetus for Armenian studies in this country, exposing students to courses they normally would not have taken, and teachers to students they could not have reached before. Further, it would assure also that the hundreds, perhaps, thousands, of Armenian college students currently benefiting from Armenian scholarship money would leave college with some exposure to Armenian culture taught on a high-academic level.

I have already proposed this idea informally to many of you and your

In recent months all those who have been informed of the project have responded with overwhelming enthusiasm. It is felt that the multi-million dollar project, though ambitious, will succeed through a combination of major local donations, national and international Armenian contributions, and matching grants from the United States government agencies such as the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Those seeking more information on the Armenian Museum project or wishing to work on various committees, including fund raising, may write to Dr. Dickran Kouymjian, Armenian National Museum Project, c/o Armenian Studies Program, CSUF, Fresno, CA 93740, or call (209) 487-2832.

organizations. Through this open letter I would ask you to take up the matter formally and if possible initiate action before the coming 1980-81 academic year. At Fresno State, two of our scholarship funds, the annual Knights of Vartan Scholarship and the Charles Patigian Scholarship, already contain this restriction and in no way has the qualifications of taking one course in Armenian studies hampered the awarding of grants.

I would hope that by this relatively simple step we would embark on a new era where interests in Armenian studies would be automatically built into the funding system.

Respectfully yours,  
Prof. Dickran Kouymjian  
Director, Armenian Studies Program

An Open Letter to:

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation  
Armenian General Benevolent Union  
Armenian Relief Society  
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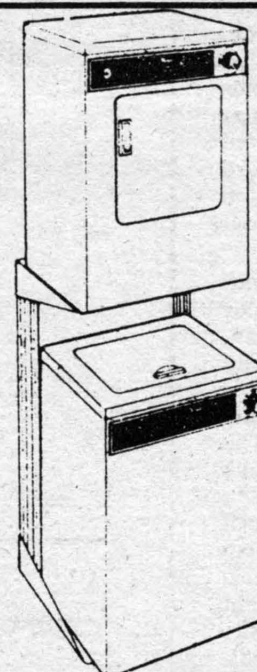
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## CSUF course

## 'Hagopian world' viewed

By Barlow Der Mugardechian

The San Joaquin Valley was treated to an extraordinary event on March 21 and 22 as the Armenian Studies Program of Fresno State presented "The Armenian World of Richard Hagopian"

The one-unit course was led by Dr. Dickran Kouymjian, director of the Armenian Studies Program. The course, under the heading "Ethnic Studies 130T," presented an integrated survey of the world of Richard Hagopian, one of the leading oud players in the world, as well as one of the foremost masters of Armenian music.

Dr. Kouymjian introduced the overflow class of 50 students to the background of Armenians in the San Joaquin Valley. He shared with the students a thorough study of the impact of the Armenians in the Valley. This influence was found to be a major factor in the Valley community. The introduction laid the foundation for an indepth understanding of Hagopian and his work.

Following the introduction, which included excerpts from oral history tapes and information on Armenian classical music of the past century, the class heard the works of poet James C. Baloian.

Baloian, one of the foremost young Armenian poets in the U.S., gave the class a taste of the area where Hagopian grew up by reading his recent poems. Baloian's poems reflect the rich and vibrant farming region of Yettum.

Armenian Liturgical Music I: "Sharagans or Armenian Church Hymns" was a lecture presented by Dr. Arra Avakian. Liturgical music was explored as a rich outgrowth of Armenian cultural life. The synthesis of words and music reflected the faith and genius of the Armenians.

The forms of sharagans, or church hymns, provided another insight into the life of Hagopian, who was raised in the Armenian Church.

Friday evening was culminated by a musical performance by James H. Karagozian on the kanon. After a brief introduction to his instrument Karagozian, accompanied by Leonard Bedoian on the dumbeg, presented a medley of Armenian and Near Eastern music.

Saturday morning opened with the appearance of the man whose life was being explored - Hagopian. Hagopian presented a history and explanation of Armenian music as well as a review of the instruments used by Armenian musicians. The lecture covered both sacred and folk music.

