

YU. SUVARYAN
V. MIRZOYAN
R. HAYRAPETYAN

PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION:
THEORY AND HISTORY

**NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE
REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

M. KOTANYAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS

YU. SUVARYAN, V. MIRZOYAN, R. HAYRAPETYAN

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Yu. Suvaryan, V. Mirzoyan, R. Hayrapetyan

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This scholarly work is the first comprehensive attempt to present the essence and methodology of public administration. It aims to provide a concise account of the process of development of the theory of public administration, its history in the Western world, and ideological tendencies. The book elucidates Armenian administrative thought and the peculiarities of its development in the period from the 5th to the 20th centuries. It conducts a comparative analysis of the theory and practice of public administration in the Western world with the developments of Armenian civic, political, and administrative thought, which provides the opportunity of expanding the boundaries of Armenian studies and advance the science of public administration. In addition, the book has a specific mandate of presenting the national and cultural peculiarities and the achievements of the theory and history of public administration in Armenia.

The book is especially designed for scholars and general audience interested in the theory and history of public administration.

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INTRODUCTION

According to international academic sources, the inception of public administration as a complete and recognized science dates back to the period from the last two decades of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century. Of course, like with any other field of knowledge, public administration has had its rather long development period. Ever since the ancient times, bodies of state and community-level governance and other types of public institutions (religious, craftsmanship, creative, et al.), performing different management functions, have been formed to regulate the civic-economic and political aspects of human life. These institutions have long performed different functions of public administration. Various historians, philosophers, and political thinkers have provided accounts on how different tools of public administration have been utilized to develop scientific and practical theses, concepts, and even constitutions. The accumulation of these concepts and episodes over centuries has thus served as a basis for the formation and development of a complete and comprehensive theory of public administration.

The accounts of Armenian historians and religious and political thinkers, too, are full of episodes of state, community, and territorial administration, as well as comprehensive theorizations around different issues of public administration. These accounts include attempts on constitution writing – *Sahmanadrautyun Kanonakan* (Canonical Constitution) by Vachagan Barepasht and *The Snare of Glory* by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants, legal theses valuable for state and public administration – *Kanonagirk Hayots* (the Armenian Book of Canons) and the textbooks by Mkhitar Gosh and Smbat Sparapet, theories on harmonic management of public life – Nerses Shnorhali, Grigor Tatevatsi, and Grigor Zohrap, and concepts on economic development and demo-

cratization of public life – Mikayel Nalbandyan. The history of state governance is important from the perspective of lessons from history. This can be useful in preserving and promoting the Armenian statehood in today's rapidly changing world.

We would like to note that the systematic development of public administration as a discipline of science in the Republic of Armenia has started in the last decade of the 20th century. This fact was largely determined by the development of modern public administration institutions after the Republic of Armenia gained its independence in the last decade of the 20th century. This was the time when state governing bodies were created, namely the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and the office of the President of the Republic Armenia. The system of local self-governing bodies was established in accordance with the European standards, a political system with its civic-political and civic organizations was developed according to the constitution of the Republic of Armenia. This was the period when mass media was developed and central/federal and local governments started to be formed through direct democratic elections. Thus, in parallel with continuous reforms of the system of state governance, civil society institutions were being developed, although, generally speaking, the formation of a complete and fully functional civil society is still in the process of development.

The formation of the system of public administration requires a solid theoretical and methodological background, training of professionals, and development of educational institutions and training materials. The first practical steps in this direction have been made at the State Academy of Public Administration of the Republic of Armenia, the Department of Management of the Armenian State Economic University, and later at the Yerevan State University with the support from Arizona State University. A department of public administration was established at the State Academy of Public Administration of the Republic of Armenia (head of the department – Yuri Suvaryan), a Masters programme in public

administration was created in 2001, and the academic journal “Public Administration” started to be published since 2004.

The publishing of translated pieces of literature was important from a theoretical-methodological perspective. Within the framework of the Public Policy Knowledge Network project, implemented by the Canadian Bureau of International Education and financed by the Canadian International Development Agency and the Open Society Institute, a number of books by renowned authors, such as Leslie A. Pal¹, David Weimer and Aidan R. Vining², have been translated and published in Armenian. In addition, the Center for Russian and East European Studies of the Arizona State University published Robert Denhardt’s *Theories of Public Organization* in Armenian³, and the *Materials for Public Administration*⁴, while the Caucasus Institute published the *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan⁵.

The textbook *Public Policy Analysis*⁶, published by Armenian authors, is especially noteworthy. The publications of academic and scientific articles, monographs, and textbooks on public administration played an important role in advancing the understanding of the essence and methodology of public administration, discussing practical issues, and training professionals in the field of public administration. The first originally written university textbook *Management, as well as The Principles of Local Self-*

¹ Leslie A. Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*, Yerevan, 2005 (in Armenian).

² David Weimer and Aidan R. Vining, *Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice*, Yerevan, 2010 (in Armenian).

³ Robert Denhardt, *Theories of Public Organization*, Yerevan, Antares, 2006 (in Armenian).

⁴ *Materials for Public Administration*, Tempi-Yerevan, 2006 (in Armenian).

⁵ Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, “Caucasus Institute,” 2011 (in Armenian).

⁶ *Public Policy Analysis*, eds A. Haurutyunyan and Yu. Suvaryan, Yerevan, 2005.

*Governance*⁷, *Public Administration of the Economy: the methodology and contemporary issues*, *Public Policy Reforms in the Republic of Armenia*, *Territorial Administration of the Economy: the methodology and contemporary issues*, and *Local Self-Governance in the Republic of Armenia*⁸ are especially worth mentioning. The periodic publication of a collection of scientific articles *The Issues of Public Administration*⁹ was initiated by the Department of Management of the Armenian State University of Economics.

These and other pieces of original and translated works on public policy confirm that a contemporary system of public administration has been developed in the Republic of Armenia and there is an appropriate, well-functioning scientific and educational course of development. The authors of this book have conducted a research in this field, and the results of the research have been published at the end of the 20th century, and a summary of conceptual materials has been presented to the public in 2004¹⁰. The current publication is the revised and expanded version of the earlier publications, enriched with new materials and critical analysis.

⁷ Management ed., Yu. Suvaryan, Yerevan, "Economist" 2009, *The Principles of Local Self-Governance*, ed. E. Ordyan, Yerevan, 2000 (both publications in Armenian)

⁸ **Yu. Suvaryan** and **V. Kopyan**, *Public Administration of the Economy: the methodology and contemporary issues*, Yerevan "ART", 2003; **A. Khudaverdyan**, *Public Policy Reforms in the Republic of Armenia*, Yerevan, "Sarvard" 2008; **Yu. Suvaryan** and **M. Chobanyan**, *Territorial Administration of the Economy: the methodology and contemporary issues*, Yerevan, "ART", 2007; **D. Tumanyan**, *Local Self-Governance in the Republic of Armenia*, Yerevan, "Noyan Tapan", 2006 (all in Armenian)

⁹ *The Issues of Public Administration*, Eds **Yu. Suvaryan** and **V. Mirzoyan**, Yerevan, "PMV-Print" 2013

¹⁰ **V. Mirzoyan**, *The roots of Armenian Administrative thought*, Yerevan, "ART" 2003; **Yu. Suvaryan**, *The contours of the theory and history of public Administration*, Yerevan, "ART" 2004

This work attempts to spell out the essence and methodology of public administration and briefly present the process of development of public administration in three phases. In addition, it discusses the history of formation, development, and ideological tendencies of public administration in the Western world (in the USA, countries of Western Europe, and Canada). The publication stresses the importance of Armenian managerial thought and the specifics of public administration in Armenia during the period from the 5th to the end of the 20th century. The theory and history of public administration is quite understandably presented in literature from the perspective of Western countries and from the theoretical heritage of Western authors. This book attempts to analyse public administration through the heritage of the Armenian history and civic and political thought, which has the capacity to expand the boundaries of Armenian studies, broaden the general knowledge on public administration, and appropriately spell out the national and cultural peculiarities of the theory and practice of public administration in Armenia and the achievements of the Armenian theoretical thought.

The chapters of the book have been authored by professor Yuri Suvaryan, Doctor of Economics and Academician of the RA National Academy of Sciences: Introduction, Chapters 1.1. (co-authored by V. Mirzoyan), 1.2., 2.2., 3.2., 4.2., 4.7., and 4.9., professor Valeri Mirzoyan, Doctor of Philosophy: Chapters 2.1., 3.1., 4.1., 4.3., 4.4., 4.5., 4.6., 4.8., 5.1., and 5.2., and associate professor Ruben Hayrapetyan, Doctor of Economics: Chapters 1.2.4 and 4.10..

The authors realize that the culture of public administration in Armenia is in the process of development, and the Armenian administrative thought is quite extensive to be contained in a single publication. Thus, we would thankfully accept any comments and suggestions by the readers, which will be incorporated in further revised editions.

Chapter 1.

THE ESSENCE AND SYSTEM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1.1. The Essence of Public Administration and its Stages of Development

1.1.1. Public and State Administration

The concept of public administration is a relatively new scientific category and, like any other new concept, it has different interpretations. In the Armenian-language literature, public administration is very often viewed as a synonym of state governance, whereby these two concepts are used interchangeably. This is partially a result of translating “public administration” into the Armenian language, where “public” is translated as both “public” and “state.” However, the difference between public administration and state governance is not merely a linguistic matter, it is rather a matter of concept. The most prevailing among many definitions describes public administration as a complete system of state governance and local self-governance. Such a definition is, of course, not baseless; it is, however, incomplete. The meaning of public administration is much broader than “state governance” and is usually attributed to an environment with strong civil society, whereby state governance has developed and evolved into public administration.

As a government body and a reflection of authority, the state was directed towards coordinating the realization of common goals, as well as towards ensuring public safety, first, of tribes and communities, and later of the country. According to the proponents of the contract theory (Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Paul-Henri d'Holbach, and Charles-Louis Montesquieu),

the emergence of the concept of the state is a result of a social contract. People sign a social contract, which spells out universal and mandatory laws, protects the citizens and their property, and sanctions the disobedient.

Thus, the state is a mode of social and political organization that has legal power and authority and has the mandate of ensuring public safety and achieving common goals within a specific territory. Ever since the ancient times, the natural inequality of the members of society has been a key factor while developing the public authorities. This inequality has augmented through public authority and converted into social inequality, resulting in the formation of social elites and oligarchies. Not surprisingly, even in the pre-17th Europe state governance had been predominantly of a monarchic nature.

In civil societies, governments are formed by political parties possessing the highest capacity to effectively meet the needs of the people. In other words, state authority continues to remain a result of social contract, while state governance remains a type of public service that is provided to the members of society in return for taxes and other mandatory payments to the coffers of the state; but the mechanism of the formation of authority changes, expanding the composition of the authority and the public participation in important decision making.

1.1.2. The Inception of the Theory of Public Administration

The theory of public administration has been developing in at least three stages. The first stage comprises the period from ancient times until the end of the 19th century, whereby historians, philosophers, and political thinkers have developed different theses and concepts of state governance and different social institutions.

The first comprehensive work on state governance and the functions of the state is Plato's dialogue *Republic*. In a concise

way, the concept of the great Greek thinker is as follows: the ideal republic implies fair government by the best, which Plato considers the aristocracy. According to Plato, the aristocracy, a “proper” and “healthy” state regime, is transformed during the reproduction of the public life into four kinds of “unfair” regimes:

❖ Timocracy: a state waging endless wars, governed by those who are better suited for war.

❖ Oligarchy: the government of the rich. It is a system of government, which distinguishes between the rich and the poor, whereby the poor do not participate in public administration. The hatred accumulated by the poor eventually leads to a revolution and the establishment of people’s government.

❖ Democracy: this seemingly attractive regime “lacks proper government,” both “equals and unequals” are equalized, the lower class grows bigger, ethical norms degrade, freedom becomes lawlessness, courage becomes shamelessness, and this chaos eventually leads to the inevitable emergence of a tyrant.

❖ Tyranny: this is degenerated democracy, the worse regime of government, whereby the society is ruled by the worst, surrounded by crooks. More specifically, “in such a state of society the master fears and flatters his scholars, and the scholars despise their masters and tutors.”¹¹

In this context, Plato’s following idea can be viewed as one of the earliest concepts on public administration: “For are there not ill-ordered States in which the citizens are forbidden under pain of death to attempt to alter the constitution.”¹² These “attempters” were the layer of society that would centuries later become what is now known as “civil society.” If “ill-ordered” states prohibit a real participation of citizens in public administration, thus creating a rivalry between the ruling elites and the members of the public, then “good-ordered” states, according to Plato’s logic, should have

¹¹ Plato, Republic, 373, 558c, 563.

¹² Plato, Republic, 426c.

obtained the opposite features. Plato, of course, would not have agreed with such a statement because it would have contradicted his concept of the ideal ruling by the chosen minority (aristocracy).

Aristotle too has provided a hierarchy of state regimes based on “true” and “pervert” government. In the “true” type of regimes (“monarchy,” “aristocracy,” and “constitutional government”) the government is oriented towards the public interest. In the “pervert” type of regimes (“tyranny,” “oligarchy,” and “democracy”) the government is based solely on personal interests of the ruling elite.¹³ It is not the government by the best that is desirable but the government by the best possible rules. In principle, all the “true” regimes can be considered as the best, regardless if the governor is one person or many. The important part is that the government should be conducted by the rule of law. This is why democracy is considered undesirable, for in democracy the power belongs not to the rule of law but to the people, and thus the people become the tyrant and act with tyrannical intolerance. Aristotle’s conclusive formula on the cohabitation of people is the following: “For where the laws have no authority, there is no constitution. The law ought to be supreme over all.”¹⁴

In the first phase of development, public administration has introduced principal concepts, of which we especially prioritize Aristotle’s “**citizen**.” It is therefore clear, according to Aristotle, that we must first inquire into the nature of a citizen, “for a state is a collection of citizens.”¹⁵ Aristotle emphasizes the principle of “equal law-abidingness” among different defining features of a citizen, and considers it as desirable both for the state and for the citizen. “In relation to the best form, a citizen is one who has the capacity and the will to be governed and to govern with a view to the life in accordance with virtue.”¹⁶

¹³ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1279a30, 1288a5 – 1295a20.

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1292a35.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1274b40.

¹⁶ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1284a.

Aristotle's theses about the "middle class" are especially noteworthy in the light of contemporary public administration. Every state, according to Aristotle, can be viewed from the viewpoint of quality and quantity. Quality refers to the freedom, wealth, and education possessed by the society, while quantity refers to the interplay between the layers of society. Now we must first grasp a "general principle" that applies equally to all sorts of constitution: "it is essential that the part of the state that wishes the constitution to remain should be stronger than the part that does not wish it."¹⁷ It is desirable that the government maintains a balance between the rich and the poor, so that neither the former nor the latter forms a majority. The constitutional order can be stable and constant if the middle class quantitatively outnumbers the others. Hence the solution proposed by Aristotle, which is relevant even for today's public administration. "The lawgiver in his constitution must always take in the middle class; if he is making the laws of an oligarchical character he must keep the middle class in view, and if democratic, he must legislate so as to bring them in.... And many even of those who want to establish aristocratic forms of constitution make a great mistake not only in giving too large a share to the well-to-do but also in cheating the people; for false benefits inevitably result ultimately in true evil, as the encroachments of the rich ruin the constitution more than those of the people."¹⁸

The input by the proponents of the "social contract theory" is especially significant at this phase of the development of public administration. They interpret the state as a tool for public self-administration. People voluntarily come up with covenants for cohabitation and delegate the supervision and enforcement of these rules to the state. The differences between the systems of public administration has been thoroughly discussed and analyzed in the

¹⁷ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1296b15.

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1296b35 – 1297a10.

Leviathan by **Thomas Hobbes** published in 1651. Tribal politics was no longer capable of preventing the war of “all versus all (*Bellum omnium contra omnes*).” There were no universal laws, justice, protection of property, and, as insisted by Hobbes, even ethics. Therefore, for order to be restored “there must be some coercive Power, to compel men equally to the performance of their Covenants, by the terror of some punishment, grater than the benefit they expect by the breach of their Covenant; and to make good that Propriety, which by mutual Contract men require, in recompense of the universal Right they abandon; and such power there is none before the erection of a Common-wealth.”¹⁹ Order can be imposed on people by brutal physical force, by threat, or by war. This, in fact, can lead to Sovereign power, but the Sovereign power acquired in such a way (the “acquired state”) will vanish the same was it was created. On the other hand, voluntary participation by the public may lead to enduring peaceful cohabitation and the preservation of common interests. This is the platform upon which Hobbes builds the theory of social contract as a means of efficient public administration: “A *Common-wealth* is said to be *Instituted*, when a *Multitude* of men do Agree, and *Covenant, every one, with every one*, that to whatsoever *Man, or Assembly of Men*, shall be given by the major part, the *Right to Present* the Person of them all, (that is to say, to be their *Representative*;) every one, as well he that *Voted for it*, as he that *Voted against it*, shall *Authorize* all the Actions and Judgments, of that Man, or Assembly of men, in the same manner, as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably amongst themselves, and be protected against other men.”²⁰

Thus, the state (or the commonwealth, as referred to by Hobbes) is not to serve a self-purpose, but is rather to serve the establishment of order in the public life; moreover, it is created for that purpose. In line with this thesis, the proponents of the theory of

¹⁹ Hobbes’s *Leviathan*. Reprinted from the edition of 1651. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909, p. 110.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

social contract describe the structure of the state. As argued by **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**, a convinced believer in the theory of social contract, “as nature gives each man absolute power over all his members, the social compact gives the body politic absolute power over all its members also.”²¹ At the same time Rousseau sees the absolute power of the state within the boundaries of the law, which stems not from the governing state but rather from the people. “I therefore give the name ‘Republic’ to every State that is governed by laws, no matter what the form of its administration may be: for only in such a case does the public interest govern, and the *res publica* rank as a *reality*. Every legitimate government is republican.... Laws are, properly speaking, only the conditions of civil association. The people, being subject to the laws, ought to be their author: the conditions of the society ought to be regulated solely by those who come together to form it.”²²

A significant difference between the proponents of the theory of social contract is observed on how they interpret the nature of the contract: is it a contract between all the members of the society, or one between the government and the rest of the society? The latter concept is somewhat in line with the theological explanation of the origin of the state, according to which, the right to govern is God-given, and thus a contract can only emerge between the government and the rest of the society in the form of the latter’s unconditional surrender to the will of the governor, that is to say, to the will God. This type of approach can be detected in the ideas of Thomas Hobbes. As a convinced monarchist, Hobbes has spelled out one of the pillars of public administration as follows: the subjects have no right to disobey the monarch, for by doing so they would breach the social contract between the ruling and the ruled. “The Subjects cannot change the form of government... for he that

²¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du Contrat Social ou Principes du droit politique*, Paris, Flammarion, 2001.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 102–103.

already is their Sovereign shall do, and judge fit to be done.”²³ The idea of social contract implies that people come into a covenant voluntarily, and voluntarily delegate their natural rights to the state for the sake of personal safety and public peace. However, in contrast to this notion, Hobbes puts the blame for the breach of the social contract on the people: “Sovereigne Power not so hurtful as the want of it, and the hurt proceeds for the greatest part from not submitting readily, to a lesse.”²⁴ Hobbes’s theory of public administration does not impose any responsibility on the government. It gives the impression that once signed, a contract cannot be altered or revised, even if one of the parties to the contract breaches its terms, for example, when the government acts against the interests of the people it is there to serve.

John Locke, another prominent proponent of the theory of social contract, agrees with the idea that people’s public cohabitation is based on the functions of the state that derive from a voluntary social contract between the members of the society, which has progressed enough to make the emergence of the state possible. Locke, however, comes to a conclusion that differs from that of Hobbes: “Where-ever therefore any number of men are so united into one society, as to quit every one his executive power of the law of nature, and to resign it to the public, there and there only is a political, or civil society.”²⁵ Unlike Hobbes, Locke provides a more thorough analysis of the social contract and advances the following thesis that provides for a democratic functioning of the system of public administration: “When any number of men have so consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and make one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest.... The act of the majority passes for the act of the whole, and of course

²³ Hobbes’s *Leviathan*, p. 133, 136.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 141.

²⁵ John Lock, *Two Treatises of Government* [EBook #7370], p. 42.

determines, as having, by the law of nature and reason, the power of the whole.”²⁶

Locke provides the following solution to the problems of **regulating the inter-relations between government and social institutions**. Locke rejects Hobbes’s notion that the subjects cannot question the authority of the monarch, for the monarch rules based on “natural rights” (in accordance with the theological notion of public administration). Instead, he advances the idea of the responsibility of the ruling elite towards the rest of the society. According to Locke, “Nay, this power so little belongs to the father by any peculiar right of nature, but only as he is guardian of his children, that when he quits his care of them, he loses his power over them, which goes along with their nourishment and education, to which it is inseparably annexed.”²⁷

Good governance is another important notion in public administration. Considering a number of parameters, such as public safety, protection of private property, and personal freedom, Rousseau suggests the “surest mark” of good governance, that is, population growth in the country. “The government under which, without external aids, without naturalisation or colonies, the citizens increase and multiply most, is beyond question the best. The government under which a people wanes and diminishes is the worst.”²⁸ Of course, a conclusion based on just one criterion is quite vulnerable. However, if people are abandoning the country, it surely does not speak well about its government.

Charles-Louis Montesquieu, another proponent of the theory of social contract, emphasized the equality of men and their freedom of action in the context of democratic governance. According to Montesquieu, democratic governance fails the very moment the concept of human equality is taken into its extreme. This happens

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 46.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 32.

²⁸ **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**, *Du Contrat Social ou Principes du droit politique*, Paris, Flammarion, 2001.

when the members of the society cease to acknowledge the authority of the government they have elected, thinking they can govern instead of them. In fact, the situation described by Montesquieu could have been termed “demagogic non-governance,” “whereby the people refuse to acknowledge the authority of the government they have appointed and want to do everything themselves: counsel for the Senate, govern for the government, and judge for the judges.”²⁹ Meanwhile, true democratic governance or the “spirit of true equality,” in Montesquieu’s words, perceives people as “equal only as citizens,” who for the sake of natural cohabitation need to be able to “govern and be governed by the equals.” The point is that people have been totally equal in the pre-state period of habitation, but with the emergence of the state they lose such natural equality but instead they “become equal only with the help of the law.”³⁰

Another renowned theorist of public administration is **David Hume**, whose thoughts on public administrations are not less noteworthy than his frequently cited theses in philosophy and ethics. According to Hume, “Government is an extremely profitable and, in certain circumstances, strictly necessary invention for the mankind.”³¹ Hume expresses patriarchal views on the origin of the state and is critical towards the proponents of the theory of social contract, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, even describing their views as “wrong.”³² If the state is formed based on a covenant between the members of the society, Hume asks, why have many countries emerged by other means, tyranny, for example?³³ Hume then discusses the functions of the

²⁹ **Charles-Louis Montesquieu**, *De l’esprit des lois*. Vol. 1, Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1995, p. 176.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 177.

³¹ David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* // <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hume/da-vid/h92t/B3.2.8.html>

³² David Hume, *Of the Original Contract* // *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, London, 1777.

³³ David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*.

state, and somewhat in line with the views of the proponents of the theory of social contract, argues that the function of a government is to create and maintain peace, justice, and protection of property rights in the society.³⁴

Hume's following two thoughts on public administration are especially noteworthy. The first is on the **threat of extreme economic polarization** of the society. "A too great disproportion among the citizens weakens any state. Every person, if possible, ought to enjoy the fruits of his labour, in a full possession of all the necessaries, and many of the conveniencies of life. No one can doubt, but such an equality is most suitable to human nature, and diminishes much less from the *happiness* of the rich than it adds to that of the poor. It also augments the *power of the state*, and makes any extraordinary taxes or impositions be paid with more cheerfulness... Add to this, that, where the riches are in few hands, these must enjoy all the power, and will readily conspire to lay the whole burthen on the poor, and oppress them still farther, to the discouragement of all industry."³⁵

The second idea refers to **the need for smooth and efficient implementation of the top-down reforms of the system of public administration**. "An established government has an infinite advantage, by that very circumstance of its being established; the bulk of mankind being governed by authority, not reason, and never attributing authority to any thing that has not the recommendation of antiquity. To tamper, therefore, in this affair, or try experiments merely upon the credit of supposed argument and philosophy, can never be the part of a wise magistrate, who will bear a reverence to what carries the marks of age; and though he may attempt some improvements for the public good, yet will he adjust his innovations, as much as possible, to the ancient fabric,

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ David Hume, *Of Commerce // Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, London, 1777, p. 265.

and preserve entire the chief pillars and supports of the constitution.”³⁶

Public administration produces a novel approach in looking at **the quality of potential relations between the state and its citizens**. More specifically, it is as a dilemma of mutual trust and cooperation, on the one hand, and distrust and conflict, on the other. The history of mankind is full of examples of such a dilemma, with prosperous states coexisting alongside failing countries torn apart by civil unrest. The contemporary theory looks at this dichotomy within the domain of the relationship between the state and the civil society.

This concept stems from 19th century European legal thought, particularly from **Hegel’s** philosophy of right. Hegel considers two factors when trying to explain the relationship between the state and the society. First, in the modern times it is impossible to provide for the direct democracy. European states were enjoying in the past (referring to the Greek city-states (“poleis”) with their unique system of self-governance). “Given the size of modern states, it is quite impossible to realize the ideal of giving all free men a share in the discussion and resolution of universal political issues. Political authority must be concentrated in one center, both for the implementation of decisions by the government, and for the decisions themselves.”³⁷ Second, it is important to define the attitude of the government towards the public’s participation in the decision-making process related to the government of the commonwealth.

Based on the above, **two types of state** are defined. The first type centralizes the decision-making power into the hands of the state government, and tries to control public participation in

³⁶ David Hume, Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth // <http://www.constitution.org/dh/perfcomw.htm>

³⁷ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Die Verfassung Deutschlands // Werke. Band 1: Frühe Schriften. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1986, S. 479-480.

decision-making. The state adopts a negative attitude, and often undisguised distrust, towards civic initiatives. In the second type, “the Sovereign power delegates everything possible to its subjects,” whereby it constitutionally limits its own sphere of authority and extends the public an option for voluntary self-governance.

According to Hegel, the second type of state is in much favorable situation vis-à-vis the first type. First, economic-wise, by delegating part of its functions to the citizens, the state “produces actual savings.” Second, by delegating everything possible to the public, the state concentrates and directs its resources to the functions it deems most important, thus obtaining the opportunity to create a “perfect state machine.” Third, “due to their participation in government matters,” the citizens acquire a sense of freedom, dignity, and personal satisfaction, while the state acquires the “loyalty of its subjects (die freie Anhänglichkeit).”³⁸

If we continue the line of Hegel’s reasoning, we should conclude that the state, as a tool of public administration, should be interested in combining its functions of public administration with the voluntary participation of civil society organizations. In other words, the core function of state governance is intrinsically prone to transforming into public administration.

This concept, that is, the intrinsic interest of state and public institutions to complement each other, is gradually becoming a dominant factor behind the methodology in public policy research.

³⁸ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Die Verfassung Deutschlands*, S. 481-485.

1.1.3. The Development of the Theory of Public Administration

During its second phase of development (1880s–1950s), the theory of public administration emerged as a fully-fledged discipline of science.

The third and current phase started from the 1960s, and has given birth to what is now known as the “new public administration.” During the second and third phases, the development of the theory and practice of public management has taken place mainly in the developed Western world (USA, Canada, and Western Europe).

The seminal article on public administration in America is Woodrow Wilson’s *The Study of Administration* published in 1887.³⁹

Wilson starts his reasoning on public administration by acknowledging that the American theorists of public administration lag behind the European scholars. According to Wilson, public administration “is a foreign science, speaking very little of the language of English or American principle,” and “its aims, its examples, its conditions, are almost exclusively grounded in the histories of foreign races, in the precedents of foreign systems, in the lessons of foreign revolutions.” “If we would employ it,” Wilson continues, “we must Americanize it, and that not formally, in language merely, but radically, in thought, principle, and aim as well... It must get the bureaucratic fever out of its veins; must inhale much free American air”.⁴⁰

³⁹ **W. Wilson**, *The Study of Administration* // *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1887.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, page 202

“American government”⁴¹ and the American type of public administration have been discussed by many (in general, great emphasis has been made recently on the national-cultural specifics of the theory of management. In parallel with American management, the Japanese, Scandinavian, French, Chinese, German, Arabic, and Indian systems of management are increasingly gaining attention⁴²).

As distinct from the European mentality, where the role of the state in public administration was a vivid phenomenon, the pioneers of the New World used to be more reliant on individual features, while the public significance of the state used to be somewhat undermined. It is hard to imagine an American scholar who would write a Hobbes-style concept of public administration, whereby the society as a whole would resemble the “Leviathan” state.

Frank Goodnow gave an elegant description of the shift of the American mentality toward public administration in a public speech in 1916. “We no longer believe as we once believed that a good social organization can be secured merely through stressing our rights. The emphasis is being laid more and more on social duties. The efficiency of the social group is taking on in our eyes a greater importance than it once had. We are not, it is true, taking the view that the individual man lives for the state of which he is a member and that state efficiency is in some mysterious way an admirable end in and of itself. But we have come to the conclusion that man under modern conditions is primarily a member of society and that only as he recognizes his duties as a member of society can he secure the greatest opportunities as an individual. While we do not regard society as an end in itself we do consider it as one of

⁴¹ On the History of the American Government System, see **M. J. Skidmore and M. C. Tripp**, *American Government: A brief introduction*, 1989, 5th edition.

⁴² See **V. Mirzoyan**, *The philosophy of Government*, Yerevan, “Irvunq”, 2010, p. 112–139 (in Armenian).

the most important means through which man may come into his own.”⁴³

“The study of Public Administration in the United States, unlike other nations, can be understood only within the context of radically antistatist political tradition.” This is the conclusion professor Richard Stillman of the University of Colorado came to based on America’s geographic isolation, huge share of self-employed rural population, absence of significant external threats, relatively low need for armed forces, and immigrant mentality (referring to the immigrants persecuted in European states).⁴⁴

Eventually, the United States developed its own study of public administration, which became dominant in the field. The following statement by Jean-Eric Lane, a Swiss theorist of public administration, is quite vocal: “The term ‘New Public Management’ appeared in the early 1990s, and designated the ongoing public sector reforms in Anglo-Saxon countries.”⁴⁵

Public administration, which has evolved from government into a new type of administration, is strongly linked to the deep changes in social life, and first of all with the increase of the role of public institutions in the state–society relations. The real description of public administration is the increase of the share of governance by the members of the society and their voluntary organizations and the gradual expansion of the domain of their activity that starts to encompass functions previously strictly under the state’s administration.

Starting from the end of the 19th century, two factors – the advancement of the capitalist system and the emergence of

⁴³ **F.J. Goodnow**, *The American Conception of Liberty // The American Conception of Liberty and Government Providence*: Brown University, 1916, 30.

⁴⁴ **R.J. Stillman II**, *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases*. Eighth edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005, p. 17.

⁴⁵ **J.-E. Lane**, *Public Administration and Public Management*. London: Routledge, 2005, p. 5.

sociology as a discipline of science – played an important role in the advancement of the discipline of public administration.

Owing to the industrial revolution of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the mass employment of machinery provided for an unprecedented increase in labor productivity. The economies of England, Germany, France, and the United States became equipped with new and advanced technologies, mass communication was on the rise, and big multinationals were emerging.

The new economic system was coming to replace the traditional society of closed economies, and this new economic system was pushing for a new type of society with its unique vision, values, entrepreneurial drive, innovative spirit, and new abilities to self-organize.

A new civilization was emerging with a new public life and culture of cohabitation. The new culture required a new type of individual and a newly defined dignity of a citizen with a novel understanding of rights and responsibilities, as well as a new idea on the relationships between the state and the society.

This new culture was later to serve as a platform for the emergence and development of civil society organizations. In fact, the anticipated new society emerged in the end of the 19th century, and was termed by the German sociologist Max Weber “the spirit of modern capitalism”⁴⁶.

As noted earlier, the period from the 1880s to the beginning of the 1900s was a period of advancement of sociology. Sociology, designed to study the public life and the functions of different social organizations, had, of course, a long period of development (the so-called “protosociology” ranges in time from Plato and Confucius to the modern-day social philosophers), and has been recognized as a fully-fledged discipline of science only in the late

⁴⁶ **М. Вебер**, Протестанская этика и дух капитализма //Избранные произведения. М.: Прогресс, 1990.

19th century. Methodology-wise, a turning point was established when, starting from the end of the 19th century, researchers started to explain the public life not by external factors (like it was the case, for example, with the proponents of the theory of “geographical determinism”) but by the intrinsic functions of the society.

The following scholars/sociologists have had an especially significant input in the development of the theory of public administration:

❖ *Auguste Comte*. Has justified the need for the state’s regulatory function. Has developed the concept of “positive” society based on the role of education in the public life.

❖ *Herbert Spencer*. Has defined the types of public institutions. Developed the “law of equal freedom,” the justification of the market-based economy. The rejection of socialism as barrack-style organization of public life.

❖ *Emile Durkheim*. The role of division of labor in the social organization of the society. The definition of “deviant behavior.” The interpretation of suicides as not just individual but deeply social phenomenon.

❖ *Karl Marx*. The revelation of the crucial social function of the mode of production. The clarification of the social-economic bases of the first industrial revolution.

❖ *Vilfredo Pareto*. The discussion of the functions of the public elite, the definition of power and leadership, the study of the balance within the society.

❖ *Max Weber*. The discussion of the essence and types of authority. The efficient substantiation of the rational-bureaucratic governance.

❖ *Gabriel Tarde*. The definition of social clashes, the study of the public functions of mass communication. Advanced the grounds of social progress

❖ *Gustave Le Bon*. The discussion of the interrelationship between the individual and the crowd, the phenomenon of leadership, the theory of “mass society”.

❖ *Thorstein Veblen*. The definition of the role of technology and technical thinkers in the organization of public life.

❖ Georg Simmel. The “philosophy of money,” the role of money in interpersonal relations, the study of the forms of social stratification.

The above ideas have affected the development of the theory of public administration in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

The most influential of all was Max Weber’s study of rational bureaucracy. Even the 21st-century anti-bureaucratic arguments stem from Weber’s ideas before reaching their own conclusions. “Bureaucracy,” which literally means “the government of the office,” has been present in ancient states in the form of ruling elite beyond public control.

Weber changed the negative connotation of the concept of bureaucracy into a positive one, thus indicating in his view the most efficient and useful of the types of government. Earlier societies were dominated by “traditional” and “charismatic” types of government, while “bureaucracy” is especially suitable to the spirit of capitalistic government and for all types of organization, including state, social, and religious organizations and workers’ unions.

Traditional societies were governed based on the customary obedience of the members of the society, whereas “charismatic” government was based on the trust towards the unique, sometimes supernatural, features of the ultimate ruler.

An advantage of bureaucratic government vis-à-vis the previous two is that bureaucratic government is based on order. In all the layers of the organizational structure, the functions of the government are regulated and there is a strict hierarchy of superiors and subordinates. In addition, bureaucratic government includes

individual responsibility and meritocracy, merit-based promotion through the career ladder, efficient internal communication and customer relations. Owing to these main features, rational bureaucratic government is suitable for the efficient functioning of all types of organizations.⁴⁷

It goes without saying, of course, that bureaucratic government is not without shortcomings. The negative connotation of bureaucratization usually refers to a situation when a number of governing officials in an organization controls too much public authority and escapes supervision by other members of the organization. Bureaucrats thus become more interested in their personal gains than those of the organization.

Hence emerge the well-known negative features of the bureaucrats (pretense, delays, corruption, and others), which deprive the organizations of the ability to adequately adapt to the changing external environment. Bureaucratization should be regarded as internal “infection” of an organization, because of which the organization ceases to respond to the public demand and, in fact, serves to the reproduction of the bureaucratic apparatus.

Thus, rational bureaucratic governance, despite being the preferable system of governance (especially in the societies in transition), required constant supervision by the society.

Public administration started to be mentioned in western literature as a stand-alone discipline of science in the end of the 19th century, although public administration in its current form started to be practiced during the 20th century.⁴⁸

In the beginning, scholars did not distinguish between public administration and state governance, while contrasting it to business management. First of all, “businesses provide services predominantly for the sake of profit. And profit is the criterion

⁴⁷ **М. Вебер**, *Хозяйственная этика мировых религий* // Избранное. М.: Юрист, 1994, с. 67–72.

⁴⁸ **Robert Denhardt**, *Theories of Public Organization*, Yerevan, Antares, 2006 (in Armenian)

against which the efficiency of the business is measured,” while the governments, like other non-for-profit organizations, “are more concerned about service provision itself.”

Secondly, decisions in business “are made by one person or a small group of persons,” meanwhile “in public administration, at least in democratic societies, every decision requires a consideration of opinions from all interested parties, thus, decision making in public administration is multi-participatory.”⁴⁹ These views, based on the differences between public administration and business management, have later been criticized. The new approach is centered towards the phenomenon of management itself as a coordination of persons working towards a common goal. It instead focuses on the similarities between public administration and business management.

Ever since the inception of the theory of public administration, government-public administration-business management and government-politics-democracy linkages have been in the core of the study. Regarding democracy as a natural and objective phenomenon, Thomas Jefferson argued that “the government should be decentralized to an extent to give each individual citizen the opportunity to personally participate in the government of public matters. The government should serve to the mission of teaching political wisdom to its citizens who are keen on counting on themselves.”⁵⁰

That is why, according to Denhardt, “public administration is concerned with managing changing processes in pursuit of publicly defined societal values.”⁵¹ This type of approach by Denhardt puts a clear distinction between government and public administration.

⁴⁹ **R.B. Denhart, J.V. Denhart**, *Public Administration: An Action Orientation*. Fifth edition. Belmont (CA): Thomson Wadsworth, 2006, p. 5–6.

⁵⁰ **R.B. Denhardt**, *Theories of Public Organization*. Sixth Edition, Boston, 2011.

⁵¹ **R.B. Denhardt**, *Theories of Public Organization*. Sixth Edition, Boston, 2011, p. 30.

In Woodrow Wilson's brief description, "the field of administration is a field of business"⁵². On the one hand, government "is removed from the hurry and strife of politics," on the other hand, "it is directly connected with the lasting maxims of political wisdom, the permanent truths of political progress." The science of government aims at relieving the executive government from abstract studies and baseless and costly hassles of experiments. And, "by making service unpartisan, [the government] is opening the way for making it businesslike"⁵³ That is why Wilson was keen to adopt business management practices from foreign government practices. "If I see a monarchist dyed in the wool managing a public bureau well, I can learn his business methods without changing one of my republican spots."⁵⁴

Thus, despite the fact that public administration and business management have a different goal, and objects and subjects of management, Wilson outlined the similarities between the principles and methods of those disciplines.

Herbert Simon, a renowned theorist of public administration, and his colleagues define public administration as "the activity of the executives of national, state, and local governments, Congress and the independent councils and committees of state legislation, state corporations, and other institutions of professional activity."⁵⁵ This, in fact, is the definition of the content of public administration given by Herbert Simon. This definition is, of course, not complete. Particularly, it does not include the civil society organizations that participate in the formation of the government and supervise its activity.

Earlier theorist of public administration distinguished between the goals and the means of public administration, and faced the

⁵² **W. Wilson**, *The Study of Administration*, p. 209.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 210.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 220.

⁵⁵ **H.A. Simon, D.W. Smithburg, V.A. Thompson**, *Public Administration*, New York: Knopf, 1950, p. 7.

dilemma of public values versus economic efficiency. As a result, there emerged two types of approach, which can be classified as “economic” and “value-based.”

The proponents of the first approach emphasized the “maximum efficiency of the available resources.”⁵⁶ Luther Gulick’s *Science, Values and Public Administration* defends the economic approach. Public values, according to Gulick, are of course important, but in real life it is often difficult to unambiguously define what is “good” and what is “bad,” while abstract arguments by some theorist further exacerbate the argument. Gulick’s standpoint is unambiguous: “In the science of administration, whether public or private, the basic ‘good’ is efficiency. The fundamental objective of the science of administration is the accomplishment of the work in hand with the least expenditure of man-power and materials. Efficiency is thus axiom number one in the value scale of administration.”⁵⁷

The opponents of the “efficiency” approach, on the other hand, such as Marshall Dimock, argue that “technical efficiency is not a humane criteria,” and stress a more humane and value-based approach, arguing that “the realization of social needs should be the ultimate goal of government officials”⁵⁸ Naturally, the proponents of this approach have a completely different understanding of the nature and goals of public administration from the earlier mentioned scholars. According to Bourgon, “public administrations

⁵⁶ **L.D. White**, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*. New York: Macmillan, 1948, p. 2.

⁵⁷ **L.H. Gulick**, *Science, Values and Public Administration // Papers on the Science of Administration / Ed. by L. Gulick and L. Urwick*, New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1937, p. 192.

⁵⁸ **Robert Denhardt**, *Theories of Public Organization*, Yerevan, Antares, 2006 (in Armenian), p.89

are a vehicle for expressing the values and preferences of citizens, communities, and society as a whole.”⁵⁹

Public administration should, of course, be efficient. The economic efficiency of human activities is itself a social value. The behavior of the managers of businesses is exemplary for state government and the managers of various public organizations, because the efficiency in business is a precondition not only for the prosperity of the business but also for its survival.

