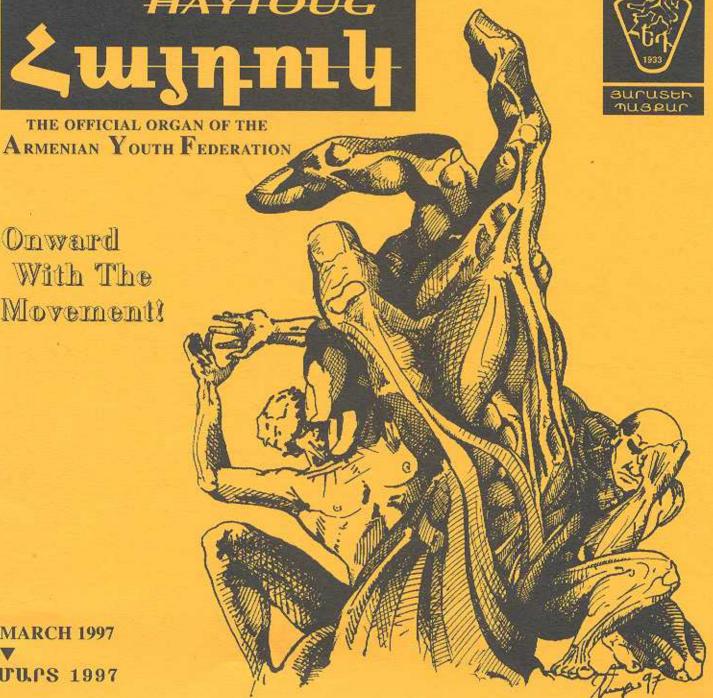


Onward With The

Movement?



MARCH 1997 UULCS 1997



THE MOVEMENT

Onward with the movement
Toward betterment
With only hopes for quidance
With only images of perseverance

No tangible compensation
No physical recognition
Just US creating something

And YOU infer that it's nothing

But we together have created a force,



haytoug

For the social, economic and political liberation of the Armenian people...

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Opinions expressed in *Haytoug* are not necessarily those of the *Haytoug* staff or the Armenian Youth Federation. The staff encourages all Armenians to write to the editor on issues regarding all Armenians.

If you would like to receive a *Haytoug* by mail or contribute money, please write to the address above.



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

by Stepan Haytayan
Washington D.C.

In its January 1997 issue Haytoug published a letter by "A Group of Concerned Armenian Youth." Apart from failing to identify themselves, these youth failed in their attempt to illustrate the role armed activities have played in Armenian national aspirations-past and present. These shortcomings make the letter, at best, a reckless expression of a habitual way of thinking rather than a reasoned perspective.

The letter asserted that the "most important element" of the Armenian Cause is the armed struggle, but it provided little to support this assertion. It further stated that youth have played a crucial role in the vitality of the national struggle. I agree. However, their contributions were not as one-dimensional as the letter implied. Young people, in addition to their other achievements, were responsible for the dissemination of the ideals of freedom and liberty that sparked the national aspirations of the Armenian people. Youth struggled against the centuries of stagnation and conservatism inherited by their elders, and, soon after, the people followed. To make such a shallow portrayal of the national movement's character and the role of the youth within the movement is to rob both of their value.

Violence is at times a necessary means to achieve justice in a world that has still not achieved a state of civilization capable of peaceful self-regulation. Minorities still suffer under unjust and oppressive regimes. Their cries often go unheard.

Sometimes their circumstances are so desperate that they resort to armed activities. Most often this is to draw attention to their plight in hopes of inducing other countries to intervene or in hopes of wearing down their adversary into making concessions. But this is only one model of an armed struggle.

Another model is the insurgency, which seeks to establish control of a territory upon which the people can live free. This purpose also requires armed activities aimed at repelling the oppressor's forces in their attempts to dominate the inhabitants of the region.

The armed struggle of the 70s and 80s corresponds to the first model while the struggle in Karabagh is similar to the second.

Besides failing to understand the distinction between these two models of armed struggle, the letter fails to point out that neither undertaking is automatically justified.

The letter gave brief lip-service to ideology, as if it was just a secondary consideration. It was only mentioned briefly and without development. These concerned youth committed a great injustice against the honorable individuals and martyrs that they rightly extolled.

All respectable ideologies abhor violence. Violence is an affront to human dignity. Oppressed peoples who dehumanize their oppressors are no more worthy than their oppressors. Injustices against one do not support the conclusion that injustice should be committed in response.