Hagopian explained the special modes and forms of Armenian and Near Eastern music and also explored the historical development of the school of Armenian music.

Armenian Liturgical Music, part II, was presented by noted Armenian musicologist Araxie Menendian.

After a lunch break the participants returned to hear Richard Hagopian and his band present a concert of Armenian folk music. The Arax Armenian Dance Ensemble of Fresno performed a variety of

traditional Armenian dances to Hagopian's music. Following the presentation the class joined in and danced to the music of Richard and his band.

The weekend class was brought to an end with the closing remarks of Dr. Kouymjian. The weekend class was the fourth special course offered by the Armenian Studies Program this year. Dr. Kouymjian, who also taught the earlier ones on "Armenian Art," "The Armenian Experience through Film and Photography" and "David of Sassoun, the Armenian Folk Epic," said, "Such intensive instruction was designed to give university students and members of the public an opportunity to participate in an indepth study of a specialized area of Armenian studies. For each of these course the Armenian Studies Program has tried to bring to the campus guest lecturers who are experts in the field."

The heavy attendance and the general enthusiasm of the students has encouraged Dr. Kouymjian to offer one or two special classes each year. For the fall semester the following topics have already been scheduled: "Armenian-American Authors" and "Armenian Art: Miniature Painting."

## Terrorism: A critique

continued from page 2

denials. Much of the world, in fact, must be surprised that Armenians waited so long to use violence. After all, violence is an accepted political medium in the 20th century. Governments use it. Political factions use it. Ethnic groups use it. And now Armenians use it. "It" has its own meaning. Violence lends a certain degree of credibility to any cause. Human life still has some value and, therefore, any cause that warrants the destruction of human life must be worthwhile. Right?

Terrorism also suggests a definite "intellectual machismo" - the weighing of human life and the transformation of theory into action. Add to this the uniquely Armenian "martyr complex," plus the oppressive sense of frustration, and the profile of the Armenian terrorist is complete.

Their actions are understandable, some say justifiable. They are third-generation refugees, confused by Armenian complacency and bewildered by the world's indifference. They particularly resent the lobbyist approach of their parents' generation - its "bourgeois" appeal, moderate tone and cautious triumphs.

In this age of nationalism, they are nationalists without a nation to die for. They cannot prove their commitment the way their grandparents did, beneath the Turkish sword. The martyrs are dead. But, yes, they can still battle the Turk - youth in all its boldness, flinging itself at the enemy. Far removed from this fanciful front line, the rest of us observe the fray curiously, in silent tribute. These brash young people command a certain amount of respect in a world that respects action. Courage - especially in the face of insurmountable odds - is an even more mysterious force. These terrorists are our avengers, supplying strength to the Armenian nation where before there existed only weakness.

Let us hope they fail.

For what if they do succeed? What if the Armenian homeland is regained, christened by the blood of Turkish diplomats. Armenians would again occupy Van, Bitlis and Erzeroum but would the Turk be vanquished. No! He would be right next door, confused as to why the Armenians have returned. In fact, few would even be aware that the Armenian homeland ever existed. Turkish history books, of course, offer little insight into the Armenian Question and virtually nothing about the Armenian Genocide penetrates the Turkish media. The Armenians would be known only as the enemies of the Turks. 45 million Turks. A few hundred thousand Armenians. What a welcoming committee.

continued on page 12



## Armenian Assembly Oral History Project

The Armenian Assembly, with the cooperation of the Armenian Students Organization, the Armenian Studies Program, and the United Armenian Commemorative Committee, is working on the Armenian Oral History Project. Our purpose is to interview individuals who have survived the Armenian Genocide. We are interested in recording the story of the survivor's life in Armenia as well as his/her deportation route and life in the United States. The interviews can be conducted in Armenian or English.

We would appreciate your help in this important project. We need to approach as many survivors as possible. Please help us by listing, in the spaces below, the names, addresses and telephone numbers of those survivors you know.

Return this form to:

Ms. Cindy Avakian, Coordinator  
Central California Region  
6790 E. Belmont Ave.  
Fresno, CA 93727

NAME

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE #

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## ԹՈՒՐԲ ՄԸ ԿԸ ՓՆՏՈՒՄ...