Gulick’s viewpoint in this regard is, no doubt, justified, even if the means for economic and managerial efficiency in business change over time.

The rise in competitiveness and the accelerated pace of change in the business environment in the end of the 20th century caused a transformation in the management paradigm.

Particularly, group management practices, decentralization of management, the empowerment of low- and mid-level managers, the democratization of management practices, and the introduction of flat management structures were prioritized and promoted. These trends are being further promoted in the 21st century.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ **L. Bourgon**, Responsive, responsible and respected government: towards a New Public Administration theory // International Review of Administrative Sciences, 2007, vol. 73, n. 1, p. 7.

⁶⁰ The New Paradigm: Emerging Strategic for Leadership and Organizational Change / Ed. by M. Ray and A. Rinzler, New York, 1993, **C. McNamara**, New Paradigm in Management // <http://managementhelp.org/management/paradigms.htm>; W. J. Geldart, Management Challenges for the 21st Century // <http://tap3x.net/EMBTI/j6drucker.html>; **H. Tasaka**, 21st Century Management and the Complexity Paradigm // <http://www.manager-crossing.com/article/330090/21st-Century-Management-and-the-Complexity-Paradigm-Five-Tips-of-Complexity-Management/>; G. H. Schust, Supportive Leadership. The New Role of Executives in the 21st Century // bookboon.com; S. H. Penny, Voices of the Future: Leadership for the 21st century // Journal of Leadership Studies, 2011, vol. 5, is. 3; J. Eaton, Paradigms // <http://www.chebucto.ns.ca/CommunitySupport/NCC/SCDE-FJE.html>; **Н. Слонов, Ю. Корсаков, Т. Фокина**, Парадигмы менеджмента и объект административного управления // Городское управ-

Peter Drucker, a renowned classical management theorist, emphasized the following theses of the new management paradigm:⁶¹

❖ Management refers not only to business, but also to non-profit organizations (e.g. government sector, education, healthcare, culture, and science), thus management is an objective necessity for all types of organizations.

❖ There is no universal organizational structure for all organizations. For any particular occasion there is a specific appropriate organizational structure.

❖ There is no universal method of staff management. What is important is to lead the staff towards higher efficiency.

❖ Consumers (their values and income management decisions) become an important factor in business management.

❖ The boundaries of management are not limited to one specific country; they are rather related to the interests of multinational corporations.

Richard Daft has presented the anticipated changes in the management paradigm in the 21st century in the following concise table:⁶²

ления, 2005, № 4, с. 29–43; **С. В. Комаров, А.В. Молодчик**, На рубеже изменения парадигмы менеджмента: саморазвивающиеся, самоорганизующиеся системы // <http://www.academia.edu/3168998/>; **В. Н. Иванов**, Управленческая парадигма XXI века // <http://www.smolsoc.ru/index.php/2010-12-07-14-36-35/62--q---q/562---21>-In the Armenian-language literature, the changes of management paradigms have been discussed in the textbook “Management” (*Management*, Yerevan, “Tntesaget”, 2009, p. 571–575).

⁶¹ Peter F. Drucker, *Management Challenges for the 21st Century*, New York: Harper Business, 2001.

⁶² R.L. Daft, *Management*. Ninth Edition, Mason (OH): Cengage Learning, 2010.

Activities and Concepts	20 th Century Paradigm	21 st Century Paradigm
Culture	Stability, rationality	Changes, problem-solving
Technology	Mechanical	Electronic
Problems	Materialistic	Idea-based
Hierarchy	Vertical	Horizontal
Supervision	Highest management	Wide spread
The purpose of progress	Security	Personal growth, skills
Leadership	Authoritarian	Rotating
Workforce	Non-diverse	Cultural diversity
Fulfilment of production goals	Individual	Group (team)
Markets	Local, internal	Comprehensive
The centre of attention	Profit	Consumers
Resources	Capital	Information
Quality	Based on the capacity	Without Exception

1.1.4. The New Public Administration

With the changes in the management paradigm in the end of the 20th century, certain developments occurred in the theory of public administration. Although the paradigm change had been discussed at earlier stages,⁶³ the paradigm change in practice and theory featured especially during the third phase of the development of public administration and led to the emergence of the “**New Public Administration**”.⁶⁴

⁶³ N. Henry, *Paradigms of Public Administration // Public Administration Review*, 1975, vol. 35, n. 4, pp. 378–386.

⁶⁴ F. Marini, *Toward a New Public Administration*, New York: Chandler, 1971; V. Ostrom, *The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration*, Revised edition. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1974; H.G.

This “New Public Administration” developed by American scholars, who, urged by the objective changes in the end of the 20th century, felt the need to revise the traditional definitions of the relationship between the government and public organizations. Neither the “anti-etatism” of the American civilization, nor “federalism” was efficient in the management of state-society relationships. The ideological base of this conceptual shift is well defined by Richard Stillman: “An eighteenth-century enlightenment-inspired Constitution, based upon seventeenth-century Lockean politics and sixteenth-century Calvinist religion, makes it had to accommodate twenty-first-century ‘positive’ administrative action or thought.”⁶⁵ Robert Denhardt even points out more significant factors, such as the fiscal crisis of the 1970s, “reinventing government movement” (a government that functions better and cheaper), and the need to introduce the principles of public policy and public choice into the theory of public administration.⁶⁶ Referring to the same circumstances, Michael LeMay concludes “The New Public Administration... defined the transition from bureaucratic administration to entrepreneurial organization, and, employing the public choice model of decision-making, the policy of decision-making acquired market orientation.”⁶⁷

Frederickson, *New Public Administration*, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1980; **R.B. Denhart, J.V. Denhart**, *The New Public Service // Public Administration Review*, vol. 60, is. 6, 2000, pp. 549–559; **A.M. Nasrullah**, *From Public Administration to New Public Management // Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 2005, vol. 3, n. 1, pp. 197–204; **L. Bourgon**, *Responsive, responsible and respected government: towards a New Public Administration theory // International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 2007, vol. 73, n. 1, p. 7–26; www.ijj.ac.jp/faculty/kucc625/management/pm/present_history.ppt

⁶⁵ **R.J. Stillman II**, *Public Administration*, p. 17.

⁶⁶ **Robert Denhardt**, *Theories of Public Organization*, Yerevan, Antares, 2006 (in Armenian), p.186

⁶⁷ **M.C. LeMay**, *Public Administration: Clashing Values in the Administration of Public Policy*. 2nd edition. Belmont (CA): Thomson Wadsworth, 2006, p. 131.

Based on the above, scholars have defined the new public administration and underlined its main criteria and characteristics.

The new public administration, according to Leslie Pal, includes “an emphasis on efficiency and the evaluation of activities, decentralization of the state bureaucratic apparatus, promotion of market principles, outsourcing (in order to promote competition), financial management, and development of companies.”⁶⁸

According to David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, the characteristic criteria of the new public administration refer to the reforms in the executive branch of the power.⁶⁹ According to the authors, the government should be:

- ❖ **Market-oriented**, concentrate its strategy on the development of such a business environment that would provide for the best functioning of the markets, thus ensuring high quality of life and economic opportunities.

- ❖ **Competitive and catalytic**, encourage economic activity, promote competitiveness in private, public and non-governmental sectors, encourage efficiency, innovation, and resilience.

- ❖ **Mission-driven**, lead other public organizations in becoming faithful to their missions.

- ❖ **Enterprising**, initiate new entrepreneurial ventures, while abstaining from implementing price-setting policies.

- ❖ **Anticipatory**, able to anticipate and prevent undesirable developments.

⁶⁸ **Leslie A. Pal**, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*, Yerevan, 2005 (in Armenian), p. 131

⁶⁹ **D. Osborne, T. Gaebler**, *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*. New York: Penguin Press, 1992; **B.G. Posner, L.R. Rothstein**, *Reinventing the Business of Government: An Interview with Change Catalyst David Osborne* // <http://hbr.org/1994/05/reinventing-the-business-of-government-an-interview-with-change-catalyst-david-osborne/ar/1>; **D. Osborne**, *Reinventing Government: what a Difference a Strategy Makes*. 7th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Building Trust in Government 26–29 June 2007, Vienna, Austria // <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan025253.pdf>

- ❖ **Result-oriented**, and not resource-oriented.
- ❖ **Customer-driven**, and not bureaucracy-oriented.
- ❖ **Decentralized**, promote the transition from hierarchy to the participatory form of government; promote team play, individual development, and advancement in information technology.
- ❖ **Community-owned**, empower local self-government bodies to become the initiators of solving their own problems⁷⁰.

This type of government will perform strategic (and not situational) administration, will prevent undesirable developments (and not try to reverse the irreversible), will ensure financial inflows (and not just expenditures), and will be devoted to the realization of the society's goals (instead of merely concentrating on overseeing public expenditures). This is how the executive power, on the one hand, incorporates the features of the new public administration into its activities, while, on the other hand, by its own example, pushes the other subjects of public administration to adopt the new approaches.

During the development of the theory of public administration, the policy–government interrelation had attracted special attention. According to Frank Goodnow, “the function of politics...consists in the expression of the will of the state”, while “the function of executing the will of the state has been called administration”⁷¹.

This approach was not, however, long-lived. Governments are formed based on elections. People's preferences towards one or another political party are based on the latter's policies. Thus, the policies of the winning party become public policy, consequently governments are implementing policies that have been developed by themselves.

⁷⁰ **D. Osborne, T. Gaebler**, *Reinventing Government*, p. 19–20.

M.C. LeMay, *Public Administration*, pp. 131–134; **L. Bourgon**, *Responsive, responsible and respected government: towards a New Public Administration theory*, pp. 13–21.

⁷¹ **F. J. Goodnow**, *Politics and Administration: A Study in Government*. New Brunswick (NJ), 2003, p. 23, 72.

According to a modern interpretation, “public policy means a practice or its absence adopted by public authorities, targeted towards the solution of certain problems.”⁷² By the way, public policy is considered a principal element of modern democracy, for “it provides directions to government officials and means to remain accountable to the public.” Naturally, the implementers of public administration employ certain methodologies while developing and implementing public policies. The methodologies include the principles of the definition of the problems, the criteria of selecting the goals, and the toolset for achieving them.⁷³

To sum up, the discipline of public administration has survived through a long history of development. The concept of the state, as a means of social-political organization and the main implementer of public administration, and the viewpoints of thinkers of different time periods on the interrelations between the state and the society have been reflected in the discipline of public administration. A conclusion is that the features of the “New Public Administration” can be especially efficient if adequately adopted by the main implementers of public administration.

1.2. Public Administration and Civil Society

1.2.1. Civil Society

The emergence of civil society during the process when public administration emerged as a separate discipline from government has not been much prioritized by 20th-century western scholars.

⁷² **Leslie A. Pal**, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*, Yerevan, 2005 (in Armenian), p. 15

⁷³ **Leslie A. Pal**, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*, Yerevan, 2005 (in Armenian), **David Weimer and Aidan R. Vining**, *Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice*, Yerevan, 2010 (in Armenian), *Public Policy Analysis*, eds **A. Haurutyunyan and Yu. Suvaryan**, Yerevan, 2005 (in Armenian), **З. Янг, Л. Куинн**, Как написать действенный документ в сфере государственной политики, Киев: К.И.С., 2003.

They instead have touched upon topics, such as democracy, justice, and responsibility.

Let's briefly consider that civil society is the most important precondition for a legitimate democratic state, established local self-government, and efficient public administration.

There are a number of interpretations of civil society. Most of them include important common features, such as legality, the rule of law, justice, the protection of human rights, concepts that have also been prioritized by 17th-century European philosophers and political thinkers.

Civil society is defined as the integrity of organized social groups and institutions. Its main functions include watching the activities of the state to ensure that it remains within its legal and constitutional limits, and taking all necessary measures to bring state officials back into their legislative boundaries.⁷⁴ At the same time, civil society's level of maturity is defined by the spirit of cooperation within the society and the harmony between the responsibilities and voluntary activities of the members of the society.⁷⁵

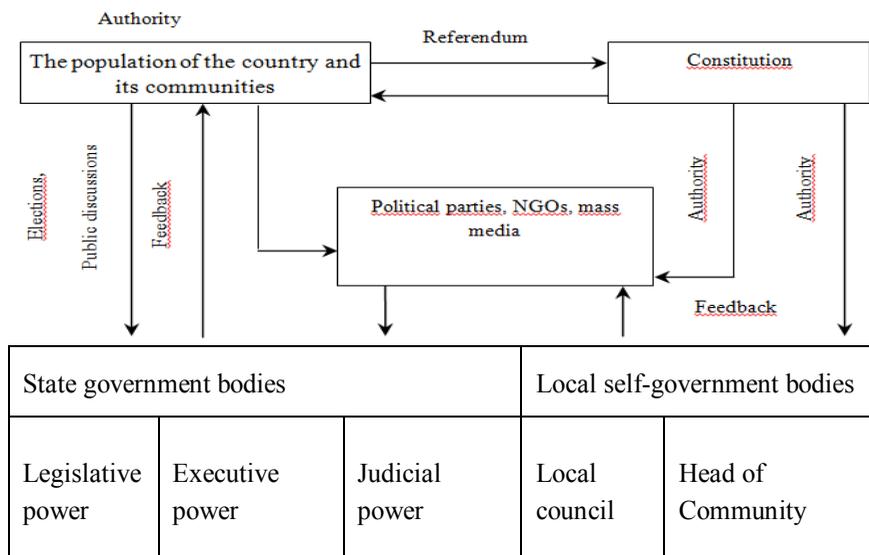
A distinctive feature of civil society is the democratic system, whereby the citizens of a country directly elect through a secret ballot the state government and local self-governing officials and supervise their activity. Social and political organizations are an integral part of the election process, and bear responsibility for the activities of the government they help to form.

⁷⁴ **Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan**, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, "Caucasus Institute," 2011 (in Armenian), p. 29-30. Теория государства и права / Под ред. М.Н. Марченко. М.: ЗЕРЦАЛО-М, 2001, с. 409; Теория государства и права / Под ред. Н.И. Матузова, А.В. Малько. М.: Юристъ, 1999, с. 202. <http://www.civilsoc.org/whatisCS.htm>; <http://pages.uoregon.edu/kimball/cvc.pbl.htm>

⁷⁵ **V. Mirzoyan**, *The Nature of Public Administration // Law and Reality* (Yerevan), 2007, p. 8 (in Armenian).

1.2.2 The System of Public Administration

The system of public administration includes state and local governments, social and political organizations, and the mass media (picture 1).



Picture 1. The system of public administration and the mechanism of its formation

It is worth mentioning that government and public administration differ based on the principles of their formation and by the democratic nature of public administration. The latter is expressed by delegating part of the state government authorities to directly elected local self-government, and the use of referenda and public discussions for important decision-making.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Public administration is sometimes describes as the use of “the public authority of the collective” targeted the realization of public interests (**В. В. Чиркин**, Публичное управление. М.: Юрист, 2004, р. 21). Whereas

The subject matter of public administration is the complex of political, economic, and social relations that emerge during the provision of public services. The subjects of public administration are the bodies implementing public administration. The literature on public administration sometimes presents the components of public administration as types of public administration. The following five types are discussed: international government, state government, government of federal subjects, government of autonomous territorial units, and local self-government.⁷⁷ This approach, however, is not acceptable because the government of international organizations (the UN, EU, and others) mixes with the components of public administration, such as state government and local self-government.

Corporate management of businesses does not have a direct link to public administration either. The indirect link between the two is that public administration creates an external operational environment for business organizations.

In any democratic country, the authorities and functions of the bodies of public administration are defined by the constitution and other legislature. In Armenia, for example, Article 2 and Article 7 of the Constitution provide the basis for the implementation of public administration. According to these articles:

❖ “In the Republic of Armenia the power belongs to the people. The people exercise their power through free elections, referenda, as well as through state and local self-governing bodies and public officials as provided by the Constitution.”

❖ “The ideological pluralism and multiparty system are recognized in the Republic of Armenia. Parties are formed freely and promote the formulation and expression of the political will of the people.”

government is the sum of the delegated authority and power, while the collective has power only towards its manager, which cannot become a starting point for public administration.

⁷⁷ **В. В. Чиркин**, Публичное управление. М.: Юрист, 2004, р. 30–31:

1.2.3. The Functions and Methods of Public Administration

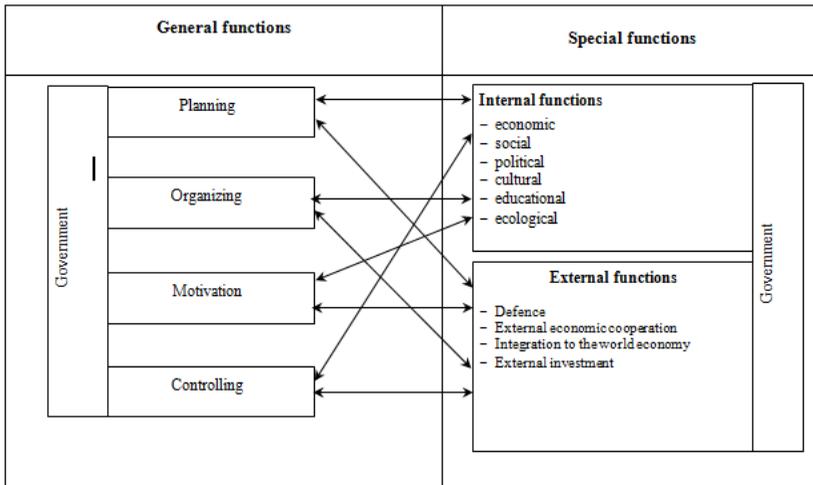
The functions of public administration are classified in two groups: the **general** functions and the **special** functions of public administration. There are four main functions: **planning**, **organizing**, **motivation**, and **controlling**. These are common for all types of government bodies.

Planning helps to define the strategy of socio-economic development for a country and its regions. **Organization** refers to the formation of the organizational structure of a country's social and economic institutions, local self-governance, and national security. In addition, this function helps to delegate authority to the government, and separate the functions and establish the responsibilities of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. **Motivation** refers to the stimulation of the employees in the system of public administration. It should be achieved by setting up an efficient system of financial and moral compensation for the employees of public administration. The **controlling** function is a means of ensuring the implementation of the adopted strategy and the efficient management of public property.

The special functions refer to specific activities of the government, local self-government bodies, and social, political, and non-governmental organizations. More specifically, the special functions of government are divided into two categories: **internal** and **external**.⁷⁸ The internal functions usually are of economic, social, political, cultural, educational, and ecological nature. The external functions relate to defence, external economic cooperation, integration to the world economy, and foreign investment.

The schematic view of the main and special functions of the state is presented in Picture 2.

⁷⁸ Теория государства и права / Под ред. **М. Н. Марченко**, М.: ЗЕРЦАЛО-М, 2001, с. 181–184:



Picture 2. The functions of the state government

The special functions of local self-governments (head of the community, the legislature), social-political and non-governmental organizations, and mass media are defined by the constitution and other legislature.

Public administration, as an important subfield of state governance, uses the methods and principles that are employed in modern management practices. These include Henri Fayol’s 14 principles of management, scientific justifications of management, the efficient combination of government regulation and free markets, efficient human resource management, transparency in decision-making, maximum democratization of government activities, and decentralization.

Administrative, economic, and social-psychological methods are among the most widely used in public administration.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ *Management ed.*, Yu. Suvaryan, Yerevan, “Economist”, 2009.

The efficiency of public administration is defined by the results produced per unit of expenditure. Efficiency is related not only to the government, but also the activities of democratic institutions that operate both before and after the formation of the government. Elections stand out as the most important of democratic activities, whereby the key institutions of public administration are being formed (the president of the republic, and the legislative and executive powers). Elections also provide a link between the elected officials and the electorate, which is an important way of controlling public officials. Public discussions and referenda on important public matters is a key democratic procedure. In different types of monarchic states, monarchic families and ruling elites were responsible for the fate of the country. In authoritarian states, the political elite of the ruling party is the ultimate decision-maker. Meanwhile, in the case of public administration, the just and transparent realization of the democratic will of the people through elected public officials and other democratic institutions is what determines the fate of the country.

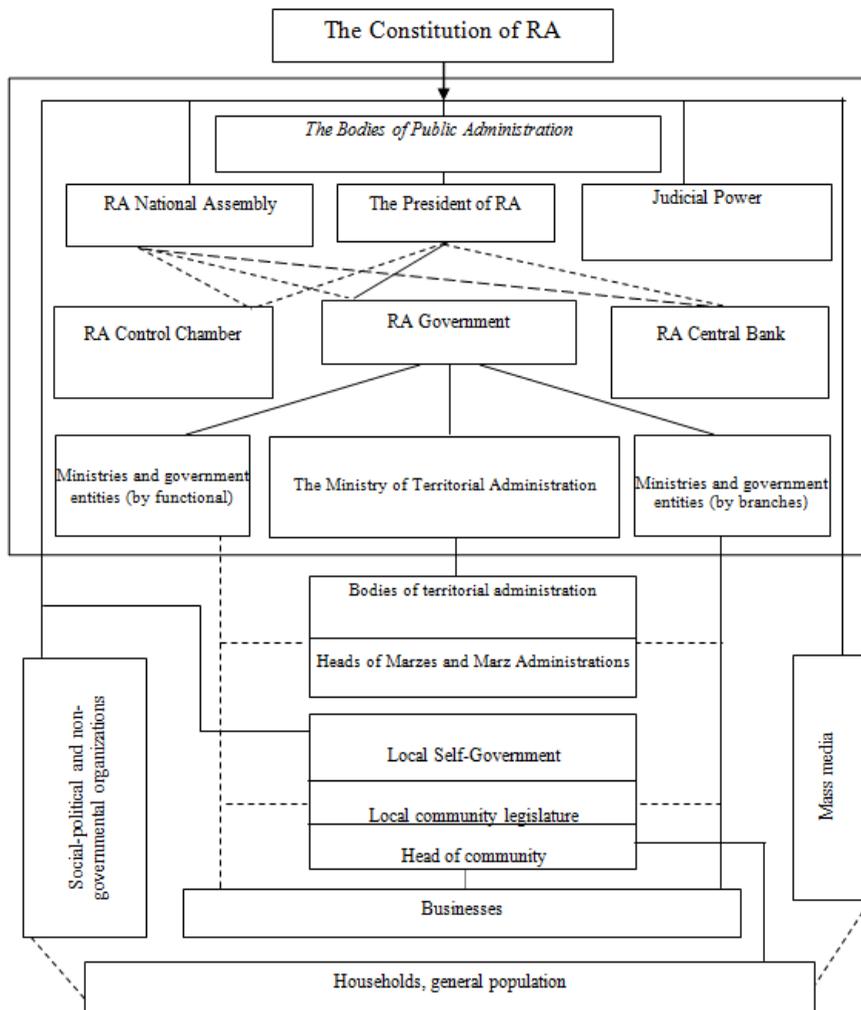
The constitutionally adopted system of public administration in the Republic of Armenia mostly corresponds to the standards of free economic relations and unitary democratic states. According to Article 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, “The state power shall be exercised in conformity with the Constitution and the laws based on the principle of the separation and balance of the legislative, executive and judicial powers.” The legislative functions in the Republic of Armenia are performed by the National Assembly (the parliament), the executive functions by the Government of the Republic Armenia, and the judicial functions by the constitutional and general courts of the Republic of Armenia. According to the Constitution (Article 49), “The President of the Republic of Armenia shall be the head of the state. The President of the Republic shall strive to uphold the Constitution and to ensure the regular functioning of the legislative, executive and judicial powers.”

According to the Consultation, the bodies of public administration are divided into three groups: state governance, territorial administration, and local self-government (see Picture 3).

A well-established system of public administration also requires efficient legislation on public service and the development of the institute of public service itself. This is especially vital for developing and training adequate human resources to help carry out the functions of public administration.

According to the Republic of Armenia law on civil service, “Public service is the implementation of the powers allocated for the state by the legislation, including implementation by state bodies and municipal authorities of policy, public service and service in municipal authorities, and also civil work in state bodies and municipal authorities.”⁸⁰ The components of public service – civil service, judicial service, and special services (defense, national security, police, tax and customs services, emergency service, and diplomatic service) – are regulated by appropriate laws that are there to ensure the efficiency of public service.

⁸⁰ The Republic of Armenia Law on Civil Service // “Civil Service”, 17.09.2003



Picture 3. The constitutional structure of public administration in the Republic of Armenia

1.2.4. Participatory Governance in Public Administration System

Currently, the simultaneous challenges of the progressive development of economies and decentralization processes on the one hand oblige, but on the other hand enforce governing bodies to rethink and revalue the basic directions of their activities and the future opportunities of the development of relevant territorial units. The traditional and conservative approaches to the government may possibly result in a failure in medium and long terms by leading to an obstruction of the functioning of core elements of the management system. In particular, the high velocity of changes, that take place in modern economies, require reasonable response from the governing bodies. In these circumstances it becomes apparent that traditional approaches no longer correspond to the alarming growth of the needs of private sector and local residents. In fact, these changes are due to many factors, and it is almost impossible to observe their related causes and consequences in an isolated way. It's all about this interconnection that requires much more progressive approaches to the management of changes in different layers of public administration, without having the limitation of predominantly control-based managerial mentality. ***By discussing the issue from a practical standpoint it could be argued that at present the solution of current problems of governance is possible only through the inclusion of various stakeholders and the creation of partnerships between them, which must be initiated by the governing bodies.*** The field of stakeholders is very broad, because the process of governance can refer to numerous parties and their groups.

Following the idea of the necessity of participatory governance, there is a need to understand what prerequisites must be satisfied for participatory governance to be transformed from a conceptual approach into an integral element of the system of administration. In general, the steady trend of decentralization in

different countries throughout the world and their public administration systems already assumes the existence of a common “solidarity” regarding the awareness of the importance of the transfer of power and control from the center to the lower tiers of government. Of course, the understanding of this problem sometimes is limited only by rhetoric speeches without an actual transfer of additional powers to the local governing bodies⁸¹. At the same time, it is clear that the development of participatory governance may have greater opportunities under the process decentralization. In this context, let’s refer to those preconditions whose existence is necessary for the implementation of effective participatory governance. First of all, the political will, produced by the central, regional, and local governing bodies is of utmost importance. This refers to the inclusion of stakeholders in the decision-making processes. One significant aspect is also the existence of a proper legal framework regulating the process of participation. Otherwise the process can be turned into a jumble of chaotic and self-purposed activities. In this sense, the well-developed mechanisms can play a central role in participatory governance, as long as they clarify the gains and losses that the stakeholders may have in the case of participation in decision-making.

By summarizing, it can be claimed that effective participatory governance is a complex and systematic process, in which the implementation can ensure some positive results for parties involved, but at the same time, it is possible only through meeting and consistently implementing the above mentioned conditions.

Participatory governance in public administration system outlines a fundamentally new direction of decision-making and the whole process of administration towards formation of a com-

⁸¹ **J. Manor**, Democratic decentralization in Africa and Asia, in *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 26(2), 1995, p. 81-88.

prehensive development approach, by connecting sustainability, social justice, economic development and cultural freedom.

Citizens' participation in public administration started to develop particularly quickly in the middle of the 20th century with an application of new methods and mechanisms. This fact requires a definition of the term of citizens' participation for the present conditions and by modern perception. According to Roberts, citizen participation is "the process by which members of a society (those not holding office or administrative positions in government) share power with public officials in making substantive decisions and in taking actions related to the community"⁸². Webler and Renn describe citizen participation as "forums of exchange that are organized for the purpose of facilitating communication between government, citizens, stakeholders and interest groups, and business regarding a specific decision or problem"⁸³. Beierle and Crayford consider citizen participation as being "any of several mechanisms intentionally instituted to involve the lay public or their representatives in administrative decision-making"⁸⁴. And regardless of the fact that the degree of importance of citizen participation constantly fluctuate, it is apparent that these processes are currently viewed as integral components of modern public administration system. Sherry Arnstein brings forward an interesting interpretation of citizen participation, by noting that "the idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach; no one is against it in principle because it is good for you"⁸⁵. Taking into

⁸² **N. Roberts**, *The age of direct citizen participation*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2008, p. 7.

⁸³ **O. Renn, T. Webler, P. Wiedemann**, *Fairness and competence in citizen participation: Evaluating models for environmental discourse*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1995, p. 2.

⁸⁴ **T. C. Beierle**, *Public participation in environmental decisions: an evaluation framework using social goals*. Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 1998, p. 6.

⁸⁵ **S. R. Arnstein**, A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 1969, p. 216.

consideration the introduced total support for the concept of participatory governance, it can be argued, that the main debate among theorists, policy makers and governing bodies is not on the necessity of participation, but rather on the ways of yielding the maximum benefit from that process.

Although the participation is seemingly a simple idea, Rosener notes that “the seemingly simple phrase ‘citizen participation’ can be discovered to be, in reality, a very complex concept, and...the lack of knowledge about participation effectiveness is probably related to the fact that so few acknowledge its complexity”⁸⁶. In this regard, completely diverse and differing approaches can be found in the literature on participatory governance. In addition, it can be noticed that the main dimension, in which the approaches to the effectiveness of participatory governance of theorists differ, is the unit of analysis, that refer to the effectiveness. Particularly, the approaches to the effectiveness differ depending on what unit of affection is in the question – private individual, a wider democratic system of administration or the policy implemented by the latter.

A careful study of the literature shows that there are no such authors who are opposed to the idea of the participation or consider it a negative process. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is that citizen participation, according to many authors, has positive impact on individual residents and the develop citizenship. A part of authors believe that participation is effective, when it brings to positive changes in the consciousness and character of an individual resident. It’s noteworthy, that this approach was first developed in Ancient Greece, but of course, at state government level. In particular, famous Greek philosopher Aristotle insisted, that “active citizen participation in the state is an essential part of being human and necessary for the attainment of eudaimonia⁸⁷, the

⁸⁶ **J. B. Rosener**, Citizen participation: Can we measure its effectiveness? *Public Administration Review*, 38(5), 1978, p. 458.

⁸⁷ Eudaimonia is the highest state of moral, mental, and emotional development in Ancient Greek philosophy.

highest state of moral, intellectual, and emotional development”⁸⁸. This approach was further developed by philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Stuart Mill, who summarized the role of citizen participation in the development of civil and moral characteristics of an individual⁸⁹. Political philosopher Arnold Kaufman, building on the last view, states, that “citizen participation in government had the potential to foster the psychological and intellectual well-being of individuals and improve their sense of personal and political efficacy”⁹⁰. Modern literature also points out a number of positive changes, which can be observed in an individual, once he or she directly participates in public administration affairs. In this regard, Fung and Wright claim that “participatory bodies facilitating citizen participation can act as schools of democracy where participating citizens can develop a host of positive attributes beneficial for both the individual and society”⁹¹. Citizens’ discussions on public issues can contribute to the development of specific abilities of individuals, as well as, to the formation of public spirit and performance character.

During the last decade more and more importance is given to the participation of citizens in community life and the decision-making process. Increasing numbers of people are starting to realize their right to interfere in the decisions that have a direct impact on their lives. Meanwhile, those who hold the power are also aware that by applying the participatory process with consideration of the viewpoints of a wide range of citizens they increase the legitimacy and quality of their decisions, as well as gain the

⁸⁸ **Aristotle, ., T. A. Sinclair**, 1981. *The politics*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

⁸⁹ **J.J. Rousseau, G. D. H. Cole**, *The social contract*. New York, NY: Cosimo, Inc., 2008.

⁹⁰ **A. Kaufman**, Human nature and participatory democracy. *The Bias of Pluralism*. Ed. William E. Connolly. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1973, pp. 266–289.

⁹¹ **A. Fung, E. O. Wright**, *Deepening democracy: institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance*. London: Verso, 2003.

confidence of the community members. Being one of the crucial components of modern democracy, participatory governance contributes to the development of human and social capital. However, the transition from traditional system of administration into the participatory governance contains a double challenge: for ensuring the implementation of participatory mechanisms it is necessary to have citizens capable of participating in decision-making processes, but besides – authorities that have a will and an ability of recognizing not only the right for voice of the citizens, but also the right to say.

It is important to note that there is a very common view in the literature, that citizens' participation can be considered effective if it leads to some changes in the policy and administration, which improve the quality of the provision of public services and link them with citizens' wants and needs⁹². Besides, as Vigoda claims, "elected officials and public administrators often simply lack the breadth and depth of information necessary to properly address public problems; citizen participation processes can help foster the collaboration between citizens and administrators that is necessary for high-quality public policy-making and administration"⁹³. In addition, Fung believes, that "public participants may be able to frame problems and priorities in ways that break from professional conceptions yet more closely match their values, needs, and preferences"⁹⁴.

In general, the managerial approach, wherein the decision-making process is being decentralised and the employees take part in it, has proved its efficiency for a long time and is currently

⁹² **P. Gulati**, Consumer participation in administrative decision making. *Social Service Review*, 56(1), 1982, pp. 72–84.

⁹³ **E. Vigoda**, From responsiveness to collaboration: Governance, citizens, and the next generation of public administration. *Public Administration Review*, 62(5), 2002, pp. 527–540.

⁹⁴ **A. Fung**, Varieties of participation in complex governance. *Public Administration Review*, 66, 2006b, p.age 73.

successfully applied to different types of organizations. The rooting of democratizing elements in the field of management has a universal character, regardless of the object type and the level of management. This inevitable process is primarily due to the natural course of development of humanity and society, which results in gradual changes in people's needs and mentality. At macro (public) level, of course, the situation is a little different, because here we deal not with employees but with people that are considered to be the consumers of public services, but it should be noted that in this case the above-mentioned managerial mechanism can also have its concrete results.

The innovations and efforts in the expansion of citizens' participation in decision-making process must include not only normative institutional ideas, but also clearly developed concepts on the peculiarities of participating citizens. Researchers have revealed a number of core incentives which play a decisive role in whether a citizen will be politically active, and if so, what particular form the participation will have. A part of such incentives include socio-economic factors, such as social class, education, professional advancement, level of income, as well as the factors of social integration – age, country of origin, position in the labour market, and participation in the Internet. Concernment starts from the sense of duty, the desire to have a personal contribution, the calculation of benefits, the effectiveness of potential participation, as well as from the pleasure that the citizen expects from the participatory process. In other words, citizens' participation can be explained by both resource-related and also incentive-related factors. By involving citizens in the decision-making process public administrators also contribute to the formation of civil society in the community, as far as the citizens get closer to the community management affairs and thus their sense of civic responsibility is also being increased. At the same time, by this they are able to realize their individual role in the management of their own community, because their opinion can

even have some impact on the decisions that are made by governing bodies. In our opinion, the citizens' participation in the decision-making process and the awareness about the management affairs of their community is especially important in the sense that whenever people have some problems and are not properly informed about them, they usually consider the worst.

Chapter 2.

THE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ARMENIAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE PERIOD FROM THE 5TH TO THE 12TH CENTURIES

2.1. Armenian Thinkers on Government

2.1.1. The Inception of Armenian Management Thought

In the second volume of his “History of the Armenians” Movses Khorenatsi specifically talks about “the organization of the kingdom” in the times of the Armenian King Vagharshak in the 2nd century BC. The younger brother of King Arshak the Great of Partev, Vagharshak becomes the King of Armenia (in 134 BC) by the will of his elder brother, and, according to Khorenatsi, intends to find out who have reigned Armenia before him, and “where the existing ministries come from.”⁹⁵ The objective here was not to establish a new medium of territorial administration, a ministry, but to carry out a kind of “inventory check” and to come to terms with the past and the present. This, perhaps, is an important step every ruler has to take to find out the nature of the entity he is to govern.

With the help of the manuscript discovered by the Assyrian Mar Abbas Katina (that famous manuscript was held at the court of Arshak the Great, and as per King Vagharshak’s request, was provided to Katina, who copied documents related to the ancient history of Armenia and presented them to King Vagharshak), Vagharshak realized “the organization of the kingdom.” Khorenatsi valued the interest of the king towards the document that

⁹⁵ **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1990, p. 21 (in Armenian)

summarized the past performance of the Armenian kingdom. King Vagharshak treated the manuscript like a treasure and a useful source of efficient government. For that reason, Khorenatsi appreciated Vagharshak and called him “well-spoken and very clever.”

This part of “History of the Armenians” thoroughly describes a number of features of public administration, such as territorial administration of the state, the definition (in fact, the redefinition) of the landlords, their approval by the patriarchs, collections of armaments, activities of the courts, and the authorities of the executive power (the “agencies”). The agencies were attached to the landlord families that carried out the administration of the agencies. The Bagratuni family retained the status of knights, the Khorkhoruni family became bodyguards, the Mamikonyans *Sparapets*, the Gtunis butlers, the Gnunis cupbearers, the Gabeghyans intendants, etc.

This type of organization, that is, the strict definition of the relations between the king and the landlord, was an important factor for ensuring stability in the kingdom, because here it was not just the will of the king but also the tradition and the customary law that was above even the monarch.

The justification of such a system change is especially noteworthy. Khorenatsi agrees with the king and values his determination to transform chaos into a regulated environment. According to Khorenatsi, “first of all, the king regulates himself and his backyard, starting from his crown.”⁹⁶ The reform also regulates the activities of the court and provides predictable timetables. In order to provide balanced and just verdicts, the king appoints two special counselors, “reminders in writing,” “one to remind the kindness, the other revenge. The king orders the reminder of the kindness to remind him of the truth and

⁹⁶ Ibidem, p. 71.

philanthropy in case he gets angry or comes up with an unjust verdict.”⁹⁷

This kind of approach is, of course, far from Weber-style rational bureaucracy based on selfless management principles.⁹⁸ It, however, has nothing in common with the undisguised and unpredictable self-will of eastern tyrants either.

Khorenatsi reports (and highly values) an order by King Vagharshak aimed at establishing a type of public harmony in the kingdom: “Let the peasants respect the city dwellers like knights, but the urbanites should not behave arrogantly towards the peasants, and should treat them like brothers.”⁹⁹ According to another order turned into a customary law, targeted towards the stability of the state, the heir of the throne shall live with his father, while the other children shall live in remote parts of the kingdom.

During the times of Christianity, an attempt to regulate the cohabitation of the people of Armenia was made in 356 AD. As a result, Ashtishat’s (a village in Taron) **legislative council** is created, which proposes rules on religion, public relations, marriage, burial ceremonies, healthcare, and other matters. According to Pavstos Byuzand, the members of the council “introduced law and order, organized and transformed the behavior of the people of Armenia into one of a group of monks, except marriages”¹⁰⁰. Catholicos Nerses “established a number of domestic rules and regulations,” some of which were of universal nature.

Vagharshak prioritized the ethical components of the relationship between the rulers and the subjects. According to Byuzand, “he would order the kingdom, to the king himself, the knights, and all others, who had reign over people, to have compassion towards their servants, subordinates, and pupils, to

⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 76.

⁹⁸ *Management* ed., **Yu. Suvaryan**, Yerevan, “Economist” 2009, p. 350–354.

⁹⁹ **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁰ **Pavstos Byuzand**, *The History of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1987, page 119 (in Armenian).

love them as family, and not to treat them unjustly or overburden with taxes, for the subordinates, too, have a god in the heavens. He would order the servant to be loyal to and obey their masters, for which they would be rewarded.”¹⁰¹

It should be noted that such kind of public administration could not have been implemented or even proposed without the consent and partaking of the King Arshak II (350-368 AD),¹⁰² who wanted to create a unified and centralized state. The Ashtishat Council, as well as the building of the city of Arshakavan, were aimed at strengthening the monarchic power in the country.

The building of the city of Arshakavan, a qualitatively new type of settlement, was an important initiative. Centuries later, cities became the cornerstone of the development of Western European states. It is assumed that Arshak wanted to create a number of privileged settlements (where servants and builders persecuted by their masters and other discontented population would gather) as a unique basis for centralized power. In fact, the initiative proved to be justified, for in a short period of time, Arshakavan became a populous and prosperous city.

As is known from the history of Armenia, the discontented landlords, with the help of Persia, who, of course, would not want a powerful Armenia, brought the city of Arshakavan down and massacred its population. Khorenatsi, whose sympathies were with the rebellious ministers, called the building of Arshakavan a “senseless activity,” while Catholicos Nerses claimed as if he had known about the massacre but had arrived late to the city.¹⁰³ According to Byzand, on the other hand, the fall of Arshakavan

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, page 121, 123 (in Armenian).

¹⁰² The second legislative council meeting was held in 444/446 AD with the initiation of Catholicos Hovsep I. After the Arshakuni dynasty, which was the last Armenian royal dynasty of that age, the religious leaders of Armenia shouldered the responsibility of government, and not surprisingly, the rules of public administration were predominantly of religious nature.

¹⁰³ **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 187–188.

was Catholicos Nerses's direct request to Arshak, because the city "was build with sin, unlawfulness, evil, and corruption." The city fell as a result of a curse that brought about plague and within three days the city became deserted and about 20,000 families vanished.¹⁰⁴

We will try to explain the reasoning behind King Arshak's building of the new city from the viewpoint of public administration. One of the main questions is whether Armenia was going to get stronger or weaker as a result of that initiative. Alas, historians have not given an answer to this question. Another unresolved question was the reasons behind Catholicos Nerses's insistence on bringing the city down. What was ungodly in that city, which, according to Byuzand¹⁰⁵, even had a church in it?

