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ISSUES, POLICIES VIS-A-VIS HAI TAHD
(ARMENIAN CAUSE), 1985 TO 1990

BY

TUNCER M. KUZAY, PH.D.

NOVEMBER 1986

A UNITED TURKISH AMERICAN PUBLICATION
P.O. BOX 0317
WHEATON, ILLINOIS 60189-0317

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*PRESENTED AT THE ATAA NEW YORK REGIONAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 16, 1986.

With warm memories of my mother, Nazmiye Akar-Kuzay,
and my stepmother, Shefika Kuzay-Sumer

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SUMMARY

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Hai Heghaposzhagan Dashnaktzoutoun) was born in Tiflis (Erivan) in 1890. Throughout its 96 years of existence, the ARF Party has remained the same in its structure, objectives, and methodology of execution. It pretends to be the self-proclaimed government of the Armenian community worldwide; hard-core socialistic in political alignment; revolutionary and terroristic in strategy.

Ever since its inception, the ARF has done little good for the Armenian community. The short-lived Armenian Republic in Eastern Anatolia from 1918 to 1920 was indeed a Dashnak government, and it was totally devoid of the capacity to govern. Its reign was marked by the wholesale abuse and massacre of the local Turkish and Kurdish population including a certain segment of the minority Armenian population.

The ARF has drawn severe criticism from Armenian scholars and intellectuals for its handling of the Armenian affairs and its brutal terrorist tactics. Among them, one can cite Prof. L. Nalbandian, K. S. Papazian, Avedis Derounian, and H. Katchaznouni. The ARF's terrorism was dealt with extensively by K. S. Papazian; an English author, Ronald McDonnell; as well as defended and explained away by a contemporary ARF member G. Liberidian (MESA Paper, 1982, Chicago).

The ARF holds regular ARF World Congress meetings. The most recent one was held in 1985 under the banner of 23rd World Congress. The party Political Platform was published in the July 9-23 issue of Droshag (Flag), the periodical of the central organ of ARF in Geneva, Switzerland.

This Platform is translated into English by The Hairenik Weekly, the periodical of the ARF in Boston, Massachusetts. Although appearing to be a censored version of the original, this is a highly significant document and prompts attention and analysis both in the U.S.A. and Turkey to glean into the future policies and strategies of ARF during 1985-90. It also provides one with a better insight and understanding of the recent events in the violent history of ARF.

The opinions and analyses expressed in this paper are purely those of the author and stem from a non-censorious review of the ARF's 23rd World Congress Platform. The word Armenian in the text is used in the context of those who belong to, run, and purposely support ARF materially or otherwise or those who, although splintered from ARF, are even more evil in their deeds.

Dr. Tuncer M. Kuzay
Chicago, November 1986

INTRODUCTION

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) or Dashnaktzoutyoun was born in Tiflis (Erivan) in 1890 by the socialist leadership of the Revolutionary Armenians. A good account of its history, constitution, and defense for supremacy among other Armenian political parties can be found in the book by a comrade Dashnak scholar, Sarkis Atamian, The Armenian Community, (circa 1955) for the English-speaking readers. Throughout its long history, the ARF has done little good for the Armenian community at large. Its strong socialist political base and tilt has split the community and caused much internal strife, at times with significant bitterness and bloodshed. Its evil to the Armenian community at large is put forth by several authors, among them most convincingly the Armenian writers themselves, i.e., K. S. Papazian, Patriotism Perverted, and H. Katchaznoui, The ARF Has Nothing To Do Anymore, and L. Nalbandian, The Armenian Revolutionary Movement. Regardless, ARF has remained stubbornly unchanged in its stance and tactics up to the present. Several reformist resolutions proposed at its World Congress conventions to make ARF more palatable to the Armenian community as well as to the outside world always met defeat at the hands of majority hardliners. For example, there was a move to delete from its bylaws the Revolutionary ideology and the arm of terror as a means to achieve its goals as early as the 9th World Congress. It got nowhere. Despite the bitter defeats ARF has experienced throughout its existence, the party fathers seem to favor staying loyal to the original precepts, in dogma and execution, drawn in the 19th century and undaunted by the realities that the intervening century brought about in the globe's socio-political makeup. Changes, if any, in the character of the party have been toward more hardening. This manifest hardening appears to be closely related to the developments in the Middle East in particular and in the Western societies in general during the last decade or so.

On the one hand, the ARF hierarchy is being staffed by the more militant, more leftist, and younger displaced Lebanese Armenians ever since the regional disruptions in that area in the 70s. On the other hand, the emergence of the Marxist-Leninist terrorist groups in the Middle East, Europe, and the U.S.A. since the 70s have provided an opportunity for the Armenian extremists and the ARF party to join hands with them in a pact of solidarity for collective disruptive hardline acts. A terror network exists on a global scale; each segment of it with its own set of goals and targets, but working, assisting collectively in providing the means, the intelligence, and the logistics to each other.

The ARF appears to have seized the opportunity provided by these developments, but not without paying some price for it. For one thing, fragmentation in its ranks is more prevalent than ever. There is a steady clash between the traditional ARF socialists and the new breed extreme leftists, as well as the true Marxist-Leninist factions (ASALA and several splintered groups from ASALA and other such Lebanese-Syrian based Armenian terrorist factions). For another, the ARF's hardened policies during the last decade and its obvious link to worldwide terror network have not paid dividends. Quite the contrary, it has made Armenian synonymous with terrorist or assassin, a hardly acceptable image for the urbanized, well-educated Armenian masses. The end result of this, many western countries, including the U.S.A. and even a country like France which was traditionally sympathetic

toward the Armenian terrorism even at its head-of-state level, seem now to have taken hard and proper measures to prevent further Armenian terrorism. Currently, overt and covert support for it seems to be confined to the socialist third world countries and some of the Soviet Bloc countries. Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Syria, and Lebanon appear to be the springheads of the present-day Armenian extremes orchestrated by ARF and/or other Armenian factions including the traditionally politicized Armenian church.

The brief status summary presented above can be further substantiated by a very illuminating document recently come to light in the Armenian press. The ARF in 1985 convened its 23rd World Congress. The party Platform from this Congress was published in the July 9-23 issue of Droshag (Flag), the periodical of the central organ of ARF in Geneva, Switzerland. The Platform has been translated into English by The Hairenik Weekly, the English-language periodical of ARF in Boston, Massachusetts. This Platform is a very significant document worthy of close examination both in the U.S.A. and Turkey. The editor of The Hairenik Weekly puts the basis for the Political Platform determined by the Congress as follows:

"These decisions are based on the evaluation of the operation of the ARF and the problems of the Armenian people on all levels over the four years preceding the 1985 World Congress and determine the direction of the following four years."

The Platform stresses focus on an all out HAI TAHD (Armenian Cause) campaign. This term as a class action is not new, and one comes across it in H. Katchaznouni's Manifesto of 1923. However, there appears to be a renewed emphasis on it.

In the following, we will attempt a brief review and analysis of this Political Platform in its highlights. The full text of the Platform is presented in Appendix I. In the review, we will follow the same subtitles as appear in its text.

In defining the HAI TAHD, we come across the following statements:

"1. Definition of the Armenian Cause:

A. As a result of international relations based on speculative interests and imperialist aims of the superpowers of the East and West in relation to the Middle East."

"1. The principal political aim of the 'ARF' remains the realization of a free, independent and integral Armenia, encompassing the Wilsonian boundaries."

Further down in the Platform, we find the following:

"2. EXTERNAL FRONT:

A. On the road to the resolution of the Armenian Cause, our enemy is Turkey

B. At the present phase of the efforts toward the resolution of the Armenian Cause, American and generally Western imperialism is clearly opposed to us . . ."

One can see from the above paragraph that ARF characterizes the U.S.A. as an imperialistic superpower certainly in line with the common denigrating jargon of the socialistic third world politics.

And still further down in the Platform, we find:

"STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES

D. The ARF accepts that based on external political conditions and the opportunities they offer, the resolution of the Armenian Cause can take place in stages, while our strategic goal remains the creation of a free, independent, and integral Armenia, and each success constitutes a temporary stage of the struggle."

These chilling statements from ARF should be hammered into the heads of some less perceptive elements of the U.S. State Department as well as each and every member of the U.S. Congress and particularly those Senators who have traditionally championed every pro-Armenian resolution in the U.S. Congress and defended them as harmless, humanitarian instruments to be a case in point for men's inhumanity to man.* The message of these statements is one and the same as the one that the lobbying arm of ARF, namely the Armenian National Committee (ANC), declared as a unified resolution in the past (see Appendix II). The Armenian territorial claim from Turkey, a NATO country, to be annexed to the Soviet Armenian Republic is the sole underpinning and essence of all the ARF efforts. Any member of the U.S. Congress who argues otherwise is a mere babe in the woods, putting it candidly.

Another point to note seriously in the text of the Platform is of course the strong socialist-leftist link of the party with its jargon of American and generally Western imperialism. . . . It is a fact that, as mentioned earlier, the new ARF ranks are heavily infiltrated by the hardliner, Middle East based, displaced Armenians with strong leftist allegiance. Furthermore, the new cadre of intelligentsia that the ARF has cultivated in the American institutes of higher learning was also recruited from a recent, young, and militant middle Eastern (mostly Lebanese and Syrian) immigrant wave of Armenians who were born and raised in environments where no law and order existed or exists and being a Marxist or Leninist has been the way of life. They are further nourished with primary and secondary education either solely supported by the radical Armenian church in the Middle East or by special institutions of learning that ARF planted there. In return, ARF is guided and indoctrinated by the outpouring of anti-Turkish, anti-Western, and strongly leftist literature produced by the current 170 or 180 of these so-called new generation of Armenian academicians with vague scholarly achievements and

*Leading Senators like P. Wilson (R-CA), C. Levin (D-MI), D. Riggle (D-MI), W. Proxmire (D-WI), W. Bradley (D-NJ), R. Dole (R-KY), and leading Congressmen like W. Ford (D-MI), B. Torricelli (D-NJ), T. Coelho (D-CA), R. Lehman (D-CA), and M. Roukema (R-NJ).

credentials in the fashion of a rejuvenated, exclusive, and fraternal Wellington House. An ever expanding vortex of yellow press against Turks!

Further in the text of the Platform, one finds the following words:

"STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES

1. It is equally essential to bring youth into our ranks; to give shape to its ideological character through healthy ARF education; to politicize and revolutionize the ranks of ARF and especially the ARF youth organizations; and to develop our people's political consciousness, militant spirit, and atmosphere of liberation struggle and revolution, in order to utilize every force toward resolution of the Armenian Cause."

Needless to say, this paragraph of the Political Platform reinforces what is said above regarding the militant, propagandistic, academic machination to indoctrinate ARF and its youth. The buzz words here are healthy ARF education, politicize and revolutionize, militant spirit, and utilize every force. The ARF's youth man the Justice Commandos of Armenian Genocide (JCAG) principally and some of the other ASALA factions. The youth is subjected to military training in special summer camps in the Middle East, and we have seen during the last decade an ample display of the terror that the youth is taught to inflict both in hard and soft forms. With this program to continue up to the 1990s, the ARF is vowing to follow the same path in all possible forms.

Under the "Strategical Proposals" of the Platform, we read the following:

"On this basis, the ARF proposes the following:

A. Force Turkey to change its inflexible position and comply with justice and the recognition of the rights of the Armenian people, keeping it under pressure in every possible way, striking its governmental, political, economic and other structures and weakening its international position and the aid it enjoys.