Թուրք մը կը փնտոնեմ արար աշխարհով,  
Ոգեկոչումի օրուայ Հսկումին,  
Մեր վիշտը բաժնող,  
Պտղունց մը արցունք իր սեւ աչքերուն...:

Թուրք մը կը փնտոնեմ,  
Ապրիլեան օրուայ արեւածագին,  
Մօնթեպիլլոյի Յուշարձանին մօտ,  
Երիտասարդ մը Թուրք, նոր սերունդէն,  
Ցեղասպանութեան մուրը ցակատին...:

Երիտասարդ մը Թուրք, անվախ, հեռաւան,  
Ներդրութեան ձեռք երկարող հայուն,  
Դատապարտող մը, ոմիրն առաջին,  
Ոմիրը դարուն,  
Հայ ժողովուրդի ցեղասպանութեան...:

Նագիմ Հիֆմէք մը,  
Բանաստեղծը Թուրք,  
Դասակարգային գիտակցութիւնով,  
Մութ բանտի խուցին մէջ շղթայակալ...:

Գիւղ մը կը փնտոնեմ,  
Զանդըրըն անշուք, հիմաւորց բանտով,  
Անատոլի սարերուն նետուած,  
Գողգոթան Հայուն,  
Ամօթը դարուն...:

Զանդըրըն անշուք,  
Դաւադրութեան բոյն,  
Արարատ վշտի, ցասման, բողոքի,  
Եւ մեռելատուն  
Արեւմտահայ բեղմնաւոր մտքի սերմնացաններուն...:

Այս անշուք գիւղի բանտի խուցին մէջ,  
Վարուժանն անմահ,  
Բանաստեղծը Հայ,  
Կը գրէ վերջին նամակը կնոջ ու ձագուկներուն,  
Անմար կարօտի արցունքն աչքերուն...:

Այժմ անշուք գիւղի հին եկեղեցւոյ խորանին առջեւ,  
Հայր Կոմիտասը կ'երգէ ՀԱՅՐ ՄԵՐ-ը վերջին Հսկումին,  
Երկիւղածօրէն  
Կը մատուցանէ ՊԱՏԱՐԱԳՆ ՀԱՅՈՒՆ-, Աստուածավայել...:

Թուրք մը կը փնտոնեմ,  
Մեծ Նոր Աւանի Ափսոսանքներուն կարաւանին հետ,  
Ժամտարմանքէն մէկը սրիկայ, լիբր ու ամբարիշտ,  
Մեր գերդաստանին մեծ հարսը պղծող...:

Արեւածագին, չորս անմեղ դիակ,  
Նիկիոյ լճի աւագուտ ափին,  
Մաղթանքը մարմար, երեք ձագուկներ...:

Կուլան աստղերը քաց, քաց աչքերով,  
Մահիկը լուսնին,  
Մահիկը Թուրքին, կը մարի խանձած դեղին ամօթով...:

Մըմունց աղօթքի, մըմունց անէծքի,  
Եւ աղաչանքի,  
Գութ, կարեկցութիւն,  
Ով, ով կը լսէ...:

Թուրք մը կը փնտոնեմ,  
Եկեղեցիներ, տուններ հրկիզող ֆարսիքա խուժանէն,  
Թուրք մը մոլեռանդ մեզ կեանքուն կոչող...:

Հոտաղ մը մատաղ, նախիր արածող,  
Սարալանջերուն, գետի ափերուն,  
Բարութեան հոգով ձեռք մը երկարող  
Զրամոյն եղող հերոս հարսերուն,  
Որոնք կը սեղմեն ծծկեր մանուկներ իրենց կրծքերուն...:

Կին մը կը փնտոնեմ,  
Տէր Զօրի խանձող անապատին մէջ,  
Թասով ջուր բաշխող հայ գաղութներուն...:

Թուրք մը կը փնտոնեմ, Ոգեկոչումի օրուայ Հսկումին,  
Մեր վերածնունդ հայրենիքին մէջ,  
Ծիծեռնակաբերդ սարի կատարին,  
Նահատակներու նոր Յուշարձանի  
Անմար կրակին առջեւ ծնրադրող,  
Թուրք մը դեկավար գղջման հոգիով...:

Ինչպէս մոռանալ, ինչպէս ուրանալ Պուլէմք Էմէվիտ,  
Ինչպէս Հայ ըլլալ,  
Քարանալ, մոռանալ  
Ոմիրն առաջին, ոմիրը դարուն,  
Հայ ժողովուրդի ցեղասպանութեան...:

Ինչպէս ուրանալ ձեռքը ողորմած Արար Ազգերուն,  
Որ եղան եղբայր, բարեկամ, ընկեր,  
Անտէր, չփաւոր գաղթականներուն...:

ԵՐԱԽՏԱՊԱՐՏ ԵՆՔ ԱՐԱՐ ԵՂԱՅՆԵՐ...:

Թուրք մը կը փնտոնեմ արար աշխարհով...:

Ֆրէզնո

ԱՐԱՄ ԱՐԱՔՍ

## ԼԱԻԱՏԵՍ ԱԿՆԱՐԿ

Ֆլորա Զատրեան

Զանազան պարագաներու բեր-  
մամբ ամերիկահայ երիտասարդու-  
թեան մեծամասնութիւնը ծանօթ է  
իր մայրենի լեզուին եւ կ'ապաւինի  
անգլերէնին իր առօրեայ մտա-  
ծումներն ու զգացումները արտա-  
յայտելու համար: Ասիկա առաջին  
ակնբախ իրողութիւնն է, որ խորթ  
եւ անհաշտ կը թուի հայահոծ ու  
հայախօս գաղութներէ դէպի Միաց-  
եալ Նահանգներ գաղթող  
հայերուն: Սակայն վերոյիշեալ  
երեւոյթը աւելի տանելի կը դառնայ  
երբ նայուածքները կ'ուղղուին այս  
համալսարանի խումբ մը  
ամերիկահայ ուսանողներուն,  
որոնք անդրադառնալով իրենց  
մայրենի լեզուին խաղած կարեւոր

դերին կը հետեւին Տօքթ. Գուլում-  
ճեանի հայերէն լեզուի դասըն-  
թացքներուն: Այս ուսանողներուն  
համար մեր լեզուին ծանօթանալն ու  
տիրապետելը միջոց մըն է աւելի  
սերտ շփում ստեղծելու իրենց եւ  
հայ մշակոյթի զանազան  
մարզերուն միջեւ: Արդարեւ,  
վերոյիշեալ միջոցը դժուար է  
նկատի ունենալով մեր բարձր քերա-  
կանութիւնը: Սակայն այս ուսա-  
նողները պատրաստակամութեամբ  
եւ հիանալի յամառութեամբ կը  
ջանան դիմագրաւել ամէն  
դժուարութիւն: Այս երեւոյթը  
յարգանքի եւ քաջալերանքի ար-  
ժանի է եւ անոր արդիւնքները  
յուսադրիչ են:

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# Baloian: Poet of the Valley

by Barlow Der Mugardehian

The Fresno metropolitan area was specially honored on Sunday, February 10, 1980 by the presence of poet James C. Baloian. Mr. Baloian presented a reading of his most recently published works as well as earlier poetry at the AGBU center in Fresno. The afternoon reading was sponsored by the Fresno chapter of the National Youth Association, Armenian General Benevolent Union.

Mr. Baloian early in the reading established a rhythm that underscored the entire afternoon. His experience as a farmer for most of his life flavor his works. His love and feeling for the Yettem region of the Central Valley came through clearly but subtly. The works of James Baloian encompass his travels throughout California and the United States.

As a young, Armenian poet Mr. Baloian has developed his natural skills into a fine, evocative style. It is unusual to find a poet with such feelings and understanding at a young age. The up and coming James C. Baloian is destined to make waves in the world of poetry and is sure to entrance a growing number of avid fans. His recent book "The Ararat Papers" has been published by the Ararat Press (AGBU). Following are excerpts from his recent work.