As we can see, Byuzand does not directly condemn the anti-Armenian activities of the landlords (and not only in bringing down the city of Arshakavan) who had breached the oath given to the monarch. And all this was only a few years after the Artishat Council that called for "loyalty and obedience" to the lord. Byuzand's attitude towards the fall of Arshakavan can perhaps be explained by his following statement: Catholicos Nerses has unsuccessfully tried to hold the landlords back, arguing that "Arshak, no matter how wicked, is a godly person, and, no matter how guilty, is your king."¹⁰⁶

In the meantime, the Armenian independent statehood was under serious threat. The only way out was in the national unity. Thus, the Armenian landlords should not have betrayed the king in pursuit of their own interests; they rather should have unified around him and made him stronger for the sake of promoting an independent (from Persia) government policy. Stability and uninterrupted government were, of course, unthinkable, for not only Persia had become Armenia's archenemy (Arshak had been

¹⁰⁴ **Pavstos Byuzand**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 175–177.

¹⁰⁵ **Pavstos Byuzand**, *Op. Cit.*, p. 171.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 251.

waging wars against Persia with alternating success for 30 years with unsuccessful attempts to sign an acceptable peace treaty), but also Rome had abandoned its status of Armenia's "friend and ally." Based on a 363 AD peace treaty between Roman Emperor Jovian and Shapur II of Persia, Emperor Jovian shamefully (the pact is known as the "Shameful Treaty" in the Roman history) betrayed Arshak II and declined to support the Armenian king's endeavors against Persia.

When geopolitical factors are undermined, historians start to exaggerate the negative personal traits of King Arshak and justify, albeit shamefully, the anti-Armenian activities of the landlords.

The 5th-century Armenian historians, alas, had a similar biased approach towards the person and the policies of another Armenian king, Pap. The actions by King Pap Arshakuni towards strengthening the Armenian state during his short reign (370-374 AD) are well known. Those included the expansion of the army from 10,000 to 90,000, victorious wars, achievements in the diplomatic domain, and preserving the independence of the Armenian Church. As a result, worried about the ever-strengthening Armenian state, the Roman Empire conspiringly arranged Pap's assassination.

One of the most important initiatives of King Pap was the reduction of the number of priests in the country and partial (5 out of 7) nationalization of the Church's estate. Byzand, however, explained the king's move not from the viewpoint of strengthening the Armenian statehood, but rather by the king's hatred towards Catholicos Nerses and by his intention to undermine the Catholicos's authority.

After the death of Nerses in 372 AD, King Pap revised some of the decisions of the Artishat Council, particularly he abolished the nunneries, hospices, and the centers for the poor and the widowed. Pap also abolished some of the taxes paid to the church. Obviously, such a decision relieved the burden on the state and the society, young priests joined the army, and the older ones carried out other useful activities. Byzand thoroughly recorded all those events,

despite the fact that his interpretation of them was based on Pap's personal hatred towards Nerses.

Notwithstanding his biased attitude, Byuzand characterized Pap as a strategic leader. The Artishat legislative council on Catholicos Nerses's insistence forbade sobbing during burials regarding it as a non-Christian inappropriate behavior inherited from the past. Pap abolished this ban, which in the modern language will sound as a defense of the right of a person to bury his relative the way he desires and be free in expressing his sorrow the way he wants. It was somewhat against the Christian traditions, for, according to the Christian belief, death was a will of God. However, it is worthwhile noting that a 4th-century Armenian king was, among other things, concerned about people's freedom in expressing their will on personal matters such as burials and mourning.

Moreover, considering today's "milder" concepts of public administration, it can be concluded that Pap had a high degree of religious tolerance back in the 4th century AD. According to Byuzand, after Catholicos Nerses "many people turned back to idolatry. With the consent of Pap, idols were erected in a number of places in Armenia, because there was no one to oppose them, no one that could make them feel intimidated for worshiping the idols they desire."¹⁰⁷ Pap did not force or encourage the change of confession; he merely did not forbid the Armenian people to turn back to the beliefs of their ancestors.

Fortunately, we, the Armenians, managed to escape European inquisition-style developments in the religious domain, and Christianity, notwithstanding some oppression and pressure from certain religious and secular leaders, spread among Armenians not because somebody was "opposing" or "intimidating" them, but because people wanted so. Generally speaking, Christianity was adopted and accepted by Armenians due to its spiritual, ethical,

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 353.

cultural, and educational values, and not because of coercion. Thus, by discussing the behavior of King Pap, Byuzand told us about one of the exceptionally positive features of Armenian social-political thought, that is, tolerance towards the options of the others.

Pap initiated radical reforms that strengthened the independence of the Armenian Church and the Armenian state in general. He changed the long-established tradition, in force since the times of King Trdat the Great, according to which the newly elected Catholicos had to go to Caesarea to get the approval of Roman high-ranking religious officials before assuming the responsibilities of the Catholicos of Armenia. In other words, the Armenian Church was in direct dependence upon the religious leaders of a foreign country, which resulted in the political dependence of the Armenian state upon the Roman Empire and evoked the suspicion and hatred of another powerful neighbor, Persia.

Pap Arshakuni established the platform of the actual independence of the Armenian Church by ensuring that the leaders of Armenian Church be appointed by the king of Armenia. This was how things became after Nerses, when Pap appointed Shahak Manazkertsi as the Catholicos of Armenia (373–377 AD). According to Byuzand, the religious leaders in Caesarea reacted with anger to the new developments in the Armenian Church.¹⁰⁸

King Pap ensured the independence of the Armenian Church and excluded yet another foreign influence in the government of the Armenian Kingdom. This accomplishment characterizes Pap as a wise and strategically thinking political leader. Although historians have been shy in compliments towards Pap, their records, albeit sometimes biased, nevertheless provided evidence of Pap's strategic thinking and other traits of an effective leader.

It is not clear what, from the viewpoints of Christian traditions, was the reason why the historians and other thinkers of the 5th

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, p. 345–347.

century AD were unhappy about the government of Khosrov Kotak, Tiran, Arshal II, and Pap. The main among the discontents was that those monarchs had made decisions and acted independently from the Church. The biased perception of the relationship between the secular and religious authorities distorted the view on the position of the head of state and the role of the church in the government and social life of the country.

“Lament”, the concluding chapter of Khorenatsi’s “History of the Armenians,” depicts a picture that can be regarded as a clear sign of deep crisis in Armenia’s system of public administration of the time. The “Lament” is, of course, not a neutral piece of academic research, but rather a reflection of deep grievances. Nevertheless, it does not merely reflect the emotional components of the reality. The subject matter of the discontent represented in “Lament” lends Khorenatsi’s work huge scientific and analytical significance.

Khorenatsi’s conclusion is the following: the most important principle of government has been breached. Everybody, every link in the system, superior or subordinate, should be in his place, should be performing his responsibilities. This principle had been discussed even by Plato and Aristotle, and in the discipline of public administration has received “the right person at the right place” formulation. This is what, according to Khorenatsi, was distorted in the Armenian kingdom at every layer of government.

This phenomenon was especially vivid at the top of the government pyramid. “The corrupt and rebellious knights are stingy and greedy thieves, capable of destroying the kingdom,” “while the governors never respect the order.”¹⁰⁹ This type of behavior is first of all government chaos and also a bad example for other officials and the rest of the society.

The judicial system had become amoral, “the judges were inhumane, cheating, and corrupt; they did not respect the law and

¹⁰⁹ **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 238–239.

were inconsistent.” As a result, impunity and lawlessness were reigning over the kingdom. “Houses were attacked, estates were captured, noblemen were being expelled, and peasants were experiencing numerous inconveniences.”¹¹⁰

The crisis is all encompassing. No one is in his place. No one does what he is supposed to do. No one is fit for his place and role. Everyone rather acts against his public role. This all could result in nothing other than irresponsibility and amorality. The masters are “unknowledgeable and arrogant,” “gold-loving and jealous,” the priests are “hypocritical, jaunty, vainglorious, and more glory-loving than god-loving,” the pupils are “lazy in learning and zealous in teaching,” the people in general are “haughty, rake, arrogant, non-diligent, drunk, and harmful,” and the soldiers are “fearful, boastful, lazy, voluptuous, weak, plunderer, and drunk.”¹¹¹ And this all is because the leader is not in his place.

The full title of the “Lament,” the last chapter of the third volume of the “History of the Armenians,” is especially vocal: “The Lament of the Ceasing of the Arshakuni Dynasty from the Armenian Kingdom and from the Dynasty of Saint Grigor.” Interestingly, the secular and religious leaders are treated equally in the text: “I lament you, the land of Armenia, I lament you, the greatest of all northern nations, because both your king and your priests ceased to exist...”¹¹² With such a formulation, which unites the secular and religious leaders, Khorenatsi, it is assumed, partially redresses his initial viewpoint. Earlier discussions of the events, including the clashes between the king and the religious leaders of Armenia, were conducted based on the presumption that the Armenian Church had always been flawless.

The order in which Khorenatsi addresses his rhetorical questions in one of the most influential passages of the “Lament” is also telling: “And I do not know how to formulate my lament and

¹¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹¹ Ibidem, p. 238.

¹¹² Ibidem, p. 235.

who to address it. Should I address it to my poor infant king, who, together with his dynasty, was conspiringly and shamefully ousted from his throne before he could die by the death he was destined for... to my father and Catholicos, with the wise thought used in governing and reforming?”¹¹³

This conclusion by Khorenatsi gives the impression he is waiting for the emergence of a new King Vagharshak that will restore top-down order in the Armenian state by the example of self-regulation and strict division of the levels and spheres of government.

As we have seen, in evaluating the head of state, fifth-century historians have been influenced first by the rivalry between the king and the landlords, and then by the adoption of Christianity and the political and economic empowerment of the Church, which led to the sui generis triangle of power “secular leader (king) – Catholicos – landlords.” The following thought on Pavstos Byuzand can be extended to virtually all the historians of the age. “The disagreements between Lusavorich or the Church, on the one hand, and the Arshakuni dynasty, on the other, were interpreted by Byuzand in a very impressive and undisguised manner as a rivalry between sinful kings and honest and saintly religious leaders, who wanted to put the kings on the right track.”¹¹⁴ It gives us the impression that secular leaders usually have negative personal traits, and their worthy endeavors as heads of state are made by the encouragement from the priests.

Nevertheless, the evaluation given to the government of the kings is vividly diversified. This is the case, for example, when evaluating the seemingly similar activities of Khosrov Kotak and his son Tiran.

Pavstos Byuzand has recorded important, albeit brutal, actions targeted towards the strengthening of the unified Armenian state

¹¹³ Ibidem, p. 237.

¹¹⁴ **A. Martirosyan**, Pavstos Pyuzand // The prominent Armenian cultural figures of the 5th–18th centuries, Yerevan, 1976, p. 39 (in Armenian).

during the government of the son of Trdat the Great and his successor Khosrov Kotak in 330–338 AD. The actions refer to the endless wars between the Manavazyan and Vorduni landlord dynasties. After inefficient pleas and useless threats, the king ordered the killing of the male population of both dynasties. Byzand provides a discreet record of the events without spelling out an unambiguous evaluation. He solely describes the war as a “great mess.”

From the points of view of legality and government, the following questions are worth answering: where the actions by the king adequate? Where they justified from the legal perspective or was it merely a reflection of the king’s tyranny or personal revenge? Generally, the ceasing of a landlord dynasty in the Armenian customary law is regarded as an extreme punishment. Khosrov Kotak gets rid of the Bznuni dynasty as well, because Databe, the Bznuni patriarch, betrays the Armenian army during the war and starts fighting on the Persian side against Armenians. It is noteworthy that Byzand accused King Tiran for similar actions, calling it “shedding innocent blood” and illegal and unjustified killings. Thus, in the retrospect, it can be concluded that the bloodshed and the killings during the Khosrov times was justified even for the historian.

Pavstos Byzand reports about an important law enacted by Khosrov Kotak, according to which, the more powerful (from the perspective of armed forces) landlords should permanently remain in the king’s court and never lead the united army. This law was enacted to strengthen the unity of the state, prevent any possible rivalry in government, and suppress the centrifugal forces. Not surprisingly, Byzand, generally speaking, ranks highly Khosrov Kotak’s government of the state. In the era of Khosrov Kotak and Catholicos Vrtanes, according to Byzand, “increased and multiplied peace and prosperity, healthcare, fertility, and population growth, and abundance and success in business... law and justice

were blossoming.”¹¹⁵ Although the historian is stressing the input of the religious leader and the Church, it is evident that without a good secular leader, the head of state, such prosperity would have been impossible to achieve. Byzand, despite being stingy in compliments towards the king, described the king as “Khosrov the Land Builder (*Ashxarhashen Khosrov*).”¹¹⁶ Movses Khorenatsi, on the contrary, never mentions the initiatives of Khosrov targeted towards strengthening the state. Moreover, he grievously claims as if Khosrov Kotak, as opposed to his father Tiran, never showed any sign of courage, and was instead weak, lazy, and keen solely on taking walks and hunting.¹¹⁷

Such a strict and unjust description may probably be explained by the following. Khorenatsi glorifies Trdat the Great in such a manner that he could not have done the same for Trdat’s son and grandson. As a result, he adopted a biased approach towards the latter ignoring their achievements.

Meanwhile, we have to evaluate the king first of all based on how he governed his country. There was no agenda of re-Christianizing Armenia, at least on the state level. This was not the case of Byzantium, for example, where Emperor Constantine, one of the ardent promoters of Christianity (he later was rendered as a saint of the Catholic Church), was replaced by Emperor Julian (361–363 AD), later named the “Apostate” by the Christian Church, who wanted to revive traditional Roman religious practices at the expense of Christianity.

There was not a reverse movement of Christianity in Armenia, and the monarchs following Trdat could afford to concentrate on strengthening the state. Khorenatsi justly glorified Trdat for strengthening the Christian belief in our nation and called him “the second father of our illumination” and a “saint.”¹¹⁸ And, thus, there

¹¹⁵ **Pavstos Byzand**, *The history of the Armenians*, p. 35.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

¹¹⁷ **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 170–171.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 158, 159.

was no need for such kind of activity. Based on the situation, the criteria of evaluating the head of state should have changed.

Khorenatsi over-glorifies Trdat, and when the king left the throne to go to asceticism (without leaving any decree or order for further government of the state), the historian failed to qualify the move as an irresponsible behavior towards the state. On the contrary, he saw in Trdat's actions a reason to glorify the king once again. Khorenatsi mentioned the "naughty," "haughty," and "arrogant" traits of the Armenian people, only because ordinary citizens "were resisting the king's will regarding Christianity."¹¹⁹

That king of Armenia "drops the earthly crown and goes after the heavenly crown."¹²⁰ The country meanwhile found itself in government chaos, while the independence-seeking landlords threatened to divide up the state between them. As it is known from the history of Armenia, having no other choice, the Armenians asked Emperor Constans of Rome to crown the son of Trdat, which the emperor did in return for the Armenians' loyalty and obedience to Rome.

Trdat III was indeed one of the greatest kings of Armenia, who had a significant input in restoring Armenia's independent statehood, strengthening its government, and waging numerous victorious wars.¹²¹ Trdat's contribution should never be ignored or underestimated, but, at the same time, the head of state should not be judged by his one deed alone.

First of all, Trdat's return to Christianity cannot be accounted for by the mysterious interpretations of Agatangeghos. According to a number of historians, at first opposing the new confession, Trdat later "saw in Christianity a powerful means to keep Armenia away from Persian influence and an ideological

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 159.

¹²⁰ Ibidem.

¹²¹ According to Agatangeghos, Trdat has successfully fought in a duel instead of Emperor Diocletian with the king of the Goths (see **Agatangeghos**, *The History of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1986, p. 37) (in Armenian).

platform for strengthening his monarchic power.”¹²² Thus, leaving the initiative of strengthening the state undone becomes especially intolerable. Trdat failed to specify the legal bases of the system of public administration under such favorable conditions, when all the levers of power were in the hands of the king with no counteraction from the religious leaders of the country (the geopolitical situation was favorable too, given the 40-year peace treaty signed between Rome and Sasanian Persia in 298 AD).

Besides, what reasons could there be to complain about or to be disappointed from the process of Christianization in Armenia? As confirmed by Agatangeghos, Trdat made the whole nation “obey this godly oppression.”¹²³ Thus, there does not seem to be any evidence or any logical explanation behind Leo’s opinion that after Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Illuminator), Trdat “had to resign from his throne and lead an ascetic life.”¹²⁴

Agatangeghos says nothing about Trdat’s decree. The “copy of edict” cited by Agatangeghos is not what we are interested in from the legal point of view. It is a letter to Archbishop of Caesarea, Ghevondes, pleading to ordain Grigor as a “true teacher” (*chshmartapatum vardapet*).¹²⁵ In other words, this is a document appointing a Catholicos, and not a document on the status of the religion in the country. By the way, Ghevondes replies to Trdat’s letter approving the appointment of Grigor.¹²⁶

Was the former pagan religion banned or was it given an inferior status? It can be assumed that it was really banned, based on Agatangeghos’s contented description of how the former religious (and cultural) centers of Armenia were being demolished. But the question is whether the destruction of the religious centers

¹²² Armenian Soviet Encyclopaedia, vol. 12, Yerevan, 1986, p.94 (in Armenian).

¹²³ **Agatangeghos**, *The History of the Armenians*, p.19.

¹²⁴ **Leo**, *A Collection of Composition*, Vol. 1, Yerevan, 1966, p. 428 (in Armenian).

¹²⁵ **Agatangeghos**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 447-449.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*.

had been carried out according to the law or based on religious intolerance and excess bigotry of the new believers. A smart and strategic leader, as no doubt was Trdat, could not underestimate the systematic nature and the hassles of the change of religion, and should not have indented to carry out the change at such a rapid pace.

Questions related to certain decrees are still outstanding. For example, what was the status of the Armenian Catholicos? Who was his immediate superior? In case of disagreements on major national issues, what were the resolution mechanisms?

If we had the answers, we could understand both the system of government in the Armenian kingdom and different facts reported by the historians. One of the instances that needs clarification is the episode of the disagreement between Catholicos Husik and King Tiran, during which the Catholicos bans the king from entering a church (by the way, during a celebration in front of the legislature and a crowd of people).

Did the Catholicos have the right to act in such a way, while being the subordinate of the king? (Catholicos was appointed by the king and approved in Byzantium. Moreover, starting from King Pap until the loss of statehood, the foreign approval was abolished altogether). Did the Armenian king have the right to punish his disobeying subordinate, and what kind of punishment could he exercise? If we do not possess any information on such matters, we do not have the right to join the frustration of the historians Byuzand and Khorenatsi on Tiran's order to have the Catholicos beaten by a truncheon, of which days later the Catholicos dies. It is intolerable that the historians express gloating remarks on the fact that insidious Persians, by breaching the traditions of hospitality, conspiringly blinded King Tiran.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ **Pavstos Byuzand**, *The history of the Armenians*, page 81--85, **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 117.

A public insult to the monarch by his subordinate is not only a crime by itself, but also an attempt to shake the reputation of a public figure, to break the order, to set a bad precedent for the public.

Within the framework of the 5th century theoretical thought, this is an undeniable truth. For that reason, the public officials' code of conduct takes into account the precedent their actions may set for the others. For example, Koryun emphasized the role of personal example, dedication to work, and everyday behavior in his biography of his master, Mesrop Mashtots.¹²⁸ Koryun even goes further and explains the reader that it is accepted behavior, and that "all true teachers earnestly strive to render their virtues as examples for their pupils."¹²⁹ Writing the biography of Mashtots was not just a tribute to the great man for Koryun, but first of all "an inspiring example to his spiritual generations."¹³⁰

In line with such thinking, Yeznik Koghbatsi had some reasoning regarding a bad leader. His reasoning was not just on a leader, but on a bad and harmful leader. "Illiterate both in his soul and mind, unable to distinguish people, to differentiate the valuable from the invaluable, that is why he does not heal but wound, shows hatred instead of love, instead of hatred shows love, destroys people in harmony, turns the honored into the dishonored."¹³¹ Once again, it is not the bad behavior of the leader that is dangerous, but the bad example he sets for others. "Such leadership is a big fallacy and incurable evil, the leader's own example convinces the surrounding people more than his sermons or demands."¹³² So if we apply this indisputable truth on the disagreement between the

¹²⁸ **Koryun**, *The Life of Mashtots*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 55, 67, 75, 76 (in Armenian).

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

¹³¹ **Yeznik Koghbatsi**, *The Refutation of Sects*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 259 (in Armenian).

¹³² *Ibidem*.

secular and religious leaders of Armenia, we should justify the behavior of King Tiran.

In the Persian system of government, religious leaders were merely the counselors of the king. In eastern countries, as a rule, the secular leader was also the main religious figure. Trdat I Arshakuni (66–75 AD) was himself a religious leader. The authority of the head of state, by combining the functions of the religious leader, was becoming indisputable. Moreover, it was providing him additional credibility in the eyes of his people. The authority split between the religious and secular leaders, on the other hand, will diminish regardless of whether the religious and secular leaders cooperate (a happy exception in the course of the Armenian statehood) or rival among themselves (a tragic reality of the course of the Armenian history).

Generally speaking, the role of the head of state is split not only in practice, but also in theory. Historians expect religious leadership from the head of state, but at the same time make the king inferior to the Catholicos. In fact, the theory of government in the 5th century portrays a picture of Armenia as a unique religious state, where the real head of the state is the religious leader other than the king.

It is customary to say that the Armenian Church has for centuries performed the functions of the state in a country deprived of its statehood for ages. Indeed, after the loss of sovereignty, the Church has united the people; it has, in fact, “congregated” the people (The Greek “*ekklésia*” – “*yekeghetsi*” in Armenian for the word “church” – means “congregation”). The Armenian Church has, in fact, performed some of the domestic functions of the state; it has worked towards the preservation of the nation and the language, provided for moral and ethical cohabitation, and performed educational functions. It should be mentioned, however, that in the pre-Christian Armenia, too, religion performed education functions. Moreover, there seems to be solid evidence that temples, too, had a positive role in strengthening the Armenian

state.¹³³ Meanwhile the Christian church has, in fact, tried to perform the state functions in the Armenian state.

Going back to the “King Tiran – Catholicos Husik” rivalry, we should note the following statement by the historian Pavstos Byuzand, whose sympathies, as noted earlier, were with the Catholicos: the Catholicos “was so fearful of Lord that the king’s sympathy or fears could have no significance for him.”¹³⁴

Fifth-century (and later) historians emphasize in unison that the most important virtue of a Christian is obedience and worshipping the earthly king.¹³⁵ Ghazar Parpetsi says it (through the lips of Vahan Mamikonyan) to the King of Persia, defending the accusations as if the Armenians had been disobedient and rebellious over centuries, at the same time, producing demands from the position of a subordinate to his superior (Parpetsi’s views on the “manager–worker” relationship are presented in the sections to follow).

Nevertheless, after the adoption of Christianity, few secular leaders of Armenia enjoyed the loyal obedience of their subjects. Perhaps, all of them could agree with the idea of Vahan Mamikonyan, Commander of the Armenian Army, expressed to his Persian counterpart when the latter sent a representative to him offering peace and obedience. The Persians were aware of the capabilities of Vahan Mamikonyan, who, with a small army and no outside assistance, had won a number of battles (the most significant of them, the battle of Nersehat in 482 AD, where the Persian army was completely destroyed), even though winning the war was realistically impossible. “We did not have enough cavalry

¹³³ “Armenian temples and their activities were a strong force in the Armenian state; that was the force Armenian monarchy was based on.” (Leo, A Collection of Compositions, Vol. 1, Yerevan, 1966, p. 381)

¹³⁴ **Pavstos Byuzand**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 53.

¹³⁵ See **Yeznik Koghbatsi**, *The Refutation of Sects*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 253 (in Armenian), **Yeghishe**, *On Vardan and the Armenian War*, Yerevan, 1989, p. 329 (in Armenian), **Ghazar Parpetsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1982, p. 275.

– a hundred people, perhaps even less – but they managed to force a thousand or two thousand soldiers to flee. And for this battle, too, do not think of boasting to have won against us because of being braver than us. Because, *if this army had the fear, which the Persian leader has over his servants, if this army was under my control like armies were under my predecessors*’, and if I could hold fully responsible those who fail in battle by beheading them and reward those who demonstrated bravery, I would show the king of Persia and you all that we were at least as brave as the bravest unit of the Persian army.”¹³⁶

Perhaps, the split of authority, which came with the introduction of Christianity into the Armenian system of government, could have been avoided. The rivalry between the secular and religious leaders recorded by the 5th century historians could have been avoided if the Armenian king would also have performed the functions of the religious leader.

The religious reforms implemented by Henry VIII of England (in some aspects similar to the reforms by Pap) were noteworthy. In 1534, the Parliament proclaimed the King of England as the head of the Anglican Church. For the same purpose, that is, to ensure the centralized government of the state, Louis XIV of France (1661–1715), after the death of Cardinal Giulio Mazarini, abolished the role of the religious leader in the government altogether, and assumed full responsibility for the government of the state. Louis XIV took France to the peak of its power, and his idea “I am the state” (“L’État c’est moi”) should nowadays be taken more seriously than being merely treated as a famous quote on monarchy.

We, the Armenians, have been the first to introduce this new and important element (i.e. the Christian religion) into the system of government. We could have provided the humanity with an

¹³⁶ **Ghazar Parpetsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1982, p. 333–334 (in Armenian) (italics added).

efficient model of combining the secular and religious authorities and could have ourselves avoided a range of tragic events. Alas, history does not take into consideration our desires. We have to be grateful to our historians that have conveyed the behavior of our ancestors from the depth of centuries, not only to be justly proud of their great deeds, but to also think over the opportunities lost and get lessons from past government practices for the present and for the future.

2.1.2. The Issues of the Application of Authority, according to Yeznik Koghbatsi

One of the most important issues of the public deployment of authority is the one of limiting the abuse of power. The history of mankind is full of records of destructive consequences of bad and harmful behavior by the authorities, as well as attempts by philosophers, lawyers, and moralists to reveal the reasons for authority abuses and to propose measures to curb them. Yeznik Koghbatsi touches upon the public function of authority, first of all, as a Christian teacher and a knowledgeable theorist of the doctrine, but also as an experienced manager and the Bishop of Bagrevand.

The philosophical basis for Koghbatsi's assessment of the individual-society and governor-subject relationships is the concept of "voluntarism," that is, the presumption of the opportunity of the individual's personal choice in his public behavior. In the first and second books of his prominent "Yeghts Aghandots" (The Refutation of the Sects), opposing other religious teachings that orientate based on the concept of inborn predetermination of human behavior, the prominent Armenian philosopher formulates his own credo. "Thou, who do evil, do it willingly not

unwillingly,”¹³⁷ the evil deeds of people are voluntary and willing, rather than predetermined by nature.

The opposite thesis, that is, the explanation of the motivations of human behavior through inborn factors (the main concept of zrvanism), opens a direct prospect towards fatalism, a concept that not only frees the human from responsibility for his own actions, but also deprives him of will and vehemence to act. It is only through the opportunity for personal choice that both the regulation of public life and the activity of the authorities, including kings, managers, leaders, and officials of different levels, and its fair assessment are made possible. This unambiguous standpoint of Koghbatsi is not a mere temporary and disputed question, but rather the basis of the rational regulation of public life.

Three arguments can be distinguished in Koghbatsi’s standpoint. The first one is the opportunity for reasonable regulation of human cohabitation. Otherwise, according to Koghbatsi, in case the choice of conduct based on free will does not exist, the very regulation of public life ceases to exist, no one can be punished or rewarded, for the good and bad actions of people are not based on their will. The legislature, too, in such circumstances should not enact laws and the authorities should not punish the guilty. “Neither should the legislator define laws, not the administrator can punish the guilty.”¹³⁸ And, indeed, asks Koghbatsi, why do we punish him, “who is bad unwillingly”? In fact, he deserves empathy (because he does evil due to his nature, that is, unwillingly).

The second argument is the nature of the Creator. The root of evil and the reason for people’s bad behavior should not be searched for in their nature, for by doing so, we attribute elements of evil to the Creator. “Nothing is evil by nature, for there is no Creator evil by nature either.”¹³⁹ God is not only omnipotent and perfect, but also kind and beneficent, He creates only good things.

¹³⁷ **Yeznik Koghbatsi**, *The Refutation of the Sects*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 50.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

He tolerates evil, bad behavior, “lets the evil-doer quench his desires towards his friend, so that it does not seem as if He manages the reasonable men with coercion, for He wants everyone to reveal his image by what he is doing.”¹⁴⁰ Besides, overcoming the temptations of evil, the virtues of men pass through tests and purify.

The third argument is pointing out the variability of things. If people’s behavior had been determined solely by their natural features, the evil would have remained evil, and the good would have remained good. Meanwhile, it is easy to see that many bad people have turned reasonable and, vice versa, many reasonable people turn bad in their lifetimes. Similarly, obscene people turn discreet, the discreet become obscene, the evil become good, and the good become evil.¹⁴¹

Thus, the inception point for the evaluation of people’s various conducts in public life and, particularly, the conduct of the authorities is Koghbatsi’s following thesis that a person had a dual right to obey or not to obey the circumstances of the situation.

The free will of an individual is reflected in his ability of pursuing his goals. Koghbatsi calls for paying attention to the motivations behind exerting authority. “If a person kills someone caught for dissoluteness, by punishing him for daring, he does not do evil. But if a person kills an innocent, who has committed no proven crime, or kills to steal from him, he does do evil.”¹⁴² Talking of the moral assessment of a person’s behavior, Koghbatsi makes a delicate observation on the human-centered perception of an evil and cruel deed. We, states Koghbatsi, have got used to ascribe evilness, cruelty, and harmfulness to the beasts. Is that assessment, however, fair? How much more hateful can be

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 133.

¹⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 117, 131.

¹⁴² Ibidem, p. 33, 36.

purposeful harmfulness, that is, “the criminality of men, which is purposeful and insidious.”¹⁴³

When we add Koghbatsi’s “Precepts”¹⁴⁴ to his general reflections discussed above, we can deduce that the issue of good and bad for the great Armenian thinker is not of a mere theological, but also of a behavioral value, by which the questions he poses and the solutions he proposes are advantageously different from that of other Christian scholars, the “fathers of the church.” The comprehension of the human’s fair behavior is not an abstract cognitive issue, but rather one of an efficient regulation of public life.

Yeznik Koghbatsi has formulated precepts, advice, and norms of behavior of general nature that are useful for every human’s natural public habitation and activity, and especially on the officials with levers of authority, decision-makers, and regulators of public life. Let’s discuss some of them below.

A. The authority, according to the traditional conception by Max Webber, is the ability of an individual to realize his will in a certain community. First of all, the ability to govern should be expressed efficiently; a government official should substantially prove that he is capable of governing, that is, to guide the public subjected to his authority towards the realization of common goals. Governance is the actual deployment of power. From the personal point of view, it is not merely knowledge or abstract assumption, but, first of all, a practical skill. This very condition is prioritized by Koghbatsi. If someone, writes the author, has the skills of, say, a doctor or a carpenter, but he does not deploy them practically and efficiently, then his skills are useless. Neither he benefits from the skills, nor the others. “If you do not show skill, then that skill is useless, thus neither you gain, nor do others.”¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Ibidem, p. 119.

¹⁴⁴ **Koghbatsi**, *The Precepts of the Teacher The Same Yeznkai // The Refutation the Sects*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 245–261.

¹⁴⁵ **Koghbatsi**, *The Refutation of the Sects*, p. 193.

B. A decent official does not rule over his people but governs them: he himself serves them, serves his subordinates loyally: “Doth who serves faithfully is a true king.”¹⁴⁶ This solution of “serving like a loyal king” has anticipated the views of many later philosophers, sociologists, moralists, and political scientists on this issue.¹⁴⁷ Authority is not merely a right to rule and an arbitrary behavior, but a means to govern, which also implies a responsibility to govern. It is, of course, possible to rule without governing, which implies a sort of false power, the status of the “English Queen.” But this is more an exception. If the subjects of the English Queen have got used to it and it is fully in accordance with the system of limited monarchy and the British traditions, then the next phenomenon, that is, expecting certain governance actions from the officials, can be regarded as natural. Legitimate is the authority that is accepted by the subjects, who are ready to obey voluntarily. Efficient is the legitimate authority that the subjects voluntarily accept, for they see the realization of their interests and needs in such authority, and their loyal servant in the officials.

C. Every person has its role in public life, which defines the contours of the rights and responsibilities of a specific person. The role of the bearers of authority is, first of all, important for the natural regulation of human cohabitation. This is why Koghbatsi likens the official to a strong pillar that bears the whole burden of the society, and, if it sinks, it takes the whole structure down with it. “He who is the pillar and bears the whole structure, if he sinks, he will take everything down with him.”¹⁴⁸ Such a perception is not an overestimation of the role of the leader at all. The history of the Armenians provides a basis for such a conclusion, and again history is the proof of the fact that the Armenian people have united

¹⁴⁶ **Koghbatsi**, *The Precepts of the Teacher Noyn Yen kai // The Refutation the Sects*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 258.

¹⁴⁷ **V. Mirzoyan**, *Yeznik Koghbasti and the modern theory of Servant Leadership*, 2013, pp. 303–315.

¹⁴⁸ **Koghbatsi**, *The Precepts of the Teacher Noyn Yen kai*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 258.

around a skillful and far-sighted leader and experienced a spiritual and economic upswing. Unfortunately, there is a plenty of proof for the opposite too, when unskilled and ignorant leaders, assuming the management of public life due to certain circumstances, harmed and disrupted the natural flow of things.

D. The very existence of a bad leader, be it a head of state or a head of family, is a public evil. A bigger evil is the copying of his behavior into the behavior of the other members of the society. A king or the father of a family may speak the truth, moralize, formulate precepts, and come up with enthusiastic plans, but never be useful to others or even harm them. The reason behind this phenomenon is that the personal example of a leader is more convincing for his surrounding than his preaching and demands. In other words, the biggest evil is not the ugly features of an official, but his behavior, mode of action, and lifestyle, which threaten the natural cohabitation of people. Koghbatsi formulates this phenomenon as follows (which centuries later have been referred to by other philosophers). “Such leadership is a wounded and not treatable mischief; an example is official’s **imitation than reality**.”¹⁴⁹ And the contrary, a modest, decent, knowledgeable, and virtuous spiritual leader is a real divine flame that spreads honesty around **it**, burns and eliminates every taint, and unites his followers.

E. Part of the unwanted cases of power exertion in public life is not a result of intentional action, but an unintentional mistake, which is, among other things, a result of haste. Both the theory of public administration and the real life experience is full of hasty and, hence, unfair decisions. Meanwhile, one of the reasons for hastiness is the decision-maker’s emotional state. Sometimes we simply need to wait and procrastinate the decision-making over one or another problem, especially when it is related to a person, in order to be able to discuss the issue more somberly and in more

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem.

tranquil conditions and come up with a final decision. This is the essence of one of Koghbasti's precepts. If you are tired or unwell, do not exercise power (for you may make an irreversible mistake in such a condition). "If you are ill or overwhelmed, do not employ power."¹⁵⁰ Maintaining restrained and balanced interrelations with everybody, not to upset anyone and not to be offended by anyone, is highly desirable. "Do not **crestfallen** from anyone."¹⁵¹ Moreover, in order to ensure the general efficiency of public administration, the official's balanced approach should be both in his external behavior and his inner self. According to Koghbatsi's brilliant formulation, he who is good inside, appears so from the outside too. "He who is good, appears happy."¹⁵²

F. The next idea is about the personal expectations of those who exercise power. A leader is not a benefactor. Meanwhile, a leader, while fulfilling a subordinate's request, often expects a sign of gratitude. And as it is known sycophants are always near officials, they praise even unrealized deeds, unrealized benevolence. Thus, Koghbatsi calls for those who expect for real or unreal gratitude, if we support those in need, we must be grateful to God as helping them we, ourselves, gain. "If thou help those in need, thou content God, as thou art won more than thought."¹⁵³

G. The bearer of authority should distinguish himself from others by the ability of appreciating the behavior of his subordinates. The official, by virtue of his position, supervises the activities of his subordinates (and himself obeys to the supervision of higher instances of management). Thus, the observations, exhortations, remarks, and rest of the means of influencing the subordinates (laudatory and condemnatory) have one objective, that is, to ensure the efficient functioning of the organization (community). The latter, however, is not an easy task. In particular,

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 254.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 248.

¹⁵² Ibidem, p. 254.

¹⁵³ Ibidem, p. 250.

every worker has to be in his place and justly evaluated, the good and the bad should be clearly distinguished, while laudation and condemnation should be fair. In other words, the official, acting as a manager is a specific community, apart from other functions and, perhaps, first of all should act as a fair judge. This means that every manager, as a bearer and employer of authority, should be able to both praise the worthy and punish the guilty. False generosity in the judicial-managerial function is as harmful as unjust strictness. Hence the unambiguous precept-demand by Koghbatsi calls for just a proper approach towards the guilty. “If thou cannot upbraid those worthy, do not be a king.”¹⁵⁴

H. Koghbatsi’s next precept refers to the way of exerting power, too. Indeed, there can be many types of remarks. There is a beneficial remark, and there is a strictly harmful one, and it is harmful, first of all, because it refers not to the action of a person but undermines his dignity, offends, and degrades. The dilemma whether to upbraid or not to upbraid is solved by the amount of the individual guilt of the subordinate. What if his misconduct is involuntary and the mistake is not a result of intent or negligence? The Armenian philosopher’s warning is very illustrative. “Do not be angry with the guilt of a pupil, since a sick man doesn’t get sick of his own free will.”¹⁵⁵

I. The previous solution leads to a deeper question. The question of defining personal responsibility as integral to the availability or absence of choice for the individual. Has the person had a choice in a given situation, which would have given us a basis and a right to expect and demand responsibility from him? In other words, has the person carried out the misconduct he is to be blamed of willfully or not? Koghbatsi’s opinion has a clear and unambiguous formulation. If the person has not what he has done based on his will, he should not be punished. “Whoever without his

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 261.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 249.

will has done a deed thus should punished be not.”¹⁵⁶ Another precept refers to this, that is, to upbraid the guilty privately. “Upbraiding privately is divine.”¹⁵⁷ This is fully in line with modern theorists’ prescriptions and is fully justified by managerial experience.

J. An official’s observations are important. Justified remarks, upbraiding, and punishment are powerful levers of managerial influence. The main point is not to abuse them, which implies not only their justified application, but also not ignoring the levers of the opposite type, that is, the laudatory means. According to Koghbatsi, the mild approach and praise can be especially influential in regulating the behavior of the others, especially in situations when direct and sincere remarks, as well as strict upbraiding are not deployable. The following example by the author is especially convincing (which refers to, to put in in modern terms, the deployment of reverse authority by the subordinate to the managers). We cannot make open remarks to a strict manager, while by praising him, as if he is kind and benefactor, we can influence his behavior more efficiently, make him such, and push him towards fair conduct. “One can sweeten the strictness of the governor, make him rightful and worthy.”¹⁵⁸

K. Authority is a heavy burden to bear. Authority also implies dissatisfaction among the subjects of authority, that is, those being ruled. And, what is more preferable, to love or to fear the authorities? Centuries before Koghbatsi, a number of thinkers, most particularly Niccolò Machiavelli, have touched upon this problem. Regarding the consideration of personal perception of the influence of power, the following query is indeed quite eloquent, that is, what is a more efficient governing lever, to fear the leader or to obey due to love and respect. Machiavelli favors the fear in this dilemma. In particular, he refers to the famous Carthaginian general Hannibal

¹⁵⁶ **Koghbatsi**, *The Refutation of the Sects*, p. 43

¹⁵⁷ **Koghbatsi**, *The Precepts of the Teacher The Same Yeznkai*, p. 249.

¹⁵⁸ **Koghbatsi**, *The Refutation of the Sects*, p. 51.

and explains the internal order, unity, and unchallenged obedience to the leader of his huge army consisting of various tribes by Hannibal's "inhumane strictness," without which Hannibal's other virtues would not have been enough to celebrate glorious victories. Fear (if possible without provoking hatred), according to Machiavelli, is a more powerful means of exercising power than love. Meanwhile, Koghbatsi's solution is the following. If an official is loved, he should be satisfied. But if he is not loved, he should not treat others in a similar manner. Just the contrary, he should show patience and self-control. "If thou art given love thou should thank God for it, and if thou art not given love, grumble not, and mutter not here and there, but show patience and silence."¹⁵⁹ This, perhaps, not only derives from Koghbatsi's general Christian ideology, but also reflects his perception of the way power should be exercised. Indeed, when people are satisfied and love you as a leader, then you should thank God for being able to win the love of people. And, if people do not love you, then you should not be dissatisfied with them, you should not hurry to respond the same way. The latter behavior is not efficient from the viewpoint of management, while being patiently silent, can become a precondition to win the love of subordinates in the future.