B. (Note: Item B is missing in the article???)

C. Make the Armenian Cause current and international.

D. Wage propaganda and political struggle against all those states and powers, which take special efforts to assist Turkey, keep its present borders intact and improve its economy.

E. Within the bounds of the Armenian national liberation struggle, establish cooperation with third world states, especially Middle Eastern states and revolutionary movements, always on the basis of reciprocal assistance and interests.

F. Attempt to establish mutual understanding and, at least on a propaganda level, ties of mutual assistance with other national liberation and revolutionary movements. Whenever suitable, have a positive stance toward other liberation movements.

G. Establish closer ties with socialist parties and governments, in order to keep them well aware of the rights of the Armenian nation and to secure their positive positions."

Here again, there is much to be learned about ARF's past and future strategies. First, a censored item B has to be deciphered. Second, the links between the ARF and other socialist third world states, as well as other international terror networks and the ARF's close accord with Greece, Greek Cyprus, Syria, Bulgaria, and Russia are unraveled. To reinforce the truth behind these well-meant lines one only has to read the report on a "Commemorative Event in Athens, Greece, Radical Group Hosts Well-Attended Solidarity Meeting," The Armenian Reporter, Thursday, May 1, 1986. The full text of this report is presented as Appendix III. One unfortunately reads in this report that Greece had cabinet-level representation and full political party delegations in this ARF solidarity meeting, along with attendance by all other Middle Eastern terror factions and the Bulgarian Ambassador to Greece. The underlying character of all these factions is their open hostility toward Turkey, the U.S.A., and Israel.

Under the "Fields and Means of Liberation Struggle," one reads the following important statement:

"4. The deployment of all available economic and technological means in order to exert additional pressure."

This statement indicates that ARF has no moral constraints or imperatives by giving blanket blessing to the use of all technological means to achieve HAI TAHD.

The Platform under "International Powers, A. Turkey" lists a large number of action items, some of which should concern the Turkish government alone. However, there are dicta there which should properly concern, also, the U.S.A. as well as the whole free world. For example:

"2. . . .However, on both internal and external fronts, HAI TAHD related propaganda should emphasize our political claims rather than the genocide, in order to dissipate the externally-inspired and gradually-expanding mentality that the Armenian people would be satisfied if Turkey would express its regrets regarding the past and make merely symbolic amends."

Again, this statement should ring the ears of those members of the U.S. Congress who unsuspectingly defended H. J. Res 192 on the Congressional floor on humanitarian grounds alone. CAVEAT EMPTOR!!!

"5. To seek grounds for cooperation with local and other movements aiming to destabilize Turkey. To cultivate our relations with all those governments and peoples who have reason to be dissatisfied with or are hostile to Turkey; to try to identify points of agreement with Kurdish liberation and Turkish dissident movements. To fight against the continuation of Turkey's membership in the European common market."

This paragraph goes a long way to explain why the Armenian terror struck high tone during and following the Cyprus dispute in the early 70s and how and why they peaked from 1978 to 1982 as the destabilizing monies and other logistical supplies kept pouring in to the internationally-connected terrorist network via the Bulgarian, Russian, Greek, and Syrian connections. The ARF certainly played and keeps playing a kingpin role in the orchestration of these destabilization efforts by their own admission. This is no news to Turks, but there are many gullible purists in the echelons of the U.S. Government and the U.S. Congress to dispute it. Do they still need to see the smoking gun?

After reviewing each geopolitical power block separately vis-a-vis HAI TAHD, the ARF Platform dictates:

"J. The Socialist International - To develop relations with the socialist international and to establish closer relations with socialist parties and generally with the socialist world, reintroducing them to the ARF, with its past and present, and endeavoring to secure their assistance in the realization of the just rights of the Armenian people."

The ARF, openly socialistic and leftist with the strong third world jargon and dicta in its charter and strong characterization of the U.S.A., Turkey, and the Western world as imperialistic, is strangely mute on Jews in general and Israel in particular. This is, of course, done with deliberate deception. The ARF has been actively wooing the Jewish support both in the U.S.A. and in Israel for HAI TAHD. In light of the text of the Platform and the interpretation thereof, it is obvious and beyond any doubt that the ARF and Israel belong to opposite political camps. The ARF belonging to the camp of the captive nations is on the side of the PLO as well as all the other Middle Eastern factions opposing Israel's presence and policies. Therefore, it is most pertinent to draw the attention of all Jewish organizations to the 23rd World Congress ARF Political Platform.

"K. Practical Methods of Pursuing HAI TAHD . . .

2. In the sphere of politics and propaganda, professionalism in activities is essential. . .

3. Where necessary and practical, the ARF Bureau shall establish HAI TAHD offices. At the same time, the ARF 23rd World Congress proposes to the regional bodies to establish, where necessary or possible, local HAI TAHD offices for their own HAI TAHD activities.

4. . . .If possible, a system of gradually increasing taxation will be initiated throughout the Diaspora for the purpose of financing HAI TAHD activities."

The "taxation" in Article 4 above warrants attention. Tax in sovereign states can be imposed only by the state via legislative authority. Is ARF a state within a state? Or, should one surmise that "taxation" really means "extortion" by ARF? In either case, legal vigilance is warranted.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The Political Platform of the ARF's 23rd World Congress is a rare and a very significant document and should be analyzed and carefully interpreted both here and abroad and particularly in Turkey. It should be made available in the U.S.A. in its entirety to law and order authorities, lawmakers, and all offices of the Executive Branch, particularly the State Department. It should be taken seriously because of its dangers.

From the Political Platform of the 23rd World Congress of ARF, we learn that ARF has decided to upscale its posture as more of a leftist-socialist, militant-terrorist organization. The reasons for this appear to be twofold. First, ARF, both in its executive ranks and in its grass roots, has been heavily infiltrated by the more militant and extreme leftist Middle East base younger emigres. Second, ARF's ties with the present surge of worldwide leftist terrorist network have been consolidated.

ARF in its Political Platform implicates the U.S.A. and the West as imperialistic, capitalist systems opposing HAI TAHD. It vows allegiance to leftist-socialist systems and governments. It vows to work closely with the third world countries, captive nations, and all other Revolutionary and terrorist factions opposing Turkey. It vows to fight Turkey and anything Turkish in all fronts with all technological means, none barred. It makes a big pitch about awakening the conscious of its youth. A new parallel program, possibly modeled after PLO, is the installation of HAI TAHD centers around the world to take the Armenian Case to the political-judicial fora. To support HAI TAHD centers, which will have regional freedom in managing its own affairs, it proposes a plan to levy a HAI TAHD tax on all Armenians. Furthermore, ARF insists on professionalism in all of its institutions, rather than a volunteer basis operation, for better image and impact.

ARF pledges that the ultimate goal is a free, united, and integral Armenia with the liberation of its historic fatherland from Turkey. It claims all this will be achieved in steps, and each step is a building base for the next stage. The Platform mentions specifically judicial and political claims on the basis of nearly 70-year-old, still-born Wilsonian principles and the Sevres agreement. Now, what do we conclude from all this?

ARF's dangers can be real and imagined. ARF has been, historically speaking, long on rhetoric and short on accomplishments. Historically, it has led the Armenian people from disaster to disaster. Verdict on ARF's crimes and faults was expressed best by one of its past leaders, H. Katchaznouni, who concluded by the famous "ARF Has Nothing To Do Anymore" speech at Budapest at the ARF Party's World Convention in 1923. Today, despite the broadened support base for ARF among the Armenian circles, there are factions in these circles who would like to see ARF leaders taken to a people's court and punished for their crimes against their own brethren. This, however, is an unlikely occurrence, because of the way ARF operates. ARF is a well-trenched, sinister, and vicious organization. It controls by imposing fear and living up to it. This fanaticism and fatalism is ARF's real danger. It is precisely for this reason that this Political Platform should be taken seriously. The real dangers are such that with scaled up programs and execution, ARF will cause further tragedies on many innocent lives around the world and particularly on the Turks. This cannot and should not be taken lightly.

On the imagined dangers, one can safely say that history provides the best answers again. The Turkish nation belongs to the great nation's club of history. Great nations are not pulled out of a hat! There are legitimate historic reasons for their rise to greatness. Such nations have dominated or shaped man's destiny with great empires; have made noted wars and peaces; have affected disasters as well as great progresses. At the time of threats to national existence, such nations have always produced the right leaders to survive and come up on top. For the Turks, it has always been this way. Armenians, throughout their history, except for a small kingdom in Cilicia in ancient times, have never attained independent statehood of any form and, therefore, lack the traditions and necessary elements and prerequisites to form governments and maintain sovereign nationhood. Unfortunately, ARF, in its fanaticism and pathetic lack of self examination, is blind to the realities of history. Therefore, the imagined dangers of ARF's threats to Turkey's national security shall be just that, imagined, in the futile minds of ARF's leaders.

There again, however, ample potential exists to retard the progress of modern Turkey and cause frustrating strains in her relations internationally, not to mention reprehensible distortion of the Turkish character and heritage.

What can one recommend to the Turkish Government(s) vis-a-vis HAI TAHD? A non-exhaustive list may go as follows:

1. Study critically the ARF 23rd Congress Political Platform. Armenian/Greek complicity is real. Do meaningful short/long term strategic planning to thwart the dangers.

2. Turks do not know their recent history at all. They do not seem to realize that they have enemies in fanatic elements of Armenians/Greeks/Kurds until they go abroad and are totally unprepared for the shock. This artificial sense of security is dangerous and should be obliterated through meaningful history programs in the Turkish educational system.

3. The nerve center of ARF is here in the U.S.A. Investment by the Turkish Government in the U.S.A. is a security for the future. Expanded TSI, a sizeable and neutral Turkish-American trust fund, to foster Turkish-American relations jointly in all fronts and particularly in arts, culture, social sciences, and business are significant issues to consider.

4. The Turkish Government ought to be meticulous in handling the Armenian issue. Plans, programs, and promises should be real, attainable, and on schedule. The Ottoman archives issue is case in point.

5. Public relations are the weakest point of the Turkish Government. Officials in the high echelons of the government have to get used to using expert opinions, professional speech writers, rehearsed media sessions, proper press releases, etc.

6. Quality of scholarships at Turkish universities should be upgraded in history, political sciences, human and international relations with proper selection and compensation of worthy faculty who can compete and survive in the international fora.

7. The Turkish Government should realize that a volunteer-based Turkish-American Assembly is not an adequate challenge to the vast and professionally run Armenian machinery in the U.S.A. This issue should be a part of the strategic planning mentioned earlier.

8. True to the Political Platform's dictates, ARF in the U.S.A. is poised to place a notable Armenian American in a high political office in Washington on near term. There is too much partying between Vice President George Bush and the Armenians to warrant caution. California Governor George Deukmejian is the leading candidate, short term. Take notice.

APPENDIX I

Political Platform of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) - Ratified by the 23rd Armenian World Congress

Editor's Note: "As the vanguard of the Armenian people's political thought, Revolutionary will, and organizational strength, the 'Armenian Revolutionary Federation' feels the responsibility to keep all the Armenian people informed of the decision of the party's supreme assembly, the ARF World Congress, and particularly of the Political Platform determined by that assembly.

These decisions are based on the evaluation of the operation of the ARF and the problems of the Armenian people on all levels over the four years preceding the 1985 World Congress, and determine the direction of the following four years.