LETTER TO THE EDITOR (continued)

Therefore, ideologies deserving of respect undertake violence as a last resort to crises. Not only do they require a high threshold to justify violence, they require that the actions be of such a character as to target only the wrong committed against them. The letter correctly invoked the names of the freedom fighters that understood that a just bullet emerges from the barrel cold. With almost surgical accuracy, the freedom fighters of the 70s and 80s targeted Turkish officials, not civilians.

They did so in a time when news stations in the free world still referred to the Genocide as "alleged massacres" and when the Genocide generation was beginning to pass away into history. The crisis was justification for the armed activities.

(In contrast, the activities of some groups that targeted Turkish civilians were condemnable because they failed to limit their targets to those that were minimal and essential. Therefore, though we may honor their sacrifices. I disagree with the statement that "we are obligated to commend all types of freedom fighters.")

Similarly, and to its honor, the Karapagh army always and in every instance allowed safe passage to all Azeri civilians in areas it reclaimed from Azeri forces.

Violence should not be the result of mere passion. It is not a way to revitalize a cause. It is a response to crises which warrant them, when the destruction of an entire nation or part thereof is imminent. That is how armed activities have been undertaken in our past, and that is how they ought to be undertaken in the future.

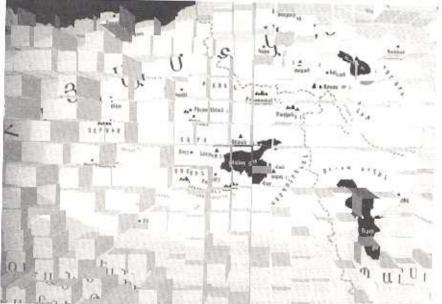
The authors failed to recognize that the heightened activism in those periods was not caused by the violence. The cause of heightened activism was the crisis itself. Merely reintroducing violence into the formula will not result in activism. Passions should be saved for the ideological ends I suspect the authors of the letter and I share.

The letter was an attempt at justifying violence under all circumstances by appealing to emotion. "By any means necessary" does not mean that necessity exists under all circumstances and justifies all forms of violence. Such an assertion would indicate the absence of ideology. The letter's failure to make an appeal based on a crisis situation also evidenced that it was a mere statement of mentality not a reasoned, legitimate call for action.

It is not enough to state truisms like "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" and expect a justification for a course of action to emerge. Responsible advocacy requires more. The letter, in its simplistic approach to the issue, was an affront to principled action.

Stepan Haytayan Washington, DC.





ՀԱՅԱԳՈՐԾ

Թէ երկրի վրայ չրլլար ճայութիւն, Ես ստեղծէի՝ պիտի այդ ճոգին, Չի ծնած եմ ես լոկ ու լիովին Հա՜յ, ճա՜յ ապրելու ճամար կեանքն ի բուն:

Եւ եթէ չըլլար դրօշ ճայրենի, Սրտիս բոսորով, յոյսիս յակինթով Եւ բորբ արոյրովն ճաւատքիս գինով Ես ճուր Եռագուն պիտի ներկէի։

Թէ պակաս ըլլար քարտէսին վրան, Աստուծոլ շուրին տակ տուն մր ճայոց, Փշուր մր ժայրէ ես՝ աշխարհագործ, Կը բանդակէի եղեմ մասիսեան

Եւ զայն կ`օծէի բառով ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ ...



1991

Ժագ Յակոբեան

ՀԱՅՐԵՆԻ ՀՈՂ

Անտուն, փոքրիկ մըն էր ան, ցնցոտիներով, Որ կ՝ապրէր Հայրենի նողին սուրբ կարօտով. Սեւուկ աչբերով ու գանգրաներ, Կեանրին նպատակը Արցախն է եղեր։ Կ՝ուզէր զէնքը ձեռքին, հողը պաշտպանել, Ու Ղարաբաղն Հայաստանին միացնել: կ՝ուզէր տեսնել մեր ջինջ լիճերը, Հին վանքերը ու խաչքարերը։ Որ ոտրի կանգնած են այսթա՜ն nunknnd: կ՝ուզէր տէր կանգնիլ մեր Ղարաբաղին, Որ գողցած է անխիղն ազերին։