L. Khorenatsi finds these precepts worthy and useful for everyone, provided people, first of all, realize the purpose of their own standpoint in preaching others, making remarks, and influencing their behavior. No doubt, in the child–parent, leader–subordinate, senior–junior, professional–beginner relationships exhortation is a natural phenomenon. However, is the desire of exhorting always kind and pure? Does the one who exhorts always think about the wellbeing of the one who receives it, or does he merely satiate his secret motives? Unhesitatingly, Koghbatsi touches upon a vulnerable spot of many, that is, do you exhort (as a governor, leader, senior, etc.) or, with the pretense of exhorting,

¹⁵⁹ **Koghbatsi**, *The Precepts of the Teacher Noyon Yen kai*, p. 255.

you pour your inner bile and poison onto the others? “Do not be disappointed by a precept from your brother.”¹⁶⁰

These and other precepts are, indeed, targeted toward every one of us and not only the bearers of authority. Nevertheless, an ordinary member of society, for instance, does not have the opportunity (and, thus, is free of temptation) to pour poisonous precepts onto his subjects, followers, and compatriots. Thus, although the wisdom of the elderly is desirable for every one of us, it is imperatively mandatory for today’s authorities of Armenia. We hope they do not turn their face the other direction, for, indeed, “exhortation and reproach are useful, but if one turns his face on the opposite direction, they become useless.”¹⁶¹

There have been leaders in Armenia’s long history who have embodied this code of conduct. It is owing to them that the Armenia society and state have blossomed and strengthened. If we do want to have such leaders today and tomorrow, too, we should, first of all, examine our own past and listen to the advice of our great ancestors, and value our own experience, for only then we can properly appreciate the experience of the others, too.

2.1.3. The Coordination of the Manager–Worker Relationship, according to Ghazar Parpetsi

Ghazar Parpetsi (441–520 AD) was the youngest of the prominent Armenian historians of the 5th century (Agatangeghos, Byuzand, Koryun, Yeghishe, and Khorenatsi). Thus, when narrating the history of Armenia, he had the chance to filter dubious information presented by his predecessors and, as opposed to the eyewitnesses and partakers of those events, to interpret some information from a more theoretical point of view. Parpetsi had not

¹⁶⁰ Ibidem, p. 248.

¹⁶¹ Ibidem, p. 260.

only received brilliant education and been well acquainted with prominent Armenian and foreign authors, but had also huge experience in management (as the leader of the Vagharshapat monastery).

The deep and impressive analysis of the “manager–worker” relationship is part of Ghazar Parpetsi’s invaluable scientific heritage. In relation to the subject of this book, Parpetsi’s conclusions are the pinnacle of theoretical thought of the 5th century and beyond. His theses about manager’s efficient conduct can be successfully incorporated in today’s most contemporary management manuals.

Talking through the lips of Vahan Mamikinyan, the *marzpan* (Persian appointed ruler) and *sparapet* (the minister of defense) of Armenia, the historian has formulated theses addressed to Persian kings, which are, in effect, intended for general use.

Before discussing the content of his theses, it is worthwhile noting that Parpetsi’s dialogues (also as a genre) are a topic of separate research. In contrast with, say, Plato’s dialogues, where Socrates’s interlocutor has a fictitious participation in developing the arguments (in other words, a big part of it is not really a dialogue), Parpetsi’s dialogues are full dialogues, whereby both sides of the conversation thoroughly narrate their points of view, try to understand each other, and come up with arguments and counterarguments.

As mentioned earlier, Parpetsi’s conclusions on management were of general nature, although the construction of the speech and the arguments are derived from the perspective of the subordinate. This type of approach has been influenced by the era of the author. His was a period when Armenia was divided (387 AD) and deprived of statehood, the royal Arshakuni dynasty had ceased (428 AD), and the country was governed by a *marzpan* appointed by the Sasanian Persia.

The period when Armenia was governed by *marzpans* (5th–7th centuries) was a unique time in the government of the country.

Although there was no de jure Armenian kingdom and Armenian king, the landlords' dynasties were preserved, thus the traditional territorial-administrative structure was still in place. The landlords, as vassals, were paying duties to the Persian king, but in the matters of domestic governance and within their traditional domains the privileges (including the right to autonomous armies) and functions of the landlords' dynasties remained unchanged. Although the *marzpan* (Armenian or Persian) was appointed by the Persian king, the unified army was under the control of the Armenian *sparapet* (minister of defense), who was also in charge of the Persian army located in Armenia.

The Persian king Hazkert II (439–459 AD) had appointed Vasak Syuni as *marzpan* (443–451 AD). Syuni, in his turn, had appointed heads of agencies in accordance with customary traditions. More specifically, the *Sparapetutyun* (ministry of defense) was entrusted to the Mamikonyan dynasty, *Hazara-petutyun* (ministry of finance) to the Amatuni, *Maghkhazutyun* (the royal guard) to the Khorkhoruni, and so on.

The Armenian Church, on the other hand, had in principle retained all its privileges and sources of income (it became a tax payer only in 449 AD¹⁶²). The Church was one of the largest landowners of the country. Moreover, on the political arena, the role of the Church had increased, because, given the absence of a king, the landlords were assembling around the Catholicos, not the Persian appointed *marzpan*. The role of the Church was augmented when Persia tried to sideline Catholicos Sahak Partev and appoint its own Catholicos.

In other words, Armenia was in a semi-independent state. And, if Persia had not attempted the religious conversion of the Armenians, which caused the rebellion and the bloody conflict between the governors and vassals, then the semi-independent

¹⁶² The increase of the tax burden on the Armenian Church by Hazkert II became one of the reasons of the rebellion in 450–451 (see **Yeghishe**, *On Vardan and the War of the Armenians* (in Armenian), p. 45–47).

Armenian kingdom would have had all the chances to have been restored (as a reminder, the Armenian elite of landlords betraying the last Arshakuni king, Artashes III, shamefully rejected the option of a semi-independent Armenian kingdom in 428 AD).

Indeed, only 30 years after our defeat in the battle of Avarayr, the Persians suffered a terrible defeat in the war against the Hephthalites, where the Persian king Peroz died ingloriously in 484 AD. If Armenia had not been drained of blood and resources, it would have been quite probable (even if we try to avoid making predictions) that the next Persian king, Vagharsh (484–488 AD), the son of Peroz, who was inclined to peace and compromise, would have appointed Vahan Mamikonyan not merely as *marzpan* (485 AD), but as the next Armenian king (albeit with the status of a vassal, like the number of Armenian kings, who were de jure or de facto dependent either upon Persia or Rome). And the Armenian people would have cheered not because an Armenian *marzpan* was appointed¹⁶³, which in legal terms meant merely a return to the situation of 40 years earlier, when an Armenian *marzpan* was ruling the country.

Considering the historical settings above, we hereby spell out the theses by Ghazar Parpetsi based on the following classification.

First, ***Armenians are not rebellious by nature at all; they are obeying and law-abiding.*** The opposite opinions spread in the Persian kingdom are fictitious and untrue. Obeying to a legal authority stems from the Armenian morality and Christian teachings. Thus, “our laws call for respecting the governors, the wise, and the deserving.”¹⁶⁴

This thought was also formulated by Yeghishe (through the lips of Ghevond Yerets), who, explaining the reasons behind the rebellion of 450–451 AD, rejects the rebellious nature of the Armenians: “It is not what our religion has taught us. It has taught

¹⁶³ **Ghazar Parpetsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 421 (in Armenian).

¹⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 275 (in Armenian).

us to respect the earthly kings and love them with all our hearts, not as an insignificant man among the men, but serving him like the true god.”¹⁶⁵

Indeed, the image of a law-abiding, conscientious, punctual, and diligent subject has been an inherent feature of the overarching Armenian cultural paradigm, which had been considerably strengthened as a result of Christian teachings and become a commendable behavior of the Armenian people. Yeznik Koghbatsi’s following formulations is very much to the point: “To obey with humility and hope and to fag consciously is a perfection.”¹⁶⁶

Nevertheless, obeying does not undermine the free will and the right of the people to judge their governor, and if necessary, to complain and rebel against him. “By ignoring our complaint,” says Vasak Mamikonyan to the Perisian king Vagharsh, “you wanted to lose us through authoritative coercion; and you did lose.”¹⁶⁷

The above statement is not merely a nice wordplay, not even a strong counterargument against Persian accusations (you have to blame yourself if law-abiding subjects are compelled to rebel against you). It is rather a deep formulation: authoritative coercion, that is, the rude mistake by the government, after which the subject refuses to accept the authority over itself.

Thus, when does legitimate authority become illegitimate, that is, authoritative coercion or coercive power? And what was that complaint ignored by Persia? Parpetsi’s second thesis answers these questions: *the king should justly judge every single servant; this is what suits the king.*

To treat everyone justly, in accordance with every person’s merit, is to govern rightly and efficiently, and ensure public solidarity. To reject that precondition is to force the subjects to a rebellion. “.... If the king sees with his sharp sight, hears with his

¹⁶⁵ Yeghishe, *On Vardan and the War of the Armenians* p. 239 (in Armenian).

¹⁶⁶ Yeznik Koghbatsi, *The Refutation of the Sects*, p. 253 (in Armenian).

¹⁶⁷ Ghazar Parpetsi, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 421 (in Armenian).

unbiased ear, and speaks with his just mouth to his subjects, the enthusiastic subjects will not be quenched from working and, warmed by the work, will strive to increase the products of their labor.”¹⁶⁸

Parpetsi objectively defines the difference between mere reign and efficient government. The historian, however, goes further and provides a faceted formulation (based on the principle “offense is the best defense”): “...You come and demand from us, your subjects, to respect the rulers, do the job, provide earnings and profits, be obedient and just. Then godly and justly reward every single person according to his merit. This is all what we all ask from you.... Know the people, the good and the bad, and demand hard work, not prankster, from each and every one of them. Look at the work done in order to reward by merit and not be fooled by the tongue.”¹⁶⁹

What happens when the ruler cannot or does not want to ensure this mandatory rule of efficient government, that is, does not satisfy its subjects as a just judge?

If the king judges its servants not directly, based on their merits, but based on others’ opinions and gossip, and thus mixing the good and the bad, then he not only loses his credibility as a just judge, but also the right to govern and rule. Parpetsi first formulated this thought as a general observation, and then adjusted it to specific situations. “When the king does not look directly at his servants and does not listen to them directly, but runs things arbitrarily and not based on fair judgment, and, which is even worse and can lead to the destruction of the kingdom, when the king wishes to see with the eyes and hear with the ears of others, then the servitude to such a king becomes harsh, grievous, and dangerous. No one can bear it.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 393.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 423, 337.

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem.

Persian governors were, in fact, acting exactly like that, justly judging their Armenian subjects. “And now, show me a person,” Vahan Mamikonyan speaks to the Persian king Vagharsh, explaining one of the reasons of the king’s predecessor’s ill-government, “who, by fulfilling your laws, has been rewarded by King Peroz for his merit, achievements in wars, or other activities.”¹⁷¹ Parpetsi, in fact, formulates a direct accusation, thus opposing the unfavorable opinion about Armenians in the Persian royal court: “The princes of Armenia appointed by you from backward dynasties and useless people were the ones who wickedly suppressed bravery, the good reputation, and kindness in the Armenian land.”¹⁷² He then immediately provided an indisputable argument (very close to the mentality of Persian rulers): “If the commander of an army unit is bad, the unit itself will be bad. Likewise, a country cannot be advanced and famous, if its rulers are backward.”¹⁷³

The historian provides the following impressive aphorism: “... The ruler that cannot distinguish the good and the bad among his servants and does not wish to decently meet the needs of each and every one of them can hardly be a good master for his servant.”¹⁷⁴

Thus, the concept “authoritative coercion” not only reflects the use of authority, but also describes a certain type of regulation of the “manager–worker” relationship. The “authoritative” component states the right of the manager to exercise certain levers of influence upon the worker, which is based on the differing statuses of the two. That is to say, the adjective “authoritative” is a generic property; it can also be, say, authoritative “favor,” “farsightedness,” “generosity,” and “pretension.” The “coercion” component, on the other hand, describes a species property, namely that the authoritative influence does not correspond to the nature of the

¹⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 331.

¹⁷² Ibidem, p. 335.

¹⁷³ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 331.

subject of government, thus, instead of governing, it coerces the subject. **To rule does not yet mean to govern** – this is what the term “authoritative coercion” implies.

The fact of authoritative coercion is a reason for the subject of government to reject such government and declare the authority of the governor illegitimate. In any case, realizing the authoritative coercion towards it, the subject of government faces a dilemma: either to abidingly endure such government (bearing in mind that the coercion will intensify over time) or to revolt against it (regardless of the prospects of such a revolt).

This is what Parpetsi writes on this point: “If you take the backward for the advanced and leave the advanced behind, transform our authority into a trade of dirty sins, and do not reward the worthy based on their merit, then we, having revolted, did it not because we did not know we could not resist the Persians but because we knew all well both our sufferings and the strength of the numerous Persian army. It is our dying that we anticipated and we are ready for it now as well, and we are happy to die with an honorable death of a Christian than to gladly buy short-lived glory and inherit an eternal loss.”¹⁷⁵

Now, if the Persians want the Armenians to be obedient, they should give up their style of government, that is, give up “authoritative coercion.” To do so, they have to fulfill the following three demands of the Armenians.

First, **do not undermine the nature** and national identity of the Armenians and do not impose on us any foreign culture. More specifically, “Leave us with our domestic and native laws, do not convert any Armenian into a magus, and do not honor anyone for becoming one, get rid of fireplace in Armenia, prevent the dishonoring of the church by dirty inept people, and let the ordinary

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 337.

Christians and the priests practice Christianity openly and fearlessly wherever they want.”¹⁷⁶

Second, exercise **fair judgment** of the subjects, praise the worthy and punish the unworthy. “Know the person not authoritatively but justly determine the good and the bad, distinguish the traditional from the untraditional, keep the brave and worthy among the good and honorable, ignore the bad and the worthless, love the worthy and hate the unworthy, keep close to the wise and follow their advice, do not accept the foolish but persecute them publicly.”¹⁷⁷

Third and the last, the governor should **personally know** and judge his subjects, not through intermediaries and others’ evaluations. Otherwise, based on the experience of Persian governors, “lots of words and empty orders are being enacted, and a mess is created in everything.”¹⁷⁸

If these demands are met, the Armenians will be willing to abide voluntarily. Otherwise, that is, when “authoritative coercion”

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 391.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem. This demand also calls for an Armenian *marzpan*, who unlike a Persian one, knows the Armenian culture, is familiar with the good and the bad, and distinguishes between the worthy and the unworthy. Not surprisingly, according to Parpetsi, when Andekan, the Persian *marzpan* of Armenia, mediates in the Persian royal court in favour of appointing sparapet Vahan Mamikonyan as the *marzpan* of Armenia, he mentions not only Vahan Mamikonyan’s personal traits but also the above mentioned concept. Andekan’s first argument is that “it is inappropriate to have another *marzpan*” next to the persona of Vahan Mamikonyan. Second, it takes a foreign (Persian) *marzpan* two to three years to familiarize himself with Armenia and the Armenians, while an Armenian *marzpan* would know everything and everyone right from the beginning. Third (“the most important of the questions”), a Persian *marzipan*, moving to Armenia with his manor, women, children, and servants, is a big financial burden both on Persia and Armenia (see: **Ghazar Parpetsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 431.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, p. 393.

persists, the Armenians will prefer to fight and die, “but cannot succumb to the Persians.”¹⁷⁹

As is known from the history of Armenia, these demands ultimately laid a platform for the Nvarsak agreement in 484 AD, which resolved the four-year clash between Persia and Armenia.¹⁸⁰ Persian governors admitted their mistakes, stopped the attempts of the religious conversion of the Armenians, and abolished the impediments to the full functioning of the Armenian Church.

In such conditions, Armenians got the maximum, and the Persian rulers had to compromise by both permanently giving up the attempts of the religious conversion of the Armenians and by restoring the semi-independent Armenian state and actual sovereignty in domestic matters, especially in religion. The mentioned piece of Ghazar Parpetsi’s theoretical heritage is not only an important document on the history of Armenia but one of the finest parts of Armenian management thought. It includes a brilliant analysis on the use of authority, efficient coordination of the “manager–worker” relationship, and other important matters.

2.2. The Delegation of Government Functions and Authority

2.2.1. State Governance in Great Hayk (Mets Hayk)

There has been a certain concept of state governance in Armenia ever since the ancient times, while prominent thinkers have attempted to develop the legal principles of state governance.

State governance in the historic Armenia was of monarchic nature. “The king was the head of the state apparatus. The power was hereditary, passing from father to son. This custom was already well developed in the 4th–3rd centuries BC during the reign

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁰ For details see **K. N. Yuzbashyan**, *From Avarayr to the Nvarsak Treaty*, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub, 1989 (in Armenian).

of the Yervanduni royal dynasty. Its roots go even further back to the Akemenyan and pre-Akemenyan rule...¹⁸¹

In domestic and foreign policy matters, the king had broad legislative and executive authority. He “was the source of law. He could act based on customary or state enacted laws and regulations, and was entitled to revise them and enact new laws.”¹⁸² According to Khorenatsi, the Armenian king Vagharshak “...enacts laws in his royal court, defines times for visits to the royal court, as well as for counseling, feasting, and taking walks. The king defines military hierarchy, first, second, third, and so on... Appoints arbitrators in the court, in the cities, and in the suburbs.”¹⁸³ According to the same source, the king “...appoints his armed guards from the family of Haykazn Khor, superb and brave lancers and sword carriers, and appoints a person names Malkhaz as the head of their ministry...”¹⁸⁴

It is noteworthy that back in the 5th century (488 AD), Vachagan, the king of Artsakh and Utik, ratified the “*Kanonakan Sahmanadrutyun*” (“Canonical Constitution”), which consisted of a preamble, 21 sections, and a conclusion. The document regulated the rights and responsibilities of the people and the religious class, as well as taxation and civil matters.¹⁸⁵

According to historical sources, the king was responsible for foreign policy, particularly for decisions on waging wars, making peace, and signing treaties. He was entitled to found cities and give names to them. He was the supreme commander of the armed forces, while also managing all aspects of domestic policies.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ The History of the Armenians, Vol 1, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1971, p. 667.

¹⁸² Ibidem, p. 672.

¹⁸³ **Movses Khorenatsi**, The History of the Armenians, Yerevan, Armenia, 1990, p. 76.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, p. 70.

¹⁸⁵ See: The Armenian Constitution, V Hakobyan, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1964, p. 91-100

¹⁸⁶ See: Kanonagirk Hayots, vol. 1, p. 672–673.

The court was the counseling body of state governance, which consisted of the members of the king's immediate circles, especially relatives and elite of noblemen. *Ashkharhazhoghov* (the forum of delegates) was a unique counseling body, which "was summoned by the king at certain times during the year." Among landlords and noblemen the "elite of the rural community" was also participating in the assembly. As per manuscript sources, as the supreme counseling body of Armenia, *Ashkharhazhoghov* was usually assembled in Tsaghkotn region, near the mountain Npat, and in Shahapivan.¹⁸⁷ The functional government was realized through the agencies. Part of the agencies was permanent, including the *Hazarapetutyun* (the ministry of finance), *Maghkhazutyun* (the royal guard), *Hayrutyun* (the office for royal treasury), *Metsn Datavarutyun* (the great lawsuit), *Sparapetutyun* (the ministry of defense); there were also a number of secondary agencies.

The *Hazarapetutyun* was one of the main agencies of the state, which was controlling all the rural communities, financial matters, including taxation, and the military.¹⁸⁸

The *Maghkhazutyun* was the agency of court guards.

The *Mardapetutyun* was an agency that was supervising the court, royal manor and the treasury.

The *Metsn Datavarutyun* was an agency headed by the Catholicos of all Armenians after the adoption of Christianity in Armenia.

The *Sparapetutyun* emerged in the end of the 2nd century. Before that, the armed forces were managed by the *hazarapet* (the minister of finance), while the "Armenian *sparapet* (minister of defense)" was considered the supreme commander of the armed forces of the kingdom of Great Hayk.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ See: Ibidem, p. 828.

¹⁸⁸ See: Ibidem, p. 831.

¹⁸⁹ See: Ibidem, p. 834.

As a rule, the agencies were headed by the most influential representatives of seniors, while the positions were of hereditary nature.

The territory of the kingdom of Great Hayk consisted of 124 regions (“gavars”), which were included in 22 “strategies” and the realm of the royal court.¹⁹⁰ Each “strategy” (or “world”) had its governor, who in the beginning was appointed by the king, but later the position became the hereditary privilege of the dynasty. Khorenatsi states that the king “appointed Sharashan, who was from Sanasar’s family, as governor in south-west, close to the borders with Assyria, on the bank of the Tigris River...”¹⁹¹ At first, the title “landlord” was given to the governors of the regions appointed by the king. Later, however, the title of the landlord became hereditary, while the region became the hereditary property of the dynasty.¹⁹² This was how the landlord dynasties emerged.

The cities in the Great Hayk were governed by city governors (verakatsu) appointed by the king. Besides the governors, however, there were also city government councils.¹⁹³ For instance, according to Khorenatsi, the governor of the city of Tigranakert was King Arshak II’s father in law, the Antioch Patriarch of Syunik.¹⁹⁴ Rural communities were governed by appointed community governors, as the lower layers of the state administrative apparatus. Moreover, bigger cities were independent, while smaller ones were part of the “strategies.” Some of the rural communities were also part of the “strategies,” while certain villages were in the territories of the cities.¹⁹⁵

Until the 14th century, the landlords were among the most crucial links of state governance. Each landlord was not only a big

¹⁹⁰ See: *Ibidem*, p. 841.

¹⁹¹ **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 76.

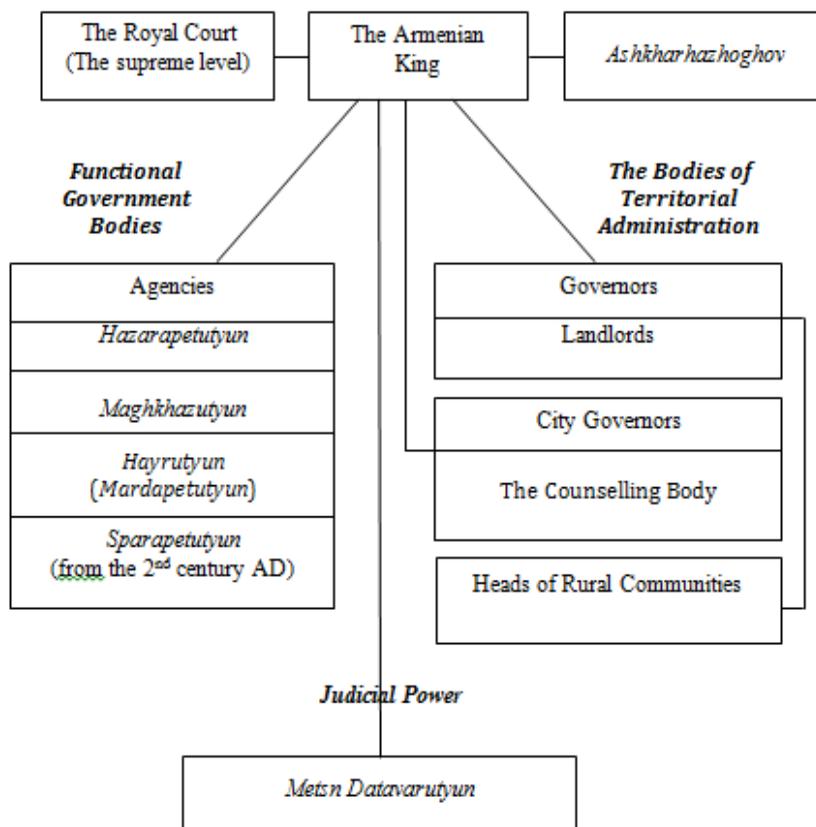
¹⁹² See: *The History of the Armenians*, vol. 1, p. 842.

¹⁹³ See: *Ibidem*, p. 681.

¹⁹⁴ **Movses Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 186.

¹⁹⁵ See: *The History of the Armenians*, vol. 1, p. 682.

landowner, but also a governor of a certain region (a body of territorial administration). At the same time, they were entitled to hold positions in state governance and run agencies (*sparapet*, *mardpet*, *maghkhaz*). In their own domains, the landlords were entitled to taxation, judicial and administrative rights, an army, and fortresses.¹⁹⁶



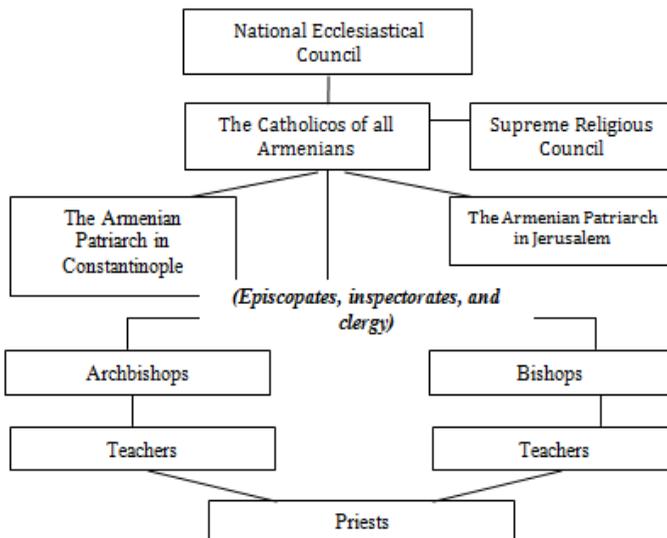
Picture 4. The System of State Governance in Historic Armenia

¹⁹⁶ See: Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia, vol. 8, Yerevan, 1982, p. 158.

By their nature, the agencies were functional government bodies and were authorized to govern the sphere assigned to them (e.g., national defense, economy). Thus, the system of state governance consisted of the monarch, court (*ashkharhazhoghov*), the bodies of functional and territorial administration, and the body of judicial power.

The Armenian Apostolic Church was responsible for spiritual development, education, and, partially, judiciary (as noted earlier, the landlords in their territories were entitled to judicial power). After the loss of the statehood, the Church also assumed legislative responsibilities and took full control over the judiciary.

It is noteworthy that the organizational structure of the Armenian Apostolic Church has not incurred serious changes during the seventeen centuries of its existence, which, no doubt, is indicative of its efficiency (Picture 5).



Picture 5. The Organizational Structure of the Armenian Apostolic Church

Because of historical circumstances, different Patriarchates have been formed over time, of which only the Great Patriarchate of Cilicia has survived until our days.

After the Armenian Kingdom ceased to exist in 428 AD, both the Persian and Byzantine parts of Armenia retained faint elements of Armenian statehood. With certain privileges, army, and relative independence, the ministers continued to govern in their domains. The Persian court had appointed a *marzpan* in the Persian part of Armenia, which was considered a territorial administrative unit of the Sasanian Empire. The Church continued to run the agency of *Mets Datavarutyun*. *Hazarapetutyun* and *Sparapetutyun* continued to function as the main agencies of the Persian Armenia.¹⁹⁷

The *hazarapet* (the minister of finance) was responsible for taxation and matters of state building, while the *sparapet* (the minister of defense) for the army. It goes without saying that all government bodies were functioning under the supervision of and within the boundaries set by the Persian royal court.

The Byzantine Armenia retained the hereditary entitlements of the Armenian landlords until 536 AD. Afterwards, the government system of the Empire became dominant, and the Armenian landlords lost their political and military powers.¹⁹⁸

During the 7th century, according to historical sources, the country was governed by the prince of Armenia. True, the country was under the influence of Byzantium or the Arab Caliphate, but the governor was an independent ruler, albeit not with hereditary entitlements.¹⁹⁹ The Church, especially the Catholicos, and the landlords participated in the government of the country. The agencies of *Sparapetutyun* and *Hazarapetutyun* were in place.

Starting from the end of the 7th century, the Arabs curbed the authorities of the prince of Armenia. In the Persian part, the

¹⁹⁷ See: The History of the Armenians, vol. 2, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1984, p. 166

¹⁹⁸ See: Ibidem, p. 219–221, 239–241.

¹⁹⁹ See: Ibidem, p. 318–319.

Armenian *marzpan* was supervised directly by the Persian king, whereas in the Byzantine Armenia, the governor of Armenia was under the supervision of an Arabic policeman (*vostikan*), not the Caliph.²⁰⁰

During the reign of the Bagratuni dynasty (885–1045 AD), the king (the monarch) was the head of state, whose powers, like in Great Hayk, was of hereditary nature. State governance, although based on the traditions and features of the earlier Armenian statehood, had its distinctive specifications from the Arshakuni period. The Bagratunis retained the names of a number of positions from the past systems of government, such as *marzpan* and the prince of princes. The Bagratunis favored the names of Persian-Arabic origin, such as “the king of kings” and “policeman”.²⁰¹

The prince of princes was considered the representative and the deputy of the Armenian king. This position is similar to the position of *hazarapet* of the Arshakuni period. The prince of princes was supervising all the regional governors, city governors, was responsible for taxation, and, together with the *sparapet*, was heading the Armenian army during wars.²⁰²

The Church had a considerable input in the government of the country, and the Bagratuni kings were trying to strengthen the religious center of Armenia.

The *sparapet*, as the commander of the Armenian army, was the second person in the country after the king. In most cases this position was filled with members of the royal family.²⁰³

The heads of small kingdoms, such as Vaspurakan, Kars, Syunik, and Tashir-Dzoraget, had an important role in the government of regions and sub-regions (*nahang* and *gavar*). The main territories of the kingdom, on the other hand, were governed

²⁰⁰ See: Ibidem, p. 363.

²⁰¹ See: The History of the Armenians, vol. 3, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1976, p. 266.

²⁰² See: Ibidem, p. 271.

²⁰³ See: Ibidem, p. 276–277.

by governor-princes, appointed by the Armenian king. The heads of small kingdoms, too, needed an approval of their authority from the Bagratuni king.²⁰⁴

The social-economic system, including state governance, is based on a legislative field. As mentioned earlier, the Armenian kings carried out both executive and legislative functions. As per historical sources (the works of Khorenatsi, Agantangeghos, Buzand, Koghbatsi, and Parpetsi), the kings enacted different laws, charters, and edicts, aimed at regulating the socio-economic relations in Armenian.²⁰⁵ “*Gahnamak*” and “*Zoranamak*,” two unique types of edicts, had ratified the position, role, and the size of the military of the governors and landlords in the kingdom. These edicts also classified the governors and landlords based on the Great Hayk system of four military governors and landlords.²⁰⁶ The regulation of the religious and socio-economic relations was carried out based on the *Kanonagirk Hayots* (Armenian Book of Canons), which has been in use from ancient times until the beginning of the 20th century.²⁰⁷ There is an opinion, according to which, a secular Code of Laws (*Datastanagirk*) was in use in the Ancient Armenia (4th – 5th centuries).²⁰⁸

According to the above mentioned, state governance in the ancient times was implemented based on certain, albeit non-complete, theoretical-methodological principles, which were reflected in the enacted legislation and government practices.

²⁰⁴ See: *Ibidem*, p. 267.

²⁰⁵ See: *The History of the Armenians*, vol. 2, p. 483.

²⁰⁶ See: *The Armenian Soviet Encyclopaedia*, vol. 3, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1977, p. 704.

²⁰⁷ See: *The Armenian Soviet Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1979, p. 240.

²⁰⁸ See: *The History of the Armenians*, vol. 2, p. 484-485.

2.2.2. State Governance in Cilician Armenia

The system of state governance in Cilician Armenia (a great principality in 1080–1198 and a kingdom in 1198–1375) was formed based on the above mentioned principles and the experience of European countries.

Bdeshkhs (the head of province), who existed until the first half of the 5th century, had the second best position in Armenia after the king. *Bdeshkhs* were followed by senior landlords, junior landlords, and the free class. In Cilician Armenia, however, the same structure of institutions and the same type of hierarchy had a different name. There was a prince or baron instead of a landlord, alongside governors (*berdakalner*) and the free class.²⁰⁹

As in the past, the king had exclusive rights (to coin money, levy duties, build cities, strategic fortresses, and bridges). The king was supreme commander of the armed forces and was in charge of foreign affairs; he was entitled to enact laws and manage other important state matters. The governing bodies in the court included the supreme authority (*geraguyn atyan*, *divan*) and the central administrative bodies (the agencies).²¹⁰ The management of the agencies, in contrast to the practice in Great Hayk, was implemented not by landlord dynasties but by meritocrats.²¹¹ The agent of the court scribe (*drapet*), the chancellor, was in charge of the court budget. The *sparapet* managed the military establishment, while the agent of customs affairs (*maksapetutyun*) was in charge of customs, and domestic and foreign trade.²¹²

²⁰⁹ A. G. Sukiasyan, *The History of the Cilician Armenian State and Law*, Yerevan, YSU pub. 1978, p. 154.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 159-160.

²¹¹ See: *The Armenian Soviet Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1979, p. 415.

²¹² See: *The Armenian Soviet Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub., 1979, p. 415.

Local self-governing bodies had an important role in the government system of the Cilician Armenia. There were cities and provinces (“gavars”) under the direct supervision of the king and governed by governors appointed by the king. The “gavars,” which were in the domain of landlord-vassals, were governed by barons, who, like landlords, were both landowners and governors.²¹³ The barons had broad administrative, military, financial, and judicial authorities. There were also representative bodies, the council or assembly of seniors, in the government of the “gavars.” Each “gavar” consisted of rural communities, which were governed by the council of the seniors (avagani) of the community (the priest was also participating in the government of the community).²¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the cities, besides the head of the city, also had bodies of sovereignty, such as class councils of citizens, guilds, and unions. Like in Great Hayk, the judicial system consisted of state, estate (hayrenakalvatskayin), and religious courts.²¹⁵

State governance in Cilician Armenia was implemented according to Smbat Sparapet’s *Datastanagirk* (Code of Laws) (1265), which was a unique and very important legislative regulatory document. It was created by the objective need of strengthening the statehood and was based on the accomplishments of Armenian theoretical thought and the tradition and experience of state governance in the country. By the way, there is an opinion, according to which, “Smbat Sparapet’s *Datastanagirk* is nothing but the *Datastanagirk* by Mkhitar Gosh with certain changes and amendments made by Smbat to adjust the text to local circumstances.”²¹⁶ According to a contrary opinion, Smbat Sparapet’s *Datastanagirk* was a result of independent work, which has

²¹³ **A. G. Sukiasyan**, *The History of the Cilician Armenian State and Law*, p. 168.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 169.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 176.

²¹⁶ **Mkhitar Gosh**, *The Code of Laws*, Yerevan, ASR AS pub., 1975, Introduction by Kh. Torosyan.

referred to the known sources and documents of legal nature (codes of laws).²¹⁷

Bypassing this debate, we move on to discuss public administration-related clauses in those two and other seminal works.

2.2.3. The *Kanonagirk Hayots* (Armenian Book of Canons) as a Legal Basis for Public Administration

As noted earlier, in the periods when the Armenian statehood was in place, the Armenian Apostolic church was in charge of *Mets Datavarutyun* (the great lawsuit). After the loss of the statehood, the Church became the main center for the coordination and preservation of Christian faith and traditions, regulation of the rules of public cohabitation, and, broadly speaking, the salvation of the nation. Thus, based on objective needs, the Church and religious leaders should have been concerned about developing a legal background for the realization of their authority. Moreover, given the foreign rule, the development of laws to regulate the religious, political, and economic relations was becoming ever more urgent. As per historical sources, ecclesiastical assemblies, with traditional religious and secular participants, have enacted decrees on human cohabitation, religious practices and rituals, marriage and family, hereditary and civil rights, and the code of conduct for religious and secular figures. These decrees and the writings of major religious figures (letters and circulating papers) have been reflected in Armenian manuscripts as “canons,”²¹⁸ thus the collection of canons was called *Kanonagirk* (Book of Canons). Canonical decrees are known to have been adopted by the ecclesiastical

²¹⁷ See: **Смбат Спарпет**, Судебник. Ер.: Айпетрат, 1958. Introduction by A. G. Galstyan, pp. XIX–XXIV.

²¹⁸ See: *Kanonagirk Hayots*, Book A, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub, 1964, Introduction by V. Hakobyan, p. X.

assemblies of Ashtishat (4th century AD), Shahapivan (5th century AD), Dvin (6th and 7th centuries AD), Partav (8th century AD), Sis (1243 AD), Dzagavan (1268 AD), and Jerusalem (1651 AD). There are canonical writings by prominent religious figures, such as Grigor Lusavorich (the Illuminator), Sahak Partev, Hovhan Mandakuni, and Davit Alakva Son.²¹⁹ During the second decade of the 7th century, the Armenian Catholicos Hovhannes Odzneti combined the decrees, canonical writings, as well as the decrees of Christian Councils (the First Council of Nicaea of 325 AD, the First Council of Constantinople of 381 AD, and the Council of Ephesus of 431 AD) into a complete *Kanonagirk Hayots* (Armenian Book of Canons).²²⁰ According to V. Hakobyan, the emergence of the *Kanonagirk* was a historical necessity, and Odzneti's aim was to combine Armenians under a common confession, ensure the sovereignty and independence of the Armenian people and the Armenian Church amid the Arab-Byzantine wars for the control over Armenia and the struggles against the Chalcedonian Creed and different sects. "To realize certain social-political objectives through national and traditional law and order was *Kanonagirk's* political and practical mandate of the time. It was a protest against the Chalcedonian policy in general and the Byzantine land-grabbing policy in particular."²²¹

Odzneti's *Kanonagirk Hayots* consisted of 24 groups of canons, which was expanded in the mid-10th century and by the end of the century comprised 40 groups of canons, only to be expanded further to 98 groups of canons by the 17th century.²²² The *Kanonagirk Hayots* was put together as a modern publication by V. Hakobyan in two volumes respectively in 1964 and 1971. As noted by researchers, *Kanonagirk Hayots* is the only piece of legal literature written by Armenian scholars of the Middle Ages that

²¹⁹ See: *Ibidem*, p. VIII–IX.

²²⁰ See: Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia, vol. 5, Yerevan, 1979, p. 240.

²²¹ See: *Kanonagirk Hayots*, book A, p. XII–VX.

²²² See: Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia, vol. 5, Yerevan, 1979, p. 240.

during the course of centuries has been recognized as an official collection of legislative acts.²²³

As such, *Kanonagirk Hayots* not only played an important role in regulating the social-economic relations and public life, but also served as a platform for the development of legal thought. In this regard, the two pieces of *Datastanagirks*, written by Mkhitar Gosh and Smbat Sparapet in the 12th–13th centuries, ensured a new phase of the development of Armenian legal thought, which included the important spheres of state and territorial governance as well as criminal and civil law.

The study of *Kanonagirk Hayots* shows that the groups of canons it discusses are predominantly related to the principles of religious rituals, the code of conduct of church attendants, marriage, family, the acceptable norms of people's moral character, and the rules of cohabitation. Whereas penitence, imprecation, and moral condemnation are defined as punishment for those who breach these rules.

The groups of canons also contain articles on bribery and the levying and distribution of taxes and duties. More specifically, one of the canons (301–325 AD), said to be by Grigor Lusavorich (the Illuminator), refers to the bribe taker: “If a priest or a secular person accepts bribes, may the curse of witch Simon be poured on him, may he be an attaché to Judas...”²²⁴ The fourth canon adopted in the Ashtishat Legislative Council (356 AD) refers to the levying of taxes and duties: “[He] decided to build orphanages and homes for the widows and, in order to sustain them, levied separate duties and taxes.”²²⁵

The principle fairness and humanitarianism of levying duties is especially noteworthy. Chapter 4 of the Aghvan king Vachagan's *Kanonakan Sahmanadrutyán* (Canonical Constitution) (488 AD)

²²³ See: *Kanonagirk Hayots*, Book A, p. XVI.

²²⁴ R. Avagyan, *The Treasures of Armenian Legal Thought* (9th century BC to 19th century AD), Yerevan, 2001, p. 98.

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

states: “This will be the order of paying duties to the priests by the people: the rich should give four *grivs* of wheat, six *grivs* of barley, sixteen *passes* (5.32 liters) of grape juice, while the poor should give half of that... those who do not have land should not be taxed, while those who would prefer to give more than required, for salvation of their souls, would do good.”²²⁶ To divide the duty of the free class between the church and the monastery requires the following: “If the noblemen pay *tasnord*²²⁷, they should pay part of it to the main church and the rest to their local church.”²²⁸

The *Kanonagirk* also regulates the matters of education. The canons developed by Sahak Partev call for the organization of schools,²²⁹ while Chapter 10 of the Ashtishat Council decree requires “the opening of Greek and Assyrian language schools in order to spread illumination across the country.”²³⁰

The above mentioned shows that the *Kanonagirk Hayots* covered a broad circle of public life, ranging from the internal activities of the church to secular social-economic relations. It has thus played an important role not only in the development of the Armenian legal and managerial thought, but also in the preservation of national traditions, religion, the independence of the Armenian Church, and the Armenian identity. It was also valuable in the practical management and matters of public life.

²²⁶ Ibidem, p. 138.

²²⁷ Tasnord – a tax of tenth of one’s income.

²²⁸ R. Avagyan, *The Treasures of Armenian Legal Thought*, p. 141.

²²⁹ See: *Kanonagirk Hayots*, Book A, p. 372-373.

²³⁰ R. Avagyan, *The Treasures of Armenian Legal Thought*, p. 109–110.

2.2.4. The Methodological Principles of Public Administration, according to Armenian Thinkers (Davit Alavka Son, Mkhitar Gosh, Smbat Sparapet, Nerses Shnorhali)

The 12th–13th centuries AD were especially rich in the development of books of canons, laws and other scholarly literature aimed at regulating the public life. These pieces of scholarly literature have had significant influence during the time of their emergence and beyond. Nowadays, too, they play an important role in the development of the theory and practice of public administration. These eternal values and the names of those who created them are widely known within the professional community. Those are Davit Alavka Son, Mkhitar Gosh, Smbat Sparapet, and Nerses Shnorhali.