We therefore offer to our readers, beginning with this issue, a translation of the Political Platform, from the original published in the July 9-23 issue of 'DROSHAG,' the central organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation:

Hairenik Weekly*
August 16, 1986

*This translation of the original from 'DROSHAG' by the Hairenik Weekly was published in four installments starting on August 16, 1986 through September 20, 1986.

"The general Political Platform of the ARF stems basically from the Political Platform of the ARF Program (DZERAKIR).

Proceeding from these political demands, and based on current Armenian national realities and the international situation, the 23rd ARF World Congress defines the Armenian Cause (HAI TAHD) in the following manner, and for the next four years clarifies the principles and goals of the strategy of the ARF, and gives tactical directions for various realms of political relations.

1. Definition of the Armenian Cause:

A. As a result of international relations based on speculative interests and the imperialist aims of the superpowers of the East and West in relation to the Middle East, the Armenian question still remains unresolved, in a state of persistent neglect and disdain, and the Armenian people remain denied of their national-political and economic rights.

B. Soviet Armenia, with its area of 30,000 sq. km., constitutes only one-sixth of the Armenian homeland as defined by the Wilsonian arbitral award and the Treaty of Sevres.

C. Of the total Armenian population, only about one-half live in Soviet Armenia and on the Armenian territories of the transcaucasus; the rest (consisting mostly of the population of the Armenian provinces forcefully occupied by Turkey) live in other Soviet and non-Soviet countries.

D. The genocide planned and executed against the Armenian people by Turkey not only remains unpunished to this day, but indirectly continues, as the displaced masses of Armenians, deprived of collective existence on their ancestral soil, are in danger of gradually losing their national identify.

As a continuation of the genocide, the governments of Turkey have pursued a policy of destroying monuments of Armenian culture, and are pursuing their policy of persecuting Armenians by exerting pressure through diplomatic and other means on Armenians and on organizations representing the Armenian Cause.

Proceeding from these affirmations and based on international law, the declaration of human rights, the right of nations to self-determination, and especially on the indisputable and permanent historical, political, legal, and moral rights of the Armenian nation to all its ancestral territories, the 23rd World Congress affirms that:

1. The principal political aim of the ARF remains the realization of a free, independent and integral Armenia, encompassing the Wilsonian boundaries, Nakhichevan, Gharabagh and Akhalkalak.

2. Only with the realization of a free, independent and integral Armenia can the Armenian people come together in their homeland and develop freely and uninhibitedly as an equal member of the family of nations.

For the ARF, it is the totality of these convictions, goal and demands that form the Armenian Cause.

The Armenian Cause has historical, political, legal and moral foundations and consists essentially of the following points:

A. Realization of an integral Armenia on the territories of Eastern and Western Armenia.

B. The Assembly of Armenians from the Soviet and non-Soviet Diaspora on their integral homeland.

C. The building of a free and independent Armenia, on the basis of national self-determination.

2. Strategy:

Our era, especially since World War II, can be characterized by three key occurrences:

A. The industrial revolution and technological revolution.

B. The reinforcement of governmental structures, to the detriment of citizens rights.

C. Expansive national and social movements.

The development of a worldwide communication system resulting from the industrial revolution makes our planet smaller and facilitates relations among people and the development of cooperation among them.

These immense changes have great influence on human society, which is divided into two distinct and opposed fronts.

1. On the one hand these changes place immense means and facilities at the disposal of world dominating states, expanding their political and economic domination, especially by turning their industrial and technological progress into a monopoly.

2. On the other hand these changes create equally great possibilities for the expansion and development of national and social liberation and anti-tyrannical movements.

Parallel to political liberation, this worldwide struggle has divided the world into two inimical fronts, described by groupings like industrial and backward, developed and underdeveloped, north and south, wealthy and poor countries.

Simultaneously, within both fronts the problem of the conflict between man and society, between the individual and the collectivity develops.

Among others, the Armenian people, at the present stage of their liberation struggle, and in their present state of national and geographical dispersion, finds itself at this international and intra-social crossroads, subject to contradicting and frequently misleading influences and pressures.

In the present international and national situation, and in light of the principle of self-determination for all nations, the struggle waged by the Armenian people for its survival and national liberation enters a new direction, requiring a fundamentally different mode of operation.

It is essential to make the Armenian liberation struggle compatible with the spirit, circumstances and requirements of modern times, by implementing a clear strategy and modern means.

The pursuit of the Armenian Cause in its present phase, is the continuation of the national liberation struggle of the Armenian people, whose leader and basic factor has been the ARF, since its inception.

Examining the present status of the Armenian nation and the international situation, and basing thereupon the ARF's strategic principles, the 23rd World Congress affirms the following:

1. Intra-National Front:

A. Soviet Armenia, as a structured state, and with over three million Armenians, along with the Armenians living in the Armenian territories of the Caucasus (Gharabagh, Nakhichevan, Akhalkalak), as the largest concentration of Armenians, presently have a limited but important role to play in the pursuit of the Armenian Cause.

B. The Soviet Diaspora, subject to the danger of cultural assimilation, can on occasion play a role in the pursuit of HAI TAHD.

C. The non-Soviet Diaspora, despite the consuming influence of foreign environments, with its approximately two million Armenians, is under more favorable conditions to carry on political activity. In spite of all kinds of obstacles arising in the path of the free development of social and national life, the organized communities of the non-Soviet Diaspora are endowed with sufficient possibilities to pursue the Armenian question on the national and international front.

2. External Front:

A. On the road to the resolution of the Armenian Cause, our enemy is Turkey. Turkey is an empire created by a continuous genocidal policy and through the forcible conquest of other peoples' homelands. It has a Chauvanistic, expansionist, and pan-Turanic essence. The continuing existence of the Turkish empire is fundamentally in opposition with the Armenian Cause.

B. At the present phase of the efforts toward the resolution of the Armenian Cause, American and generally western imperialism is clearly opposed to us, with its economic and strategic considerations in general, and with its favorable stance toward Turkey, in particular.

C. The full resolution of the Armenian Cause becomes difficult also because of the Soviet Union's expansionist tendencies in general and because of its plans for the Middle East in particular.

STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES

Proceedings from these affirmations, the 23rd, ARF World Congress, examining the imperatives of the national liberation struggle of the Armenian people, all its present possibilities, and probable methods and fields of operation, adopts the following strategic principles:

A. The political liberation of the Armenian people -- the creation of an independent Armenian national state -- constitutes the basis and precondition for the Armenian people's total socio-economic liberation. Therefore, the pursuit of the Armenian Cause, with its immediate and distant goals, is in practice the top priority for the ARF. All its strategic and tactical decisions emanate from the imperatives of our national liberation struggle.

B. The ARF conducts an independent policy. Loyal to its ideological precepts, and while placing the Armenian Cause in the context of the universal socialist struggle for the total freedom and equality of individuals and nations, the ARF does not tie the Armenian liberation struggle to the rivaling superpowers.

C. In its pursuit of the Armenian Cause, the ARF remains demanding of all states, but especially of Turkey, which, as the state which has subjected the Armenian people to genocide and occupies the largest part of their homeland, still remains the basic usurper of the rights of the Armenian people and the main enemy of their political cause.

D. The ARF accepts that based on external political conditions and the opportunities they offer, the resolution of the Armenian Cause can take place in stages, while our strategic goal remains the creation of a free, independent and integral Armenia, and each success constitutes a temporary stage of the struggle.

E. As a political-revolutionary party that leads the Armenian national liberation struggle, the ARF may establish tactical cooperation with governments, other peoples involved in national liberation struggles, or revolutionary movements. It is, however, a condition that the reciprocal assistance be clearly defined and the Armenian Cause benefit substantially from such cooperation.

F. As a rule, our party's position toward a power is contingent upon the stance of that external or internal power toward the Armenian national liberation struggle and the ARF's platform on that struggle.

G. For the ARF it is essential from a strategic point of view that in the pursuit of the Armenian Cause, all the potential of the Armenian people be used. Our struggle is based on the power of the people and on our structures in them.

Therefore, while the ARF rejects the notion of the Diaspora as an end in itself, it is imperative that the Armenian communities be organized and strengthened in political, communications, cultural, social and economical terms; that national-social life be vitalized; to the extent possible,

harmonious cooperation with other Armenian political parties be achieved; and all our supporters and non-partisans rally around the national liberation struggle led by the ARF.

H. The communities of the Diaspora differ from their surroundings on religious, cultural, political, or other grounds. These differences come from the imperative of being nationally distinct. Stressing the differences between us and our surroundings is based upon the fact that only as a minority with a specific cultural-political identity, are we able to continue our struggle energetically and persistently in the Diaspora communities. The revelation and development of our differences from our surroundings take us toward remaining Armenian and then becoming politicized.

Under no circumstances, however, should the efforts toward a separate identity be for its own sake. Rather, they should aim at politicization, and the effort toward politicization should lead to a further awakening of Armenianness and culture.

I. It is equally essential to bring youth into our ranks; to give shape to its ideological character through healthy ARF education; to politicize and revolutionize the ranks of the ARF and especially the ARF youth organizations; and to develop our people's political consciousness, militant spirit and the atmosphere of liberation struggle and revolution, in order to utilize every force toward the resolution of the Armenian Cause.

J. Among all our dispersed people, but especially among our youth, the understanding and conviction must take root, that the Armenian has one homeland and the countries in which he lives, while serving as quarters for the organization of our national-social and educational-cultural life, are only stages in our national liberation struggle. Any activities of a local-political, governmental, social or other nature, any effort to become a force in a given country, must take into consideration the imperatives of the Armenian Cause, the deep consciousness of belonging to one and the same nation and the abiding resolve of creating a one and only Armenian homeland.

K. The imperative of assisting in the preservation, safety, and quantitative development of the approximately four million Armenians of Armenia and trans-Caucasia; the strengthening of their national consciousness and will to survive; and the gradual recognition of their national-collective and human rights are top priorities in the ARF strategy. Any tactical decision or operation must always keep this imperative in mind and never contradict or endanger it.

The national, political, and social aspirations of the Armenians in Armenia, in turn, have a decisive role in the expansion and fruition of the liberation struggle, and cannot be ignored by the ARF.

L. The ARF, on the path toward the resolution of the Armenian Cause, guards the physical and cultural integrity and safety of all Armenian communities, and especially the less dispersed and organized masses living near the homeland, and when necessary organizes and leads their self-defense, always paying special attention to the preservation of their Armenian identity and the development of their political, social and economic strength.

STRATEGIC PROPOSALS

In accordance with the demands enunciated in the ARF Program, the definition of the Armenian Cause, the strategic principles, and also the national liberation struggle it leads, the ARF aims at fundamentally changing the political and social situation of the Armenian people. On this basis, the ARF proposes the following:

A. Force Turkey to change its inflexible position and comply with justice and the recognition of the rights of the Armenian people, keeping it under pressure in every possible way, striking its governmental, political, economic and other structures and weakening its international position and the aid it enjoys.

B. (Note: Item B is missing in the article???)

C. Make the Armenian Cause current and international.

D. Wage propaganda and political struggle against all those states and powers, which take special efforts to assist Turkey, keep its present borders intact and improve its economy.

E. Within the bounds of the Armenian national liberation struggle, establish cooperation with third world states, especially Middle Eastern states and revolutionary movements, always on the basis of reciprocal assistance and interests.

F. Attempt to establish mutual understanding and, at least on a propaganda level, ties of mutual assistance with other national liberation and revolutionary movements. Whenever suitable, have a positive stance toward other liberation movements.

G. Establish closer ties with socialist parties and governments, in order to keep them well aware of the rights of the Armenian nation and to secure their positive positions.