Ընդոստ արթնցաւ... երազր սրտին, Անմեղ արցունըները կաթեցան գետին, Կծկտած պատի մը տակ, ցուրտէն պաշտպանուելու, Ձեռբերն իրար բսեց, տաբցնելու ճամար։ Յանկարծ կանգ առաւ... պաճ մր մտածեց... Իրեն պէս շատեր կան, Արցախ նկատեց։ Այդ օրուրնէ ուխտեց մայր նողը գտնել, Ու երթալ, Ղարաբաղը վերագրալել։ Կանգնեցաւ ոտքի, նպատակն Արցախ, Այլեւս չունէր ան ո՞շ ցաւ, ո՞շ վախ։ Վազեց շարունակ, երկար ժամերով, Lonmuming magmiffe nidng: խաղաղ շրջաններ այն տեսնելով, կանգ առաւ ճսկայ լերան փէշին քով։

Հեռուէն կը լսուէին ռումբի պայթումներ, Ձէնքի շաչիւններ, ճոթիսի ձայներ. Լերան միւս կողմն էր իր ճողն ճայրենի, Որ դարեր շարունակ գոյատեւելու կը պայքարի։ Մագլցեցաւ գագաթը ու դիտեց նեռուն, Եւ տեսաւ պայքարը խիզախ ճայերուն։ Արցունըն աչբերուն, նպատակն կէս յաջող, Միւս կեսն ալ ըսաւ, թող ըլլայ զենբով։

«Մեր Ձայնը» 1994

The Lost Battle... But Is It?

William Saroyan, in his famous poem, challenged "any power in this world to destroy this race, this small tribe of unimportant people." Fellow Armenians, I think we finally have some people who have taken up his challenge. But who can it be? Is it the Turks? Or can it be the Russians? The answer lies much closer. The people to blame are amongst us Armenians.

I am sick and tired of hearing people say that we, as Armenians living outside of our motherland, are getting less and less Armenian, that it is only a matter of time

until we totally blend into the cultures we are living in. The fact of the matter is that we are becoming less Armenian as much as the Chinese and Americans are becoming less Chinese and American. History changes, and so do people and their cultures. To say that our cause is a lost one is one of the most pathetic, despicable comment I have heard. Who in the modern history of mankind has lived over 80 years predominantly outside of their homeland, and has still kept the spirit of

who they are as much as Armenians have? Who, being as little as we are, has created a vast network of organizations ranging from political to recreational, all in the struggle to keep a name alive? We are a race of some of the most dedicated, iron willed, nationalistic people ever to walk the surface of this planet. Therefore, for anyone, especially an Armenian, to have a lack of dignity by insulting me and my forefathers of being people who are working for a lost cause, people who just "Don't want to admit the fact that in a few years, there will be no Armenia, and Armenians would be diluted into the cultures of others" is to lack in humanness, Shame on those

who call themselves Armenian, and yet do nothing to at the very least preserve what our forefathers lived their whole lives for. Shame on you too who wants to give up a struggle millions have died for. Who in the world do you think you are? Who are you to make the decision that our battle is one not worth fighting anymore? I have something to say to all those who think they have the right to make that decision, YOU DON'T! Much like you are born a human, and assume the responsibilities, and privileges, of being one. Think about what calling your-

self Armenian means. It is not something you have earned, rather one that other people have earned for you. Our name has had bearers who have dedicated their lives to it. Our history is one that is yet to be challenged by another that has endured as much as we have.

If there is any chance of an end to our survival as a people, it is because of the people who are willing to give up on us. There is no way you can control the actions of others, but

if you do your part as an Armenian, and I do mine, we will survive. Our history has seen worse times than this, and it has overcome every single one. There is no reason why we can not overcome the temporary phase of our history where many of us live outside of our homeland.

William Saroyan wrote his poem to challenge others, and to motivate us. Many have taken up his challenge to attempt to destroy the Armenian people, but all have failed. However, taken this fair warning with you: Look at the past before you decide on the future, because history is doomed to repeat itself...

Anonymous





The Newest Addition To ASA

On February 19, 1997, the Armenian Student Association of California State University Long Beach held its first meeting ever. What started as five Armenian students coming together at lunch at the on-campus Taco Bell resulted in 45 Armenian students forming the first ASA.

Silva Berberian, senior, was quoted while saying, "I want to help establish the ASA at CSULB for the simple reason of Armenian networking." The ASA constitution states that Armenian students should, "cultivate a true understanding and appreciation of Armenian culture, heritage, and history through cultural, educational and social activities."