Davit Alavka Son, according to historians, was born in the late 11th century (in the 70s or 80s) and lived until 1129 or 1139.²³¹

His *Kanonakan Orinadrutyun* (Canonical Legislature) consists of 97 articles. The author spells out the purpose and the nature of his work in the introduction. “By the anticipation of the soul, recognizing God’s frightful power through divine meditation and having God’s fear in your soul through predetermined knowledge, and for the love towards the commandment of the future life, you eternally and voluntarily accepted the love that safely and healthily remained in your capable and prolific mind. You concocted by that fear and, thus, did not remain infertile but gave birth to spiritual writings and vital morality in support of the sciences and for the benefit of public management. By doing so, you set up law and order, first, to ensure the morality of the people, and then to redress secondary matters.”²³²

²³¹ See: ASE, vol. 3, Yerevan, 1977, p. 300, Davit Alavka Son, *Kanonagirk* (Canonical Legislation), Yerevan, “Irvunq,” 2010, p. 6 (in Armenian).

²³² **Davit Alavka Son**, p. 36.

The articles of the *Kanonakan Orinadrutyun*, which refer to spheres, such as people's everyday life and moral principles, the rules of cohabitation, and punishment for crimes (including bribery, rape, arson, and the defamation of God), were not only reaffirming the pre-existing folk traditions, but also defining the rules of lifestyle for the society, as well as ecclesiastical punishments in case of the breach of those rules.

In the *Kanonakan Orinadrutyun*, there are other important thoughts beside canons. Talking about the canons defined by God, the author states: "...What a pleasure it was to enact into law what the people preferred."²³³

The philosophy of this thesis is that the law enacted by the legislature should stem from the interest of the people and foster their wellbeing.

Another prominent thought: "... The truth does not tolerate hypocrisy, for the hypocrite is profane before God."²³⁴

Examining the rule of treating "villain rulers," the author writes: "...By trying him, you should fully realize what his hidden thoughts are, judge from his speaking and language: if he is ungrateful, you should not spread the pearls before the pigs, so that they do not trample them and do not turn to tear you up."²³⁵

Talking of evil leaders and priests, Davit Alavka Son, points to the following characteristics of a true leader: "should be kind," "a reliable servant" (to the people and God), "sacrifice his person for the sheep, including those sheep that are not from his corral, know how to get them together and keep them in one corral, making it one flock, one shepherd, under the perfect reign of the true Shepherd." It is clear that by "sheep" and "flock" the author refers to the people, while the last concept emphasizes the need for the unified government of the subjects by a common governor.

²³³ Ibidem, p. 38.

²³⁴ Ibidem, p. 57.

²³⁵ Davit Alavka Son, p. 63.

Davit Alavka's *Kanonakan Orinadrutyun* is valuable also because, as argued by R. Avagyan, it has been later used as a valuable source by Mkhitar Gosh and Smbat Sparapet for narrating their own *datastanagirks* (books of laws).

Gosh's *datastanagirks* (1184 AD), among other achievements of legal thought, spells out the state and legal principles of a hereditary monarchy.²³⁶ The rational structure of a kingdom, according to the author, is centralized government headed by the monarch. By the way, Gosh was a proponent of the theological interpretation of the state, and thus the king is ordained by God and only He can change the king. One of the specifics of Gosh's theory is that, as per the author, the state and the church are the two main pillars that support the whole social structure as one political reality.²³⁷ This thesis was a step towards the concept of public administration, whereby, besides the state, another institution – the church in this case – was assuming a significant role in the system of managing the society.

Smbat Sparapet, in line with the realities of his time, was a supporter of exclusive monarchy. According to the author, the kings are ordained by God, and are His representatives on the Earth.²³⁸ The first section of *datastanagirk* spells out the exclusive rights of the king, the principles of passing his authority and property as heritage, and the rights and responsibilities of local governors (*parons*). The same article defines the order, types, and frequency of taxation, which falls under the authority of the monarch. Article 143 of *Datastanagirk* defines the principles of people's activities in markets. As per the article, the selling prices of wine, wheat, and other types of grain are defined by the king every fall in consultation with princes and local governors (*gavarapets*) and taking into account the amount of the harvest.

²³⁶ See: Mkhitar Gosh, *Girq Datastani* (Book of Law Codes), pp. 301–305, 404–405.

²³⁷ See: *Ibidem*, p. XVII.

²³⁸ Smbat Sparapet, *Op. cit.*, p. 5, 81.

The purpose is to set prices that will satisfy both the sellers and the buyer and will enable the country to prosper.²³⁹

Other articles of *Datastanagirk* define the responsibilities and identifying symbols of those who serve in the royal palace (article 63), and the relationships between the king, the knights, and the free class (article 76).

The broad circle of king's authorities shows Smbat Sparapet's strong preference for centralized power, which is explained by the need to ensure the security of the state. Indeed, Smbat Sparapet's *Datastanagirk* includes a number of valuable theses on civil legislation.

The *Tught Yndhanrakan* (the General Paper) (1166 AD) of Nerses Shnorhali (1100–1173 AD), an Armenian poet, musician, manuscript writer, and political and religious figure, contains a number of principal theses on public administration. This valuable work is especially known for its theses on the rule of law, justice, and the right choice of management personnel. More particularly, addressing to the princes of the world, Shnorhali writes: "Do not appoint evil and unjust ruler and governors on your lands so that to avoid the judgement of God because of their unjust and wrongful deeds. Choose just and fair governors, so that the privileges granted by the royal court do not result in bribery and inefficiency or theft by the governors, so that the governors do not overcharge, for both are injustice in the eyes of God. They should be fair enough to give the emperor's to the emperor, and the God's to God."²⁴⁰

Shnorhali has also emphasized the principle of fair pay for fair work: "The distribution of food should be based on the work done – it should be more or less."²⁴¹ The following theses, on the other hand, represent a complete system of materialistic and moral incentives: "Do not use the people under your supervision as

²³⁹ Ibidem, pp. 126–128.

²⁴⁰ N. Shnorhali, *Tught Yndhanrakan* (the General Paper), Yerevan, "Irvunq," 2009, p. 81 (in Armenian).

²⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 50.

useless animals, who are by nature servants to the mankind, and do not assign severe and unbearable work to them...” Shnorhali suggests the following as a commandment: “Reduce the working hours, please them with abundant food during work, and do not overburden them, so that they can provide for their poor households and children with their earnings and pay the royal taxes.”²⁴²

Shnorhali’s following proposal on taxation is especially noteworthy: “Do not treat your subjects unjustly by levying burdensome taxes on them, which they cannot bear. Instead, judge each of them based on law and their abilities.”²⁴³

Observing the consequences of villainy and deceit, Shnorhali stresses: “The privileged, who, based on authority, can do whatever he pleases, is even more criminal when ignores the law.”²⁴⁴

The above mentioned theses by Nerses Shnorhali are the main principles of democratic governance that are actual for all times.

²⁴² Ibidem, p. 82.

²⁴³ Ibidem, pp. 80–81.

²⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 85.

Chapter 3.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE 13TH -18TH CENTURIES

3.1. Grigor Tatevatsi on the Harmonic Management of Public Life

Grigor Tatevatsi (1346–1409), a prominent Armenian thinker, is known for his significant theoretical and practical work in a broad range of disciplines, including theology, philosophy, economics, ethics, jurisprudence, psychology, and pedagogy. At the same time, he was a prominent figure in the Armenian Church, a coordinator of scientific and educational activities, skillful orator, preacher, musician, painter, the head of the Tatev University, a teacher for huge big number of pupils and his followers²⁴⁵, and, indeed, a “*Yeramets Vardapet*” (Great Teacher).

The most prominent pieces of Tatevatsi’s theoretical heritage include *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching) (summer and winter volumes), *Girk Hartsnants* (Book of Inquiry), *Girk vor kochi Voskeporik* (A book that is named Voskerporik), *Meknutyun Hovhannu Avetarani* (An interpretation of the Gospel of John), *Meknutyun Saghmosats* (An interpretation of Psalms), *Hamarot Tesutyun i Girs Porpuri* (A short theory of the writings of Porphyry), *Lutsumn Hamarot i Tesutyun Davit Anhaghti* (A brief solution of Davit Anhaght’s theory), and *Soghomoni Arakneri Meknutyun* (An interpretation of Solomon’s fables). His views in philosophy, theology, pedagogy, and economics have been widely

²⁴⁵ There is evidence that Grigor Tatevatsi has had more than 300 pupils, including a number of prominent figures of science and culture (see: S. Arevshatyan, Grigor Tatevatsi // Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia, vol. 3, Yerevan, 1977, pp. 212–223).

interpreted,²⁴⁶ although it will be hard to claim they do not need further research. Nevertheless, Tatevatsi's views on government matters have not been paid due attention.

Grigor Tatevatsi's vision is centered on a firm belief towards God. Thus, all the reflections of a human's knowledge and practical behavior derive from the existence of the omnipotent Creator. Hence derives Tatevatsi's credo: "God is the source of all existence, love is the source of all good, contemplation is the source of all virtue."²⁴⁷

Tatevatsi tries to combine reason and faith in his quest to interpret both religious matters and the other aspects of people's public and personal life. Although emphasizing human intellectual power and insisting that all business endeavors should be based specifically on science, Tatevatsi, nevertheless, casts his preference on faith. Particularly, he argues, there are limits to scientific discoveries, which can be overcome only by faith: "inaccessible does not become accessible though contemplation; it is discovered through faith."²⁴⁸

Faith is crucial in practical matters too. It is important for determination and achievements, including in the matters of public administration. Without faith, any endeavor is imperfect by itself: "Work becomes perfect and rewarded through faith, for work without faith is empty and unrewarded."²⁴⁹ Tatevatsi does not contradict faith and knowledge or faith and work. On the contrary,

²⁴⁶ See **S. Arevshatyan**, *The Philosophical School of Tatev and Grigor Tatevatsi's Vision* // "Banber Matenadari" 1958, p. 121–137, **N. Tovmasyan**, *The Socio-Economic views of Grigor Tatevatsi*, Yerevan, 1966, **L. Khacheryan**, *The Gladzor University in the Development of Armenian Pedagogical Thought*, Yerevan, 1973 // "The Prominent Figures of the Armenian Culture," Yerevan, 1976. **G. Grigoryan**, *The Philosophical Study of Hovhannes Vorotnetsi*, Yerevan, 1980, **A. Abrahamyan**, *The Gladzor University*, Yerevan, 1983, **S. Zakaryan**, *Grigor Tatevatsi*, Yerevan, 1998.

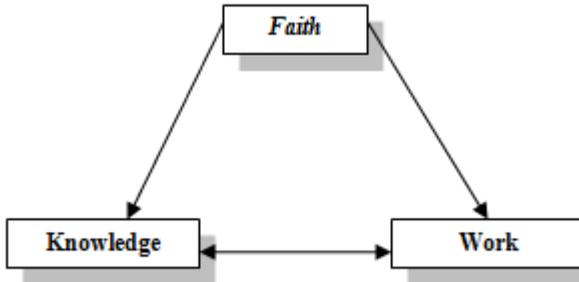
²⁴⁷ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Voskeporik*, Yerevan, 1995, p. 6.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 220.

²⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 249.

he emphasized the need for the harmony between them. Tatevatsi's formulation of the need for harmony between work and faith is both concise and impressive: "Faith is a parent, work is a birth."²⁵⁰

Picture 6 provides a schematic view of the three main components of Tatevatsi's vision, and the interrelations between the components.



Picture 6.

The characteristics of Tatevatsi's research methodology lead us to conclude that his works (especially *Girk Karozutean*, *Girk Hartsnants*, *Soghomoni Arakneri Meknutyun*, and *Voskeporik*) are masterpieces of the Armenian hermeneutics literature.

Written in the form of questions and answers, they have provided the author an opportunity to concisely and compactly interpret the principal theses of Christian teachings, particularly the moral potential of the Bible and its practical formulations on the code of conduct. It is noteworthy²⁵¹ that, through inquiries, Tatevatsi strives to provide the best possible justified explanation

²⁵⁰ Ibidem.

²⁵¹ "Tatevatsi's works in this regard can be called not a book of 'Inquiries,' but a 'Book of Answers,' for the bulk of the text includes the broad and detailed answers to the concisely formulated inquires, provided by the scientific ideologist of the Armenian Church from the leading perspectives of his faith and modern science" (S. Arevshatyan, Grigor Tatevatsi and his "Book of Inquiries" // Grigor Tatevatsi, *Girk Hartsnants* (Book of Inquiries), Jerusalem, 1993, p. V).

through easy-to-comprehend answers to his inquiries. Remaining loyal to the features of hermeneutics literature, in his *Soghomoni Arakneri Meknutyun* (An interpretation of Solomon's fables), Tatevatsi carefully chooses the most precise formulations from the books of the Bible and, when needed, reemphasizes the quotations illustrating the points of various arguments.

This technique of answering your own inquiries is noteworthy not only because of its style. The inquiries have certain structures that, through a logical sequence, unfold the author's reasoning around a number of concepts and relationships on human cohabitation.

Tatevatsi unveils a strong and comprehensive ethical concept, whereby Biblical theses are not an inception point but rather serve as argumentation. Speaking in the language of argumentation, Tatevatsi employs the method of "referring to authorities," which implies the use of ideas or quotations from undisputed authorities to justify and strengthen the author's own viewpoints: "he said it" (*ipsi dixit*), that is, said by an author whose words are undisputed truth.

It should be noted that, as a way of thinking, this type of argumentation may be a way towards rigidity of mind and dogmatism. This is, in fact, what a number of religious officials have been doing over centuries, swapping their own reasoning with the opinions of ancient – albeit respected – authors. In other words, dogmatism was also reflected in spheres, such as science, culture, and politics.

This is what Tatevatsi has successfully managed to avoid, for, being a true Christian theorist, he interprets core Christian teachings through an independent scientific approach. Even the abundance of quotations does not impede the development of his independent thought.

This all was made possible by Grigor Tatevatsi's methodology. He does not quote the Bible blindly, but spells out his own reflections skillfully referring to that most credible document.

Soghmoni Arakneri Meknutyun (An interpretation of Solomon’s fables) is a vivid evidence of his “golden-middle” approach. On the one hand, the abundance of quotations does not suppress the author’s independent interpretations; on the other, the concept and approach introduced by the author do not obstruct the comprehension of the original idea.

In the core of public administration, according to Tatevatsi, should be scientific knowledge, which brings wisdom to all human activities. Wisdom itself is not abstract knowledge; it is, first of all, work – good and useful work.

Wisdom and work make a special duo in the framework of Tatevatsi’s way of thinking. Indeed, on the one hand, wisdom is praised vigorously, for human wisdom is above all other human virtues. Wisdom is like salt: without wisdom a person is tasteless like saltless food. On the other hand, work is what materializes human wisdom. At the same time, wisdom and work have this so-called strict functional orientation: “good work is for the body, while wisdom is for the soul,” thus they complement and complete one another, while both are indispensable for a human (“we need them both”).

Tatevatsi’s following thought on the harmony between knowledge and work, in other words, the internal reasons for the use of knowledge, is made more vivid owing to a great comparison: **“Wisdom is a lamp, and good work is the oil that keeps the lamp burning.”**²⁵²

Thus, any endeavor or activity undertaken without theoretical knowledge, wisdom, and scientific basis is regarded by Tatevatsi as a useless and low-level task: “any activity – spiritual or materialistic – is useless and dishonorable without wisdom.”²⁵³

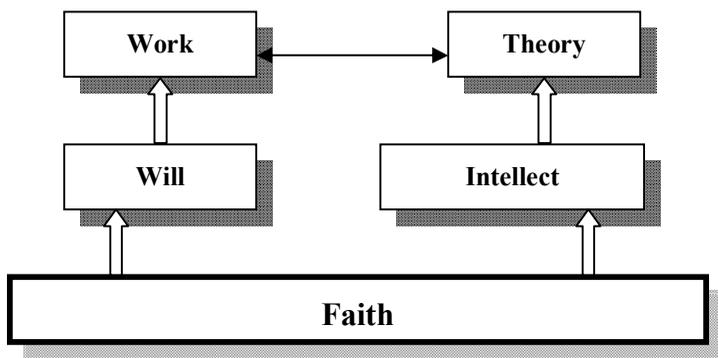
²⁵² **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), summer vol., Constantinople, 1740, p. 119.

²⁵³ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), winter vol., Constantinople, 1740, p. 179.

There are two types of human wisdom: theoretical and practical. Both are equally important like the right and left eyes and the right and left legs of a person. Through theoretical wisdom a person familiarizes himself with the world, practical wisdom helps regulate public life.

Practical wisdom is three-pronged. The first prong is of **moral** nature and is there to coordinate a person’s ethical behavior, “teaches to maintain the good personal traits.” The second prong is of **economic** nature, and is there to regulate household activities and the provision for the family. The third prong is of **political** nature and is there to “govern the city and the kingdom.”²⁵⁴

Government, as the entirety of activities, reflects the will of certain power that bears the authority. Here Tatevatsi’s introduces another reflection of the triangle (“faith,” “knowledge,” and “work”) that is in the core of his vision. In this case the triangle reflects itself as “faith,” “will,” and “intellect.” The core of the triangle is faith, while work and intellect (the intellectual might of the mind), that are consequential to faith, complement one other. “The beginning of the practical is will, while that of the theoretical is the intellectual might of the mind.”²⁵⁵



Picture 7.

²⁵⁴ Grigor Tatevatsi, *Girk Hartsmans* (Book of Inquiries), Jerusalem, 1993, p. 580.

²⁵⁵ Grigor Tatevatsi, *Voskeporik*, p. 245.

According to Tatevatsi, there are two underlying principles behind source and functions of power:

- ❖ The God-given right to rule (“theocracy”)²⁵⁶,
- ❖ The relationship between the ruler and the subjects are regulated by the imperative of natural harmony.

Authority can derive only from God. It is the Heavenly Lord who defines both religious (the Patriarchy) and secular authority, that is, the firm law and order that “have the old and the young, the rulers and the subjects.”²⁵⁷

The second principle is in line with Tatevatsi’s likening of the society to an organism (this principle was later defined by 19th century scholars as the “organic school” approach), first of all, with the purpose of justifying harmony.

The prince is the head of the society. The head controls the whole human organism; the vitality of the body comes from the head: “The vitality and power incept in the head and go down the whole body.”²⁵⁸ Likewise, the bearer of the authority has been empowered with the will of God to, like the head of an organism, govern the other members of the society. “Lifted with glory to the head of all humans, regulates everything in the country, death and life, good and bad.... Likewise, the prince leads the whole country: he sees, he builds, he rewards everyone according to his merit.... regulates them by hand both old and young.”²⁵⁹

Human body and soul are undivided. Likewise are the interrelations between the two sides of the government relationship: “the head without the body, like the body without the head, is useless and inanimate.”²⁶⁰ The head cannot do without the body (an

²⁵⁶ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), summer vol., Constantinople, 1740, p. 165.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 165.

²⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 422.

²⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 423.

²⁶⁰ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), winter vol., Constantinople, 1740, p. 193.

eye, ear, mouth); likewise, the ruler cannot do without his subjects and the advice received from them. “Likewise, for the prince, his eye, his ear, and his mouth are his subjects, for he does everything based on the advice of his subjects.”²⁶¹ The society, on the other hand, cannot unite without the leadership of the government; people spread out and split, the country becomes ragged and deprived of spiritual and materialistic goods. “Like a garden without a gardener and a farm without a farmhand, the country becomes deprived of its spiritual and materialistic goods. For the leader and the prince should be the cause of the prosperity for all.”²⁶²

Thus, the following conceptual solution becomes quite logical: **God-given authority and obedience for the sake of natural harmony.** The superiority and inferiority of different social classes form the basis of public life. The superior and the inferior, the rich and the poor need one another and complement one another. The mutual connection between the two sides is there by the will of God. Moreover, this connection is God’s way of government. “God governs both the rich and the poor, for the poor live by the rich, and he rich prosper by the poor.”²⁶³

This also means that, according to Tatevatsi, the function of power is not government, but vice versa, the rulers rule because, based on the position they have, they have to govern. So we deduce that the obedience of servants to masters is not the coercion of the masters, but a natural order of things that is mutually beneficial and ensures the natural functioning of public life. Hence derives the desired code of conduct of both sides: rulers have to do good, for example, serve their subjects, for they have to be an example for their servants like a teacher is for his pupils. Based on the same logic, subjects should be obedient to their masters.

²⁶¹ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), summer vol., Constantinople, 1740, p. 423.

²⁶² Ibidem.

²⁶³ Ibidem, p. 368.

The government pyramid is thus God-given (where Tatevatsi distinguishes nine levels), and lower layers should unconditionally obey upper ones. To obey means to succumb to heavenly order. “Whoever is obedient to his prince, is obedient to the order of God. Whoever disobeys is against God.”²⁶⁴

The governors too need to show obedience; they are dependent on the will of God and realize that will. God gives them power not for the kings “to act wickedly on their own will;” this is what evil kings do. God endows good kings with power for two main purposes: first, the king has to punish the guilty; second, the king has to reward the worthy (“either for revenge or for a reward”²⁶⁵).

Tatevatsi puts a cap the “own will” of the rulers, arguing that he who has authority should be based not only his knowledge, but counsel with the knowledgeable, seek and find “an advisor and counselor.”²⁶⁶ Tatevatsi’s following comparison is quite impressive. A man is capable of building his house only, while, in order to build many houses and manage them, lots of people need to be assembled (“assembled in one place, they seek ways to benefit the country.”²⁶⁷).

Parpetsi’s interpretation of the relationship between the secular and religious leaders, that is, between the state and the church, is noteworthy. The church is the leader of the religious authority, while secular power is realized by kings and princes. “And thus two powers governed and made people with body and soul.”²⁶⁸

What are the relationships between these two types of authority? This question has been debated a lot by the Armenian thinkers. As noted earlier, Trdat the Great, declaring Christianity as

²⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 54.

²⁶⁵ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Soghomoni Arakneri Meknutyun* (An interpretation of Solomon’s fables), Yerevan, “Ankyunaqar,” 2000, p. 102-103.

²⁶⁶ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), summer vol., p. 424.

²⁶⁷ Ibidem.

²⁶⁸ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), winter vol., p. 181.

state religion in Armenia, did not specify the authorities of the king and the head of the church. This ambiguity for centuries became a reason for conflicts (the one between Tiran and Husik, Arshak II and Nerses, and Pap and Nerses) and an unsolved issue in theoretical-ideological interpretations.

Grigor Tatevatsi gives an unambiguous resolution to this issue. The Catholicos is higher than the king. The king is one notch lower and is equal to the level of a bishop. This kind of opinion is not because of the author's theological conviction that could have explained his one-sided theological stance. In fact, Tatevatsi provides a logical explanation in three points.

First, secular power is predominantly based on violence and coercion, whereas people obey spiritual power voluntarily. Secular leaders anticipate obedience of servants, thus obedience is of "servant" type, whereas spiritual power is based on filial fear. In short, "that one is bestial, this one is rational."

Second, secular power operates on a certain territory, while religious power knows no boundaries, fortresses, and other barriers: "the spiritual rules the near and the remote."

Third, secular power governs people's bodies only, while religious power "governs both body and soul," and extends itself to the immortal soul of a person and to the life after life.²⁶⁹

The world, according to Grigor Tatevatsi, is made based on the principles of goodness and justice. The very existence of goodness and justice proves the existence of God. The existence of God is also proved by the harmony of judgment: "promise to the just, honor to the fair and punishment to the guilty."²⁷⁰ Human relationships, too, should be based on God's commandments, law, and justice, which represent the will of God: "the constitution is God-given; it was given to humans for the right behavior."²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ **Ibidem.**

²⁷⁰ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Meknutyun Saghmosats* (An interpretation of Psalms), Yerevan, 1993, p. 50.

²⁷¹ **Ibidem**, p. 49.

This God-given legislation should be preserved during government both by the rulers and the subjects. This means that law and order should dominate in the country as a whole, in the domains of local princes, and in the families; this is the only way towards the rule of law: “**The law is the head of the lawful.**”²⁷²

As much as it is just when the masters govern and the subjects obey (and they have to obey voluntarily), as much just should be the conduct of the masters. The princes do not have the right to deprive their servants and employees from their justly earned income: “one should not deprive his servant of his earning.”²⁷³ If he behaves unjustly, then, according to Tatevatsi, his behavior to his compatriot is worse than that of foreign conquerors. “Worse than the blunder and conquering by a foreigner it is to keep the earnings from the servant.”²⁷⁴

The breach of the principle of fair pay is condemned by Tatevatsi not only having economic reasons in mind, but also from the perspective of managing the subjects’ psychological stance: they have worked hard, and they expect fair reward from their masters: “because he has worked, and expects fair pay.”²⁷⁵

The responsibility for ensuring godly and harmonic relationship between masters and servants Tatevatsi puts on the former, for he preaches them to govern based on wisdom. Tatevatsi distinguished between three types of wisdom:

- ❖ **Natural** (is related to the governor’s natural capabilities),
- ❖ **Educational** (can be acquired through education),
- ❖ **God-given** (a virtue granted by God).

Smart and intelligent masters should always base on wisdom and love the truth. This type of behavior describes them as such –

²⁷² **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), winter vol., p. 192.

²⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

²⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

philosopher and veracious. “For the philosopher and the veracious govern with all the wisdom and truthfulness.”²⁷⁶

The harmony is ensured, as it was mentioned earlier, by the voluntary obedience of the other side, that is, the subjects. Everyone obeys his superior, “the army to the commander, the peasants to the prince, and the princes to the king.”²⁷⁷ According to Tatevatsi, the voluntary obedience of the subjects should also be based on wisdom. Those who are wise, enjoy the affection and kind attitude of the superiors (“And those who are wise, and thus obedient, enjoy the affection and kindness of the princes”). Those who are not wise, that is foolishly contradict their master, are being punished by the masters (“Those who are foolish and rebel and contradict the princes, will bear the evil punishment of their masters”²⁷⁸).

Tatevatsi’s above viewpoint makes us conclude that wisdom and truthfulness from both sides can surely prevent any conflict between the superiors and inferiors. The worthy are honored, the guilty are punished – this is what the rule of law is; the law is the head of the lawful.

Yeznik Koghbatsi was the first among Armenian theoretical thinkers, who wrote about the importance of the leader’s personal example.²⁷⁹ In line with this thinking, Tatevatsi attaches great importance to the governors’ public behavior. They are the ones who organize the public life, set the laws, ensure the conditions of natural cohabitation, and lead the others. “The country and the city are standing owing to government and spiritual leadership, of them take the life sacred and corporal.”²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 192.

²⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 194.

²⁷⁸ Ibidem.

²⁷⁹ See: Chapter 2.1.2.

²⁸⁰ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), summer vol., p. 423.

So, what are **the desirable personal traits of a governor**? What exactly should they do with the people not only to govern but also to lead?

As per Tatevatsi, the leaders' personal traits are the following:

- ❖ *Devotion*, so that the subjects, seeing the king's and the princes' good deeds, learn from them to be so too.

- ❖ *Wisdom*, with which "he can lead the people."

Generally speaking, the levers of leadership are different, which include the position, the will, the fame, the authority of the person, the trust and credibility of others towards the leader, and another's personal traits and different situational details. On top of all this, the king and the princes have the heavenly justification of their right to govern and lead the rest. They are the masters of the country and the subjects, and have economic and military might.

According to Tatevatsi, among all these levers, however, the mightiest tool for leadership is wise speech. The king governs best not by coercion but by his wise and persuasive speech.

- ❖ The ability to punish the bad and honor the good will ensure nation-wide peace.

The king and the prince have the God-given right to punish and reward. This right, however, needs to be used widely, without getting into the extremes. The bearer of the authority should know to deal with both the good and the bad. A good governor should be able to praise and cherish as gently as the healing and refreshing dew sits upon the fresh grass ("caress them like the dew on the grass"), at the same time, if need be, to punish severely, relentlessly and adamantly like a lion ("king's threats are like lion's roars").

- ❖ *Mercy* toward the poor, incomers, and foreigners.

- ❖ *Truthfulness*, for a powerful leader does not need lie and falsehood, nor should he tolerate the presence of liars in his surrounding.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Soghomoni Arakneri Meknutyun* (An interpretation of Solomon's fables), pp. 105–109.

Besides that, the king and the prince should not tolerate the existence of liars, hypocrites, sleeks, and schemers in their surrounding.

The above mentioned five traits, concludes Grigor Tatevatsi, are a necessity for every king and prince, if they want not to merely rule, but to lead their subjects.

It is noteworthy that, spelling out the leaders' desired personal traits and code of conduct, Tatevatsi immediately goes on to define the desired features of subjects and servants.

This all means that Tatevatsi bases his approach, put it in modern terms, on **the principle of complementarity**.²⁸² Government is a two-sided phenomenon, and government efficiency is based not only on the ability of the governors to govern, but also on the obedience of the subjects, their willingness to obey and behavior towards the masters, as well as their skills in doing various assignments.

The component features of such a behavior by a king and a prince are not abstract. They are rather directed towards influencing the behavior of subjects. For example, a governor needs devotion not as a self-purpose, but as an exemplary feature the subjects would strive to copy.

Similar features are observed in the description of the desired traits of subjects. These are five, as well.

❖ *Wisdom*, for a smart servant is valued by his master, he can mitigate the master's anger when needed, and does his job well.

❖ *Loyalty*, attention and care towards the master's property, economical attitude, the use of the property for the maximum profit of the master.

❖ *Goodwill*, diligence, full of initiatives, skillful conduct in any activity.

²⁸² See: **V. Mirzoyan**, *The Philosophy of Government*, Yerevan, 2010, pp. 58–74 (in Armenian).

Here Tatevatsi alters a little and specifies Solomon's advice to a servant that lacks the above mentioned traits: if you are not like that, you had rather wisely leave your position on your own initiative. "If you are not diligent and ready, do not think of working for the king, rather leave by wisdom."

❖ *Devotion*, fear of the punishment by God and the by king. Fear is an indispensable attribute for Tatevatsi in managing human behavior: "fear is useful."

The use of fear in government is a traditional topic among theorists. The need for fear was elegantly justified by Niccolo Machiavelli, who argued that the love of the subjects towards the masters is short-lived, while fear is permanent. Besides, love derives from the subjects, while to introduce fear is in the hands of the master.²⁸³

Tatevatsi's interpretation is different, though. Because the king and the prince govern based on the will of God, not obeying them is the same as not obeying the Lord. To fulfill the order of the king or prince means to fulfill the order of God. "Every order of the king should be fulfilled, for king's order is God's order."

❖ *Obedience*, modesty, and timidity. A servant should not be haughty, for his deeds are done based on the orders of a king or prince. That is why, even if there even seems to be a reason to be proud of a certain activity, the subjects should remember God's commandment on obeying materialistic masters, and should keep on repeating "we are useless servants" as a proof of conscientious and godly conduct.²⁸⁴

Followed are the desired features of the head of the estate. The latter is called *tntes* (estate manager), who is the servant of the prince and, at the same time, the head of the servants. Tatevatsi emphasized the following for features:

²⁸³ See: **V. Mirzoyan**, The governor and his counselors according to Machiavelli // Law and Reality, 2000, Nos. 13-14.

²⁸⁴ **Grigor Tatevatsi**, *Soghomoni Arakneri Meknutyun* (An interpretation of Solomon's fables), p. 109-113.

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- ❖ The *tntes* does not have property, he rather manages the estate on the prince's behalf.
 - ❖ He acts in the interests of the prince.
 - ❖ "A feature of a *tntes* is to be diligent in work and never get lazy".
 - ❖ Take care of his co-servants (provide timely food and so on)²⁸⁵.

The first point is, of course, not a feature but, more precisely, a status. Nevertheless, it is justly attributed to the features of a *tntes*, for the status of a person dictates some of his personal traits. The author argues that these are features expected from every person in general, but they, based on his status, are especially desired for a *tntes*. Ordinary people do not have anything other than what is given by God, either. And they, too, act to the honor of the Lord, and if they fail to do so, God deprives them of their estate.

Grigor Tatevatsi's observation on the personal side of the "master-slave" relationship can be regarded as a desired example of a harmonic "manager-worker" nexus, which derives from the general philosophy of the great Armenian thinker. If there is God-created order and harmony in the universe, then there should emerge superiority and inferiority relationships in the public life. The observation of the personal side of the "governor-subject" relationship is not merely of historical-theoretical significance. It is rather very much in line with the 21st century management paradigm. Thus, it can be incorporated in the practice and theory of management.

²⁸⁵ Grigor Tatevatsi, *Girk Karozutean* (Book of Preaching), winter vol., p. 394.

3.2. The System of Public Administration as per “The Snare of Glory” by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants

“The Snare of Glory” is a work by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants that encompasses a complete concept of state or, more specifically, public administration.

Published in 1773 in Madras, India, “The Snare of Glory” is one of the rare marvels of Armenian administrative thought.²⁸⁶ The work spells out detailed theses of a version of Armenia’s constitution of the time. It is a valuable scholarly source both for jurisprudence and public administration, for it contains theses that have served as a cornerstone for the advancement of Armenian administrative thought. “The Snare of Glory” consists of an introduction (volume 1) and *Hayots Kargadrutyunner* (“Armenian Injunctions”) (volume 2). The first volume thoroughly spells out the principles of public administration, while the second volume contains the constitutional principles of the “government of the Armenian land,” which according to the authors, “are a firm basis for the salvation of our nation and a means to efficiently govern the Armenian nation and the country.”²⁸⁷

It is especially noteworthy that the system of public administration presented in “The Snare of Glory” is based on the principles of civil society with strong emphasis on the rule of law, justice, and the respect for human rights. According to the authors, “if you wish to be free, equally reign in your country, freely claim the outcome of your work, be rewarded for good work, wipe out the dirt of injustice, and clean up your conscience, it is necessary.... to choose good laws, according to the desire and will of the people, and live by and be dependent on this laws, for

²⁸⁶ **The Snare of Glory, Yerevan, 2002.**

²⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 73.

nobody should have the right to govern you except your laws.”²⁸⁸ It should be admitted, of course, that English philosophers and political thinkers had prioritized the rule of law even back in the 17th century.²⁸⁹ This fact, however, should by no means undermine the advanced nature of public administration and its methods suggested by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants.

In parallel with the rule of law, “The Snare of Glory” emphasizes the need for the relative stability of legislation. “... All laws for the government of the nations should be based on a constant pillar, that is, on a firm, stable, and unambiguous set of laws.”²⁹⁰ The successful utilization of the enacted laws is tightly related to the availability of “knowledgeable counsellors” and the principle of equality. “... The Armenian nation, the young and the old together as a stable flock, should be equal owing to and before its stable laws.”²⁹¹ This and other principles of the democratization of public administration discussed in “The Snare of Glory” have materialized mostly in the 20th century. The Republic of Armenia adopted these principles in the very end of the 20th century, in July of 1995, when the constitution of the Republic of Armenia was adopted and a sovereign, democratic, social, and legal state was declared.

The following thesis by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants sounds especially actual: “... Without laws, no undertaking can ever proceed without impediments.”²⁹² “And each undertaking, that is against law and order, is the one and only reason to scrap that undertaking.”²⁹³

These theses point to the extremely important task of ensuring legality in public administration, that is, the purpose is not just

²⁸⁸ Ibidem, p. 14.

²⁸⁹ See: J. Lock, *Two Treatises of Government*.

²⁹⁰ *The Snare of Glory*, p. 23.

²⁹¹ Ibidem.

²⁹² Ibidem, p. 28.

²⁹³ Ibidem, p. 31.

enacting laws, but the unconditional fulfilment of laws, which nowadays is alas often ignored.

“The Snare of Glory” proposes a legislative body, *Hayots Tun* (the House of the Armenians), which was to develop and to enact legislation. The rule of its formation is as follows: “Invite only two people out of every ten thousand inhabitants of our country, which are elected and accepted by ten thousand households. These two persons, as representatives of these ten thousand households,²⁹⁴ will carry out the activities delegated to them.”²⁹⁵ According to the authors the number of such persons is equal to “five hundred, no more and no less,”²⁹⁶ who were to be elected for a three-year period. After the three-year period, the people of the country were to decide if they should continue legislating or give up their authority. The logic is that in order to ensure the freedom and independence of the legislators, “each household should pay them a half silver shilling (*dahekan*), so that these six thousand shillings (*dahekans*) compensate the expenses and cover the needs of these two representatives.”

As the ones who enact laws, that is to say, legislative power, the representatives will be ordained by the elderly of the House of the Armenians as “the servants of the whole nation.” “The advantage of the servant is nothing but to faithfully serve for the sake of his nation.”²⁹⁷ Fifty percent of the elected representatives, according to “the Snare of Glory,” “will be included in the order of *tanuter* (senator),” while the other half “will assume government positions” (Chapter 19). By the way, the House of Armenians and *tanuters* will define “all government laws” and, according to the law, issue official decrees on the appointment of ministers, judges, and other government officials (Chapter 18). The House of the Armenians selects all officials from the representatives and, though

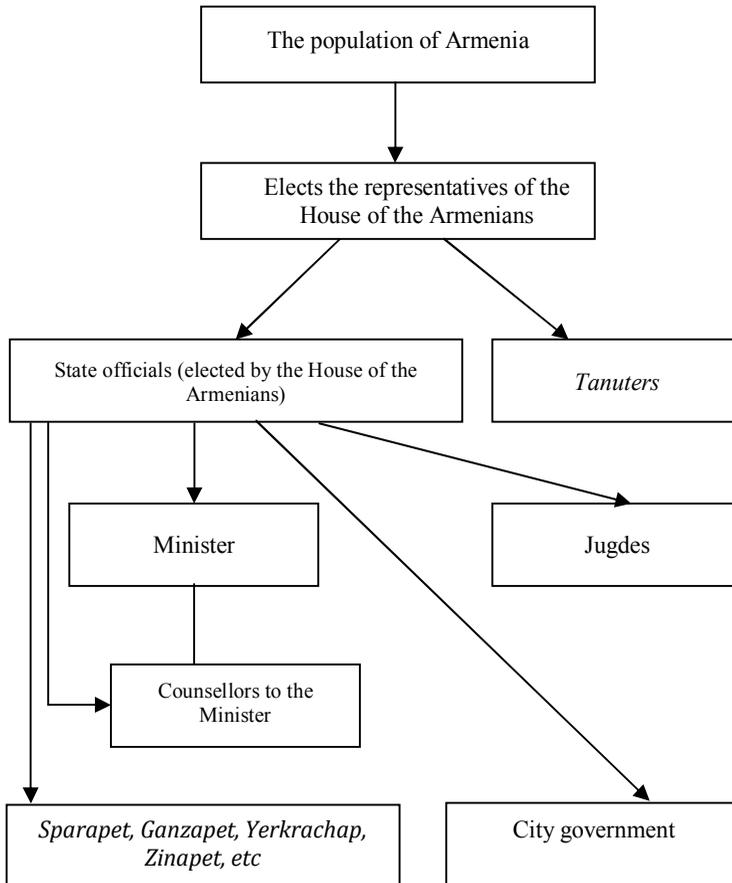
²⁹⁴ Twelve thousand households in Chapter 14

²⁹⁵ The Snare of Glory, p. 35.

²⁹⁶ Ibidem, p. 35.

²⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 35–36.

a decree, appoints them to government positions for a three-year period. Thus, according to “the Snare of Glory,” the government pyramid is formed as per Picture 8.



Picture 8. Public Administration, according to “the Snare of Glory”.

Thus, in a period when European countries were predominantly governed by monarchies, when France was declared a republic for the first time in 1792 followed by a period of absolute monarchy (absolutism), when England was a parliamentary monarchy, and

when the United States was yet to adopt a constitution in 1787 and declare itself a federal republic, “the Snare of Glory” was proposing a parliamentary republic with legislative, executive, and judicial branches of power. Although the delegation of authority between the branches of government was not clear, the formation of government based on the principles of democracy and the nature of state governance were a significant progress compared to the paradigm of state governance of the time.

Scholarly work on public administration and the survival of the state have emphasized mastering “the Armenian language and the script,” law-abidingness, military skills, and the condemnation of working and serving for foreign nations.²⁹⁸ The Armenian book of laws (*kargadrutyun*) consists of 521 chapters (articles), whereby the above mentioned concepts were incorporated as the main theses of law. In addition, the principles and functions of state economic policy were approved and enacted as law. Particularly, Chapter 3 requires that “any human nature,” regardless of gender and nationality, should be remunerated “in accordance with each job, as per the law of Armenia.” The military is paid based on each military rank and position (chapter 278).²⁹⁹ That is, remuneration for work should be realized based on the significance, quantity, and quality of the job. This concept has been emphasized by F. Taylor, a classic of the study management, albeit much later, in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. The book of laws (*kargadrutyun*) contains theses that refer to property rights (land, house), the obligation of paying duties and taxes to the state (Chapters 7–10 and 412–1457), as well as the principles of the delegation of authority based on the main law (Chapters 12–192). The following thesis (Chapter 97) is especially noteworthy from the prospective of fighting corruption, which is actual even for today: “Each official should be immediately deprived of his

²⁹⁸ Ibidem, p. 68.