## Yettem/II

Yettem/II

Wildfire march with blushed face  
and heated blood  
and storm with each breath  
settles into snow on the caps of  
Sierras  
the white blossoms  
and the sun with forehead  
rising

blinding at first my hand like the  
etch  
of water straight down into the  
ravine  
stone corrals  
families of oak  
stationed for maybe 100 yrs  
the slow numbing of their branches  
the dead centers petrified  
a tiny piece of green  
between bark and death

the small ponds of water  
and the roots with dipped heads  
and unsatiable appetites

Yettem with a clear shot  
to the black shape in the blue  
of mtns

Yettem the red soil  
Yettem the absent city  
of earth  
Yettem water within the earth  
Yettem

# Armenian Culture

## The Armenian

The Armenian  
(for Charles G. Baloian)

The last number is the first  
And the curve in the straight line  
Is only a river that runs from a  
desert

I would name that river  
But my nature it leads to the sea  
I would enter from the backside  
of the mountain  
And look to the city of Palu  
To watch it operate

Multicolored scarves and vegetable  
markets  
Where the deep-eyed Armenians  
close  
Over a day's work  
Streets with dancing and invisible  
music

Above the mouth of the mountain  
Stone arches crown the river  
It is the beginning of time

I have not yet been born

I am 90 and die  
On a hospital bed in America  
My teeth gone/bones for skin

I cannot see  
I speak with my organs  
They know me well  
Many shadows come to my bed  
I smell each with my fingers

Have I come so far  
That silence is my fate?  
Have I encouraged history so much  
I listen only with instinct?

The quiet feet of questions  
Tend the growing and the young  
The anxious eyes and dreams  
Prepare the tradition  
Whatever buried returns  
And comes again

Kneedeep in the river  
The words are read  
And revealed

I become the future

Poetry by James Baloian

## I Am Looking For A Turk

### ARAM ARAX

I am looking for a turk all over the world,  
On this Commemorative Day's Vigil,  
Sharing our grief,  
With a drop of tear in his black eyes...

I am looking for a turk,  
On the dawn of this April day,  
Near the Montebello Monument,  
A young turk from the new generation,  
With the soot of genocide on his forehead...

A young turk, fearless, far-sighted,  
Extending an apologizing hand to the Armenian,  
An accuser of the first crime,  
The crime of the century,  
The genocide of the Armenian nation...

A Nazim Hikmet,  
Turkish poet,  
With an awareness of the class struggle,  
Chained in the dark prison cell...

I am looking for a village,  
Obscure Changhere, with its archaic jail,  
Thrown on the mountain slopes of Anatolia,  
The Shame of the century.

Obscure Changhere,  
Nest of conspiracy,  
Ararat of grief, wrath, protest,  
And the deathhouse  
Of the West-Armenian fertile sowers of the mind...

In the prison cell of this obscure village,  
The immortal Varoujan,  
The Armenian poet,  
Was writing his last letter to his wife and his little dove  
The tears of everlasting longing in his eyes...

Now, facing the altar of the church of this obscure village,  
Father Gomidas sings the "Hayr Mer" of the last Vigil,  
Piously  
Offering the Mass -- the Mass of the Armenian  
-- worthy of God.

I am looking for a turk  
In the caravan of the deported from the great Nor Avar  
One of the soldiers, rascal, insolent and arrogant,  
The rapist of our family bride.

At dawn, four innocent little corpses,  
On the sandy shore of Lake Nicea,  
The marble Maghtan, three children...

A tender shepherd,  
On the mountain side, on the banks of the river,  
Extending with a spirit of goodness, a helping hand  
To the drowning heroic brides,  
Who were clutching their breast-fed infants...

I am looking for a woman  
In the charred Der Zor desert,  
One of the compassionate Arab women,  
Who gave ladles of water to the Armenian lambs...

The stars cry with wet, wet eyes,  
The crescent of the moon,  
The turk's crescent is extinguished with charred, yellow shame...

Murmur of prayer, mumur of curse,  
And of begging,  
Of pity, compassion,  
Who, who is listening?

I am looking for a turk  
In the merciless mob that burned churches and homes  
A fanatic turk who called us "giavour"...