During the first meeting with 30 newly initiated members present. The five member executive body took in suggestions for activities and projects for the ASA during the semester, for example, April 24th activities, beach party, dances, educational speakers, and sporting events—hence the first beach party was held on March 8, 1997 at Huntington Beach.

The entire ASA is excited about joining the ASA family and hopes to also maintain ties with the local AYF chapter.

By Haytoug Staff Writers





After all you go through, After all you try to do, Nothing ever really changes, Nothing ever really matters.

Soon everything ends up the same, Your one true love-just never came, You blame fate, Love, turns into hste.

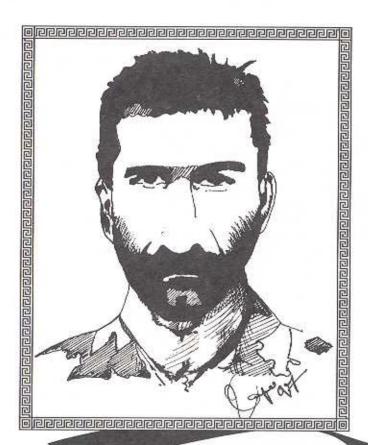
But then an ANGEL comes to thee, Setting all your hopes, dreams free.

Now life is worth living, When love is what your giving.

After all this ends,
The road of life bends and bends...
You think of what you accomplished,
All that you never finished.

And then you get another chance...



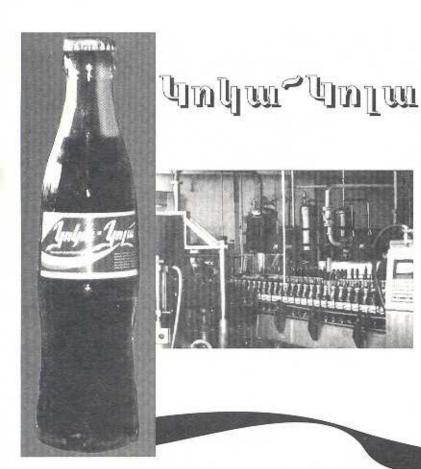


Բեկոր _ Աշոտ Ղուլեան (1959 - 1992)

Անունները կան, որոնք իրենց մէջ խտացուցած են ամէն ինչ։ Անոնցմէ մէկն է Աշոտ Ղուլեանը։ Ծնած է Պաքու, սակայն տեղափոխուած է իր հարազատ գիւղը՝ Խրձիստան(Ասկերանի շրջան)։ Մասնակցած է Արցախի մէջ մղուած հերոսամարտերու մեծ մասին, Ասկերան, Մալիպէյլի, Խոզալու, Մրխաւենտ, Կրկժան, Շուշի, Լաչին եւ Մարտակերտ։ Իր անունը առասպելի վերածուած է, որովճետեւ վիրաւորուած է 11 անգամ. ականներու, կապարներու, հոթիռներու բեկորները մնացած են իր մարմնին մէջ (ուրկէ առած է իր ծածկանունը)։ Ամուսնացած է եւ ունի երկու զաւակ։ Ջոճուեցաւ Օգոստոս 23-ին, 1992 Մարտակերտի շրջանի դրմբոն գիւղի ազատագրութեան համար։

Nuhnimd fun





One of the greatest success stories in Armenia is the Coca Cola factory. Retooling the old machinery of a Soviet champagne factory, Tria Epsilon(a Greek-based firm)produces some 20,000 bottles of Coke and Fanta daily. By the end of 1997, the factory will be completely modernized with high-tech equipment, which will either keep or put more people to work. New Armenian labels are a recent addition. The plant does its own distribution to retail outlets throughout the country.

| WHAT'S HOT? | WHAT'S NOT? |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1- ճինգ ճայ սրտեր | All turks |
| 2- Braveheart | Chickpeas |
| 3- "Jojo's & Hagop's Dance" | Macarena |
| 4- Clapping to "Գինիլից" | Clapping to "Գետաշեն" |
| 5- Թութաթու | Սանսաթու |
| 6- "Don't worry""nO pRRoblem"- | "Don't worryBe happy" |
| 7- Ազատութիւն կամ ման | Let's sit down & talk about it |
| 8- Political Freedom | Suppressed Thought |
| 9- Asbarez | Nor Gyank |
| 10-Socialism | Capitalism |



Journal Entry For: Monday, April 8, 1996 by Dzia Vartabedian 4:55 p.m.