²⁹⁹ Ibidem, p. 75, 100.

position and never assume office for the rest of his life, if his corruptness is proven by witnesses.”

The book of laws (*kargadrutyun*) defines the rules of trade (Chapters 121–123), the order of the circulation of money and interest rates (defined at 6 per cent) (Chapters 124–126). The unit of the Armenian currency was proposed to be the Armenian shilling (*dahekan*) coined from gold, silver, lead, and copper (Chapter 276).

It is much appreciated that Chapter 127 of the Armenian book of laws (*kargadrutyun*) regulates state assistance to science and culture. “The House of the Armenians should support all the professions, especially philosophy, astrology, medicine, music, and oratory.”³⁰⁰

The book of laws (*kargadrutyun*) also regulates the state’s social function. “Every poor, lame or blind, old or childless, should be entitled to care by the House of the Armenians, which should moderately but sufficiently meet their needs.”³⁰¹ Or “In an inclusive Armenia, pharmacies with doctors financed by the House of the Armenians should be available for the healthcare of the weak and poor. The pharmacies should hand out free drugs to all who need them.”³⁰²

Foreign economic relations were regulated by Chapters 152, 153, 154, and 190 of the book of laws (*kargadrutyun*), which introduce caps on the export of weapons, ammunition, gold, and silver, while the import of weapons and tools, according to the authors, should be exempt from duties and taxes.

It is noteworthy that a century and a half before Henri Fayol, the Shahamiryants had formulated the important management principles of integrity, central government, and hierarchy (Chapters 234, 246, 364).

³⁰⁰ Ibidem, p. 134.

³⁰¹ Ibidem, p. 140.

³⁰² Ibidem.

Particularly, according to the authors, “the patriarch, minister, bishop, *tanuter*, priests, and state officials should not issue a decree that does not relate to their position, nor should any decree exceed the authority of the issuing official that was given to him by the church or the House of the Armenians.”³⁰³

Together with the support for science and culture, the book of laws (*kargadrutyun*) promotes innovation (Chapter 502), according to which, for the development of new types or higher quality of products (“the European type”), the House of the Armenians should financially reward the innovators.

In the final section of the work (Chapters 519–520), the authors describe the possible incomes and expenditures of state budget, evaluate the possible difference between incomes and expenditures (the surplus), and outline the ways of spending the surplus. Of course, the essential part is the development of state budget and the collection of incomes, which has been emphasized as an important state function.

In sum, “the Snare of Glory” by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants is a unique and valuable scholarly work, which not only reflects the 18th century concepts of public administration, but also contains ideas that have been discussed by prominent western theorists 100–150 years later and are actual even nowadays.

³⁰³ Ibidem.

Chapter 4.

THE METHODOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE 19TH-20TH CENTURIES

4.1. The “Armenian National Constitution” from the Viewpoint of the Theory of Public Administration

The Constitution, as a principal document regulating the interrelations between the state and society, is a useful tool in ensuring legality in public life. The fact that our ancestors used that word more than 1500 years ago is quite impressive: “The Constitutional Canon of the Aghvan King Vachagan.”³⁰⁴ As revealed in earlier analysis, “The Snare of Glory,” a constitutional draft by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants, is still valuable and exemplary in terms of the essence of its principles and the comprehensiveness of its articles. Meanwhile, the philosophy summarized in the preamble glorifies legality as the only way of human cohabitation.

With a closer look at the constitutional culture of Armenia, it is easy to conclude that in certain periods of history, in periods when Armenia had a sovereign state or lacked proper statehood (as it was the case in the adoption of the “Armenian National Constitution” in 1860 discussed in “The Snare of Glory”), the Armenian culture has been rich with books of canons and codes aimed at regulating religious and secular lives. The Armenian Apostolic Church has regularly discussed issues related not only to the regulation of religion and rituals but also the legal regulation of state and national matters, as well as the relationship between different (religious and secular) layers of the society.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ *Kanonagirk Hayots*, Book A, Yerevan, ASSR AS pub, 1964, Introduction by V. Hakobyan, p. 91–100.

³⁰⁵ *The Snare of Glory*, Yerevan, 2002, p.14.

In short, the great Armenian lawyer Grigor Zohrap had all the cultural and moral justification to insist that **the constitution is the code of conduct inherent in the Armenian nation**. “We, a nation acting based on constructional principles...”³⁰⁶ Based on the half a century analysis of the “Armenian National Constitution,” Atom (R. Lumerikyan), one of the renowned scholars of the Armenian Constitution, concludes in 1914: “Based on both the historical theories of the origin and development of the law and its general contours, we proved and accepted that our national administrative organization, based on its transformation, is the self-management of the internal culture; while this self-management is constitutional.”³⁰⁷

It is understandable that the Constitution, as the principal law of the state, implies the existence of the state, which Armenia was deprived of at the time. As the main law of the country, the Constitution, first of all, defines and describes the legal-political and social-economic principles of the country, the territorial organization of the state, and the state regime. This type of description was, of course, absent in the document discussed. Let’s, however, distinguish the legal document from its content and its spirit, that is, its constitutionality. From this point of view, we should accept that, even with an unsuitable name and incomplete practice, this document certifies the dominance of the Armenian culture and mentality, especially the legal-management thought, over the prevailing national elements.

Let’s discuss the historical, social-economic, and legal-political preconditions of the adoption of the “Armenian National Constitution.” In 1860, Turkey did not yet have its own constitution; its first constitution was adopted in 1876, revoked in

³⁰⁶ **G. Zohrap**, A Collection of Compositions in four volumes, 2004, p. 186 (in Armenian).

³⁰⁷ **Atom**, The National Constitution: Contours of the history of our culture. Constantinople, 1814, p. 70 (in Armenian).

1878, and restored again in 1908. The Sultanate Turkey was in a deep political, social, and moral crisis in the mid-19th century. The dire economic situation was reflected in the fact that the country's external debt had reached to more than 6 billion Franks in 1876. More than half of the budget expenditures were directed towards servicing the huge external debt.³⁰⁸ The military-feudalistic nature of the state, huge administrative apparatus and widespread corruption, economic backwardness, low competitiveness of local production, huge tax burden on rural dwellers, ethnic conflicts, personal and material insecurity of the citizens, heavy defeats incurred in the Russo-Turkish wars, and financial dependence upon European states was the background against which the elite of the Armenian community succeeded in the establishment of the Constitution and tried to deploy its favorable potential.

The name of Sultan Hamid II was closely related to the dreadful political situation in the country. Coming to power as a result of the revolution carried out by the organization of the "New Ottomans" (which was promoting a constitutional monarchy), Hamid, although compelled to announce the first Turkish Constitution on 23 December 1876, as *de facto* the first constitutional monarch of the country, later downplayed the role of the Constitution. He dismissed the Parliament in February and made the Constitution a fictitious document, establishing villain dictatorship ("*zulum*") in the country, one of the worst systems of government ever.³⁰⁹

Both economically and politically, the Armenians were on a seemingly higher position vis-à-vis the other nations (Kurds, Arabs, Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Jews, Adyghes) of the Ottoman Empire. The reasons were the same as when Rome conquered Greece. The conquerors found themselves in cultural dependence

³⁰⁸ **Ю.А. Петросян**, Османская империя: могущество и гибель. Исторические очерки. М.: Наука, 1990, p. 199

³⁰⁹ For details, see: **М. Hasratyan, S. Oreshkova, Yu. Petrosyan**, Contours of the Turkish History, Yerevan, 1986, p. 176–2003 (in Armenian).

from the conquered albeit more developed nation. The Seljuk Turks, too, coming from the depths of Mongolia, reaching the Armenian Plateau, conquering the creative Armenian people, took advantage of the Armenians' (and also Greeks') knowledge and intelligence and craftsmanship skills in all possible ways. To justify this claim, we refer to an undisputed authority, the great Armenian linguist Hrachya Acharyan. In his 1943 report in a scientific session of the Yerevan State University entitled "The Role of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire," Hrachya Acharyan reckons the following. Owing to their talent, education, and fluency in the Turkish language, the Armenians held high-rank government positions, and had a significant input in science, culture, trade, craftsmanship, law, medicine, architecture, and pedagogy. It were Armenians who established the Turkish theatre, publishing business, periodical press, jewelry business, silk production, etc. "Because the Turkish ambitions did not allow passing all the ministries into the hands of the Armenians," writes Hrachya Acharyan, "the Turkish government decided to appoint one Armenian next to each minister officially as an advisors or aid but in practice as a manager."³¹⁰ Thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, coining of money, production of ammunition, postal, administrative, and public affairs, as well as mines and forestry were actually governed by the Armenians.

With all that, the life and wellbeing of the Armenians was not ensured, Armenians remained as unwanted elements ("*gyavur*"), Armenians could not be enlisted to the Army, nor enter a military academy. There were other discriminations and undermining conditions against the Armenians in the Ottoman law.³¹¹

³¹⁰ **H. Acharyan**, *The Role of the Armenian in the Ottoman Empire*, Yerevan, 1999, p. 13 (in Armenian).

³¹¹ The discrimination was especially vivid in tax collection. The "faithless" were traditionally paying more taxes than the Muslims. For example, according to one law, "one out of seven should be taken from the cotton, vegetables,

The strife of the Armenians to establish legality and to ratify it through a legislative document had not only external, but also internal reasons. The privileged stratum of the Armenian community (the “*amiras*” – this honorable name was granted the more influential and wealthy Armenians. By the mid-19th century, the number of *amira* families reached one hundred³¹²) was predominantly on the side of Turkish masters. With economic capabilities and strong linkages with the state elite, they made a huge difference in the national and public life and dictated their will to the Church. The following is what states Hrant Asatur, a prominent intellectual of the time, on the pre-constitutional realities in his 1879 speech made on the anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution: “From the perspective of national authority, the rights of the Armenian people were brutally violated, for at the time the monarchy had succeeded. The nation had a patriarch and *amiras* as masters and princes, as protectors and lawyers for their rights. The *amiras* would come as intruders and take the levers of power, not because they were the kings, but because they were respected and wealthy. They would do as they please, with no responsibility towards anything, and the will of the people was nonexistent. And the patriarch and the leaders were oftentimes the tools in the hands of the *amiras*.”³¹³

And finally, on 24 May 1860, the efforts of leading Armenian intellectuals were rewarded. After long discussions, the “National Constitution” was adopted. This, in fact, is a result of twenty years’ intellectual and administrative work. The Constitution was authored by Nahapet Rusinyan, Nerses Varjapetyan, Grigor Otyan, Hovhannes Tateyan, Grigor and Mkrtich Aghaton brothers,

gardens, and fruits, while one out of five was taken from the unfaithful” (The Ottoman laws in Western Armenia, Yerevan, 1964, p. 48, in Armenian).

³¹² See: ASE, vol 1., Yerevan, 1974, p 320.

³¹³ **H. Asatur**, The Constitution and the Armenian People, Constantinople, 1879, p. 19 (in Armenian).

Karapet Ututchyan, Nikoghayos Palyan, Serobve Vichenyan, and others.

On August 25 of the same year, the Constitution entered into force. The General National Assembly met with elected deputies, the National department and the other executive bodies were (re)organized, the order of activities was established, and orderly sessions started to take place. After three years of procrastination (partly because of certain internal disagreements within the Armenian community), the government of the Ottoman Turkey ratified the document on 17 March 1863 as the “Constitution of the Armenian People.” The constitution consisted of an introduction (“Main Principles”) and five chapters comprising 99 articles (from the initial 150, the Turks left out a number of important articles).³¹⁴ It functioned until 1896 (terminated by Sultan Abdul Hamid II) and during 1890–1915.

How does the constitution look like from today’s perspective? Clearly, the constitution achieved by long-lasting efforts was not going to provide “liberty, brotherhood, equality.” Turkey was far from ensuring public order, especially for the non-Muslim Armenians. Thus, the unrealistic super optimists were unwillingly hurting the rise of the Armenian self-consciousness and the strengthening of self-organization. No matter how much the united “Ottomanism” was discussed, no matter if some of the Armenians really believed in the philanthropy of the “caring” government, one thing was beyond doubt, that is, the government of Turkey had adopted a policy that years later was going to become the main reason for a genocide. As incomers, the Turks, sooner or later, were going to try to get rid of the natives of the conquered land, and the “flirt” with the Armenians was merely an illusion for the eyes of the European community.

³¹⁴ See: “The Armenian National Constitution,” Constantinople, 1914 (in Armenian).

The opening speech by Khrimyan Hayrik during the opening session of the National Assembly with newly elected deputies on 21 August 1870 was especially noteworthy in this context. Congratulating the new deputies, he poses realistic questions:

“I urge only one thing to the deputies, keep away from exaggerations, weigh and judge as much as you can, and do not go beyond your main business. The Armenian people, impoverished on the meadows of Mush, is looking at us with an expectation of urgent salvation. If we wisely deploy our counseling here, the nation and the country will be satisfied with us.”³¹⁵

At the same time, it cannot be rejected that, owing to the Constitution, the Armenian community was acquiring new opportunities to broaden its own rights and freedom through legal means. Thus, there was a dual problem: first, to soberly assess this lever of public administration and, second, put it in the most favorable use.

We hereby emphasize the most important. A qualitative innovation was brought about from the perspective of public administration; the status of the Armenians underwent a principal change. Within the structure of a foreign country, the Armenians began to function not merely as a religious community, but as a collective national unit functioning under legislative principles. This is how the mutual rights and responsibilities of the nation are defined in the “Main Principles” section of the Constitution. Hence, the following illustrative definition by Hrant Asatur: “The dormant blood in the veins of the Armenians started to boil at last. The religious bigotry almost vanished, and some type of national bigotry followed it.”³¹⁶

³¹⁵ “General Assembly of the Deputies,” Session 1, Constantinople, 1870, p 3. Khrimyan Hayrik has deep thoughts on the regulation of the state-people relationship, use of power, management of family life, and ensuring the harmony between the responsibility-right relationship. See section 4.3.

³¹⁶ H. Asatur, *The Constitution and the Armenian People*, p 19.

The Constitution specified the system of Armenian self-governance, as well as its structure, the interrelationship between central and local institutions, and the order of elections of the government bodies and the mechanisms of their responsibility towards the people. The legislative (General National Assembly) and executive (National Central Department) bodies were formed (partially restructured and renamed). National religious and Political Assemblies were authorized to govern the nation's religious and secular matters respectively. There were specialized councils, including economic, judicial, educational, related to churches, and also a "trustee of suppliers" for finance (yelevmtits), wills, and hospitals.

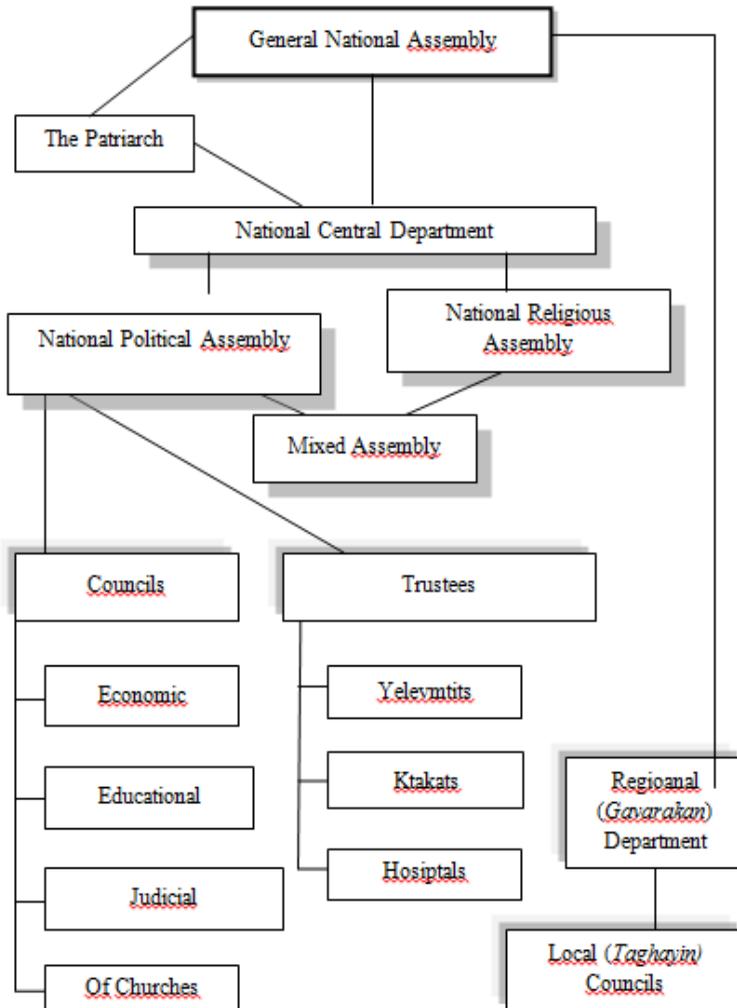
Local self-governance was implemented by regional (*gavarakan*) departments and local (*taghayin*) councils. The rights and responsibilities, composition, elections, subordination, oversight of the budget's incomes and expenditures, elections of secular and religious deputies, and other matters were specified by the Constitution.³¹⁷

A more important aspect of the situation was that the whole system was functioning in a democratic manner, which was in odds with Turkey's monarchic regime. Although the Patriarch of Constantinople had retained certain privileges, compared to the earlier situation, it was almost entirely of a representative nature,³¹⁸

³¹⁷ For details, see: **A. Sarukhan**, *The Armenian Issue and the Constitution in Turkey*, Vol. A, Tiflis, 1912; **G. Grigoryan**, *The Armenian National Constitution*, Yerevan, 2004 (in Armenian).

³¹⁸ "The position of the Patriarch in this system is atavism, an element inherited from the past, that was preserved solely on the request of the Ottoman Empire, which wanted to, by changing something, change nothing" (**G. Grigoryan**, *The Armenian National Constitution*, p. 138–139). Moreover, the institute of "the Patriarchate" is unfamiliar and artificial to the Armenian Church. Based on the traditions of the Orthodox Church of the Byzantine Empire, the Patriarchate was founded by Sultan Muhamed II Fatih in 1461, in order to detach Turkish-Armenians from the Office of the Catholicos in Ejmiatsin. See: ASE, v. 9, Yerevan, 1983, p. 177.

thus, **the Armenians had actually chosen the parliamentary system of government**; all self-governance bodies were elected and were functioning within the boundaries of law.



Picture 9. Public Self-Governance, as per the National Constitution

In order to appreciate this fact to its fullest, we quote the protocol of the 28 August 1870 session. On the table was the second amendment of the constitution. Presenting the report of the appellate commission, Nahapet Rusinyan, one of the main authors of the 1860 version of the constitution (it was his idea to call it a “constitution”), stresses that the group had decided based on the spirit of constitution, which “establishes equality in every nation, and calls for legality from all national leaders.”³¹⁹ He goes on to specify: “What is legality, if not the equally considered and freely expressed opinion of the people, that is, of the majority.”³²⁰

This part may sound a little strange. In fact, this is what concludes Hakob Poghosyan, one of the expert researchers of the Armenian psychology: “During the whole period of the Armenian statehood, we, the Armenians, have not had any democratic situation, instead only feudalistic and monarchic situations. However, the one closely observing the life of the Armenians will notice that the Armenian state thought, gradually rejecting the exclusive monarchic thought of the Arshakunis, brings about a democratic mentality, where the will of the people has a higher or lower rank in the choices of the kings, the system of governance or the legislature. This democratic spirit expanded and blossomed especially under the Ottoman rule.”³²¹ This description, indeed, needs a comprehensive analysis of Armenian psychologists, ethnographers, culturologists, and political scientists. “The Snare of Glory,” a constitutional draft by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryants written 90 years before the “National Constitution,” was also justifying the parliamentary republican type of government in contrast to the predominantly monarchic system of government of the time (1773). Another noteworthy document of the same year by Movses Baghramyan, a close ally of the Shahamiryants and a

³¹⁹ “General Assembly of the Deputies,” Session 2, Constantinople, 1870, p. 17.

³²⁰ Ibidem.

³²¹ **Y. Poghosyan**, Introduction to the Armenian Psychology, Cairo, 1958, p. 522–523 (in Armenian).

prominent figure in Madras, was inclining towards constitutional monarchy. However, the legal platform was common for both cases: “Authority should fall under one person’s judgment or government. It would have been best if authority was dependent on elected counselors and different assemblies supported by a steady constitution and incorruptible laws.”³²²

We emphasize the principal conception of the functions of the National Assembly, the self-governance body of Armenia, that once again demonstrates the advantages of the Armenian mentality. This is illustrated by a speech by Grigor Otyan during the National Assembly session of 7 November 1863: “The heads of the government should heal the extremes, calm down the furies and serve the truth, not be afraid of commitment and respect what is right and reject only what is prejudice and passion.”³²³

The declaration of laws alone does not ensure legality. If the state does not perform the duty of the guarantor of the legality in public life, it corrupts the society and pushes its citizens to illegal actions. This is what Grigor Zohrap points to in the Constitution of Turkey. “To argue that the Constitution of Turkey will ensure equality between Muslims and Christians may sound a little bold at this point, for the Turkish regime is in total collapse.”³²⁴

Concerning the National Constitution and the exploitation of the, albeit limited, legal opportunities, Matevos Mamuryan dreadfully concludes: “The Armenian people had the courage to adopt a constitution, but could not master the bravery to defend it.”³²⁵

³²² “*Nor tetrak, vor kochvum e hordorak,*” Yerevan, 1991, p. 132 (in Armenian).

³²³ **Gr. Otyan**, *Constitutional Speeches*, Constantinople, 1910, p. 2 (in Armenian).

³²⁴ **Grigor Zohrap**, *The Armenian issue under the light of documents // A Collection of Compositions in four volumes, Vol. III*, 2002, p. 528.

³²⁵ **M. Mamuryan**, *Armenian Letters // M. Mamuryan Compositions*, Yerevan, 1966, p. 528 (in Armenian). For more details on the views of Mamuryan, see section 4.5.

The answer to the question “why?” is still important. It does, however, require a comprehensive discussion. In any case, it is hard to agree with the opinion (declared hastily in 1863) that the Armenian people “was not ready or at least was not prepared to adopt a Constitution.”³²⁶ The author of these lines was the historian, translator, editor, and state figure (had been awarded the title of Pasha while working as translator in the Ottoman Ministry of Navy) Hovsep Vardanyan (1815–1879), who justified his opinion by the following: “Because it became known that the Armenian general public had no constitutional mood, and that this situation was only temporary and the desire of the minority. This, naturally, implies that the idea was not going to be accepted.”³²⁷ This way, however, we seemingly justify the mistakes in the implementation of the document, for, regardless of the organizational and explanatory activities of the implementers, the constitution “was not going to find general acceptance.”

Of course, the constitution was not approved by a referendum; it was, nevertheless, approved by the General National Assembly, the representative body. However, the concept “constitution mood” was not the attitude of the Armenian community towards the document (although a more concerned attitude than what was expressed by Armenian organizations, especially in the regions (*gavars*), would have been more desirable); it was rather an urge towards establishing legality inherent to the Armenian people (which was substantiated in the beginning of this article).

It is totally another issue how the public leaders, *intelligenza*, and political and cultural elite managed to use that urge or, in philosophical terms, to promote the Armenians, the constitutional nation “within itself,” to reveal its true self and become a constitutional nation “for itself.”

³²⁶ **Y. Vardanyan**, *Constitutional truths and their obligations*, Constantinople, 1863, p. 42.

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 55–56.

The “constitutional mood” was not only present but the constitutional spirit of the Armenians should have become contagious for other nations, including the Turks. The heads of the state felt this threat to their absolute rule sooner than the advanced Turkish *intelligenza* that was yet to fight for establishing constitutional monarchy in the country. As per Hrachya Acharyan, Ali Pasha, the Mayor of Constantinople, that had ratified the “National Constitution” in 1863 on behalf of government, was deeply concerned by the possibility of the penetration of its spirit into the Turkish society.³²⁸ This is what, in fact, happened. Although the “father” of the first Turkish Constitution is regarded Mihdrat Pasha (was appointed as the head of the committee by Sultan Abdul Hamid II), the actual work was done by Grigor Otyan. In other words, it was evident right from the beginning that the Turks were going to sterilize the “National Constitution.”

There were other reasons for the underutilization of the constitutional potential. The Armenian community was to be

³²⁸ “In 1863, when the Armenians with orchestra in 20 ships decorated with banners were expressing their gratitude towards Yeparkos Ali Pasha in front of his Bebeki Palace for the ratification the constitution, Yparkos turned to a friend of his and said ‘I am not afraid of boastful Greeks, I am afraid of Armenians, who act quietly and are in close contact with the Turks. I am afraid they will one day united with Turks and carry out a revolution in the country.’ This is how Yeparkos Faud Pasha was thinking, who had stressed in his last will to pay special attention to the Armenians. While the great Yeparkos Midhat Pasha, who was an ideologist and understood that it will be impossible to national liberation movement, was thinking in 1876, when the Ottoman Empire was invented, that if liberty reigns the country, the Armenians will benefit the most but they will pull the Turks behind them and, a numerous and reigning element, will manage to have a leading role” (**Hr, Acharyan**, *The Role of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 16-17.). Mihdat Pasha, who was appointed as Prime Minister by Sultan Hamid II, was indeed an “ideological person,” but was by no means a bearer of advanced and liberal views. As the head of the “New Ottomans,” he aimed at assimilating national minorities through a constitution by transforming them all into Ottomans under the dominance of the Turkish nation.

unified to be able to act as a more or less autonomous element of public administration in a foreign cultural environment. The unfortunate absence of that feature, however, was reckoned by scholars ranging from Khorenatsi (“Lament”) to modern day historians.³²⁹ And this time, too, as formulated by Hakob Poghosyan, the “infamous Armenian non-unification” played its harmful role.³³⁰

We should note that “infamous” does not necessarily mean unavoidable. The very adoption of the Constitution was playing a unifying role in the beginning, for it was pursuing a national goal, which was above any political affiliation. The situation before and after the Constitution was different. The following is the contrast projected by M. Mamuryan in 1900. In that period, the conflicts between political parties were threatening the organizational unity of the community. Moreover, “the people, used to taking a passive role, was merely an indifferent spectator of the party-political activities of its leaders; and sometimes, blindly inclining to one or another direction, would become a tool in the hands of the politicians. In such circumstances, the introduction of the draft constitution into the public affairs raised hopes for witnessing a new wave of legality and justice. These hopes were to be realized in the future as much as possible.”³³¹ As much as it was possible was, alas, not enough to avoid the conflicts that arose during the deployment of the Constitution.

Of course, the division between the Turkish-Armenians was partially the reflection of the nationwide social-economic reality, and partially a result of deliberate actions. Turkish politics, especially in the 19th century, reflected the Turkish insidious attempt to divide the Armenian community. According to Mamuryan, “the government would implicitly encourage the divided

³²⁹ See: **M. Khorenatsi**, *The History of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1990, p. 235–239 (in Armenian).

³³⁰ **Y. Poghosyan**, *Introduction to the Armenian Psychology*, p. 513.

³³¹ “Eastern Press,” 15, 1 August, 1990, p. 580-581 (in Armenian).

situation, being well aware that the unity among its subjects was a dangerous phenomenon.”³³² Nevertheless, during the practice of the Constitution, as stated earlier, unwanted conflicts, dissatisfaction, and mutual accusations emerged.

Less than a year after the inception of the National Assembly, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, disobeying the constitutional rule, according to which he should have been elected by the national deputies and not only from the Church, calls a session of priests only, thus overtly challenging the National Assembly, triggering disobedience, which became a reason for the government to suspend the Constitution.³³³

This bad example is unfortunately not the only one. Leaving Catholic Armenians out of the domain of the Constitution was a big mistake, which was one of the aims of the Ottoman rulers, for the Armenians were divided into the “Armenian nation” and the “Catholic nation.”³³⁴

Although the Constitution was in favor of the decentralization principle and regional (gavarakan) departments were enjoying independence in relation to local institutions, the composition of deputies in Councils, and the collection of local taxes, the regions

³³² **M. Mamuryan**, *English Letters*, 1966, p. 244 (in Armenian).

³³³ **A. Sarukhan**, *The Armenian Issue and the National Constitution in Turkey*, p. 23–24. “The Jerusalem Monastery has ways one or another way been an apple of discord between the national authorities in Constantinople, its different branches, and the Armenian society” (*ibid.*, p. 31).

³³⁴ According to the Turkish historian Ahmed Lufti, the legal reforms of 1834–1835 were explicitly aimed at the official ratification of the religion-based division of the Armenian people. Here is one example of Turkish insidiousness: “In accordance with the sympathy and mercy of Sultanate higher authorities towards the Rayas [non-muslim subjects], it was decided that the return of Armenians from the Catholics, and of Catholics from the Armenians should not be allowed. There should be a special law on this regard aimed at ensuring law and order in the Ottoman Empire.” (“*Turkish Sources*,” vol. D, Yerevan, 1972, p. 43, in Armenian).

of Armenia were poorly represented in the legislative body, the National Assembly.³³⁵

In the retrospect, the National Constitution did, indeed, play a positive role in the lives of the Turkish-Armenians. Owing to the persistent struggle of the Armenian elite, one of the subject-nations managed to bring up certain legal demands before the government, erect legal boundaries against state iniquities, and, to put it in the modern language, transform into a **collective subject of public administration**. This is how it was perceived in the legal consciousness and summarized in theoretical interpretations. “The National Constitution was as mush national, as it was an Ottoman state law,”³³⁶ “The Constitution, as it is, was adopted by the county and the nation... They both have to follow the script of the Constitution.”³³⁷ From the perspective of legal practice, it would be a big exaggeration to conclude that, by adopting the National Constitution, the Armenian community in Turkey was acquiring a statehood-resembling property, like, for example, Wales or Scotland within the United Kingdom. Later developments were explained by a number of factors, and it would have been wrong to either overestimate or underestimate the impact of the Constitution on the real life.

The Constitution is perhaps more valuable in relation to theoretical conceptions. The issues derived from the adoption of the document and its application in public life fostered the Armenian *intelligenza* to further their knowledge in the legal ways of

³³⁵ According to the Constitution, 100 National Assembly members were elected from the capital, and only 40 from the rest of the country. Meanwhile, according to 1860 data, there were more than two million Armenians living in Turkey, of which only 70 thousand in Constantinople. “Before Khrimyan became the Patriarch,” reckons Arakel Marukhyan, “little attention was paid to the regions by the Central National Department” (A. Sarukhan, *The Armenian Issue and the National Constitution in Turkey*, p. 33).

³³⁶ A. Sarukhan, *The Armenian Issue and the National Constitution in Turkey*, p. II.

³³⁷ Gr. Otyan, *Constitutional Speeches*, 1910, p. 11, 16 (in Armenian).

cohabitation. Only a few quotations from the Armenian theoretical thought of the time will make us appreciate the modern solutions applied, their interrelation with today's management thought, and, thus, their importance in the conception of current issues in state building and public administration, particularly the application of global experience within our own national-cultural paradigm.

Grigor Zohrap spelled out the answer to the question "what is constitution?" in a 1908 speech devoted to the reassessment of the Ottoman Constitution. In European languages, the meaning of the word "constitution" describes the type of state governance, its formation, national institutions, administrative structure, and people's participation in the formation of state governance bodies. In this regard, the Armenian word for constitution diverges from the general meaning. But if we emphasize not the legal formulation but the use of the document, then "*Sahmanadrutyun*" (the Armenian word for "Constitution") will have an advantage of the meaning. "It is not direct from the scientific point of view, but its advantage is in its easy comprehensiveness that tells the people its main mission...." As a public institution, the state is to reconcile opposite political forces. However, as a public and absolute power, the state gets stronger and transforms itself, and, thus, loses the function of reconciliation. Facing no opposition, the authority starts to degenerate and become an engrossing power. This phenomenon, that is, ignoring the boundaries, Zohrap calls the "law of abuse," to which, according to him, "the states most willingly succumb every time and everywhere." Thus, it is necessary to limit the ambitions of the state and state officials. This is done by erecting legal boundaries, which is the one side of the Constitution's public role, a "negative function." The other side is "positive and constructive," whereby the Constitution directs the state towards creative actions,

so that the state “serves the improvement of the situation and brings about harmony.”³³⁸

The following statement on the differences of the types of state governance and the need to adopt a Constitution by H. Vardanyan is quite impressive. “Constitutional monarchy has all the features of monarchy, but its government has all the requirements of democracy. Here the king reigns but does not govern. Here, instead, the people govern but do not reign.... But so that the king reigns but does not govern, and the people govern but do not reign, there is a need to define and confirm the rights and responsibilities of both sides, which is done through the Constitution.”³³⁹

The booklet “What is Constitution?” by Khan-Azat Ruben (Nshan Karapetyan, 1862-1928), a historian, translator, and one of the founders of the Hnchakyan Party, provides a thorough analysis of the above-discussed issue. Discussing the Constitutional movements in Russia and Persia and the ever-increasing tensions between the people and government over this issue, the author takes the possible solutions of the problem, within the definition “the Constitution is the principal law of the country,” to the field of sociology. “.... But what do principal laws mean? What is their definition? Who dictates them? Why are they different in various countries?”³⁴⁰ The answer is as follows. “.... The Constitution of a country is nothing other than the reflection of the interrelations between real forces within the country. The reason why the Constitution is called the principal law is because it is based and built upon forces that exist in real life.”³⁴¹ Hence derives an important conclusion on the importance of the correspondence between the real and legal (written) constitutions. “.... The legal constitution of one country cannot be extrapolated into another

³³⁸ **Grigor Zohrap**, *The Review of the Ottoman Constitution // A Collection of Compositions in four volumes*, Vol. E, 2004, p. 56–58, in Armenian.

³³⁹ **H. Vardanyan**, *Constitutional truths and their obligations*, p. 7.

³⁴⁰ **R. Khan-Azat**, *What is Constitution?*, Tiflis, 1907, p. 9–10 (in Armenian).

³⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

country, if the real constitution of the latter, that is, the real forces and their interrelations within the country, are completely different and do not correspond to the real constitution of the former country.”³⁴²

The following conclusion by Atom resembles the arguments in modern political science textbooks on the checks and balances between the wings of power and especially the mechanisms of people’s control over the government through budgets. “In the constitutional life and constitutional countries, the best balance of the monarchy and the governing authority is the budget approved by the people’s representatives in the parliament. An important condition of constitutionality is that budget is voted for in the parliament, which means that without the definition of taxes by the people’s representatives, without the approval of taxation, as well as incomes and expenditures, the government had no right to tax and make expenditures.”³⁴³

Grigor Otyan, reminding of the necessity for mutual trust between the public and government institutions, emphasizes an important precondition for efficient public administration. “... The society should know that without trust it is impossible to function. When the board is doing a good but it seems to be bad, when a chance is interpreted as ingenuity, and so the board must act for the nation’s benefit, but misunderstood, everything remains unfulfilled...”³⁴⁴

In 2010, it was not only the 15th anniversary of the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, but also the 150th anniversary of the “National Constitution.” The former (adopted on 5 July 1995 and partially amended on 27 November 2007) is the main law of the Third Republic, a functioning principal document. The latter, understandably, has merely a historical value. Nevertheless, both have a similar spirit, which is a proof that the Armenians are a

³⁴² **R. Khan-Azat**, What is Constitution?, p. 31

³⁴³ **Atom**, The National Constitution, p. 85

³⁴⁴ **Gr. Otyan**, Constitutional Speeches, p. 25

constitutional nation that strives to anchor the cohabitation of its people to a legal basis. This is the internal relationship, through which the National Constitution should be looked at, that is, a specific document enabling the self-organization of the Armenian people and an important monument of the Armenian legal and management thought.

Ghevond Alishan, a prominent Armenian figure, discussing the evaluation of the merits of our ancestors and its perception by the contemporaries, has come up with an important formulation. The merits of our ancestors should be known and appreciated, “their pride and glory is a light on our way, but we ourselves should use our hands and move our feet.”³⁴⁵ Indeed, the “National Constitution” is one of the lights lit by the Armenian theoretical thought, which lights our way. But we are the ones who should create today’s Armenian statehood, based on the critical analysis of the thought and experience of our ancestors.

4.2. Mikayel Nalbandyan on Public Administration

A prominent representative of the Armenian social-political thought is Mikayel Nalbandyan, a poet, writer, literary critic, publicist, and revolutionary-democrat. His rich literary and public heritage has been studied, literarily criticized, and appreciated in a number of literary, historical, philosophical, and economic studies. Particularly, the two-volume work by the academic Ashot Hovhannisyan entitled “Nalbandyan and His Time,” a principal and historical-philological monograph, is devoted to the description of “the historical and social sources of his revolutionary-democratic views,” “linked to the intellectual and social-political ideological battles of his time.”³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ **Gh. Alishan**, *On the Nation’s Lack and Accomplishment //Workers*, Yerevan, 1981, p. 173 (in Armenian).

³⁴⁶ **A. Hovhannisyan**, *Nalbandyan and His Time*, Vol. 1, Yerevan, 1955, p.10 (in Armenian).

Prominent literary critics, such as A. Terteryan, Kh. Sargsyan, S. Daronyan, A. Inchikyan, and K. Danielyan, have highly appreciated Nalbandyan's literary and public heritage, regarding him as a prominent figure in the Armenian literary realism and the founder of aesthetics and critical analysis in the Armenian literary realism.³⁴⁷

Literary studies mention that, while narrating his work, M. Nalbandyan consulted Ogaryov, Gertsen, and Bakunin in London, as well as materials published in "Kolokol" and other London publications.³⁴⁸ According to K. Danielyan, the essence of his study is based on the following concept adapted from the physiocrats: Land development is the real source of the wealth of the nation,³⁴⁹ while the agenda of economic development is social utopia.³⁵⁰

As a broad thinker and a supporter of promoting Armenian national issues, M. Nalbandyan especially emphasized economic problems within the broader issues. This is why he has prioritized economic development in his works and developed advanced concepts in this regard, which later on have become research topics for the economists.

S. Zurabyan has thoroughly discussed and evaluated M. Nalbandyan's economic views and economic program, arguing that he, "together with Russian revolutionary democrats, built a conceptual platform for the spread of Marxism in the Armenian reality."³⁵¹ M. Nalbandyan's economic views have been provided similar evaluation by **Kh. Gulanyan**.³⁵²

³⁴⁷ See: ASE, v. 8, Yerevan, 1982, p. 150–151.

³⁴⁸ **S. Daronyan**, Mikayel Nalbandyan, Yerevan, 1979, p. 382 (in Armenian).

³⁴⁹ **K. Danielyan**, The Armenian Village Post in the 19th century (1860-1890), 1973, p. 23.

³⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 56.

³⁵¹ **S. Zurabyan**, The Contours of the Development of the Armenian Economic Thought, Yerevan, 1959, p. 229 (in Armenian).

³⁵² **Х. Гуламян, Микаел Налбандян**, 1955.

In his “The Socio-Economic Views of Mikayel Nalbandyan,”³⁵³ **V. Aghuzumtsyan** has tried to incorporate Nalbandyan’s philosophical, revolutionary, illuminative, and economic views, and assess them in the history of the Armenian social thought. According to the author, M. Nalbandyan has had certain influence from the physiocrats, and “wrongly puts an equation sign between the land and economic issues, arguing that everything depends on the resolution of the land issue.” Nalbandyan’s approach to the economic issue has served a reason to present him as a representative of utopian socialism.³⁵⁴

Different scholars have attributed to Nalbandyan concepts that he has not authored. For example, according to some authors, Nalbandyan “has defended the labor theory of value and considered labor and the means of production as the main elements of material production,”³⁵⁵ or that “the main branch of the economy is exploitation-free land development,” while, as it will be pointed out later, he has also emphasized processing industry and trade. Perhaps, under the pressure of social-political circumstances, Nalbandyan was attempted to be presented as more a revolutionary and a proponent of the theory of Karl Marx, while the first volume of “Das Kapital,” the main scholarly work of scientific communism, was first published in 1867 (the Russian edition in 1872).

These observations have, indeed, been made from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist ideology dominant on the former Soviet Union, where the only option for social progress was considered the establishment of communal order through class struggle and revolution. These ideas, however, do not derive from the logic of Nalbandyan’s scholarly work.

³⁵³ **V. Aghuzumtsyan**, *The Socio-Economic Views of Mikayel Nalbandyan*, Yerevan, 1955, p. 134.

³⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 135.

³⁵⁵ ASE, v. 8, p. 151.

Nalbandyan's philosophical views, this time without ideological limitations, were considered in the monograph by S. Sargsyan.³⁵⁶ "Nalbandyan was a realist," writes the author, "and, as a national ideologist and supporter of national advancement, was convinced that for the self-establishment and development of the nation, the platform of the nation, that is, the social, economic, and legal conditions for the existence of ordinary people comprising the majority of the nation, and the liberty of the nation, should be ensured."³⁵⁷

This interpretation and evaluation of Nalbandyan's study is in line with the problems and proposed solutions discussed in his work. In the conclusion of his above-mentioned book, A. Hovhannisyan writes, "The dust of time has covered his literary heritage and the number of undisclosed memories of his time. But wipe the trace of time from his deceased life and smudged heritage, and you will see underneath it lively and energetic, sparkling and passionate pages, which have been written as if yesterday in order to become supportive directives for today's struggles. This is why we often witness the steady strength of his mind in our times."³⁵⁸ Studying Nalbandyan's social-economic heritage, we become convinced about A. Havhannisyan's thoughts.