H. Have a demanding stance toward the Soviet Union on the annexation of Armenian Gharabagh, Nakhichevan and Akhalkalak to the present Armenia.

I. Support the population of Armenia in its quest for human and national rights, but always taking care to keep them away from collective adventurism which can harm present Armenia, and thereby the prospects for resolving the Armenian Cause.

FIELDS AND MEANS OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The fields and means of the Armenian national liberation struggle complement each other and cannot replace one another. The ARF Bureau plans their allocations to the regions and oversees their implementation. Each central, Megusi, and Arantznagi Gomideh assesses its region's tactical possibilities and undertakes the implementation of the decisions.

The fields and means are the following:

1. Expansive demonstrative activity in all its forms.
2. Propaganda, in its various expressions, on the internal and external fronts.
3. Intensified direct and indirect activity in the fields of political relations and diplomacy.
4. The deployment of all available economic and technological means in order to exert additional pressure.

INTERNATIONAL POWERS

A. Turkey:

The 23rd ARF World Congress affirms:

Because of geographical and historical circumstances, Armenia and Turkey, the Armenian nation and the Turkish nation, are bound to live side by side, to coexist and to cultivate neighborly relations based on reciprocal understanding and sincere cooperation within the framework of a harmonious coexistence with other neighboring nations.

But, successive Turkish governments stubbornly continue the Hamadist, Ittihadist, and Kemalist Armenocidal, and fanatically nationalistic policy, which was expressed in its harshest form in the 1915 genocide organized by the state. The Turkish government obstinately refuses to recognize Armenia's right to exist and the inalienable right of the Armenian people to live on their ancestral lands and to create their independent statehood by way of self-determination.

The Turkish leadership implements this criminal policy by exploiting the favorable arrangement of international forces and political circumstances, and especially by exploiting the artificial international balance of power, established by brute force, in Asia Minor, and the Caucasus.

Turkey continues to occupy the major portion of the ancestral lands of the Armenian people. Turkey has a clearly intransigent position regarding the inalienable rights of the Armenian people, a position which consists of discrediting the Armenian people, diminishing their political clout and nullifying their status as claimant.

As a consequence of this fanatically nationalistic and genocidal policy of the Turkish government, the hostile dispositions between the Armenian and Turkish peoples became permanent to the detriment of both peoples and their nations.

As a result of this intolerant polity, the Armenian people have no choice but to resort to self-defense to insure their physical existence and right to self determination by means of a continuous struggle for national liberation

and in order to establish their free and independent homeland on their ancestral lands occupied as a result of the genocide perpetrated by Turkey. The Armenian right to these lands was established by the August 10, 1920, Treaty of Sevres, which was also signed by the official representative of the Turkish government of the day.

Therefore, the ARF 23rd World Congress decides:

1. To expend efforts for the solution of the Armenian Cause (HAI TAHD) within political and government circles of the world, and especially with member states of the U.S. and states signatory to the Treaty of Sevres;

2. To raise the question of Armenocide on the international scene on a juridicial and political basis. However, on both internal and external fronts, HAI TAHD related propaganda should emphasize our political claims rather than the genocide, in order to dissipate the externally-inspired and gradually-expanding mentality that the Armenian people would be satisfied if Turkey would express its regrets regarding the past and make merely symbolic amends;

3. To dispute pro-Turkish policies, even in those countries where Armenians live. To make attempts, with states which support Turkey, to halt economic and military aid to Turkey. To wage economic war against Turkey;

4. As claimant, and without taking into consideration the attitude of Turkey's allies, to intensify our written and oral propaganda in favor of the liberation of our occupied lands, by all available means.

To demand compensation for the properties stolen from the Armenian people, as well as for the destruction of our villages, cities and cultural wealth.

To continuously unveil the Turkish government's policy of discrimination and pressuring in regard to the Armenian and Kurdish nations and other minorities in Turkey. To inform the various governments, other political powers, and the media that Turkey, a signatory of the Treaty of Lausanne, continually violates the provisions of that treaty and of the Helsinki Agreement pertaining to the human rights of minorities;

5. To seek grounds for cooperation with local and other movements aiming to destabilize Turkey.

To cultivate our relations with all those governments and peoples who have reason to be dissatisfied with, or are hostile to, Turkey; to try to identify points of agreement with Kurdish liberation and Turkish dissident movements.

To fight against the continuation of Turkey's membership in the European common market;

6. To vigilantly monitor the Turkish press and publications in order to react to all statements which are anti-Armenian, distort history, or discredit the struggle of the Armenian people. Likewise, to monitor the foreign press in order to reply to similar articles with letters and with clarifying articles;

7. In order to understand Turkey's strategic and diplomatic advantages as well as its internal socio-political difficulties, and in order to accordingly expand our anti-Turkish struggle, it is necessary to base the study of Turcology on professionalism. Thus, Turkey's vulnerable points, and the direction of our efforts will be determined;

8. The rights of Armenians, in the Diaspora, to return to their fatherland and reside on their ancestral lands should be the basis of the HAI TAHD propaganda aimed at foreign public opinion and international circles in relation to our territorial claims;

9. To make special efforts with international organizations (such as UNESCO) and governments, to request the preservation and reconstruction of Armenian cultural monuments, which are subject to destruction in Turkey;

10. To unveil the Turkish state's dictatorial behavior in respect to its citizens;

11. To monitor Turkey's Middle Eastern political, economic, and propagandistic activities, which, with the overt complicity of the world powers, pursue the weakening and demoralization of the collective forces of the Armenian people, by way of economic and terroristic acts.

Therefore, our ungers (comrades) and our people should thoroughly study and be aware of Turkey's Middle Eastern politics. Also, our institutions should be organized with the capability of countering Turkey's intrigues;

12. To fight by all available means the initiative to establish nuclear stations in Turkey.

SOVIET UNION

The 23rd World Congress resolves that:

1. In relation to the current realities of the Armenian nation, the Soviet Union has a distinct and important role; inasmuch as present Armenia, with its homogeneous population of three million, forms part of the union, and also because there live another one and a half million Armenians in various parts of the Soviet Union.

This reality lends special meaning and importance to the Soviet factor in determining the tactical and strategic positions of the ARF;

2. Notwithstanding the terms of the Treaty with the Republic of Armenia, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic has only nominal freedom and independence, and is only a small part of the governing, centralized and totalitarian, Soviet structure;

3. Despite Soviet propaganda continually extolling the principles of "fraternity, equality and justice" among nations, even within the boundaries of the Soviet Union lands belonging to Armenia (Karabagh, Akhalkalak, Nakhichevan) actually remain seized from Armenia and are annexed to

neighboring republics. In addition, as a consequence of the imposed administrative-political situation, the Armenian population of these regions is gradually losing its homogeneity. Therefore, the ARF presents itself to the Soviet Union as the claimant for the demands of the return of those Armenian lands to Armenia;

4. Various groupings of Armenians, dispersed in different parts of the Soviet Union, are deprived of Armenian schools and all facilities for maintaining national Armenian collective and organized life. Moreover, the central government spares no effort to gradually vitiate the distinct character and language of those national minorities, thereby assimilating them into a general Russo-Soviet image. Apart from this, even within the borders of Soviet Armenia, sustained work is carried on, the purpose of which is the corruption of national image and the Russification of the people. All this is contrary to the basic rights of a nation to free existence and development, and in this connection, also, the ARF presents itself to the Soviet Union as the defender of these rights as they apply to the Armenians;

5. (Note: There is no Number 5 printed printed in this article???)

6. Bearing in mind the fact captioned herein, under item (1), and taking into account the reality that the existence of both present Armenia and the creation and continued existence of a future united and independent Armenia inevitably will be closely related also the Soviet Union, or to the overall policy of Russia, the ARF, while remaining faithful to its national, social and humanitarian understanding, which cannot be reconciled to Communist-Soviet totalitarianism, decides to limit its demands and criticisms to Armenia, the Armenian nation and the Armenian Case, and to abstain from taking a unilateral stand against the Soviet Union in matters pertaining to international questions.

THE UNITED STATES

Considering the United States' attitude, against the Armenian Case and in favor of Turkey -- because of the government's strategic-political and economic interests -- and considering the possibilities of the large Armenian communities in the U.S., the 23rd World Congress resolves:

1. With clear cut positions and propaganda, to condemn the negative attitudes of the American government vis-a-vis the Armenian Case, by clarifying the essence of our cause on historical and juridical grounds.

2. Wage a propaganda campaign in favor of the Armenian Case with the American people as well as with political and governmental circles;

3. To assist the activities of the Armenian community in the U.S. in gaining influence within political circles.

COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN WORLD

Considering the fact that Armenians living in the western countries present considerable value both numerically and qualitatively, the plan to transform these Armenian populations into a political factor is a matter of serious importance to our party. Carrying out such a goal requires well-planned work in social and public relations fields, being guided particularly by the principles of the Armenian Case and the requirements emanating from our national and political demands.

Countries located in the geographically western sphere, with more or less democratic institutions and social structures that guarantee equality of rights, provide the possibilities of becoming a collective force and using the latter in the pursuit of the political cause of the Armenian people.

In light of the above, and the fact that the attitude adopted by the ARF regional executives toward these western countries will depend on the latter's stance regarding HAI TAHD, the World Congress affirms:

1. The great powers of the world, as well as the signatory states of the Sevres Treaty, have moral and political commitments toward the Armenian people, and to this day have an obligation toward the Armenian Case;

2. Under the present international situation, it is important to obtain a positive approach and diplomatic assistance, on the part of the great states including the western states, in order to attain a favorable solution of the Armenian Case.

And on this basis, also decides:

1. To carry out a well planned program at work, among western states, for the creation of a favorable disposition toward HAI TAHD, urging especially the Sevres signatory states to give practical effect to their commitments;

2. In the event that any western state adopts a position against the pursuit of the Armenian Cause and seeks to refute or place under suspicion our rights to monetary compensation and lands through governmental and other means, that we must oppose these attitudes with all possible means;

3. Being constantly aware that Turkey's unchanging political and diplomatic strategy seeks to take advantage of the interest by the competing and opposing interests of the great powers in geopolitical and strategic possibilities, to try to reach substantive results from our determined struggle against the military and economic aid afforded Turkey by western countries so that the enemy, through its opportunists' course, will not have the opportunity of negotiations and established sustained relations;

4. (Note: Number 4 is not printed in this article???)

5. To study the number and situation of Turkish workers in Europe, as well as their ties with the Turkish government and their future political potential; to take pertinent steps to assure that they do not become an anti-Armenian weapon.

COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE

Considering that:

- A. The communities which still exist in the various countries of eastern Europe have a limited national life;
- B. That there are negative attitudes against Turkey in these countries resulting from historical and political opposition;
- C. That these communities are not involved in HAI TAHD activities;

The ARF 23rd World Congress resolves:

- 1. To demand from the leadership of Soviet Armenia to take necessary steps in catering to the national, cultural and educational needs of these communities, in order to revitalize them.
- 2. On suitable occasions, to create interest in these communities vis-a-vis HAI TAHD (Armenian Cause), with the expectation that they too will create a positive attitude regarding HAI TAHD, within the people and government circles, in a manner which they may see fit.

COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Whereas,

- 1. Because of their vast Armenian centers, large concentrations of residents and conditions which lend to congregation, the Armenians in the Middle East constitute the main anchor of our national-political struggle. This is also true from a strategic and geopolitical point of view.
- 2. The Middle Eastern countries, especially those areas which are proximate to Armenia, have particular importance in the political struggle of the Armenian people.
- 3. The importance of the Middle Eastern countries for HAI TAHD become even more accentuated, in view of Turkey's efforts to cultivate closer political and economic ties with these countries.