If all goes well, this Sunday I will be going to Stepanakert and Shushi with the Ashan scouts. I just got back from a practice session with them, and I am truly proud. It's going to be very hard telling them that they will not all be able to go. I just hope that they know that if it was left up to me, I'd take them all.

Before I get into that, I (I'm recording an Artur Meshjian tape for ung. Davit) should write about yesterday, Easter Sunday. Sunday was truly an unforgettable day. I woke up early in the morning and went to school with Marine at 7 o'clock. We took the 60 eggs that the kids had colored in order to hide them for the Easter egg hunt. I could see Siroush looking down from her house, wondering what we were up to. But I was having too much fun with Marine just trying to hide the eggs, to think about what we must be looking like. When we returned, we played "havgtakhagh" for breakfast, and then I finally got to wash the dishes. I'm not saying it's much, but at least I was able to help in some small way!

At ten o'clock I started getting ready. Although it was cold outside, I did not dress appropriately. I'm tired of the cold. Easter is a time of rebirth and I had made up my mind to dress accordingly. At 10:30 I went to school with Hermine and saw that a lot of the students had already gathered together. Some brought flowers with them, while others brought more eggs. I received a card and a white carnation from the 9th grade girls. Luckily I was able to control myself and I didn't start crying. Armen and Ardag were there also holding Lusine's hand.

At exactly eleven, when the rest of the students, some of the teachers, and ung. Davit, who had brought guests from Stepanakert, came, we started the day's festivities. Aleona read about some Armenian holidays, and then we all prayed the "Hayr Mer" together. Then we went to the back of the school, where I explained the games, and they all joined in. Even some of the teachers participated and



parents participated! Sergey even said that this is probably an unprecedented event in Artsakh. Luckily ung. Davit was taking pictures and I know that only with those pictures am I going to be able to console myself.

Immediately after school, the "Hai Geen" committee gathered at the club. We drank coffee, ate some pastries and started preparing the bags of goodies (filled with "tchoreg" made from a recipe from LA) to be delivered to those families with multiple children.

At night we had our cultural program. The songs and poems were good, but the butterflies in my stomach were working overtime. Finally, it was the girls' opportunity to dance. It went better than even I had expected. I was so proud of them. And I do have to admit that the Armenian circle dances ("shoorchbar") stole the show! After the program, a couple of the parents even took the time to tell me how great it looked! (And the day's activities had gone so well, that we performed a couple of the games on stage at night!) In all aspects, it was a spectacular day. A day that I could be proud of the students' accomplishments, as well as my own.

Now I only have less than two months left in Ashan. I just hope that I can make those days just as productive.



Rosdom (Stepan Zorian)

Born in Tsghna, in the region of Koghtn, Rosdom completed his secondary schooling in Tblisi. In 1889 he entered the Moscow Institute of Agronomy but was soon expelled for being a revolutionary and an agitator. From 1891 onward, in Tbilisi and then in Tabriz, Rosdom became one of the most active figures of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries. He was present at the First World Congress and with the assistance of Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian wrote the ideological introduction of the ARF's Program. He then went to Geneva, where until 1895 he was the editor of Droshak, and the typesetter, and the person who delivered it to the subscribers.

In 1895, Rosdom was in Garin, and then in Iran and the Caucasus, on organizational missions. He subsequently returned to Geneva where he remained until the Second World Congress. From 1898 onward, he settled in Philippopolis(Bulgaria) where he and his wife ran a small private school. He took part in the Meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun in 1901 and became the architect of ARF-Macedonian collaboration. Rosdom returned to the Caucasus in 1902, playing a leading role both in the anti-Czar activities (1903-04) and in the Armeno-Tatar conflict of 1905. In 1907, the presence of Rosdom at the Fourth World Congress was a decisive factor in the synthesis of left and right-wing tendencies. He later went to Persia to negotiate with the Iranian revolutionaries. Later, after attending various Congresses of the Socialist International, he returned to Garin and remained there until the Eighth World Congress (1914). In 1915, he played a leading role in organizing the movement of Armenian volunteers. In 1918, Rosdom was the central figure in the heroic defense of Baku. He contracted typhus and died in Tblisi in January 1919.

Rosdom's thought, will and relentless activity left an indelible mark on the ARF and its mode of operation.

Source: History of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun(1890-1924) by Hratch Dasnabedian

Young Socialists

STRASBOURG, France- The Armenian Revolutionary Federation's Youth Organization was granted membership to the European Congress of Socialist Youth during the ECOSYs third annual congress in Strasbourg, France.