Below follows an interpretation of Nalbandyan's views on public administration, which, as we will see in the coming text, are really "supportive directives" for the strengthening and development of the current Armenian statehood.

Liberty and Civil Society

It is known that public administration, as a phenomenon, concept, and a complete system of government, has been formed in

³⁵⁶ **S. Sargsyan**, *The human in the 19th century Armenian philosophical and social thought*, Yerevan, 2001 (in Armenian).

³⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 260.

³⁵⁸ **A. Hovhannisyan**, *Nalbandyan and His Time*, Vol. 2, Yerevan, 1956, p. 605.

parallel with and as a result of democratization and the formation of civil society. A feature of civil society is the opportunity of individuals to think, act, and live freely. Published in 1859, the poem of Nalbandyan, entitled “Liberty,” emphasizes the importance of the liberty of an individual citizen, which is an important precondition for the democratization of the public life and the establishment of the principles of public administration. It is worth mentioning that Nalbandyan’s concept of liberty has one more perception – the liberty of the motherland.

“Death is unique everywhere,
A person dies only once,
But blessed is the person,
That dies for the liberty of his nation.”³⁵⁹

Nalbandyan’s concept of liberty is further developed in his prominent work entitled “Land development as a right way.” Analyzing the essence of tyranny, Nalbandyan writes: “Tyranny, if its representative is one individual, be it Nero, Caligula or his pupil, or a political crook, is not scary at all, for it will go down to grave together with the individual.”³⁶⁰

But “tyranny is indescribably violent, naughty, and persistent, if it stems from the principles adopted by ordinary people. An everlasting tyrant government in a nation is nothing other than the reflection of that nation.”³⁶¹ According to the author, many times the nation, feeling the burden of tyranny and without analyzing its roots, comes out against the tyranny, gets rid of the reflection of tyranny, without acknowledging that “the element of tyranny and corruption is within itself.”

According to Nalbandyan’s logic, the liberty granted from above is nothing, “if, first, the person is not free within himself and,

³⁵⁹ **M. Nalbandyan**, *Compositions*, Yerevan, 1985, p. 34.

³⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 472.

³⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

second, he exercises tyranny towards his fellow person.” The author relates real freedom to the economic system and the nature of property rights. “And because the economic problem – the old Gordian Knot – is not resolved, the society is not free in its friendly and family relations. Let them change the government system forty times, if they please; because part of the society owns the land, and the other part remains poor, tyranny comes to reign there.”³⁶²

Thus, Nalbandyan’s perception of liberty is multi-layered and broad. First, it implies individual liberty, which is equivalent to today’s human rights and liberties that are guaranteed by the constitutions of democratic countries and are important components of the civil society. The next reflection of liberty is the liberty of the motherland, the existence of the independent state, which is an important precondition for the establishment and development of the national state, its economy, and culture.

The next reflection of liberty is economic. “Liberty by itself is merely a word and cannot be materialized without solving the economic problem. No free government, no free legislature can save a person from slavery until that person acquires rights over land. And until then, poverty will exacerbate and reach enormous levels.”³⁶³

Another interpretation of Nalbandyan’s liberty is that only the citizens that have internal liberty can form free and democratic government free of tyranny. This issue is especially important for the post-Soviet countries, including Armenia, who pursue the development of a democratic state. Democratic institutions and the civil society can develop, if people, as individuals, are free in their mentality and social behavior, being exempt of “the element of tyranny and iniquity.”

³⁶² Ibidem, p. 474.

³⁶³ Ibidem, p. 479.

Matters of Economic Policy

Nalbandyan emphasized economic policy as one of the principal functions of public administration. According to him, generally and specifically, the economic issue has been crucial for the Armenian people. “The economic issue is a matter of life and death, we like to reiterate. It is impossible to repair the base of the Armenian nation and to insert strength and power into it, until the nation, the ordinary people, struggles for daily bread, until its economic issue is not resolved.”³⁶⁴ He goes on to propose a solution. “What are the sources of ordinary people’s means of living, to avoid saying wealth, that is eternal and not just daily?” asks Nalbandyan, and goes on to answer, “For the ordinary people directly and the rest of the people indirectly, but nevertheless necessary as water for the fish, the only source of living and wealth is **land development**.”³⁶⁵

Thus, he accepts the viewpoints expressed during his time, according to which, for the salvation of the Armenian nation it is required to spread illumination or develop trade. Nalbandyan argued that “the majority of the nation should be occupied with land development,” while “the minority, which is not land development,... should be able to process, build, act, and trade what is being taken out of land by the majority.” It is noteworthy that Nalbandyan emphasizes the need for agro-processing. “It is not only the raw produces that can attract the activities of Armenian traders, the processing of these produces is a broad spectrum of activity for those diligent and hard-working people who are good at trading.”³⁶⁶ Nalbandyan talks about creating agricultural product processing factories, which can produce food and light manufacturing products. According to the author, “the people of that nation are wealthy and secure, for it is based on nature.”

³⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 493.

³⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 462 (emphasis in the original).

³⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 500.

Nalbandyan wrote these lines in the beginning of the second half of the 19th century (“Land development as a right way” was published in 1862), when in Europe, particularly in England (starting from the sixth decade of the 17th century), France (after 1789–1797), and Germany (after 1848–1849), industrial revolution had gathered pace, manual work was being replaced by mechanization, light manufacturing and production of technology were developing at a rapid pace. The Armenian people, however, were living under Russia and Turkey, which were lagging behind the European civilization. This is why the direction outlined by Nalbandyan was justified for its time. In today’s wording, he emphasized the development of real production and provided evidence that trade alone, especially in goods not produced in our country, cannot foster the development of national economy.

Trade with European countries, according to M. Nalbandyan, can be called national trade for the sole reason that “there were Armenians.” “Their trade is not national and has nothing to do with the common national interest. Trade can be national only when goods produced predominantly by Armenians are traded. The nation will benefit from trade, when traders become intermediaries between Armenia and Europe. Trade is national when it is anchored to the basis of the nation.”³⁶⁷ This concept expressed in the middle of the 19th century had broad strategic importance. Today, the concept is deployed to develop real production and services sectors, and ensure a positive balance of trade and payments based on increased economic competitiveness. In today’s era of globalization, countries import and export products; the main thing is that the latter exceed the former, “the nation will only benefit from it.”

Nalbandyan discusses price inflation in the context of justifying the need to foster land development. “The value of money is conditional. Its strength or weakness, its appreciation or

³⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 419–492.

depreciation depends on the quantity of goods and materials money was intended to trade for.”³⁶⁸ According to the author, “.... if land development prospers, and the goods to be exchanged with money become abundant,the value of money too will increase proportionally to the increase in goods.”³⁶⁹

It is obvious that the solution of the problems of price change and money circulation was rightly seen by Nalbandyan, in the words of macroeconomics, in the domain of changes in supply and demand for goods, while conditioning the change in the value of the national currency to real economic development. Regarding the issue of food processing, Nalbandyan notes: “Lots of machinery, which function in Europe on fire and steam, within the Asian simplicity can function on water currents furiously coming down the mountains, which does not require the money spent on coal and wood in Europe.”³⁷⁰ It is obvious that the author has predicted 150 years ago the need for the development of hydro energy and its advantage over the alternative sources of energy.

Nationality and Government

There are important observations on the concepts of “nationality,” “government,” and their interrelationship, as well as on the rights of nations, in Nalbandyan’s “Land development as a right way.” According to Nalbandyan, “Nationality, as a historical reality and concrete phenomenon, cannot be rejected in the general human life.” To the question “what is nationality?” Nalbandyan answers: “Nationality is the individuum of the nation, its face. Millions of people lose their personal individuality for the sake of that individuum. They do not appear as persons, but rather as members of one or another collective individuum. And that individuum lives morally and independently; it has its life, its tongue, its customs,

³⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 483.

³⁶⁹ Ibidem.

³⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 500.

and its traditions....”³⁷¹ He then goes on. “Sacred is every its property and damned are those who would dare to challenge any of its sacred properties.” Criticizing the fact that “one nation oppresses and robs another, and forces limits to the latter’s land by its weapon,” he emphasizes that “there is no need to transform nationality into blind fanaticism. We have had enough of the selfish sides of blind and fanatic nationality, we have had enough of one country slaughtering the bull of another for the sake of its one portion of barbeque....”³⁷²

“Harmful and useless is the nation that sacrifices everyone other for its life,” goes on Nalbandyan, “.... Such a nation, no matter how violent, no matter how furious, will some day be exhausted by time.”³⁷³ This prediction has been partially fulfilled. A number of Empires existing in his times (the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Russian) have collapsed, although the government systems have changed too, becoming more delicate and perfect; for example, physical dominance changed to economic, etc.

By the way, Nalbandyan has come very close to the nations’ right for self-determination. “Nationality is useful and necessary when it is not a moral luxury but a necessity, a right, a claim for a piece of land on the Earth so that the members of that nations can provide for their living, so that they are not slaves or hostages to others. A nation is immune to accusations and accepted by others, if it can promise other nations similar and unconditional right as enjoyed by itself.”³⁷⁴ It is especially noteworthy that Nalbandyan considers the self-determination of nations fulfilled, if it is realized “through acquiring rights on the name of the collective individuum, which then passes on the same rights and privileges equally to its members.”³⁷⁵ Thus, Nalbandyan stresses the close interconnection

³⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 503–504 (emphasis in the original).

³⁷² Ibidem, p. 502.

³⁷³ Ibidem, p. 512.

³⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 513.

³⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 513.

between the right of nations' self-determination, on the one hand, and democracy and the protection of human rights on the other, which has been confirmed by centuries-long experience of human civilization. A lot of nations have self-determined and new countries have been formed in the 20th century, although, based on old traditions, the realization of nations' right for self-determination is forbidden predominantly in tyrannical governments but not only. Can a country be considered fully democratic, if there is a nation within itself striving for self-determination? Of course, not. Nalbandyan elaborates "If there is a balance and rights within the country, the same balance and rights should be in the nations enslaved within that country....You talk with other countries on the name of rights, but in relation to myself [*the nation within the country (Yu. Suvaryan)*], why are you ignoring them and acting illegally?"³⁷⁶

Nalbandyan was convinced that government and nation are two different things. The government "is the officials or rulers of a country," who owns "the country's land, treasures, etc.," "governments reign different countries and different nations."³⁷⁷ Examining the expansionary politics of the English, Austro-Hungarian, Prussian, Russian, and Turkish Empires, Nalbandyan refutes the colonization-justifying thesis, as if "it is the love towards humanity that makes them enslave nations, because those nations lag behind and do not civilize."³⁷⁸

The aim of Nalbandyan's work, according to the author, "is only to make the nation think about its future," that is why, in his own words, there is a need for "preaching the economic issue, preaching the human, preaching the nation..."³⁷⁹ as the main pillars for the establishment and development of statehood.

³⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 512.

³⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 509.

³⁷⁸ Ibidem.

³⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 522 (emphasis in the original).

4.3. The Essence and Issues of Government, as per Khrimyan Hayrik

Mkrtich A. Vanetsi (1820–1907), the Catholicos of all Armenians (elected in May 1892), is one of the prominent Armenians in history, who has not only been an admirable religious shepherd and devoted and caring leader for his distressed people (whose mutual love has given him his well-deserved name “Hayrik” (meaning “father” in Armenian), but has also performed teaching and diplomatic missions defending the interests of Armenia, carried out public speeches, publishing activities, and left rich literary heritage.

From the viewpoint of brief encyclopedic interpretations, it has been rightly observed that Krimyan Hayrik’s books “reflect the sorrows, worries, and sufferings of the people.”³⁸⁰ A new look at Hayrik’s works, however, makes us appreciate the depth of his thoughts, as well as concepts and formulations that go far beyond the circles of mere literary conceptions. Below we will discuss some of Khrimyan Hayrik’s conceptions on human cohabitation and regulation of public life. We will try to show that these are both valuable ideas for the Armenian theoretical thought and quite applicable to modern challenges.

If we are first to briefly describe Khrimyan Hayrik’s main moral works (that serves as a material for analysis for us), we should say the following. “The Family of Paradise” summarizes the principles of Armenian family matters; the book “Grandfather and Grandson” includes the advice and contemplations of an imaginary wise grandfather; the book “Sirak and Samvel” describes the thoughts of an (again imaginary) father, which is more theoretical compared to the previous book. Based on impressive literary techniques, Hayrik has provided a number of scholarly-scientific

³⁸⁰ ASE, v. 7, Yerevan, 1981, p. 642.

ideas. The “Grandfather and Grandson” is mostly of a moral nature, “The Family of Paradise” is a moral-psychological manual on family matters, while “Sirak and Samvel” is a comprehensive political and sociological observation of the realities of public life.

The regulation of the “authority–people” relationship

It is easy to conclude that by “authority” Khrimyan Hayrik normally understands the state or state authority. Thus, “authority and people” can be translated into the modern scholarly language as the “state–society” relationship, where the former, as the subject of government, and the latter, as the object of government, carry out mutually complementary functions.

“**The world cannot be governed without authority;**”³⁸¹ this is Khrimyan Hayrik’s pivotal formulation. “Unlike birds in the sky and the free horses of the mountains, the brotherhood of men cannot live peacefully in this world without authority, without law, and without judiciary and compensation. Because the world, even one nation or one family cannot be governed without paternal authority.”³⁸²

The justification of the existence of authority (state) is not only in the above-mentioned comparison; it rather has a logical validation, which is of three types.

First, the source of authority is **the will of God**. He appointed a person “as a ruling prince on the Earth,” and made all animals, even the ones stronger than a human, subordinate to him.³⁸³

Second, the origin of authority **starts from the family**. “The history of the world shows that the fist cradle of authority is family,” that is, the father rules by natural right, then the family grows, families expand, and patriarchal authority emerges, small

³⁸¹ **Khrimyan Hayrik**, *Sirak and Samvel* // Compositions, Yerevan, 1992, p. 332 (in Armenian).

³⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 331.

³⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 329.

households expand to bigger settlements, and thus bigger authority emerges, which reigns over many cities and regions up to the “ultimate position of world reign.”³⁸⁴

Third, according to Khrimyan Hayrik, the need for state authority is based on **the natural inequality of humans**. The competition, the disorder, and the “strong seeking possession”, which derive from the natural inequality, need to be suppressed through that very authority.³⁸⁵

If we compare these three principles with the origins of the state, we will notice that the first, that is, the God-given authority, is nothing other than the theological explanation of the origin of the state provided by Thomas Aquinas. Within the boundaries of the Armenian theoretical thought, this concept was established by Mkhitar Gosh and Grigor Tatevatsi. The second, that is, the formation of authority in and from the family, is nothing other than the patriarchal concept of the origin of the state similar to the reasoning provided by Aristotle.³⁸⁶ And the third can be viewed as a version of the concept of “social contract” represented in Thomas Hobbes’s famous theses “a man is a wolf to his fellow man” (“*homo homini lupus est*”) and “the war of all versus all” (“*bellum omnium contra omnes*”).³⁸⁷

Can the human society be governed or at least exist without authority? Khrimyan Hayrik is aware of the stance of the “extreme liberals,” according to which, it would have been better “if the brotherhood of men lived without authority, and authority were not a burden on its neck, a human were independent and did not pay duties and taxes, did not serve in the army, and did not fulfill a number of other legal and illegal coercive requirements.”³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ Ibidem, p. 329–330.

³⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 330–333.

³⁸⁶ Aristotle, Politics.

³⁸⁷ Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan.

³⁸⁸ Khrimyan Hayrik, Sirak and Samvel, p. 330–331.

Opposing this anarchic view, Hayrik strengthens his Hobbesian viewpoint on the ill nature of humans. If the authority (the state) ceases to exist, civilization in general will cease to exist. It would be the same if a hungry lion were released from its cage. The French history has provided a number of examples. “If there was anarchy, the educated and knowledgeable people would become crooks and would ruin everything, although it would become the pride of its country.”³⁸⁹ Thus, a person should not be let out of “the closed cage of authority and law,” moreover, if it is possible to calm the lion down, according to the author, “there is no glut to the fury of a human.”³⁹⁰

In the author’s summary we can observe the comparison of the three concepts discussed. “Thus, authority and law are the eternal orders of the higher agency so that people can live with fear and reason in a friendly environment.”³⁹¹

The discussion of the essence and origins of authority follows the description of “duty,” that is, **the duty-functions of the state.**

The state’s “first duty” is to understand its own nature, that is, the dual condition of its existence and function. On the one hand, the authority is granted as a “gift for the strength of the theological state,” thus governments are responsible to God. On the other hand, governments are responsible to the people, if the authority is “constitutionally elected.”³⁹²

It is the government’s “big and sacramental duty” to ensure legitimacy and justice.

The government should care about the wellbeing and advancement of its people, and understand the simple truth that it is the basis of government’s existence. “The government is approved

³⁸⁹ Ibidem, p. 333.

³⁹⁰ Ibidem, p. 332.

³⁹¹ Ibidem, p. 333.

³⁹² Ibidem.

on people's pedestal, and when people are devastated, the government cannot stand still either."³⁹³

The state should define and demand duties from the people, based on "size and justice." And if they are too harsh, then the negative effects will fall not only on people, but also on the government, for "the people is considered a functioning member of the government; when members exhaust, the head exhausts together with them."³⁹⁴

The equal and just application of laws Khrimyan Hayrik calls the "greatest duty" of the state authority. It should be ensured that "the law of the country is applied with unbiased precision equally on the weak and the strong, on the prince and the people." It is remarkable that it is considered especially important to suppress the unlawful conduct of the authorities ("do not allow the mighty to go against the law") and prevent the illegal activities by those who are to ensure law and order themselves ("do not allow... and those who are appointed to protect the law to infringe the law and get away with it."). In such cases the authority should act as a "revenger of law," and unmercifully punish the criminals, and be "stricter with holders of high positions."³⁹⁵ And, thus, the formulation of a surprisingly simple law, that is, **if the authorities do not end the iniquities, the iniquities will end the authorities.**

The state's moral-educational function too is in the center of Khrimyan Hayrik's attention. The authority should be a "defender of good," tame delusions and foreign attempts to contaminate people's morality and traditions. Of course, the church and preaching have their own place, but they need to add onto the powers of the authority and, thus, "be capable to punish the unlawful by urban laws."³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Ibidem.

³⁹⁴ Ibidem, p. 334.

³⁹⁵ Ibidem.

³⁹⁶ Ibidem.

In the “authority - people” interrelations, Khrimyan Hayrik emphasizes the economic function of the state. In general, in his reflections on the regulation of public life, the wellbeing of individuals, and the advancement of the nation, he especially stresses the importance of “economizing,” that is the efficient management of the economy. Here is one of his formulations, where literary expressionism intertwines with the scientific precision. “It is the authority’s duty to economize the country with great wisdom; not to allow its rivers of wealth pour into the foreigners’ seas, for eventually the country’s waters will drain and make it a thirsty desert. In order to keep the country’s rivers of wealth in the country, they should be surrounded with law and the means that teach political economy.”³⁹⁷

And even the next function, that is, “to love peace, and reign with peace,” is discussed by Khirmyan Hayrik calling for not ignoring the “providence” and for remembering that “it is good and beneficial for the country to establish peace through small or big sacrifice, rather than to ruin the country with wars.”³⁹⁸

Finally, the state has an educational function. “The first and the last big duty of the state is to spread illumination, science, and education throughout the country.”³⁹⁹ Wrong are the authorities, if they think that ignorant people are easier to govern. This way the authorities ruin themselves. “In the same grave, where people are buried, the authorities will be buried, if they strive to bury the people in the grave of misery and close the heavy lid of tyranny on them.”⁴⁰⁰

Listing the “duties” of authorities is followed by the discussion of **the responsibilities and rights of the people**. Khrimyan Hayrik has provided a splendid definition of the interrelation and internal links between the two sides. “What was the duty of the authorities,

³⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 335.

³⁹⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹⁹ **Khrimyan Hayrik**, Sirak and Samvel, p. 336.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibidem.

it is the right of the people; what is the right for the authorities, it is the duty of the people.”⁴⁰¹

The first responsibility of the people is to honor and obey the authority. This responsibility is dictated first of all by the belief. “Christ and the teachers of the Christian religion,” humbly reminds the author, who was the Chatholicos of all Armenians, “have required to recognize the authority, and honor, obey, and fear it. And to give the emperor an emperor’s and so on.”⁴⁰²

According to Khrimyan Hayrik’s interpretation, blind and unconditional obedience to any authority is not required. He, in fact, mentions, to put it in modern terminology, the source of the legitimacy of state authority. Legitimate, according to the tradition coming from Max Weber, is the authority that is accepted by the subjects who are ready to obey voluntarily. It should not be surprising that here we come across with the theological concept of the origin of the state presented by Khrimyan’s impressive style. “The first duty of the people to recognize and believe that the wand of authority stretches from the heavens to the Earth. Its upper end is attached to the one who governs the universe, while the other end is on the Earth.”⁴⁰³

It is the duty of the people to “also recognize the general laws of the country, as well as the city laws, judicial laws, the laws of duties and taxes, the property laws, and so on.”⁴⁰⁴

And why it is important? Why do people need to be aware of the legislation? Khrimyan has provided answers to these questions.

The first stems from clear reason, that is, in order to defend their own rights and prevent unlawful activities of the officials. “In order that the officials do not dare to oppress people by law

⁴⁰¹ Ibidem, p. 337.

⁴⁰² Ibidem, p. 338.

⁴⁰³ Ibidem, p. 337.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibidem, p. 338.

because of the latters' ignorance and stupidity, which is often seen in a number of places."⁴⁰⁵

The other answer relates to the "state–society" relationship. How should the latter be regulated, if the authority tries to regulate everything, and if the authorities act on self-will, or the citizens do not obey the authorities? Where does, in Khrimyan Hayrik's own formulation, end the duty of the one side and start the right of the other? The best way of civilized regulation is mutual obedience to law, for "the duties and right of both sides are defined by the law, and it is the law that judges and weighs the duties and rights of the people and authorities."⁴⁰⁶ This is a brilliant result of theoretical thought, worth to be classified in the same line with the principal concepts of social contract and the principals of the regulation of the relationship between the legal state and civil society.

The following judgment is not less contemporary. The one side of the "authority–people" relationship couple can have claims on one another, if they perform their duties faultlessly. Here is Khrimyan Hayrik's formulation that can be regarded as an ideal exemplar of public administration. "When the king sitting on the chair of the state acts justly, the prince reigns based on rights, the judge judges based on law, the people will obey."⁴⁰⁷ And it seems quite natural that the mutual correspondence between the governor and its subject Khrimyan Hayrik represents through the behavior of priests and religious people. "They will do justice and rise, when the priest and the people fulfill the duties of the church. A priest should love the authorities, the people, and should never reject science. The shepherd and the flock should know each other; one should be devoted and guard and supervise alertly, the other should obediently listen to his voice."⁴⁰⁸

Another concept derives from Khriyan's above-mentioned

⁴⁰⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 395.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibidem.

principal concept. If one of the sides does not fulfill its obligations, the rights of the other side are breached. Thus, the authority can demand and expect from its citizens to be law-abiding, if it is behaving in a similar manner. And vice versa, the people can also demand the fulfillment of government's responsibilities, if they perform their own duties according to the law.

In the light of the "authority-people" dialectical nexus, Khrimyan Hayrik discusses common "**breaches**" of law on both sides.

In fact, as already mentioned, not fulfilling responsibilities is already a breach of law. "The authority of the country will breach the law, if it does not fulfill its duties and does the opposite, that is, ignores lawful justice and rule solely with coercion and sword."⁴⁰⁹

People too breach the law, when, in particular, "the conscience of people becomes numb," "people become rake, do not obediently respect the laws of the country and the nation, and seek unlawful rule."⁴¹⁰

The breaches of law can also be mutual, which, to put in modern terminology, causes systemic damage. "When the loyal government of the nation and the county are mistaken for tyranny," "the master as a servant, and the servant as a master," "when the dishonorable is respected as honorable, and the honorable is vilified, when the ignorant and crooks govern, the ones loyal to the people are rejected."⁴¹¹

Of course, in the system "authority-people" the initiative is from the authority, that is, state officials and heads of organizations. And again, the harm is on both sides. "Since state officials make mistakes, both the country and the people suffer and destruct..., the leaders sin, and the people blindly follow."⁴¹²

The role of the state in the advancement of these officials is

⁴⁰⁹ Ibidem, p. 336.

⁴¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 392.

⁴¹¹ Ibidem, p. 392–393.

⁴¹² Ibidem, p. 394.

especially important. According to Khrimyan Hayrik, the state disrupts the natural flow of events, when it creates conditions for the unworthy and ignorant to govern the worthy and intelligent. Emphasizing this concept, we quote the author's idea as follows. "The authority is flawed in the government, when it fails to be selective and judges the worthy and unworthy by the same weight. It sometimes honors those who have never laid a stone in the foundation of the state, and appoints as governors on the people those who have minds empty of government skills and laws, those who would rather be governed than govern."⁴¹³

What is the solution in case of this and other breaches of law? It should be noted that Ghazar Parpetsi was complaining about Persian masters, who failed to choose the right governors among the Armenians, promote the unworthy, and do not honor the merited (which, according to Parpetsi's logic, became one of the main reasons for the 451 rebellion of the Armenians). Khrimyan Hayrik's conclusions are more abstract. In his works discussed here, there are no direct pleas towards the policies of the Turkish rulers (in contrast to his "Vanguyzh" – complaint of Van's tragedy⁴¹⁴ and "Hayguyzh"⁴¹⁵ – complaint of Armenian's tragedy publications, which included direct accusations towards the authors of the Ottoman government's unleashed violence). The question is the same, however, which has remained the same up to today for the 21st century Armenian society. In any case, the solution suggested by Khrimyan for now remains the only civilized way for a government change. "When a government receives its rights from the people but forgets its duties toward the people, the people can with all possible means win back that unpaid and forgotten right."⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ Ibidem, p. 337.

⁴¹⁴ **Khrimyan Hayrik**, Vanguyzh // Compositions, Yerevan, 1992 (in Armenian).

⁴¹⁵ **Khrimyan Hayrik**, Hayguyzh // Compositions, Yerevan, 1992.

⁴¹⁶ **Khrimyan Hayrik**, Sirak and Samvel, p. 336.

This is the essence of democracy. The government receives a right to govern, the people accept and recognize its authority and obey, which is nothing other than ensuring natural interrelation in the “authority–people” system. In other words, it is a balancing of the rights and responsibilities of the two sides in the light of the above-mentioned discussion. Then come different type of breaches of the law, and the authority is stripped off its legitimacy (or that is how people think it is, but it is not important in this case), the government changes, and new interrelations are being established. They function efficiently and naturally reproduce themselves as long as the conditions are met defined by Krhimyan Hayrik (the Catholicos of all Armenians and an Armenian thinker on government matters), that the rights of the one side are the responsibilities of the other and that, if the one side wants to have rights, it should carry out its responsibilities well.

The Principles Regulating the Armenian Family Life

The Armenian family is well-reflected in literature by authors, such as Shirvanzade, Raffi, Sundukyan, Muratsan, Aghayan, Paronyan, and Totovents. Moreover, the epic poem “David of Sasun,” Armenian proverbs, fairy tales, and fables also include different realities of family matters. Whereas scholarly knowledge on family matters is mostly limited to studies of ethnographic nature. Thus, Khrimyan Hayrik’s “The Family of Paradise” can be regarded as the first comprehensive observation of the “family” phenomenon. It is not surprising, by the way, that the author himself wondered why our historians have bypassed family life and described only wars, heroisms, disasters, and so on.⁴¹⁷

For Khrimyan Hayrik, the family is the center of public life, which is reflected in his attitude towards the phenomenon. “The

⁴¹⁷ **Khrimyan Hayrik**, *The Family of Paradise* // Compositions, Yerevan, 1992, p. 198–199.

Family of Paradise” is not just a collection of precepts stemming from life experience. The author has a societal approach, and the family, as the subject of research, is discussed in the interconnection with all relations and aspects of public life. Transforming a Biblical wisdom, Khrimyan Hayrik formulates his following belief: “The nation expands with family justice and shrinks with family sin.”⁴¹⁸

With the above formulation he concludes his quite voluminous work, the main concepts of which are briefly summarized below.

A person, nation, and people cannot do with subsistence only; they also live by ethics, spiritual life, advancement, knowledge, and strife for happiness, while the root and the source of that all is the family. “If people are to advance, their first steps are made in the family; if they are to be illuminated, the light is the family lamp; if they are to connect, their spirits and connections are the family...., if they want to raise their children as diligent citizens, their first university of upbringing is the family,” etc, etc.⁴¹⁹

The definition of such a system-creating function of the family is naturally followed by the next thought, that is, evil and a number of public distortions are ultimately stemming from family life. This is what Khrimyan Hayrik concludes: “If people are going to sin, the origin of the sin is the family; if morality has no life, the family is dead; if people are headed towards destruction, the road to the destruction is led by the family, if European magic modernism will rob him unsparing then people must be alert and understand that the big hand of predatory is from his family” etc.⁴²⁰

It is understandable, thus, that the national and state focus on family matters should be very significant. The family customs and values and the norms regulating the man–woman and senior–junior relationships form and condition the roles of people in different aspects and circumstances of public life. These relations, as

⁴¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 306.

⁴¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 207.

⁴²⁰ Ibidem, p. 208.

mentioned by Khrimyan, either lead to favorable results or unfavorable consequences.

How is the Armenian family regulated? What are the principles of regulating family life and what problems are there? These old but actual questions were first suggested, as mentioned earlier, by Khrimyan Hayrik. A number of solutions advanced by Khrimyan are quite applicable for the management of the 21st-century Armenian family.

“The home and the family are the country and the boundaries of one small kingdom, on the patriarchal chair of which sit the parents, the father as a king, the mother as a queen, and govern the family.”⁴²¹ Like in any other type of governance, there are laws and levers of power here as well. Which levers are more preferable and efficient? Khrimyan Hayrik’s formula is the following: “In the family palace and kingdom, there are no police, no swords, no violence, and no wand; there rather is paternal love and maternal care. The precept and education are the live example of the parents.”⁴²²

In developing the best example of the management of the Armenian family, the author goes back to the patriarchal family of the past and the examples of the Bible, but he, nevertheless, always considers the factor of time. Moreover, he takes into consideration both the positive and negative sides of innovation.

How was the patriarchal family managed? What was the basis for preserving the family unity? Khrimyan Hayrik mentions the following factors:

- ❖ “paternal respect to the manager patriarch of the family”,
- ❖ “a prosperous household to the great housewife”,
- ❖ “filial respect and honor to the parents”,
- ❖ “humble obedience to daughters-in-law”,
- ❖ “religious fear and belief towards God”.

⁴²¹ Ibidem, p. 206.

⁴²² Ibidem.

Khrimyan Hayrik describes the influence of these complex factors as a “natural law,” which has functioned spontaneously coming to no obstacles in the traditional environment. Although, according to the author, “the residual features of the patriarchal family can still be observed in Armenia,”⁴²³ judgments should be based on the reality. Moreover, as per Khrimyan Hayrik, there are traditions and customs in family management that have, in fact, become obsolete and do not correspond to the spirit of time (for example, he considers only harmful the requirement for the new bride to remain silent for 7 years,).

The **axis of family union** and, thus, the management of family, is the relationship between the husband and the wife. The union emerges based on their choice, and the quality of management, first of all, depends on them. The title of “The Family Paradise” has the following meaning. “Paradise” is the love between the spouses, which is the basis of an ideal and perfect family. This is the author’s belief. “.... The main law of marriage is natural love that is indivisible from the human nature.”⁴²⁴

The next solid basis of the family is the inner match and the harmony between the spouses. Khrimyan Hayrik considers his mandatory condition as a “universal law,” arguing that “the all-encompassing universe is governed **by the degree of comparison**.”⁴²⁵

Referring to the spouses’ mutual responsibilities, Khrimyan Hayrik provides a new interpretation to the Biblical saying, “the husband is the head of the wife,” which is usually interpreted as the right of the one side to govern, and the duty of the other side to obey. The novelty introduced by Khrimyan is the specification of the “rights-responsibilities” dialectics. Yes, the man is given a preference, but is it merely a right? Of course, the head is higher than the body. “I wish all men realized the responsibilities that

⁴²³ Ibidem, p. 211.

⁴²⁴ Ibidem, p. 200.

⁴²⁵ Ibidem, p. 222.

come with the privilege, realized the invaluable worth of marital love and did not trade it with materialistic money and goods.”⁴²⁶

Talking of the role of the woman, Khrimyan Hayrik reminds that in the patriarchal Armenian family, the woman has always been free, thus the demand for the equality between sexes should not be perceived as one of the European values (as it is done by today’s supporters of “gender”). “The European jurisprudence did not invent a new concept, it just repaired it.”⁴²⁷ This is why the Biblical demand for the obedience of women is far from the “master–slave” or “commander–soldier” type of relationship. This has never been the case. “A woman is neither a subject nor a soldier, neither a slave nor a servant. A woman is her husband’s free friend and equal partner by the law.”⁴²⁸ Reiterating the issue, Khrimyan Hayrik provides an elegant aphorism. “Yes, it is the duty of the woman to obey without becoming a slave.”⁴²⁹

The husband cannot and should not coerce the will of his wife, if he understands (“possess by realizing” is Khrimyan’s elegant formulation) the core essence of marriage, especially that “the bond of marriage is one, not two.”⁴³⁰ In other words, tyranny toward the wife means tyranny toward one’s own “self.” A reasonable husband does not enforce his physical power, does not undermine his wife, and does not stress his manly advantages. Moreover, the alliance of sexes, according to Khrimyan Hayrik, should be ensured by the husband. “If he considers himself a genius, wise, thoughtful, politician, and leader, it is his duty, by assuming the leadership of the family, to consult his wife and together manage the family life.”⁴³¹

⁴²⁶ Ibidem, p. 226.

⁴²⁷ Ibidem, p. 220.

⁴²⁸ Ibidem, p. 245.

⁴²⁹ Ibidem, p. 248.

⁴³⁰ Ibidem, p. 246.

⁴³¹ Ibidem, p. 247.

Khrimyan is consistent in his demands towards men. Because men have a dominant position in a number of spheres of public life and have thus limited women to family life, do the former have the right to complain that wives have little interest in their husbands' extra-familial endeavors? And who is to blame for such a situation? The author's answer is not ambiguous. "I think that the reason for women's carelessness are mostly men, who either arrogantly ignore women and make them used to being careless, or proudly think counseling with women and telling them the failures of the day and exposing their situation is humiliating."⁴³²

The solution of the problem stems from Khrimyan's principle that the one side's responsibility is the other sides right. "Thus a man has breached his duties, if, by concealing the condition of his life and business, he does not allow his spouse to take equal care of the family life together with him. A woman has breached her duties, if she does not share the concerns of her husband."⁴³³

The next topic that refers to the obligations within the family is "the respect within the family," which, too, Khrimyan Hayrik resolves based on the principle of mutuality. First, if the elderly want the younger to have decent behavior, they should first of all show it by their example. Second, by demanding respect from the younger, the elder should treat them with respect, too. "Respect is not the obligation of the younger only; the elderly, too, should show cautious respect towards the young."⁴³⁴

Self-Made Advancement

The most important advantage of a human over other representatives of the fauna is the ability to unite and live a friendly life. This is the inception point of Khrimyan Hayrik in his

⁴³² Ibidem.

⁴³³ Ibidem, p. 253.

⁴³⁴ Ibidem, p. 292-293.

interpretation of the management of public life. God has not only created the human and appointed him the “ruler” over other animals, but has also defined the order of such advantage, “A man is an order for a fellow man, for a man’s life is friendly. A man by himself is nothing and is not any different from wild animals.”⁴³⁵ This is also the key for the progress of the human type. Supporting one another and competing with one another, people advance science, develop the economy, improve everyday life, strive to earn one another’s respect, and acquire glory and fame. This concept was formulated especially impressively. “Titles, glory, fame, and esteem are the weight of human deeds in this world.”⁴³⁶

Thus, a human is a social creature. This is the feature of his essence. And how are the interrelations between humans? How are they built? And what is the most desirable form of human coexistence? These old questions too have received different answers during centuries.

Khrimyan Hayrik’s viewpoint stems from the already formulated “**law of inequality**,” through which he contradicts egalitarian utopist scholars. At the same time, he acknowledges the nature of the latter’s argumentation. Seeing the picture of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, the miseries of the working people, and the unhappy life, the proponents of this school of thought define human inequality as great evil and try to justify total equality.

Meanwhile, for Khrimyan it is the other way round. The fact of inequality is the “driving force” for progress. And again, this is a God-given order. “The providential wisdom wanted to keep the human friendship alive and steady through the bond of inequality.”⁴³⁷

What would happen if people were equal? In such case, people would not need one another, there would be no social bonds and no

⁴³⁵ Ibidem, p. 313.

⁴³⁶ Ibidem, p. 314.

⁴³⁷ Ibidem, p. 324.

social life, and people would remain on the level of animal life. Animals are unchanged from the moment of their creation, “where they were in the beginning, they are and will remain there.”⁴³⁸ Meanwhile, people are in a constant struggle. “The king tries to put his throne above their chairs or his peers, and rule once more. The prince strives to get ahead of his fellow princes, the army commander strives to win more victories than his fellow army-men, the rich seek to get richer than their peers, and the poor strive to overcome their poverty.”⁴³⁹ The result of all this is advancement and the thrift of science, culture, and spiritual life.

Is this a Godly phenomenon after all? Aren't we thus justifying theft, robbery, oppression, fraud, and other phenomena constantly accompanying competition? Can we regard the author among the super-optimistic proponents of “providential harmony”? Such kind of conclusion would have been wrong, and Khrimyan himself prevents it. First, God has granted humans the opportunity of choice and free will. Second, there, of course, are bad phenomena that simply are derived from competition. The jealous, greedy, and “arrogant spirit of dominance” and lots of miseries “spoil the friendly life.”⁴⁴⁰ These are known to the author, but these are “side effects” of social inequality, according to the author, are not inevitable, they can be prevented and neutralized by the establishment of legality in public life. Here comes Khrimyan Hayrik's suggested differentiation between “true” and “false” civilizations. “The free laws of civilization enable every human to freely enjoy the fruits of his work, provided he is just in his activities. It is sufficient and people will be happy, if the law and authorities of the country make sure that the earning of the working people is ensured and that they can freely enjoy their earnings, and not get a portion from the earnings of the wealthy. How grateful

⁴³⁸ Ibidem, p. 325

⁴³⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 325–326.

will be the people, if the rich too were satisfied with their fair earning and did not fight and oppress ordinary people.”⁴⁴¹

As we see, there is recurrence to the “authority-people” relationship. The duty of the one side is the responsibility of the other, and the one side can demand it from the other only by fulfilling its duties. Working people fulfill their duty of working, while anticipating a proper response on the part of the authorities, that is, ensuring conditions for enjoying their fair earning.

The concept of “self-made advancement” has a broad embrace. Neither the individual, nor the nation can advance or live with dignity, if they rely on external help. Khrimyan Hayrik reiterates this demand-commandment for a number of times. “People should get wiser and recognize that the only thing that can improve its life is its self-made hand... One nation and one people, if its life and faith are trusted to someone else, it is quite natural and known that, as a dream in the depth of sleep, it will sparkle but in the morning there will be nothing to be found.”⁴⁴²

Without “non-desperate self-determined working,” the individual, nation, and people are idle, and trust their hopes solely onto faith and coincidence. How can an idle situation be fruitful, wonders Khrimyan Hayrik. “It is very surprising that, without undertaking any activities, people expect action and success from time, as if time is the supplier of the world or a paid worker in our farm.”⁴⁴³

We not only have to work hard, but also **manage the economy efficiently**. This is Khrimyan Hayrik’s demand that bridges the two conditions of human cohabitation, the “might of people’s endeavors” and the “might of the friendly union.”⁴⁴⁴ Here is his very actual formula. “Like the core source of wealth is people’s hard work, the controller of the treasury is the lively economy. The

⁴⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 327.

⁴⁴² Ibidem, p. 368.

⁴⁴³ Ibidem, p. 400.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 373.

people on the Earth each are the managers of their own finances, and each of them has debts and receivables, duties and responsibilities. The king is the steward of his country, the prince of his people, the rich of his estate, the poor of his cot, the citizen of his craft and trade, and each family of its everyday livelihood.”⁴⁴⁵

“**Alert management,**” as a mandatory condition of self-made advancement, according to Khrimyan, is alien both to greed and lavishness. Thus, these two “extremes” should be avoided, and a middle way should be found; “there is a need for a measure of great wisdom in the right economy,” “wisdom, proper accounting, and precision is needed,”⁴⁴⁶ as well as “economic innovativeness.”⁴⁴⁷ The author reiterates the importance of the efficient management of the economy on a number of counts for an individual worker, a family, and the people as a whole; “patiently repeat” that requirement for the “economically-minded people of Armenia.”⁴⁴⁸ On the contrary, deviating from the “right economy” and not fulfilling the “law of the right economy” inevitably leads to poverty and adversity.

In sum, the need for self-made advancement and the might of the endeavors, in other words, believing in oneself, prospering through proper management of the economy, as the “only condition and way forward,” Khrimyan has preached us as the “most important lesson” of personal and public life.