The 23rd World Congress decides:

- A. By way of written and oral propaganda, to encourage the Armenian citizens of these countries to meticulously perform their civic duties, and to contribute to the prosperity of the country and the people.
- B. Occasional and temporary difficulties resulting from political fluctuations should be confronted with the discipline and behavior of conscientious citizens. We should not abandon these countries and we should not panic. On the contrary, we should endure every difficulty, and with our persistent efforts contribute to the preservation of their independence and political freedoms, and to the improvement of socio-economic conditions.

C. Taking advantage of all the opportunities offered by the Middle Eastern countries in relation to the participation of the Armenian people in government and politics, no effort should be spared to ensure the sympathetic disposition of the government circles of these countries towards HAI TAHD.

D. While operating within the boundaries of this general guideline, the responsible bodies of the region must also take into consideration the local circumstances and act accordingly. They must take all necessary measures to avoid voluntarily hurting the organizational and community lives of sister regions.

E. Our bodies operating in countries located on Turkey's boundaries must find ways to stop, or at least limit, the flow of Armenians from regions proximate to Turkey and to other countries. It is also necessary to strengthen the "Armenianness" of these regions.

F. The ARF must avoid the interstate disputes of the Middle Eastern countries except when Turkey is involved. In such instances, we should favor the country opposing Turkey, and provide all possible assistance.

THIRD WORLD

Considering the ARF's principle to run an independent policy,

Considering the numerical importance of the third world countries within the UN and other international organizations,

The 23rd World Congress resolves:

1. In order to generate favorable attitudes regarding HAI TAHD, to develop political ties with these countries in general, and with non-aligned countries and international organizations sponsored by them, in particular.

2. To promote a favorable public opinion within the peoples of the third world as it relates to HAI TAHD.

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The ARF 23rd World Congress affirms that:

A. The cause for the liberation of captive nations and for their right to free self-determination is one and indivisible;

B. The success of national liberation movements and struggles is one of the prerequisites for the complete liberation of all mankind;

C. Inter-aid for national liberation movements is the essential obligation of freedom-loving people, inasmuch as the successful struggle for the freedom of one of the captive nations, directly or indirectly, simultaneously is an asset to the cause of others.

Hence, the ARF 23rd World Congress resolves:

1. The cooperation of the ARF with movements of national liberation must be contingent on mutual commitments and the mutual respect of the rights of all parties involved and the interests of HAI TAHD, so long as our national interests are not jeopardized.

2. In cases where there cannot be cooperation with national liberation movements based on reciprocal interest, our positive attitude and sympathy must not go beyond written or oral expressions.

3. The ARF must try to take the initiative in setting up a council composed of representatives of peoples deprived of sovereignty, unjustly treated, and waging wars of national liberation. The council will coordinate the various efforts of liberation in a united manner and pursue their resolution.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS

1. The right of nations to be free, independent and equal, as well as the respect for human rights, form the basis of the United Nations, principles to which members are committed and for which they are responsible.

2. Decades experience has shown us, however, that these principles have so far been mere theoretical formulas, rather than sources of power to change the letter to spirit and the word to action. In fact, it is only the organized force that makes possible the success of such an attempt at the UN.

3. Based on these two points, the ARF 23rd World Congress decides to take advantage of the possibilities offered by the UN and to continue occasional or permanent contacts and conversations with the representatives of its member countries, with the commissions and subcommissions and to delegate the representatives of the ARF bodies to act as deemed necessary.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

To develop relations with the socialist international and to establish closer relations with socialist parties and generally with the socialist world, reintroducing them to the ARF, with its past and present, and endeavoring to secure their assistance in the realization of the just rights of the Armenian people.

PRACTICAL METHODS OF PURSUING HAI TAHD

The ARF 23rd World Congress after examining the various practical methods of pursuing HAI TAHD, arrived at the following decisions to which must also be added the similar decisions adopted under the heading of "Political Policy.

1. To obtain the maximum results from the practical pursuit of HAI TAHD, it is essential to follow to the letter and consistently a pan-Armenian plan prepared by the Bureau;

2. In the sphere of politics and propaganda, professionalism in activities is essential which must be characterized by a clear delineation of areas, as well as recruiting party and non-party experts by entrusting special assignments to each;

3. Where necessary and practical, the ARF Bureau shall establish HAI TAHD offices. At the same time the ARF 23rd World Congress proposes to the regional bodies to establish where necessary or possible, local HAI TAHD offices for their own HAI TAHD activities.

4. To ensure the maximum participation of Armenians in HAI TAHD and to secure the moral and financial assistance of our people, means of disseminating information must be instituted as well as making a large number of individuals participants in the planning and execution of HAI TAHD work. If possible, a system of gradually increasing taxation will be initiated throughout the Diaspora for the purpose of financing HAI TAHD activities.

5. Responsible organizational bodies of the regions, through HAI TAHD committees or, if necessary through other bodies, shall set themselves to:

A. Propaganda work -- establishing contacts with the foreign press, radio and television networks, government/state political circles, intellectual and student groups and other organizations or individuals, first to acquaint them with the Armenians and HAI TAHD, and second, to impel them towards expression, activity or other steps in favor of HAI TAHD;

B. Demonstrations also form part of propaganda activities, every time the occasion presents itself by public remembrance of our rights against Turkey;

C. Under the leadership of HAI TAHD committees, there shall be organized "Friends of HAI TAHD" groups composed of well known Armenian or non-Armenian figures impelling them to undertake HAI TAHD activities in various fields of work;

6. All organizational bodies, with planned and sustained activity, including lectures, propaganda and a special press campaign, must strive for the politicization and revolutionalization of our cadres and of the Armenian multitudes for the purposes of making them more communicative with the struggle for Armenian liberation based on revolutionary operational methods;

7. The ARF 23rd World congress requests that during the forthcoming quadrennial, the elected Bureau organize conferences to examine and evaluate the work of HAI TAHD and additional activities as well as to determine their nature and scope.

NATIONAL POLICY

For the ARF, the struggle for HAI TAHD is founded on the power and the operating structures of the Armenian people. Therefore, we must fight against all elements which weaken the power of The Armenian people. In addition, we must fight against all tendencies of depoliticization with creep into the Armenian popular masses as a result of self-centered and individual self-sufficiency tendencies, developing in the capitalist world.

SOVIET ARMENIA

1. Taking into consideration that a small part of the Armenian nation's historical and geographic homeland, at the present time, is located within the borders of the Soviet Union and forms the "Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic" as de facto continuation of the independent Republic of Armenia.

2. The greater part of Armenia remains occupied by Turkey, but there are also Armenian territories within the Soviet Union which are not part of Armenia.

3. Soviet Armenia not only of the aforementioned territories, but also of the essential attributes of a sovereign democratic state, i.e., freedom and independence.

The 23rd ARF World Congress affirms:

A. That the present Communist-Totalitarian regime is the forcible result of historical events and does not represent the free will of the Armenian nation. Faithful to its basic goal of a free and independent fatherland, the ARF maintains its demands against Soviet Armenia for the establishment, by the free will of the people, of a democratic regime.

B. At the same time, the ARF supports the people of Armenia and demands the complete achievement of its territorial, political and social rights. We must react, by the use of the media and all other means at our disposal, to those developments that are not beneficial for the Armenian people and to overall Armenian interests, without however jeopardizing the safety of the local population.

C. The ARF must persist in a claimant's position and at the same time drive the people of Soviet Armenia to continuously request from the government to pursue the annexation of Armenian lands of Gharabagh, Nakhichevan, and Akhalkalak to Soviet Armenia.

D. The ARF must constantly press that Soviet Armenia and the Soviet Union back our demands for the return of our ancestral lands to our people and also that they reunite the inner territories with Armenia.

In the event the government of Soviet Armenia champions territorial demands, with the assurance that those territories will be joined to Armenia, the ARF unreservedly will support such demands.

E. Every time that Communism attempts, through various means, to destroy the organizational strength or the unity of the Armenians in the Diaspora, or to weaken their consciousness or will in respect to their rightful and distinct identity, the ARF must reach (react) to such attempts with all its forces. The ARF must also exteriorize the aspiration and desire of the people in Armenia to live freely and independently.

Considering that a special HAI TAHD role has been reserved for the Diaspora, and considering that the interests of the Armenian people require the continuation of that role, the ARF must resist all attempts, which are

incited by the Soviet Union and carried out by Soviet Armenia in order to depoliticize the Diaspora, and to limit its role to one of cultural and "Hayababhanoum" activity.

F. The fatherland, with its people and intellectuals, sees in the ARF the true expression of its national-political aspirations. The ARF must continue to struggle against the national deprivation, the impediment and specially the steps taken toward Russification in Soviet Armenia.

G. The decision not to wage an anti-Soviet struggle in international matters should not be construed to mean the weakening of our critical and opposing attitude towards the negative aspects of Soviet Armenia.

H. Always faithful to its basic aim of regrouping the Armenian nation in a free and independent Armenia, the ARF endorses bringing together the Armenian people in its fatherland. On that basis, the ARF opposes the emigration from Armenia.

I. Throughout the Soviet Union, to resist against emigration from Gharabagh, Nakhichevan and Akhalkalak, even to Soviet Armenia. In fact, in the Soviet Union, there are approximately one and one half million Armenians, a portion of whom are in the process of losing their national language and identity. Immigration should start with those elements. Under present conditions, immigration from abroad should be encouraged only from those regions where the Armenian people are subject to alienation or other dangers.

J. The visits to our communities of the Diaspora by representatives of intellectual, cultural and athletic organizations from Armenia are appropriate and welcome, so long as they are intended for spreading the national culture.

Everytime that Diaspora-fatherland relations become the subject of unilateral and discriminatory action and tend to obstruct the solidarity between the people of the fatherland and of the Diaspora, it is necessary to react with corresponding firmness and persistence.

K. Also to be encouraged are visits to Armenia, thus putting the Armenians of Armenia into contact with realities abroad and with the real concerns of the Armenian people. The ARF also encourages scientific, economic and cultural assistance to Soviet Armenia from abroad.

L. The ARF demands that the government of Soviet Armenia declare April 24 a day of martyr's commemoration and make it an official holiday.

SUMMARY: Note: The following communique was issued recently by the Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the organization's highest executive body.

ARMENIANS,

The Armenian revolutionary organization has existed for 95 years. Actions of historic weight and the fluctuations at the end of the century shocked Armenia and the Armenian people. For those 95 years, as a nation, we became pilgrims on bloody roads.

The centuries-old long tyranny of the Ottomans and their anti-Armenian policies resulted in the unprecedented Armenocidal events of 1915-1923.

With the coming of the Young Turks and the Kemalist regimes, our centuries-old enemy realized its dream -- western Armenia and Cilicia were emptied of all their Armenian population.

The blood of close to two million Armenian martyrs has colored the soil of the Armenian homeland, which fell under the domination of the Turkish government.

A heavy "blood tax" was also exacted from eastern Armenians as well. The Tzarist Empire's continued policies of Russification gained new momentum with the Leninist Revolution of 1917.

The free and independent Republic of Armenia, the result of the Armenian liberation movement's 30-year struggle, was trampled upon by the Red Army.

Still reeling from the Turkish holocaust, the Armenian people unwillingly became part of the Soviet Union.