I am looking for a turk on the Vigil  
of this Commemorative Day  
In our reborn fatherland,  
On the peak of Dzidzernagapert,  
A turk with remorseful spirit,  
Kneeling in front of the Everlasting Flame  
Of the New Martyr's Monument,  
A Turkish helmsman with a remorseful soul...

How to forget, how to deny Bulent Echevit,  
How to be an Armenian,  
To be petrified, to forget  
The first crime, the crime of the century,  
Of the genocide of the Armenian nation.

How to renounce the merciful hand of the Arab people,  
Who became brother, friend, comrade  
Of the homeless, needy immigrants.

WE ARE GRATEFUL, ARAB BROTHERS...

I am looking for a turk all over the world...

Translated by  
Flora Tchaderjian



## Armenian Dateline

**LOS ANGELES**—An unprecedented meeting between a Turkish government official and members of the Armenian Youth Federation was abruptly dispersed by a bogus bomb threat, Feb. 26. The classroom at UCLA was evacuated after the Consul General of Turkey in Los Angeles, Kemal Arikan had finished reading his 20-minute prepared text and haltingly answered two questions from the audience. West Los Angeles police reported receiving a phone call at 7:54 p.m.. A second call was placed at the UCLA police Department at 8 p.m.. The classroom, however, was not evacuated until 8:12 p.m. One of Arikan's two Turkish security men was absent from the room at the time the calls were made. Arikan refused to continue his presentation following the arrival of the police.

**METZAMOR, ARMENIA SSR**—Soviet Armenia's second nuclear power plant is being built nearby the first reactor in the Republic. Calculating the combined output of the two 405 million watt plants, Soviet officials expect Armenia to produce 22 percent of the USSR's nuclear energy by 1990. Much of the energy, however, may actually be used by Turkey. Under a 1976 agreement between the USSR and Turkey, the Soviets promised to provide electricity to Turkey's eastern provinces. So far little Armenian-produced energy has crossed the border because of Turkish delays in building their electrical grid system.

**ISTANBUL**—A World Council of Churches report sharply criticized the treatment of Christian minorities in Turkey. The report said that Turkey's 100,000 Christians were routinely sub-

jected to violence throughout the period of its study (1975-1979). The report also condemned the Turkish legal system for discriminating against Christians and persecuting relatives of Christian emigrants. The report said that the "hard core of all Moslem-Christian hostility in Turkey" can be traced to the Armenian Genocide.

**LOS ANGELES**—The Armenian Assembly Resource Center for California opened its door December 10, 1979 under the direction of Lawrence Diran Cretan. The Center, under the auspices of the Assembly's California Council, will serve the entire state. Cretan acted as the Social Service Director of the AGBU in Los Angeles prior to his current appointment. In 1976 he graduated from UCLA with an MA degree in Armenian History.

**MARSEILLES**—A Hrair Klindjian Defense Committee has been formed to provide defense funds for the trial of the accused Klindjian, who was arrested in France following an investigation by Swiss police into the attempted assassination of a Turkish diplomat in Bern, Switzerland. The Defense Committee claims that the Turkish government is pressuring France to make Klindjian's trial a case against Armenian terrorism.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**—His Holiness Vazken I, Catholicos of the Armenian Church, is scheduled to offer a prayer before Congress during his coming tour of the United States. Congressman George E. Danielson arranged the Catholicos' Congressional visit on June 2. The Catholicos is also scheduled to be honored at a reception hosted by House Speaker Tip O'Neill.

Internationally renowned Armenian film director Sergei Paradjanov (Sargis Paradjanian), right, is pictured at the medieval Armenian monastery of Geghart shortly after his release from prison in January, 1978. Though the world's most famous film producers and directors have made countless appeals to Soviet officials to allow Paradjanov to practice his art, the Armenian has not been given permission to film any of the dozen projects he has developed over recent years. Currently, Paradjanov is living with his mother in Tiflis. According to reliable reports, he hopes to move to Paris in order to continue film making.