ARF-YO representatives Armen Papazian and Terenig Maroukhian were among the 200 delegates from 15 countries attending the three-day meeting. The ARF-YO has been very active in ECOSY circles and its programs.

A conference on youth and unemployment was held on the eve of the opening session of the congress, and included addresses by Luxembourg's Minister of Youth Affairs Alex Baudrey, former French Prime Minister Micheal Rocar, Europarlimentarian Carole Tong and other ECOSY delegates.

The congress adjourned on Jan. 19 with a special farewell reception hosted by Strasbourg Mayor and ECOSY delegate Catherine Trottman. First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, Lionel Jospen, addressed the gathering and congratulated the new members, bidding them luck in their efforts to implement the decisions of the third annual congress.

Source: Asbarez

ONE FIST

ONE MIND ONE SOUL ONE GOAL And only that

To die for one's country...
No blood is sweeter
This sacred blood
That has been diluted in another vein.

Our proof
Slowly diminishing
They are the angels
with no wings
And we will seek
revenge.

This is our fight
This fight we've
neglected
Now, is the time...
To rekindle the
undying flame.

This is all OURS
And only we can do it!
Together, united
Standing with ONE FIST
...ONE MIND

...ONE SOUL
...ONE GOAL
And only that

UNTITLED

They went
The self-chosen souls
of sacrifice
To be crucified.
Their bodies



Built as armor, Against the hurt and pain of death. They went as five friends and nothing more. Their simple gift is not small. It gives us life, A purpose to live, To fight for a cause that we might not win. But we must face the spirits of those, who could not justify the crimes of war. So we must live

To breathe the breath of fallen martyrs of past decent.

Mary Karekin Mardirossian



Պատանեկան Սէմինար





Խրախճանք մասնակցութեամբ ընկեր Եփրեմի։

Փետրուար 16, 1997ին պատանիներով լեցուն երկու հանրակառքեր հասան ՀԵԴ-ի բանակավայրը։ Պատանիները հոն բաժնուեցան խմբակներու եւ իւրաքանչիւր խումբ մեկնեցաւ դէպի իր տնակը։

Շաբաթավերջի ծրագիրն էր ժամը 7ին արթննալ եւ լուացուիլ, դրօշակի ձողին առջեւ մարզանք ընել, դրօշակի արարողութենէ ետք նախաճաշի երթալ։ Նախաճաշելէ ետք պատանիները իրենց տնակները մաքրեցին ու դասախօսութեան գացին։ Օրուան ծրագրին մաս կազմեցին.

- -Գասախօսներ.- Ընկեր Յովան Թաշճեան, որ խօսեցաւ ճին ֆետայական կարեւոր դէպքերու ու պատմութիւններու մասին.
 - -Ընկեր Կարօ Մատէնլեան, որուն նիւթն էր Արցախեան շարժումը. -
- -Ընկեր Աւօ Սվաճեան՝ զինեալ պայքարի անհրաժեշտութեան պատճառներու եւ անոր դրական արդիւնքներուն մասին.







Ընկեր Հովան Դաշճեան կր դաստիարակէ պատանիները։

Դասախօսութիւններէ ետք պատանիները ճաշեցին եւ ազատ ժամ ունեցան։ Հանգիստ ընելէ ետք մասնակցեցան զանազան խաղերու եւ արդէն ժամանակը հասաւ դրօշակի արարողութեան, ապա՝ ընթրիքի։ Ընթրիքէն ետք շարունակուեցաւ երեկոյեան յայտագիրը։

Առաջին օրը տաղանդներու ցուցադրութիւնն էր ու ետքը փոքրիկ խրախճանք մը, իսկ Կիրակի գիշերուայ յայտագիրը՝ երգերու մրցում։ Երեկոն ճոխացուց երգիչ՝ Եփրեմը, իր մասնակցութիւնը բերելով Յեղափոխական երգերու ծրագրին։

Ընդհանուր առմամբ պատանիները շատ ուրախ էին, անոնք շատ բաներ սորվեցան եւ հաճելի լիշատակներով վերադարձան։

1997ի Պատանեկան Ճամբարի մասնակցող պատանիները անհամբեր կը սպասեն այն առիթին, որ դարձեալ մաս կազմեն այսպիսի յաջող շաբաթավերջի մը:



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