These deadly blows could have made Armenian political survival impossible if, at the deciding crossroads of Armenian history, the Armenian revolutionary federation did not stand resolutely as the watchful guardian of Armenian life on all fronts.

First in our ancestral homeland, and later in the totality of the Armenian dispersion, the Armenian revolutionary federation has always walked confidently along its chosen path of struggle, with the unwavering revolutionary belief that national causes are not waged in lax security and bourgeois comforts.

Entire generations walked the path forced by the ARF. Generations saw in Kristapor's legacy of continual struggle the complete national and social liberation of the Armenian people.

The Armenian people shook off the chains of conservatism and fatalism, which under years of slavery, had rusted the confidence and militancy of the Armenian people.

The Armenian people confidently adhered to the political creed of one, united and indivisible homeland, refusing all the artificial dividing lines imposed to fragment the sons and daughters of the same nation, as they stood up claiming their undeniable and inalienable rights to be a free nation.

Throughout the 95-year-long expansive struggle of consecutive ARF generations this direction was achieved.

Our ideologic struggle emerged as a result of that inexhaustible spirit of militancy and sacrifice which, from the beginning, has been the specific hallmark of the ARF.

Our ideological movement has been continuously persecuted, and often times, has been forced to work under difficult circumstances.

But no matter how heavy the blows received, the ARF's courage did not recognize setback or retreat, and continued to give life and determination to Armenian revolutionary will and organized strength.

The ARF, armed with its 95-year experience, continues to directly confront those dangers that seek to obstruct the Armenian peoples' collective will and national propriety.

Concentrated blows are being directed specifically at the ARF which continues to embody the Armenia peoples' independent thinking, its revolutionary sacrifice and organizational strength.

Conscious of its historical responsibility and true to its ideology and national-political traditions, the ARF presents itself to the Armenian people to re-establish and delineate the direction of its struggle for the liberation of Armenia and the Armenian people:

A. The Armenian national struggles for the total re-establishment of its social and national rights.

As a revolutionary and socialist organization, the ARF programmatically believes that the forging of humanity's bright future is dependent on the harmonious coexistence of independent nations.

Living in the reality of objective and subjective forces of the political world reinforces our belief that it is impossible to establish a stable and just peace on earth, as long as there still exist nations who are struggling for their social and national emancipation, and who are repressed because of their struggle.

This is why we see in imperialism a major danger for humanity in general and the Armenian nation in particular. Whether it originates from the East or the West. Whether it hides behind the veneer of liberalism and the false democracy of right-wing nations or behind the artificial internationalism of "radical" left nations.

Imperialism in fact creates divisions between nations simply to divide and rule, to legitimize the boundaries it has set, and to enlarge the zones of its oppression.

B. The Turkish Government with its continuing anti-Armenian policy, is the direct enemy of the Armenian nation and is historically opposed to the liberation of the Armenians.

All the governments of Republican Turkey, whether they bear military uniforms or not, have continued the same anti-Armenian hatred -- the policies of the Ittihad and Kemalist periods.

The Turkish state not only refuses to recognize the existence of Armenia, the right of the Armenians to return to their homeland and the right to establish independence through self-determination, but even falsifies the fact of the Armenocide and attempts to utilize all of the means available to a government, including, in this case, governmental or state terrorism to silence our demands.

This anti-Armenian policy is factually the continuation of the 1915 systematically, state-planned genocide, and as such, Turkey continues to be the historical enemy of the socially and nationally resurgent Armenian nation. This puts us squarely in the obligation to struggle against Turkey with all our forces.

C. Soviet Armenia not only is the source of our national confidence, but also the cornerstone of the united and independent Armenia of tomorrow.

The remaining portion of our homeland, Soviet Armenia, even under Soviet rule, continues to be the irreplaceable source of our national confidence. The ARF proudly follows the flourishing of Soviet Armenia and its progress. Our position cannot be different because the strengthening of Armenia and its progress is our surest asset in terms of the establishment and sustenance of the future unified and independent Armenia.

This is why we should care for our people in Soviet Armenia and for the intellectuals who express their concerns responsibly -- those intellectuals who strengthen the Armenianism of our land. The same land where our liberation struggle grew and where thousands of freedom fighters fell.

On this same note, the ARF cannot remain silent and will always strike the alarm and act every time Soviet authorities push ahead with their Russification policies and attempt to negate or ignore the Armenian Case.

D. Soviet Armenia and communities geographically near Armenia form the natural and irreplaceable substructure of the liberation struggle.

No national liberation movement can sustain a prolonged struggle if it is not grounded in the homeland. It is the nation that is strongly agglutinated to its homeland that can survive even the deadliest blows during its fight for freedom.

The Armenian Liberation Movement is not an exception, and the struggle toward a free and Independent Armenia can only acquire power if it is rooted in the homeland, and if the Armenian communities geographically situated around Armenia join in.

When, because of Soviet rule, Soviet Armenians cannot directly be the flag bearers of the Armenian Liberation Movement, it is the responsibility of the Armenian communities in the geographic proximity of Armenia to sustain the struggle.

This is why the ARF continues to sustain an irrevocable struggle against the emigration of Armenians from countries near Armenia. The civic difficulties of Armenians in a given context can only be superficially solved by displacement. Only through the just solution of the Armenian Question and the return of the Armenian people to Armenia can the wounds of emigration be healed. The ARF will continue to act as a dam against this emigration since it undermines the structural basis of our Liberation movement.

E. The multi-faceted organization and harmonious development of the Diaspora is the guarantee of the progress of our liberation struggle.

The strengthening of the Armenian liberation struggle is conditioned by the utilization of the Armenian people's total potential. The problems we have faced and the obstacles that obstruct our road to self-determination are such that they mandate the mobilization and organization of all the Diasporan communities into an unpostponable necessity, so that the strength of the globally dispersed Armenian masses is turned into an accountable factor to be put at the disposal of the Armenian people's national liberation movement.

On this basis the ARF works everywhere to bring to fruition, organize and compute all the powers of the Armenian people. It struggles against regional and parochial mentalities in order to make all national input tributaries to the mainstream struggle for HAI TAHD.

With the same impetus and with the Armenian people's unity with the expansion of levels of cooperation, we hold the staunch conviction to focus on the Armenian people's political progress.

F. The conjoint of our political struggle is the Armenianization of the generation growing up in the Diaspora, the premise being understanding political responsibility.

During the 95 years of its existence as a party with nationalist and socialist beliefs, the ARF has given axial importance to the cultivation and popularization of Armenian culture.

Armenian culture has been said to be the context of our national specificity upon which our future input within the harmonious coexistence of nations can be entrusted.

In the Diasporic conditions the development of our national culture is the secure armor against the dangers of assimilation and alienation.

The ARF continues to demand from Armenian intellectuals to be engaged and become active in this endeavor, to Armenianize the young generations and to bring the youth into the folds of our struggle, emphasizing the two-fold nature of their struggle.

G. The Armenian Liberation Movement's new renaissance is called to overcome the conspiratorial attempts to politically dilute the Armenian people.

The Armenian Liberation Movement's newest renaissance, which has over a decade's history, succeeded in making the voice of the "forgotten" Armenian people heard equally by the Turkish government as well as by the superpower government circles which seduce it, to governments which had taken an indifferent stance regarding the Armenian Case, and to international public opinion.

This renaissance, which gathered momentum from the blows of stalwart young Armenians, also greatly buttressed the feeling of national belonging and political will amongst the Armenian population.

As a revolutionary political party, the ARF not only showed understanding toward that movement, but also, with its rich personal experience, it did not withhold any effort, so that, from the beginning, that struggle could shake off its internal weaknesses and especially those foreign elements who, either directly or indirectly, worked for those conspiratorial powers which connived to dilute the Armenian people's collective strength.

The ARF stresses that with the choice of precise goals, that movement absolutely aids to unfold the Armenian liberation struggle. In our international resolve, it buttresses the Armenian people's will be completely regain its immutable rights, it benefits the strengthening of our internal front, and gives new impetus to the new generation's political character and enlightens the revolutionary constituency.

Thus, it remains that this powerful movement not be limited by political propaganda, but that the revolutionary mentality, which is itself a by-product of the movement's mode of operation, should spread in the masses of our people.

ARMENIAN PEOPLE

Armed with its rich experience of 95 years of history, the ARF renews its irrevocable pledge to continue the Armenian Liberation Movement with militancy and sacrifice.

During the ARF's 95-year life, its modes of operation, its global-political environments, its socio-cultural circumstances and even its targets of struggle have been subject to change. But the essence remained unchanged. The large ideological capital which defined the birth of the ARF has remained unchanged.

To serve the complete liberation of Armenia and the Armenian people is the revolutionary recommendation.

It is with the spirit of this all-sacrificing aspect that our ideological struggle, with self-confident and strong ranks, faces the dangers that threaten the Armenian people's road to liberation.

And as in its first Manifesto 95 years ago, the ARF today repeats the same encouraging call:

LET US RALLY TOGETHER, ARMENIANS, AND WITH COURAGE, PROGRESS IN THE HOLY WORK OF LIBERATING OUR HOMELAND.

Again, the Armenian Liberation Movement is living its period of high tide, but the struggle is still long and hard.

The super powers-based world attempts to drown the causes of oppressed nations in blood.

In its short-sighted orientation of imposing its capitalist order upon all mankind, bourgeois capitalism diametrically opposes all those movements for liberation which strive for a more just reshaping of the political world.

State capitalism, under the guise of socialism, creating expansionist totalitarianism, imperiously deals with liberation movements in order to make them serve their own purposes.

This is why the Armenian people must be awake and aware so that its Cause is not sacrificed again to the devious games of imperialism.

The Turkish government has put into movement its anti-Armenian weapons.

This is why the Armenian people must be ready to appropriately confront the pressures and blows of our historical enemy.

The Soviet Armenian population's expressions of national sentiment are often times subject to hindering attempts by the Soviet regime. This is why our people must cling to our national unity so that the surviving and budding Armenia of today becomes even more Armenian and opens the road for the realization of our unfulfilled aspirations.

The demanding stance of the Diasporan Armenians and the strong expressions of the liberation struggle are subject to pressures in the western world, where the U.S. administration and those powers allied to it, usually indirectly and sometimes directly, lend a helping hand to the Turkish Government's anti-Armenian propaganda and even to state terrorism, often trampling upon Armenian citizens' freedoms.

And this is why the rightfully claimant Armenian people, with a collective and resolute stance will struggle against all those who oppose the just recognition of a Cause like the HAI TAHD, and more, against those who, instead of placing the genocidal Turk squarely in the position of the accused, imprison young Armenians dedicated to the cause of justice.

The Diaspora faces all those natural or artificially-imposed dangers which threaten its communal existence, its Armenian composition, its organized societal life and its militant character.

This is why the challenge for a total mobilization for the sake of self-assertion is directed to all Armenians who are deeply concerned about the future of the Armenian people.

Like in the past, again today, the ARF, with its time-tested uncompromising dedication, is definitely present, and with its wealthy experience works to bring together and group all Armenians. Specially, the new generations around the manifest of One homeland, a Free, Independent and United Armenian State graced with democratic and socialist principles of operation, enhancing the formation of their political awareness, and strengthening their spirit of struggle and responsibility.

The Armenian people is one, and its workers, youth, and revolutionary intelligentsia's inseparable alliance is the strong basis on which the Armenian Liberation Struggle is founded and will develop.

And on that road of struggle, the ARF continues to raise its banner with the inscription -- FREEDOM OR DEATH.

We must destroy all the bridges of retreat and we must force open all the roads for the political progress of the Armenian nation.