**ISTANBUL**—An anti-Armenian Turkish terrorist group has been formed to combat Armenian terrorists in Western Europe, according to reports in Turkish newspapers. Various European newspapers have received letters with Munich postmarks, detailing the formation of the Turkish terrorist organization. The letters name French-Armenian singer Charles Aznavour as the chief terrorist target. Prominent and wealthy Armenians living in France and Switzerland are also reported to be on the hit list.

## Support the ASO Vigil

The ASO April 24th Committee welcomes contributions from groups and individuals. All funds will go toward the ASO's April 24th silent vigil in the free-speech area on the CSUF campus. The ASO hopes that this pan-community event will be supported by all. Make checks payable to: CSUF Armenian Studies Program.

April 24th at CSUF

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# 'Hye Sharzhoom' needs your support

"Hye Sharzhoom" is the official newspaper of the Armenian Students Organization and the Armenian Studies Program of California State University, Fresno. It is sent without charge to several thousand Armenians throughout the world. The staff — all members of the ASO — works without salary. Though there is no subscription fee, we urge readers to support our efforts with donations of any amount. This request has assumed a special urgency because of increased costs.

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## Grigorenko:

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matter of fact, they did take into consideration the fact that Zadikyan had served a five-year sentence for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation." Thanks to this fact, they can pass him off, after his death, as a dissident allegedly closely connected with the champions of civil liberties and engaged, under their guidance, in the organization of a terror campaign.

Thus, just as the Nikolayev-Kotolynov (the latter accused as a fellow-conspirator) trial served as the foundation for the subsequent trials of the leaders of the then opposition, the trial of Zadikyan and his fellow-defendants is aimed, quite similarly, against the present-day opposition. Whereas Stalin raised his bloody hand against his political rivals, Brezhnev wants to destroy people who struggle for human rights and, most of all, to kill Sakharov. This is precisely the motive behind the recent "trial!" Even before the echo of the executioner's shots had faded away, two who called themselves "relatives of the people that perished in the subway," on February 1 broke into the academician's apartment—which is under the around-the-clock observation of the KGB-- and threatened to kill him and his family for his alleged "advocating of terrorists."

### An appeal

The world should not permit the raging of the imitators of Stalin, but should declare most firmly:

Hands off Andrei Sakharov and all the other Soviet defenders of human rights! Punishment for the executioners who tortured and killed the three innocent people!

We demand the repeal of the illegal sentence, and public verification of all the records of the trial!

Stalin began his merciless extermination of the opposition when he embarked

in earnest on the preparation for war. Similarly, the current attempt to organize the elimination of the human rights defenders in the USSR also serves as preparation for war. Those who want peace must decisively challenge the Brezhnev-Andropov (KGB chief) reversion to bloody Stalinism.

Shame upon the instigators and executors of provocations against peace and humanity!

## Alumni slate debut event

The newly formed Armenian Alumni Association of CSUF will hold its inaugural event Thursday, May 1. A special wine tasting, followed by a supper, will take place at 6:30 p.m. at the Residence Dining Hall near Cedar and Shaw on the CSUF campus.

Dr. Harold H. Haak, newly appointed president of CSUF, will be the featured speaker of the evening. Dr. Haak has expressed his warm support for the Armenian Alumni group and looks forward to a close relationship between the Association and CSUF.

Dr. Dickran Kouymjian, director of the Armenian Studies Program and faculty advisor to the Alumni Association, plus Leon Peters, will also address the group.

Tickets for the wine tasting and dinner are \$7.50 per person; all proceeds will go to the special scholarship fund to be set up by the group. Reservations must be made by April 25; make checks payable to the CSUF Armenian Alumni Association and mail to: Armenian Alumni, c/o 5291 N. 3rd St., Fresno CA 93710.

For further information call the Armenian Studies Office, 487-2832, or 299-2714 or 431-1287.

# Terrorism: A tired and predictable course

## A far-fetched alternative

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Along with history, religion, language and culture, Armenians three generations removed from the Genocide have also inherited an enemy. He is, of course, the Turk. Few of us have ever actually met this enemy. Fewer still have lived among his people. Essentially, then, he is an Armenian invention, eternally preserved in heinous tales of cruelty and savagery. He is passionately hated, fiercely cursed and justifiably maligned. And in this fictional context, our Turkish enemy will live forever — remote and alien — but, nevertheless, indelibly etched on the Armenian psyche.