This is the only path to victory.

ARF BUREAU

DIASPORA

1. The Soviet Diaspora:

Considering the fact that the Armenians of the Soviet Diaspora live under denationalized circumstances, where the Armenian school and public-cultural activities are absent, also considering the fact that those communities are located in many of the large and important cities of the Soviet Union;

Considering the harmful nature of emigration from Soviet Armenia to other regions of the Soviet Union;

The ARF 23rd World Congress resolves:

A. To publicly raise the issue of our concerns regarding the above-mentioned realities;

B. To demand from the leadership of Soviet Armenia to pay special attention to the national, cultural and educational needs and rights of these communities and to take measures in order to strengthen these domains;

C. To periodically raise the issue of these aspects, which form one facet of the deprivation of the Armenian people, in the arena of international public opinion and in human rights courts.

2. The Other Armenian Political Parties and The Question of Cooperation:

In spite of the difficulties of the past quadrennial, the ARF, based on its principles and goals, should continue its efforts in order to promote a unified, or at least coordinated, position and action with the national parties.

In cooperation, each party should maintain its political, ideological, moral and operational particularity and independence while harmonizing its activities with the other parties in the areas of cooperation only.

The ARF must demonstrate a critical attitude towards the positions and operations of other parties, when these are fundamentally wrong or harmful.

3. National/Church Bodies and Holy Sees:

The ARF 23rd World Congress considers the democratic principles which are specific to our national/church life and to the diocesan order, assemblies and bodies, as the foundation of the public/organizational structure of all Armenians. The bodies, elected by popular vote, are the public legislative and executive authorities, which run the national, educational, social and church-administrative operations.

It is false to believe that the Armenian church is in possession of the clergy. The Armenian church is based on the sovereignty of the people and not that of the clergy. Because of historical and Diasporan circumstances, the Armenian church has been and continues to be the center for public assemblies and bodies of the community and therefore cannot but be the object of continuous attention and pertinent concern for the ARF.

All the communities of the Diaspora must be the lively units of the one and same nation. Pan-Armenian principles and aspirations must be the guiding thrust for all organizations and powers which have a role in our national life.

Pursuant to these principal affirmations, the 23rd ARF World Congress resolves:

A. We must strive to maintain the national church authorities of all Diasporan regions of a healthy national viewpoint. Our schools, churches, national bodies and assemblies should be free from degenerative and non-national influences. For the ARF, it is fundamentally important to insure that the democratic principles and the provisions of our national constitution be implemented;

B. We observe, a little bit everywhere, a tendency within our Armenian clergy for unruly anarchism, uncontrolled operation and clerical sovereignty. And because the public frequently mistakes the Armenian church with other churches, elements aspiring to clerical sovereignty take advantage of this ignorance by implementing their designs for supremacy. In western countries especially, the Armenian youth is absolutely unaware of the democratic principles of the Armenian church, making it easier for those who have such intentions. It is necessary to always be alert, in order to caution the clergy and inform the public through the press and educational means.

C. It is not a must for our ungers to be fully occupied with public-church affairs. However, it is equally wrong to think that the Dashnagtzagan individual should not be interested, on a practical level, in public/church affairs. Our people are assembled around the church by tradition and with spiritual ties. Therefore we should not allow the people to be sacrificed to the rule-by-the-clergy tendencies of the clergy. It is our duty to clarify that the church is owned by the people and not by the clergy. It is necessary for the national assemblies and bodies to cooperate with the Armenian clergy, provided this cooperation is based on the spirit and provisions and the national constitution or on the strict implementation of the local by-laws replacing the constitution.

D. We must, by all means, strengthen and demonstrate a pan-Armenian thinking, attitude and behavior regarding general concerns of the Diaspora. The concept of protecting the interests of a community must be conditioned not only by local concerns, but mainly by the determination to protect the interests of the entire Armenian nation.

THE HOLY SEES AND US

1. The Catholicosate of all Armenians:

The seat of the Catholicosate of all Armenians is Etchmiadzin, the primal (Nakhamedzar) pontificate of the Armenian church, with the Catholicos of all Armenians at its head.

It is necessary to cherish the genuine concept of Etchmiadzin and the Catholicosate of all Armenians as a symbol of pan-Armenian sentiments and as a

center of a church possessing a really national character. However, we must consider that this See and its holder are not free in their steps and that political aims -- independent of the will of the Catholicosate of all Armenians -- may have an impact on its decisions. Therefore, we must be alert, so that steps taken in the name of the mother See do not cause discord among Armenians of the Diaspora; or endanger the organized life of the communities; or do not lead to the use of the Diasporan Armenians for such political aims, which may be dangerous even for the entire Armenian nation. Also, and especially, we should not allow the adoption and imposition of so-called "by-laws" prepared with clerical sovereignty by the Etchmiadzin Bishops and on the initiative of the Catholicos of all Armenians.

We must strive by using the press and other possible means, so that the democratic-constitutional principles are implemented within the diocesan regions which are under the jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin. An end should be put to the appointment of prelates and to the unconstitutional practice of conducting ecclesiastical affairs through nuncios.

2. The Catholicosate of Cilicia:

A. This centuries-old institution of pan-Armenian importance is destined to play a great role in the preservation and development of the Diaspora Armenians and their culture as well as the realization of a series of issues relating to HAI TAHD (the Armenian Case).

Consequently, the ARF 23rd World Congress deems it vital that Dashnaksoutune and the Catholicosate of Cilicia assist each other to preserve and strengthen the independent existence of the Catholicosate and our collective security, as well as the churches, dioceses and schools with their national profile and spirit.

B. The responsibility of leading the activities of the Catholicosate belongs to the national central executive. Through this body we should insure that the financial and moral activities of the Catholicosate be based on solid foundations and be led by basic constitutional principles.

C. To make sure that the general national assembly and the executives' meetings be held regularly.

D. To expand efforts so that the seminary of the Catholicosate prepare clergy which possess strong and good character, in order to fulfill the needs of the various parishes and the seminary.

E. If necessary, amend the by-laws of the Catholicosate of Cilicia, making it compatible with modern democratic circumstances and the basic principles of the national constitution.

F. To scrupulously see to it that diocesan constitutions, while always conforming to local requirements, do not institutionalize articles contradicting the constitution of the Cilician Catholicosate in its most basic points.

G. To work so that the national central executive can become an active, leading and coordinating body striving to direct the activities of various diocesan bodies and meetings towards the creation of a strong, homogeneous Diaspora.

ANTELIAS-ETCHMIADZIN RELATIONS & DIOCESAN MATTERS

A. The normal relations and cooperation between the two Catholic Sees have a great importance for the mission, which they must perform in the struggle for the continued national existence. Therefore, the ARF 23rd World Congress considers it necessary to preserve the independent existence of the two Sees, and resolves to insure their cooperation for the sake of the national interests of the Armenian people.

B. The relations between the two Sees must be founded on reciprocal respect, on the preservation of Catholic rights and their independence. While underscoring the primal (Nakhamedzar) states of the Catholicosate of all Armenians, we should not allow the status to be continued as superior and thus cause the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin to consider the See of the great house of Cilicia as a subject See.

The Catholicosate of Cilicia has been independent since 1441 and should continue to be independent, as long as our people living in the fatherland and those in the Diaspora remain involuntarily subject to different and sometimes fundamentally contradictory circumstances.

C. In the event that disagreements occur between the two Sees, the ARF Bureau should aim at solving these on the basis of reciprocal respect and by way of negotiations.

D. Since 1956 there have been disagreements between the mother See and the Cilician See, regarding the jurisdiction over the dioceses in certain communities. These disagreements occurred as a result of the joining of certain previously Etchmiadznagan dioceses of the Cilician Catholicosate, on the basis of justifiable reasons and by resolution of the competent assemblies of the pertinent dioceses. Among these is the diocese of North America, where there is a situation of dual dioceses.

For a period of time negotiations have been taking place by correspondence and by conferences in order to seek solutions to these disagreements and the resulting misunderstandings (pertaining to the authority of the Catholicosates, to diocesan jurisdiction matters, etc.).

The ARF 23rd World Congress likes to see these negotiations to result in positive and proper conclusions, without, however, disrupting the juridical structure of the Armenian church and of the public/church organization and without endangering the administrative independence of the two Sees. Only the central national executive, with its president, should have an active role in the efforts to seek solutions to the disagreements, and not local-regional "committees."

4. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem:

The patriarchate of Jerusalem, although in principle accountable and subject to the Catholicosate of all Armenians, is in fact administratively independent, and subject to the decisions of the congregation's assemblies.

Although preserving its administrative independence, the patriarchate of Jerusalem must be subject to a certain control by the people, on the basis of fundamental constitutional principles.

We must protect the national wealth located in Jerusalem's convent.

5. Patriarchate of the Armenians in Turkey:

During the last forty years the patriarchate of the Armenians of Turkey gradually lost all those communal rights which it had enjoyed since the 1603, by being subjected to periodic pressures. But until the 1930s it remained the administrative center for the national/church affairs for the remnants of the Armenians of Turkey.

In spite of its rights consecrated by the Treaty of Lausanne, the patriarchate of the Armenians of Turkey, especially after 1956, was gradually deprived, by arbitrary governmental arrangements, or the rights acquired by virtue of the 1863 constitution ratified by the Ottoman government. It was also deprived of its educational, cultural, public and administrative rights which were internationally recognized by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne.

The patriarchate of the Armenians of Turkey, at this time, performs its spiritual role for the Armenians mainly concentrated in Constantinople.

In spite of all the applications and legal requests made to the successive governments, it has not been possible to place the patriarchate in its real mission. On the contrary, the intention to cause its demise becomes more apparent every year.

We should by all possible means protect the rights and authority of the historical patriarchate of the Armenians of Turkey.

6. Other Denominations:

The Armenian denominations are the inseparable parts of our nation. Their cooperation with one another must continue. Their continuous participation in our national/political and HAI TAHD affairs must be insured by our ungers and hamageers belonging to the Catholic and Evangelical denominations.

7. Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice:

On the occasion of the serious financial crisis facing the Mekhitarist congregation of Venice, the Bureau was immediately interested in the concerns of this centuries-old cultural center and given the appropriate directives to our press to support it without reservations.

The ARF 23rd World Congress resolves that the Bureau should continue to support the actions initiated by the Mekhitarist congregation of Venice, in order to save the cultural treasures of St. Lazarus and the convent's wealth in general.

EMIGRATION IN GENERAL

The tight-knit and organized existence of the Armenian people in Armenia and countries close to it has an important strategic and geopolitical significance. All the communities of the Diaspora have a role to play in the

realization of our ultimate goals. But Armenia and the countries of the Middle East have a primary importance, from the point of view of our national struggle. The ARF should be vigilant in defending the political and national rights of Armenians in these regions, and in restraining all tendencies to panic during political upheavals.

The ARF expects from our entire national leadership and especially from its ranks that they act in such a manner as to emphasize the strategic importance of Armenia and the Middle East in the pursuit of HAI TAHD.

Therefore, the ARF 23rd World Congress decides:

A. To oppose the damaging and condemnable phenomenon of emigration from Armenia, by using all possible means. At the same time to demand from Soviet Armenia's authorities to remove the causes of emigration and to create political social and living conditions which are bearable for the population.

B. To demand from all ARF bodies that based on the resolutions of the 21st World Congress, they adopt a clearly negative position with respect to emigrants holding important positions as well as with respect to all emigrants ungers. In the national interest of the Armenian people, the ARF in the Middle East must wage a fight against all attempts, tendencies and steps to emigrate. The regional executives must examine each case by emigration and must punish ungers who have abandoned their positions by banishing them from the ranks.

C. Our executives of all regions must adopt a similar attitude towards any unger punished because of having emigrated. Those executives which do not abide by the resolution, must be subjected to disciplinary action by the ARF Bureau.

D. To wage a vigorous fight against all Armenian or foreign individuals, foundations and organizations which, under humanitarian or other labels, and by various means, encourage or facilitate the emigration of Armenians from Armenia or the countries of the Middle East.

E. To demand from all executives that under the leadership of the Bureau, they assist the executives of the Middle East in their struggle to confront local favorable conditions and to guarantee the collective and organized existence of Armenians.

F. To create opportunities within possible limits, for the improvement of the social, cultural, and economic conditions of Armenian communities in the Middle East, thus reducing the causes of emigration.

APPENDIX II

JOINT MANIFESTO ISSUED BY
THE ARMENIAN RIGHTS COUNCIL OF AMERICA
AND THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Armenian Mirror - Spectator
Vol. LII, No. 31, Issue 2273
Saturday, February 16, 1985

Joint Manifesto Issued by
The Armenian Rights Council of America and
The Armenian National Committee

In 1985, the Armenian people in the Diaspora and Armenia will commemorate, with all the requisite formality and solemnity, the 70th Anniversary of the Genocide of the Armenians perpetrated by the Turkish Government during the years 1915-1923, claiming the lives of one and one half million Armenians.

Today, the politicized Armenian masses are fully cognizant of their Rights and their National Cause which, for the past seven decades, have been ignored and trampled upon equally by the successive Turkish Governments and Turkish people and by the Great and so-called "civilized" World Powers.

As a result of the massive popular protests of the 50th and 60th Anniversaries of the Genocide and the general enthusiasm created as a consequence, the Armenians of the Diaspora and Armenia are more than ever the legatees of our National Cause and our Inalienable Rights in 1985.

The Armenians demand that:

- All their violated rights be reinstated;
- The material wealth usurped from them during the Genocide decade be returned to them;
- The historic Armenian lands be returned to the rightful owners - the Armenian People;
- The present Turkish Government, on its own behalf, as well as on behalf of its predecessors and the entire Turkish Nation accept its guilt and undertake to make the necessary preparations to the Armenian people, including the return of historic Armenian lands.

Furthermore, the Armenian people shall immediately and continuously work for:

- The formal recognition of the fact of Genocide by the U.S. Congress and the President, by other Nations, and formally by the General Assembly of the United Nations.
- The acceptance by the above mentioned, of the Armenian Genocide, regarding it as a "Crime against Humanity."
- The acceptance of the Armenian Genocide (and therefore of the Armenian Case) as a Case closely associated with human rights and consequently worthy of world attention.

On the other hand, the 70th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide must afford another occasion:

- To underline the unity of purpose and will of the Armenian people;

- To reiterate the principle of One, Indivisible, and Immortal Armenia;
- To renew our pledge to maintain our Armenian identify and to persevere into the future.

In the name of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Organization of Eastern United States and Canada and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation of Eastern United States we call upon the Armenian people to commemorate the 70th Anniversary all through 1985, but specially during the week of April 24, 1985, with the greatest solemnity and numbers possible.

On this occasion, the Armenian Rights Council of America and the Armenian National Committee will organize joint public affairs in the larger Armenian Centers of the Eastern United States and Canada during the first week of April 1985. Further details regarding these activities will be provided in the press.

On this, the Commemoration of the 70th, let our motto be dignity, perseverance, faith and effort.

The future is ours.

Armenian Rights Council of America,
Armenian National Committee

APPENDIX III

COMMEMORATIVE EVENT IN ATHENS, GREECE --
RADICAL GROUP HOSTS WELL-ATTENDED
SOLIDARITY MEETING

The Armenian Reporter
Thursday, May 1, 1986
by Edward Boghosian

Commemorative Event in Athens, Greece

Radical Group Hosts Well-Attended Solidarity Meeting

by Edward K. Boghosian

ATHENS, Greece - An array of representatives of Greek political parties, including the ruling PASOK party, and a host of political groups, both Armenian and non-Armenian, joined to voice their solidarity with the Armenian people in their pursuit of their cause and activities of a new Armenian political force were voiced here on Sunday, April 20 during the 2nd International Meeting of Solidarity with the Armenian People. And judging from encouraging messages offered by the representatives of these political groups and organizations, at least here in Greece, the Armenian Cause enjoys abundant support from a wide spectrum of the political world.

The International Meeting of Solidarity was sponsored by the Greek branch of the Armenian Popular Movement, a comparatively new political force headed by younger generations of Armenians, who openly profess their support of the armed struggle and of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). The organization has branches in various European and Middle Eastern countries and the United States although some of these branches appear to have gone through a switch of loyalties because of the split within the ranks of ASALA.

The conference was held at the University of Pantios for Political Science, a location that furthered the image and importance of the gathering. It also received a wide coverage in the Greek press and on television. Some 200 people, including guest representatives of the numerous political groups attended the gathering. Most of the political groups represented at the conference, the second to be held here, were portrayed as "progressive, democratic and revolutionary" terms that identify that as being leftist organizations.

The program of the conference consisted mostly of messages delivered by participants voicing their solidarity with the Armenian people and support for their from Turkey. Outside of two messages, all were delivered in Greek and no simultaneous translation was provided. However, almost all of the messages received were offered in the English translation for the benefit of those who do not understand Greek.

Voicing the support of PASOK, the ruling party in Greece, to the Armenian people, was Mr. Charalambidi Michalis, a member of the Central Committee of the party and the Greek member of the Permanent People's Tribunal. Perichli Rodakis, a noted Greek historian, focused on Turkish chauvinism and drew a parallel between the sufferings of the Greek and Armenian people at the hands of the rulers of Ottoman Turkey. Explaining the goals and aspirations of the Armenian Popular Movement was Afa Sarkisian. Significant was the address delivered by Mr. Bassam Abu-Salim, on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.F.L.P.) headed by Dr. George Habash. Mr. Abu-Salim pledged his movement's continued support of the Armenians' armed struggle in the pursuit of their cause, pledging that Palestinian operated and run training camps would always be open to Armenian youth who need training for

such a struggle. Later, Mr. Abu-Salim, answering a question put to him by this writer, affirmed that his organization had always trained Armenian members of ASALA and that this policy will continue. "The doors of our camps are always open to Armenian freedom fighters," he affirmed.

Among the prominent Greek politicians who attended the Conference was the son of Prime Minister Papandreou, who himself holds a post in the Greek cabinet; two members of the Cypriot Parliament who had journeyed to Athens for the special purpose of attending the international gathering; representatives of the Christian Democratic party, EDIK Center party, two wings of the Communist party, representatives of an assortment of labor unions and trade associations, a number of mayors of Greek towns and cities, two Greek members of the European Parliament and other members of the Greek Parliament were also among those who participated in the international conference. Also on hand to follow the deliberations was the ambassador of Bulgaria in Athens.

More than significant was the large number of messages received by the organizers, including the following: Palestinian National Revolutionary Movement, Fatah; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, the Central Committee of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement-Fatah; the Socialist Progressive Party of Lebanon; Arab Socialist Labor Party; the Kurdistan Democratic Union of Iraq; and numerous other international groups, all noted for their radical stand in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

SUPPORT FROM ARF-RM

Among messages received from Armenian groups was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Revolutionary Movement, the group that has claimed the abduction and assassination of key party leaders in Lebanon accused of selling out to foreign interests and powers. The message clearly gave its support to the Armenian Popular Movement pledging that the Revolutionary Movement will continue to "reveal the realities, no matter how bitter or tragic they are," to expose the anti-Armenian activities of the leaders of the Dashnag "Bureau." The message was taken as an indication of the link, loose as it may be, that exists between the dissident Dashnag group and the Armenian Popular Movement, open supporters to ASALA and armed struggle.

During the course of the program, it was revealed that some 165 signatures were collected from prominent Greek political leaders calling on the Turkish government to release Very Rev. Manuel Yergatian, who has been imprisoned since 1980 on charges that he conspired against the security of Turkey. At the time of the effort to solicit the support of Greek politicians for Father Manuel, it was still not known in Greece that the Armenian priest would soon be released from prison and banished to a remote location in Turkey for a period of four years.

The Armenian Popular Movement has set up its headquarters in a suburb of the Greek capital, known as Neos Kosmos, where there is a large Armenian presence. The headquarters are located in a two-story building which appears to have turned into a beehive of activity on the part of scores of Armenian youth, who prefer to give their first names only when invited to introduce themselves. The organization regularly publishes periodicals in at least five

languages, including one in Turkish, which are widely distributed. Among the titles published thus far are some named after the cities and towns in historic Armenia.

During impromptu discussions held by this writer with some of the young men at the headquarters, it became quite clear that the Movement is clearly critical of the traditional Armenian political parties, which in their estimation not only have failed to devote their energies toward the pursuit of the Armenian Cause, but have divided and fragmented the Armenian people to such an extent that the Armenian people cannot efficiently pursue its cause. Cited was the effort on the part of the local chapter of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Dashnag party, which, in an apparent effort to hurt the International Solidarity Meeting, had announced a running race on the same day that the conference was scheduled.

A spokesman for the group, who identified himself as Armen, asserted that his group does not seek to dominate the Armenian community and rather strives to generate a close cooperation among all Armenian groups. "We rather see these groups operate separately and when the need arises cooperate with others like us," affirmed the youthful spokesman. He also spoke of the inroads that the new organization had achieved at least in Greece, where there appears to be wide support for the Armenians. He revealed that no overt effort was made to ensure the participation of the guests. However, a sizeable number of invited guests had readily accepted the invitation and had taken part.

The principal purpose of the Armenian Popular Movement appears to be to build up a wide support among the countries in which it operates and eventually enlist the support of a phalanx of friends and advocates who could play a major role in influencing world public opinion for the Armenian Cause.

The young men and women who have rallied around the Armenian Popular Movement and who appear to have originated from Greece and from Middle Eastern countries, leave a vivid impression on any visitor who comes in contact with them. They appear to be well educated, strongly motivated and truly dedicated to a cause and are determined to pursue it both through armed struggle and by means of political militarism.



ASSEMBLY OF
TURKISH
AMERICAN
ASSOCIATIONS

2010 Mass. Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
Telephone 202/293-4670

→ Max -
Looks like you
smoothed those
ruffled Turkish
feathers. - L

May 14, 1987

Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
267 Old Executive Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Green:

I would like to express my sincere appreciation and thank you for arranging the excellent White House briefing for the members and guests attending our Ninth Annual Convention. Please convey our appreciation to Fritz Ermarth, Ted McNamara, and Peter Sommer for the very interesting and informative information they provided.

As Turkish-Americans we have suffered from terrorist attacks, defaming resolutions in Congress, and numerous attempts to subvert Turkish-American interests in the U.S. as well as in Turkey. The Assembly of Turkish American Associations is dedicated to furthering U.S. Turkish relations through cultural and educational programs. Our members were grateful for the information they received which will assist them in achieving our goals.

We look forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,

Tarhan Danisman

Tarhan Danisman
President

TD/jw

Armenian Assembly
Ross Vartian - Given Effegram
202/393-3434

Assembly of Turkish American Associations

212/682-7688

WDC

↓ Oakland CA
May 20-27.

↓ Federation of T-A Societies.

Parade: May 14/15 NYC

Tom Newman - 212/983-3787