Unfortunately, this enemy will ultimately decide the fate of the Armenian Question. If the Armenian homeland is someday established, it will result from an act of the Turkish government. The Armenian Question, then, also becomes a Turkish Question, and the Armenian homeland becomes linked with Turkish cooperation.

Yes, Turkish cooperation — the abhorrent but inevitable answer to the Armenian Question. No scenario of Armenian independence is complete without it. Eventually, Armenians and Turks must come to terms.

But what of the hatred we have cultivated so protectively for the past 65 years? What of the hatred that has so sustained the Armenian nation in the diaspora? What now can we believe in?

The prospect is indeed frightening. Without an enemy to consume our energy, we would finally be compelled to confront our own Armenian identity. "Hate" would no longer a criterion of "Armenian." Now "love" would become paramount — love of those hazily defined things, people and institutions we know as "Armenian." Would the Armenian diaspora survive?

From the practical standpoint, Turkish cooperation prompts further questions. Foremost is "how?" How will Armenians reach a government that refuses to even acknowledge the Armenian Genocide?

First, we must remember that Turkey is more or less a democracy. In fact, democracy has worked so well in Turkey that neither of the two major political parties has been able to command an effective consensus in recent years.

Second, minor parties abound in Turkey's multi-party political system. And because of the virtual chaos that has plagued Turkish democracy, minor parties often play major roles in Turkish governments.

Third (and here's where things become complicated) Armenians can benefit from Turkey's democratic instability. How? Simply by buying a Turkish political party. We don't need a big one, of course, just a loud one. We could even let our politicians decide where to place it on the political spectrum.

The party officials naturally would be Turks but the money and the direction would be Armenian. The party platform would encompass the usual range of reform proposals and ideological statements but it would also include promotion of the Armenian Question.

The first step, of course, would involve education. Our party could inject the Armenian Question into political campaigns. (And, in fact, the terrorists have succeeded somewhat in politicizing the Armenian Question in Turkey.) This education process would be objective — a simple historical review of the facts. Our party could sponsor lectures, panels, and publish magazines and pamphlets with a few pages reserved for the Armenian Question.

Secondly, the Turks must be persuaded to view an Armenian homeland not as a menace but as a benefit. "Past" Turkish wrongs must be recognized — "past" wrongs because few governments are willing to admit "present" wrongs. More importantly, the economic benefits of an independent Armenia should be emphasized. A prosperous Armenia would revitalize the economy of Eastern Anatolia and provide the Turks with a much-needed trading partner.

Finally, our party would present the Armenians not as enemies of the Turks, but simply as Armenians seeking the return of the Armenian homeland. The Genocide would remain the basis of Armenian claims but it would not be the source of future enmity.

But "wait" you say. What if our scheme is exposed? What if the money and policy is traced to Armenians? Indeed, "what if?" Have we subverted the Turkish political system? Have we robbed from the Turkish treasury? Have we killed anyone? NO. We have only tried to increase awareness of the Armenian Question through democratic and peaceful means. Exposure of our party might even stir wider debate.

Of course, the entire plan is pockmarked with absurdities. But is not the entire Armenian Question — the world's indifference and our tragic wanderings — equally absurd?

The Armenian Question has been historically pursued through conventional routes. The terrorists maintain the same predictable course. Perhaps their action is dramatic to Armenian-Americans but to a world saturated with violence it goes largely unnoticed. Rather, we have been reduced to imitation. Some of us choose

to pursue the "special interest" political route, along with save-the-whale groups and gun-control advocates. Others have decided to pursue the terrorism route, along with the Japanese Red Army and Puerto Rican nationalists.

In the process (and "the process" in many cases becomes paramount) we have neglected the peculiarities of the Armenian Question.

As Armenians we claim a unique history, language and culture. Consequently, we should have an equally unique approach to the Armenian Question — an approach that incorporates all elements of the issue, particularly the Turks.

Perhaps this will be our greatest test of courage — and creativity.