If we sum up the above mentioned three concepts, we will conclude that these are interrelated as the pivotal elements of Khrimyan Hayrik’s complete concept. Starting from the end, “self-made advancement” can be viewed as a universal and the best way of regulating the interrelations between a person (a nation or other group) and the society. After all, a person (a nation, etc.) is entitled

⁴⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 357.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 361.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 371.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 358.

to demand from his surrounding as much as he fulfills his main duties, which is his working activity, his earning, and personal contribution towards general cohabitation.

According to Khrimyan, the “authority–people” interrelations are regulated by the principle “the one’s responsibility is the other’s right,” and, only by fulfilling its obligations, any side can expect the fulfillment of the obligations from the other side. The main way of achieving this is “self-determined working”. The authorities do not do the job of the people, and vice versa. And the better one of the sides fulfills its responsibilities, the more are justified its anticipations for similar behavior from the other side. Thus, by the proper fulfillment of responsibilities on both sides, “self-made advancement” is ensured both for the state and for the society.

Family life, as seen by Khrimyan Hayrik, is the initial arena (“cradle”) for the regulation of government relations. The regulation of the superiority–inferiority links (husband–wife, senior–junior) within the family also requires harmonic proportionality of responsibilities and rights. While the chief means of assuring it is self-determined working, the husband in his place, the wife in her; the senior doing his part, the junior his. It is the performing of one’s own responsibilities that allows the one side of the relationship to expect and require the fulfillment of responsibilities on the other side.

This is the way the processes of regulations and self-regulation are being best fulfilled in public life, including the “state–society” relationship, the “individual–social environment” link, and the complex world of family bonds. One of the greatest Armenian thinkers has provided his solution to some of the eternal problems of public life, which is valuable for the assessment of both the Armenian culture and theoretical thought, as well as for the successful solution of contemporary practical problems.

4.4. The Regulation of the State–Society Relationships, according to Grigor Zohrap

Grigor Zohrap (1816–1915) is more famous for his prominent novels. However, his civic activities, as a lawyer, translator, public speaker, publisher, and deputy both in the Ottoman Mejlis and the Armenian National Assembly, have been not less prominent. “Being involved in public activities since he was sixteen,”⁴⁴⁹ Zohrap could not ignore the question of rational regulation of public life. He could not eschew national and social injustices in his passionate public speeches, especially with his huge talent of an orator.⁴⁵⁰ His self-description is especially noteworthy. In a campaign speech when running for a deputy in the Ottoman Parliament in 1908, he especially emphasizes the public role of his oratory, stressing the nature of his *modus operandi*: “always liberal, always democratic, always fighting against abuse, always complaining against the oppressions of the tyrant regime.”⁴⁵¹

One of the first publications of the twenty-year-old Zohrap was entitled “The Care for Public Affairs” There are, of course, certain naïve elements in it, particularly related to the law-observing “humane government” of Turkey. Nevertheless, the main argument is quite important, that is, the Armenian community should self-organize. The regulation of public life should be everybody’s concern. To ignore its importance means dividing up and ceasing as a national community. “Not being concerned about public and national matters,” according to Zohrap, “is an inexpiable sin for

⁴⁴⁹ **K. Danielyan**, Grigor Zohrap // Grigor Zohrap, Works, 1989, p. III (in Armenian).

⁴⁵⁰ Grigor Zohrap was one of the greatest Armenian orators. His skills can be instructive for the state and political elite of the modern Armenia. See the appendix “Grigor Zohrap’s Oratory” in **V. Mirzoyan**, Rhetoric, Yerevan, 2012, p. 432–443 (in Armenian).

⁴⁵¹ Quoted in **A. Sharuryan**, “I am a revolutionary intellectual...” // G. Zohrap, Collection of Compositions, volume C, Yerevan, 2002, p. 5 (in Armenian).

everybody.”⁴⁵² Armenians, especially under foreign control, instead of complaining of the situation, should, first of all, shrug off their own carelessness. “If we are equally indifferent to the legal existence or inexistence of our internal organization, we do not deserve a better life and cannot demand any improvements.”⁴⁵³ Meanwhile, according to Zograp, the main body of the Armenian self-governance, the National Assembly, “has become just a nominal body, a shadow, a shade.” The Patriarchate requires reconstruction, the press needs to change its line of action and be worth its status.⁴⁵⁴

For Grigor Zohrap’s later activities the active participation in public life and the individualistic self-isolation were two diametrically opposite stances. He gives an unambiguous formulation of his personal credo. “Those who think they do not have any responsibility towards the public, are pitiful egoists and insignificant and useless people, whoever they are. wherever they are; the fate of those who do not recognize the existence of the world outside of their individual self is that of a stranger before that world.”⁴⁵⁵

One of Grigor Zohrap’s central theses directly relates to the most important principle of the contemporary theory of public administration, that is, ensuring cooperation between state government bodies and civil society institutes. According to the Armenian thinker, the successful regulation of public life is based on two factors. State bodies should be able to govern, but the subjects of government, the ordinary citizens, should be inclined to government. “There is no one side of government. In order to

⁴⁵² **G. Zohrap**, *The Care for Public Affairs // Collection of Compositions*, volume C, Yerevan, 2002, p. 50

⁴⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 51.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 51–52, see also Section 4.1. of this book.

⁴⁵⁵ **G. Zohrap**, *A Year // A Collection of Compositions*, volume C, Yerevan, 2002, p. 182.

succeed, it requires government abilities from the state and obedient moods from the people.”⁴⁵⁶

As we will see, Zohrap’s all argumentations are targeted towards that purpose, that is, the reconciliation of the government activities of state bodies and the efforts of self-organization of public institutions. It is known that this question is crucial for a number of scholarly developments. In modern conception, the “legal state” implies that the state’s authoritative-regulatory domain is limited by the legal system. At the same time, it implies that certain functions of the regulation of public life, that previously were strictly in the domain of the state, are shifted to the social domain, to the institutions of civil self-organization, that is, to political parties, non-governmental organizations, local self-governance bodies, and the press. This type of reallocation of authority between state and public institutions defines the transformation of state governance into public administration. If we look at the issue from the modern viewpoint of the “state–society” relationship, then we should admit that the given conceptual perception is attributable to Grigor Zohrap. This is because for Zohrap the state is not an unlimited authority or merely a government technology; it is rather a body of public service. “In order for the state to be constitutional, the concern of filling the gap in the budget alone is not enough; the state should ensure justice.”⁴⁵⁷ On another occasion Zohrap noted, “it is common that the state should assume an active role, and step by step oversee and realize individual needs.”⁴⁵⁸

We have already discussed (in section 4.1.) the rhetoric of Grigor Zohrap devoted to the review of the Ottoman Constitution. In particular, he stresses the semantic advantages of the Armenian

⁴⁵⁶ **G. Zohrap**, *Diaries // A Collection of Compositions*, volume D, Yerevan, 2004, p. 352.

⁴⁵⁷ **G. Zohrap**, *A Collection of Compositions*, volume F, Yerevan, 2004, p. 27.

⁴⁵⁸ **G. Zohrap**, *The Review of the Ottoman Constitution // Collection of Compositions*, volume E, Yerevan, 2004, p. 59.

word “*Sahmandrutyun*” (“Constitution” in the Armenian language) over the word “Constitution” that is used in other languages. Although, from the viewpoint of legal formulation, the latter gives a more precise definition of the subject matter (the structure of the state, etc.), the former, according to Zohrap, “has the advantage of being more comprehensible, explicitly telling the people what they can expect from it.”⁴⁵⁹

The answer to the question what the people anticipate from the main law of the country was formulated within the Armenian theoretical thought even before Zohrap. One of the first Armenian constitutional drafts, “The Snare of Glory,” has been described based on its name and the ideological development as a document suppressing and limiting the ambitions of and legally entrapping delinquent officials.⁴⁶⁰ This tradition is congenial to Zohrap’s outlook and the principal thesis of limiting state authority using the force of law.

Grigor Zohrap’s arguments on the origin of the state and the public justifications of using the levers of authority are in line with the social contract theory. The state is a body that is formed through the consent of all layers of society, and, as a public institution, the state should, first of all, establish harmony between politically opposing forces, ensure an environment for compromise, which is done through enacting laws and ensuring their steady application. “The application of laws is tantamount to reconciliation and harmonization of lifestyles.”⁴⁶¹

In order to realize its public role, the state should be empowered with absolute and undisputed authority. But the public exercise of this authority does not remain unchanged. Gaining more powers under the influence of objective and subjective factors, the state starts to transform and thus loses its reconciliatory function. The state gets mightier and, facing no opposition, state authority

⁴⁵⁹ **G. Zohrap**, *The Review of the Ottoman Constitution*, p. 59.

⁴⁶⁰ See section 3.2 of this book.

⁴⁶¹ **G. Zohrap**, *A Collection of Compositions*, volume F, Yerevan, 2004, p. 114.

becomes an engrossing power. For a confirmation, Zohrap draws parallels with the organic life. When one organ of a person becomes too strong, it transforms into a disease and reason for death. In a similar manner, medicine is healing, provided the dosage is right. When the dosage is smaller or bigger, it can be harmful. Zohrap calls the phenomenon of distorting the right size “the law of abuse,” “to which the states most willingly succumb every time and everywhere.”⁴⁶² Thus, there emerges a question before the society, that is, how to define and limit state authority, and first of all the ambitions of the officials? In a civilized society it is done through legal means, that is, by constitution. Otherwise, the “law of harmony” is breached and the state becomes an oppressive apparatus in contrast to its initial appeal to provide proper public service. “The power of the state has become an oppressive and coercive tool in the hands of a few, and under the pretense of regulating the relations between individuals only serves to the enslavement of free men.”⁴⁶³ Blocking the abuse of power, according to Zohrap, is the one side of the Constitution’s public role, a “negative function.” The other “positive and constructive” side fosters the state to “serve the improvement of the situation and bring about harmony.”⁴⁶⁴

The comparison of the “state–society” linkage with the relationship between the organism and its different organs should not create false impressions, as if Zohrap favors the organic school of thought. On the contrary, if Social Darwinism claims that the public life is governed by “justice” intrinsic to the animal world, that is, the stronger win and the weaker extinct, according to Zohrap, it is a “ferocious doctrine.” In this case the state is condemned to a passive stance. “The state in such circumstances should turn its face to where its individual is dying of

⁴⁶² **G. Zohrap**, *The Review of the Ottoman Constitution*, p. 57.

⁴⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 57-58.

starvation.”⁴⁶⁵ According to Zohrap, the state cannot sideline itself and agree with a messy situation, because it will contradict the essence of the state and because public life is qualitatively different from the life in the animal world.

Zohrap’s “law of harmony,” thus, requires limiting the authoritative ambitions of the state and regulating the use of state authority. A particular case of this law is taxation policy, on which Zohrap expresses a modern opinion. “The best form of tax is the one people are used to.”⁴⁶⁶ Generally speaking, the reconciliation of public and private interests is a principal matter. “Each country’s economic might is based on the might of the private sector of that country.”⁴⁶⁷

Talking about the dangers of the alteration of the state’s public essence, Zohrap, first of all, mentions the establishment of monarchy. Generally speaking, in relation to the types of state governance, the Armenian thinker unconditionally favors the republican system. He justifies his opinion on the notion that the republican system of governance reveals and unites the talents of the citizens, while monarchy, on the contrary, ignores and undermines the collective abilities of the members of society. “Monarchic governance is unnatural governance, and demanding from it the importance of the rights and abilities of and the support to individuals is unheard of.”⁴⁶⁸

Zohrap’s interpretation of the core essence of management is especially noteworthy. He emphasizes the role of forecasting. “To manage is to anticipate the needs beforehand. When the flame has expanded, it is useless to try to extinguish it.”⁴⁶⁹ A proper planning of the activities is essential, if you strive not only to record the events but also to participate in their development. His thesis is

⁴⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 58.

⁴⁶⁶ **G. Zohrap**, A Collection of Compositions, volume F, Yerevan, 2004, p. 26.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 71.

⁴⁶⁸ **G. Zohrap**, The Care for Public Affairs, p. 51.

⁴⁶⁹ **G. Zohrap**, A Collection of Compositions, volume E, Yerevan, 2004, p. 405.

aphorism-like elegant. “There are two type of governments. One creates the political developments, the other reacts to the developments created by others.”⁴⁷⁰

It should be noted that, the emphasis on the public functions of the state notwithstanding, *etatism*, that is, the overestimation of the state’s role, is alien to Zohrap. On the one hand, he strictly prioritizes that citizens should be directed by the Constitution. It is not surprising that during the discussion of various issues, the type of argumentation favored by Zohram emerges quite often. “Those who are favoring this constitutional principle should bow to the law.”⁴⁷¹ On the other hand, solely by adopting laws and preaching lawful conduct to citizens, harmony cannot be ensured. To ensure harmony or, to put it in today’s language, the legitimacy of the authorities, according to Zohrap, there needs to be at least mutual trust between the two sides. If the state loses the trust of its citizens, and if, given the conduct of its officials, it does not maintain the concept of the social contract and the duties of the provider of harmony, then the state corrupts the society and forces its citizens to unlawful activities. This is what Zohrap point to. “Finding a respected person is almost impossible nowadays, because it has been thirty years now the country is moving down the path of corruption.”⁴⁷² Talking of such an abuse of internal harmony within the state is not only a general thesis, but also a realistic evaluation of the legislative situation. “To claim that the Constitution ensures equality between Muslims and Christians in Turkey may seem a little too bold when the regime is in total bankruptcy.”⁴⁷³ In one of the 1909 session of the Parliament, Zograp points out the failure of Constitutional requirements and the responsibilities assumed by the

⁴⁷⁰ **G. Zohrap**, A Collection of Compositions, volume F, Yerevan, 2004, p. 62.

⁴⁷¹ **G. Zohrap**, A Collection of Compositions, volume E, Yerevan, 2004, book 1, p. 168.

⁴⁷² Ibidem.

⁴⁷³ **Grigor Zohrap**, The Armenian issue under the light of documents, A Collection of Compositions, volume C, 2004, p. 153.

government, the delay of the reforms or simply their falsification. “The situation in the capital city and the regions proved impossible until now to restore according to the Constitutional order, and this unpredictable situation continues to persist, while public security is in a slow and idle process.”⁴⁷⁴ In the same session, he interrogates the Minister of Internal Affairs on why the laws on administrative reforms adopted by the Parliament are not being enforced.⁴⁷⁵

The concept of self-organization and self-support of the citizens is illustrated by Zohrap using the example of the Armenians. As noted earlier, one of his 1882 articles entitled “The Care for Public Affairs” put forward two concepts: to unite as a community and strengthen through “self-support,” taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the Turkish Constitution and state institutions. This is how all types of self-governance, including the National Assembly, Patriarchate, local councils, political parties, trustees, and regional departments, should function. In the 1914 National Assembly, Zohrab urged again to take maximum advantage of legislative opportunities for self-organization. “Do not think that our local laws are insufficient. There are just no people to deploy them.”⁴⁷⁶ He then had to bitterly acknowledge the following. “Experience has shown, however, in the Armenian communities, educational and charity organizations, and the interrelations of our nations with the officials of national government, we mostly have not managed to take advantage of the laws of the country and failed to fight against the abuses employed against us.”⁴⁷⁷

An important component of the “The Care for Public Affairs” is the press. “...Raise the press, which, undeserved to it name and

⁴⁷⁴ **G. Zohrap**, *A Collection of Compositions in four volumes*, Yerevan, 2004, book 1, p. 153.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 181–182.

⁴⁷⁷ **G. Zohrap**, *A Collection of Compositions*, volume F, Yerevan, 2004, p. 267–268.

what it is called for, has succumbed to the worst villainy.”⁴⁷⁸ Zohrap, as a publisher and editor, has provided the best example of high journalistic responsibility and often described himself as “a simple mortal journalist.” He has surveyed the public life and published observations and concerns from the viewpoint of this average but attentive and principal journalist. He has not avoided the “hollow disagreement” that exists between business people, on the one hand, and the people who express their own thoughts and concerns on the pages of mass media presenting them to the public, on the other. For him the neglect through which businesspeople sometimes perceive theoretical publications is unacceptable. Perhaps, somewhat overestimating the public role of journalists, Zohrap urges businesspeople to realize that a “journalist with conscience” contemplates his thought within himself before addressing it to the public “as the best advice.” The conflict between the journalists and businesspeople is very harmful, “because everyone among us claims to be without mistakes and cannot afford to accept the truth that sometimes someone else can see and do things better than he does.”⁴⁷⁹ Subsequently he provides harsh criticism of retrogressive journalists. “The antidote of the pen” is an “eternal mercenary” that “wants to contaminate with his tongue full of bile, poison, and pus everything lofty and honest that still remains within us.”⁴⁸⁰ On another occasion, he reminds of a witty French reply to the question “what is a journalist?” “A person that knows nothing and publishes an article based on a material,” goes on Zohrap, “and how true is sometimes that untruthfulness.”⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁸ **G. Zohrap**, *The Care for Public Affairs*, p. 52.

⁴⁷⁹ **G. Zohrap**, *Thinkers, Doers // A Collection of Compositions*, volume C, Yerevan, 2004, p. 299.

⁴⁸⁰ **G. Zohrap**, *Antidotes // A Collection of Compositions*, volume C, Yerevan, 2004, p. 465.

⁴⁸¹ **G. Zohrap**, *An open of the union // A Collection of Compositions*, volume D, Yerevan, 2004, p. 157.

Thus, “The Care for Public Affairs” is every individual’s important realization of public self-governance, the clarification of one’s own plans, and their conscientious implementation. This refers to state officials and legislators, public speakers and journalists, and any conscientious person in general. The Constitution, that is, the legal guarantor of the “law of harmony,” is thus invigorated in the activities of the members of the society and provides actual harmony in the public life on both sides through an efficient cooperation between the state and society.

4.5. Matevos Mamuryan on the issues of ensuring legality in public life

Matevos Mamuryan (1830-1901), a prominent western Armenian intellectual, public speaker, philologist, historian, pedagogue, writer, translator, and publisher, has dealt with the issues of ensuring legality in public life. He has done it not only from a mere theoretical viewpoint, but also with rich experience in management as a diplomat at the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople and as a principal of the Mesropian College.

Mamuryan’s theoretical, illuminative, and social-political activities are based on his worldview as follows. Legality is the cornerstone of ensuring the natural flow of public life. It is not a coincidence that the periodical “Eastern Press,” which was founded and published by Mamuryan in the course of three decades, started its first issue by the following important but simple and comprehensible formulation on ensuring legality in public life (which was also the motto of the new “national, literary, and political” periodical): “And, indeed, what is the precondition for the country’s serenity and public welfare; for ensuring the livelihood, dignity, earnings, justice, and the lawfulness of judicial institutions? Grant the wrongful a right, the thief a remission, and the murderer a release, and the amicable environment will fail from top

to down. The citizens, from big to small, will rise and defeat and punish the public enemy, for everyone has a stake in such an activity.”⁴⁸²

Citizens unite and defeat the “public enemy” for the sake of ensuing legality in public life. How much more united would the members of the society be, if everybody with no exception, from down to top, not only equality respected the law, but were a defender of law. This is a visional-methodological concept, through the lenses of which Mamuryan tries to examine not only the labyrinths of the Armenian History, but also the reasons of the rise and fall of the ancient states, as well as the modern-time revolutionary developments in France, England, and Germany. He mentions with delight the state officials, who have themselves served an example for the other members of the society to unconditionally obey the law. “... When I see the just Aristides accepting the first blow of the law, which was authored by him and approved by the people, and being expelled from Athens by the force of law, to which he silently obeys, I kneel before the great spirit of Aristides and anticipate that the people should only mitigate that harsh law.” Meanwhile, he has opposite views on the anti-democratic actions of Otto von Bismarck in Germany. “When I see Bismarck close down a national assembly, I will not be surprised; however, when I see him as a self-proclaimed legislative enact laws for the people, who are ravished by the constitution, I cannot help laughing.”⁴⁸³

It is not surprising then that Mamuryan desires to get acquainted with the History of the Armenians and somehow give a meaning and evaluate the Armenian peculiarities of the state regulation of public life. Paying due respect to Khorenatsi and glorifying his “sublime and just pen,” Mamuryan argues that neither the Great Historian, nor other “vehement historians” have

⁴⁸² **M. Mamuryan**, Political // “Eastern Press,” Issue 1. January, 1871, p 6.

⁴⁸³ **M. Mamuryan**, A collection Armenian letters // Compositions, Yerevan, 1966, p. 488.

adequately and sufficiently reflected public administration. “What was the type of government in the Armenian and Arshakuni states? What was the contact and interrelations between the king, ministers, and the people? What were the rights of each party?”⁴⁸⁴ Initiating the process of writing a brief textbook of the history of the Armenians, he justly expresses his complaints on the following. “Our historiographers have not pointed out by which laws the kings had ruled the country and what morals and customs of the Armenian people were, living below certain thresholds of wealth.”⁴⁸⁵

This is, of course, not only about the Armenian historiography. Besides, it is presumed, Mamuryan should have made a reservation for Khorenatsi. Indeed, the Great Historian was the first to have rebuked earlier authorities for negligence in relation to historic memory and clearly formulate his own major task: “through long and beneficial commitment, accurately invent the history of our nation on royal and ministerial tribes and dynasties.”⁴⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Mamuryan managed to mention the main reasons of the incomplete reflection of the issues of public administration. For centuries, public administration was viewed as a one-sided activity, that is, the masters govern through the God-given authority, while the public has no choice but to obey. This concept, sanctified by the religious concept of “blind obedience to the masters,” “would direct the pen of the Armenian historian,” and “would preach royal authority and the throne as a sacred and Heavenly gift, while to the subjects it would prescribe submissive loyalty and dedication; as a result, the people, like a flock of sheep, would burn on the fire of

⁴⁸⁴ **M. Mamuryan**, A collection English letters or the fate of an Armenian // Compositions, Yerevan, 1966, p. 103.

⁴⁸⁵ **M. Mamuryan**, A brief history of the Armenians until our days, Izmir, 1909, p. 175.

⁴⁸⁶ **M. Mamuryan**, The History of the Armenians, Yerevan, 1990, p. 7–8.

local or foreign prince and villain and would leave its name inglorious.”⁴⁸⁷

Further studying the history of the Armenians, Mamuryan distinguished those heads of states, whose conduct, objectives, and public activities can serve as an example for all generations of Armenian managers. Evaluating Gagik A. Bagratuni’s activity, Mamuryan, in fact, calls for moving from evaluating the persona to evaluating the function. “The man, I say, because he in himself is greater than a king, and because he was lifelong devoted to his splendid Ani not in order to be anointed as the Armenian king through the right of heritage or a God-given gift, but because he was firmly sure that he was the only one deserving and capable of being the head of the Armenian state and its liberator in that eventful times.” The king’s management strategy is an exemplary behavior. First, mitigate contradictions within the core of the society, ensure harmony and, in fact, the legitimacy of his own authority, and only then confront external challenges. “By assuming the wheel of the government, he disarmed and brought to order the internal rebellious and armed people by his simple and reassuring rhetoric. He provoked and inflamed the hearts of the Armenian people, who he relied on, with a patriotic and inextinguishable flame, united them and made a new vivacious nation out of them, while hesitation would have meant opening the gates of his city in front of the enemy.”⁴⁸⁸

Always oriented by the criterion of the utility of the activity of the head of state, Mamuryan called the traditional Armenian king Aram “the second real founder of Haykazants” and highly appreciated his skills in the reorganization of state governance. “Being more skillful and luckier than the patriarchs of his time,

⁴⁸⁷ **M. Mamuryan**, A collection English letters or the fate of an Armenian // Compositions, Yerevan, 1966, p. 106–107.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

Aram, it seemed, established a connection between various ministerial divisions... The ministers did not oppose his policy.”⁴⁸⁹

Generally speaking, Mamuryan describes the structure of the ancient Armenian state, “the first administrative structure of Haykazants,” as “a type of societal state that resembled neither feudalism nor democracy.” Here every tribe leader was a full prince in his native domain, who could collect taxes, dispose troops, and so on; at the same time, “he would recognize the Armenian patriarch as a political leader above him.”⁴⁹⁰

Later on, however, when the boundaries of Armenia began to expand in the times of Tigran the Great, it came about that central authority had not, after all, been strong enough to suppress the centrifugal forces. “The strong and long-lasting central political authority responsible for this wide territory did not materialize either; and, although the country gained in territory, it lost in might and equality.” Military and internal orders of Tigran the Great did not last for very long either; “there was nobody to continue his national endeavor.” The reason was that they did not take roots in the Armenian mentality. “... New laws do not last in the mentality of people, if their seeds are not inserted in the custom and minds of the people.”⁴⁹¹

Discussing the conduct of the head of state from the viewpoint of public importance, Mamuryan goes beyond the level of description and comes to a thesis on the correspondence between the manager and subjects. Contradicting the thought that the governor can treat the subject based on his discretion, Mamuryan argues on the internal relationship between the parties. Criticizing the approach of Nahapet Rusinyan, a prominent public figure of the time, calling for coming up new Armenian grammar laws, Mamuryan makes the following general comparison. “Like for inventing a new language he would invent new grammar and he

⁴⁸⁹ Ibidem, p. 121.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibidem, p. 118.

⁴⁹¹ Ibidem, p. 118, 122.

alone would understand it, although, naturally, grammar derives from the spoken language, in the same manner, in order to govern the nation, he would enact new laws outside the nation, which he follows, although the laws should reflect the habits and traditions of the subjects.”⁴⁹²

The governor-subject harmony is one of the main principles of modern management. The essence of the principle, that is, the requirement that the manager should take into consideration the peculiarities of the subject, according to Mamuryan, stems not from the manager’s good will, but from the necessity of the scientific justification of management. Naturally, the public speaker, who was concerned about the problems of the Armenian public, formulates this thesis as a national-social imperative. “Let the Armenian legislators write laws, let the high heads rise, let them analyze eminent sciences, let prominent political scientists be skillful enough for governing countries, but these all will become of secondary importance to our nation, if, by penetrating inside the nation and examining the wounds and immediate appurtenances, they do not practically supply the necessary efficient remedies.”⁴⁹³ The author himself has strictly followed this imperative in his scientific research. Mamuryan concludes every issue, be it related to the management of the economy or state or national matters, with an exact conclusion and practical recommendations.

For Mamuryan, one of the mistakes of the Armenian leaders is the noncritical adoption of the experience of more developed nations. If the adoption of foreign experience is done without the due consideration of the peculiarities of the Armenian environment (“unknowledgeable,” “radical,” and “monkeyish”) and if the worthy and unworthy are not distinguished in what is being adopted (“the European delusion”), then the introduction of the most progressive laws, institutions, and concepts will not only be

⁴⁹² **M. Mamuryan**, *A collection Armenian letters // Compositions*, Yerevan, 1966, p. 436.

⁴⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 391.

inefficient, but may also be harmful. "... The habit of borrowing both the good and the bad from foreigners became the reason of the weakness in the political situation."⁴⁹⁴

Thus, Mamuryan's concept of public administration is based on complete trust towards the governability and prosperity of the country, on the one hand, and on the managerial responsibility of the authorities, managers, and intellectuals to exercise adequate economic, political, legal, and cultural measures to make the prosperity of the country a reality, on the other. "A nation can develop with its specific elements, if they are provided a good and illuminated direction."⁴⁹⁵ And Mamuryan is optimistic about success. "An Armenian dies hungry in luxury, similar to a person, who sits at a rich and decorated table with his hands tied. Those hands should be untied and got used to working."⁴⁹⁶ Consequently, the main objective of public-national administration is the maximum and efficient utilization of the nation's full potential, the provision of "good direction," and "making it used to work." The key to the solution is in the hands of the authorities. As we saw above, this is a traditional approach for the Armenian management thought. The specifics of Mamuryan's starting point is the justification of the supreme manager's own role and the clarification of the self-consciousness and accountability of the authorities.

Mamuryan devotes numerous pages to the theoretical questions of ensuring legality in public life, thoroughly discussing the essence and practice of the 1860 "National Constitution." The Turkish government ratified the document in 1863 as the "legislation of the Armenian nation" ("Nizamnemei Melleti Ermenian"), which functioned until 1896 and between 1908-

⁴⁹⁴ **M. Mamuryan**, A collection English letters or the fate of an Armenian // Compositions, Yerevan, 1966, p. 246.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibidem, p. 245.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibidem, p. 383.

1915.⁴⁹⁷ Mamuryan's approach is directed towards finding out the "golden middle." He criticizes extreme viewpoints, both the super optimistic euphoria and rejection of legal-legislative ways of ensuring the sovereignty of the Armenians. Those who falsely believed in ensuring complete legality in Turkey unintentionally harmed the Armenian self-consciousness. Thus, Mamuryan's warning on expressing "absurd constitutional enthusiasm" was not a coincidence.⁴⁹⁸ At the same time, the Armenian community was acquiring a new opportunity to legally expand its rights and liberties.

Although unfinished, this document is itself an evidence of superiority of the Armenian culture, mentality, and legal-management thought over the ruling nation (Turkey did not yet have its own constitution). From the viewpoint of public administration, however, there emerged qualitative innovation and a radical change in the status of the Armenians. Within the framework of a foreign state system, the Armenians started to function not merely as a religious community, but as a national unit functioning based on legislative principles. Mamuryan proposed two problems to the Armenian intellectuals. First, soberly evaluate this lever of public administration; and, second, give it a maximum favorable application. The real attitude of the Turkish government was obvious right from the beginning. As incomers, the Turks, sooner or later, were going to try to get rid of the natives of the conquered land, and the "flirt" with the Armenians was merely an illusion for the eyes of the European community. In the illustrative language of the author, Turkey was forced "to give in to the need for reforms," but "would come up with excuses" to burry the reforms.⁴⁹⁹ This dilemma is what Mamuryan skillfully reveals using a flawless legal language. If the state adopts a legislative act,

⁴⁹⁷ For details, see section 4.1.

⁴⁹⁸ **M. Mamuryan**, *A collection Armenian letters // Compositions*, Yerevan, 1966, p. 487.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 1996, p. 71.

which implies long-term social changes, later on, that principal document should be incorporated into corresponding sub-legislative decrees. In other words, the legal opportunity, as an expression of legislative will, should have certain means to become a reality. The opposite is what happened also in the case of the National Constitution. “If the order to act follows an order blocking the means of action, the Constitution will become a legislative irony.”⁵⁰⁰

Regarding the utilization of, albeit limited, legal opportunities, Mamuryan painfully states the inability of the Armenian community in Turkey. “The nation does not know how to enjoy the privileges provided by the court.”⁵⁰¹ There were a number of reasons for it. The main reason, however, was the split within the nation that had harmed the Armenian national interests like a curse over many centuries. This situation was partially the inevitable reflection of the nationwide social-economic reality, and partially a result of deliberate actions. Turkish politics, especially in the 19th century, reflect the Turkish insidious attempt to divide the Armenian community. Nevertheless, the most dangerous factor that was sterilizing the collective potential of the Turkish-Armenians, according to Mamuryan, was the fact that the Armenian elite, which, based on its role, was supposed to unite ordinary Armenians, was mostly doing the opposite; it was serving the Turks and, in fact, repeating their stance and tactics. “The national authorities, which had the aspirations of the ruling nation, were tyrannizing and not providing for the people’s intellectual and moral need based on the invaluable privilege they enjoyed. Moreover, it was facilitating the oppression by the foreigners and was itself oppressive; rich people that loved only posh palaces, parties, and luxury and crawled in front of the Pashas to deceive and get money from them; pedagogues that were indifferent to the

⁵⁰⁰ Ibidem, p. 440.

⁵⁰¹ **M. Mamuryan**, *A collection Armenian letters // Compositions*, Yerevan, 1966, p. 488–489.

nation or alienated.”⁵⁰²

In the light of this analysis, the widespread indifference to the utilization of the potential of the Constitution and the passive standpoint in general become clear. This is what states Mamuryan, complaining about the standpoint adopted by his compatriots. “Do not judge the first steps of the Constitution strictly and throw everything on the ground... But I cannot pass on without gibbeting the spirit of indifference that reigns in the nation.”⁵⁰³ After the adoption of the Constitution, the legislative and executive bodies of Armenia, such as the General National Assembly, National Central Department, religious and secular assemblies, regional (gavarakan) departments, and local (taghayin) councils, were reorganized and created. It is clear that these organizations should have functioned first of all through the permanent organizational, moral, and financial support of the Armenian population. Nevertheless, the interested population, according to Mamuryan, “turned its back” and started to complain that they could not figure out neither the Constitution nor the governing bodies.

From a contemporary viewpoint, the following narrative can be regarded as an elegant explanation of the “authority-people” relationship and the regulation of the mutual rights and responsibilities of state governing bodies and civil organizations. “The government, especially the government that rules morally and whose position is based solely on devotion and honor, acquires its powers from the trust of the people. Besides, it is impossible to relate every problem to the government. Individual and organizational national enterprises, too, are needed to promote general advancement. Damned is the nation that, like a deficient boy, waits for the government to hold its hand and help it walk.”⁵⁰⁴

The trust towards the government and the public support to it

⁵⁰² Ibidem, p 440.

⁵⁰³ **M. Mamuryan**, A collection Armenian letters // Compositions, Yerevan, 1966, p. 416.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibidem, p. 416.

are only one side of the question. The other side of the question is the organization of the government and its maximum and targeted deployment of the trust and support it is enjoying. The National Constitution, which was opening up new opportunities for more purposeful and efficient activities in public life, should have been brought to existence with adequate organizational and legal institutions. Meanwhile, they were vulnerable in terms of the separation of functions, election of the deputies, their motivation, the structure of authority and mutual supervision of various government bodies (particularly, governing the religious and state matters), and the absence of harmony and cooperation within the governing institutions. Here is Mamuryan's unique diagnosis on the National Assembly. "The responsibility is non-precise, reputation is uncertain, real position is indistinct, duties are capricious, and relationships are non-exact and unruly." On the religious assembly: "Without permanent contact with the Main Church in Ejmiatsin, contrary to the rules of our Church, it is an independent and irresponsible body for the Armenians of Turkey." On the Political Assembly: "It is neither legislative nor executive power or it is any type of judiciary; it rather is something floating between the three." While local councils, "having adopted a stance almost independent from the government, resist the government," and so on.⁵⁰⁵

Mamuryan's views on the relationship between the central and regional institutions of the Armenian self-government are reflected in an article entitled "Centralization-decentralization." The problem is analyzed, first, as an issue of reasonable allocation of authority between the system of state governance and bodies of local self-government. Then, with regard to the Turkish Armenians, it is analyzed in the light of the new developments as a result of the National Constitution. According to Mamuryan, every state decides for itself the issue of the centralization and decentralization of

⁵⁰⁵ Ibidem, p. 489.

authority, and the differences in the approaches can be due to the size of the country and the population, and geographic, economic, and historical circumstances. However, warns the author, experience shows that both extreme centralization and extreme decentralization are undesirable.

What concerns the tensions between institutions as a result of the adoption of the National Constitution, when a number of regional and local bodies insisted on “sovereignty” and even tried to undermine the significance of the General National Council and related bodies, Mamuryan proposed a solution in two parts (stages) with short-term and long-term objectives. The first stage calls for a sober assessment of the situation. The Armenians in the regions did not have sufficient education to ensure sovereignty and resist the pressure and unlawfulness of state bodies, thus, it would be better if the central body acted as an intermediary and protector. “For now, only the Center can provide the remedy to the catastrophes that belong to the direct authority of the empire; the Center should stand up as an attorney against the injustice that endlessly abuses the national body, and a weak national body cannot move on forever; the Center is the deputy of the nation and an intermediary of and before its interrelations.” The emphasis of the center’s role, however, should not ignore the long-term prospect, that is, ensuring harmony between the parties. “The central authority has the responsibility to train the regions first and show them the benefits of centralization; to think of means to provide education and liberty with, and reduce its need-based interference to the minimum. This will rise the spirit of sovereignty, and, thus, the influence of central authority will gradually vanish... and then the conscience of public interest and the love towards liberty, not coercion, will move everybody’s minds and spirits towards the Center and will establish a true national unity on a firm basis.”⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ **M. Mamuryan**, Centralization and Decentralization // “Eastern Press” no. 9, September 1871, p. 436, 437.

Mamuryan has thoroughly addressed the role of the church in the organization of public life in Armenia. The fateful role of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the fate of the Armenians is an undisputable fact for Mamuryan. In the pre-Christian period, too, religion played an exceptional role in public life, thus the secular rulers, who have recognized religion as “a strong moral support for the country,” have always tried to incorporate religious institutions into the system of public administration. “Every government would choose and designate an official religion, a special ritual, and a behest suitable to the spirit of its people.” As an example, the pre-Christian period of the Arshakuni government is mentioned, when “religion attained a special physiognomy under the dominance of Aramazd and, especially, Anahit.” In the period of Christianity, the cooperation between Trdat the Great and Grigor the Illuminator and the role of King Vramshapuh as “the repairer of Armenia’s moral and intellectual life” and the supporter of Sahak Partev and Mesrop Mashtots are mentioned.⁵⁰⁷ The role of the Armenian Church as the moral and public leader of the Armenian people in the periods of diminished sovereign statehood; the Armenian Catholicos is not only the “religious master,” but also the “father of the society.”⁵⁰⁸

The church as an important institution of public life is one thing, however. The actual conduct of religious figures is another. Not every one of them, in fact, realizes his mission as a moral supporter of regulating cohabitation and plays a favorable role in public life. Some, instead of spreading true and patriotic speech, serve as a bad example by their own conduct. “The Armenian clergy would day by day lose its credibility and would undermine the noble and great position; thus the unhelpful, empty, and

⁵⁰⁷ **M. Mamuryan**, A collection English letters or the fate of an Armenia, p. 121, 73, 80.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 212.

careless people of the nation would become clergy and deploy sneaky measures for earning their bread.”⁵⁰⁹

Mamuryan was, however, optimistic about redressing the situation. He was sure that “there no doubt would come a day when the abuses in the Armenian Church would be wiped out by illumination.” Moreover, he expressed a modern concept on the participation of the interested and adept layers of the society, the “civil society,” in today’s terminology, in the process of purging the Church from abuses. “This task was not for the clergy, however, but for the secular,” which, in particular, “would translate European liberal ideas and ditch the castle of the noble and clergy class.”⁵¹⁰ In other words, the society itself is interested in the complete realization of the Church’s public roles, as a strong moral supporter of cohabitation and the natural flow of national and public life.

Matevos Mamuryan had comprehensive views on the issues of ensuring legality in public life, which included all sides of public reality. The most significant, however, is the optimism of the 19th-century prominent Armenian, as well as the belief towards the potential of the Armenian self-organization and theoretical concepts and practical proposals, which he has tried to substantiate. They, no doubt, are not only of historical significance, but can also be deployed for the efficient solution of the urgent problems of public administration in the 21st-century Armenia.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibidem, p. 244–245.

⁵¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 245.

4.6. The “Public Spirit” by Ghazaros Aghayan

Professor of Armenian literature Ghazaros Aghayan (1840-1911) is mostly known in Armenia as a “children’s writer.” Aghayan was known from his school years for his fairy tales (“Anahit,” “Aregnazan,” “Hazaran Blbul,” etc.), children’s stories (“The Fairy Tales of Gyulnaz Grandmother,” “Two Goats,” “Our Dursun”), verses (“The Spinning Wheel,” “Memory”), and the poem “Tork Angegh”. Of course, professional philologists know his novels “Arutyun and Manvel,” “Two Sisters,” and “Separation,” as well as compositions, translations, and literary analyses. His compositions on the theory and methods of teaching retain the contemporary spirit. Linguists acknowledge, albeit with certain reservations, the value of Aghayan’s work on the problems of the Armenian language. This listing is itself enough to appreciate the self-educated person, who has “made himself” and has had considerable input in a number of areas of the nation’s intellectual development.

Below we discuss Aghayan’s reflections on different problems of the management of people’s cohabitation, to not only broaden our ideas on the Ghazaros Aghayan phenomenon and get acquainted with the rich history of the Armenian management thought, but also get lessons from our great ancestors, as well as to harmonically and efficiently link the public administration experience of leading countries, on the one hand, and knowledge of the Armenian national-cultural features, on the other. The issues of public administration and conduct of managers were not merely a theoretical matter for Aghayan. Many years of experience in teaching poses questions before the contemplating person. Besides, he had been the manager of the publishing house of the Ejmiatsin unanimity, the principal of Armenian religious schools in Akhhaltsikha, Alexandrapole, and Shushi. His biographical novels are the literary reflection of the internal life of the Armenian village

and the clash between the old and new traditions. The names of some of Aghayan the publicist's articles are a sign of his deep interest in various norms of human cohabitation. These include "The Ethical Significance of Clothing," "The Title of the Woman," "Around the Election of the Catholicos," "A contemplation on upbringing," and so on.

Ghazaros Aghayan's ideas, judgments, and conclusions on public administration itself are spread in a number of his publications, but the concept of the society is more impressively narrated in his imaginary agitation entitled "Contemporary Dissertation." This is a kind of social utopia, where the author (through the lips of a young agitator) emphasizes two principal factors, namely, scientific progress and Christian humanism, on the basis the regulation of public life.

One of his own judgments best describes Aghayan's research orientation. The preamble of the deep linguistic analysis "On the Armenian Sounds" he entitles "A Few Word to my Critics," in which he concisely formulated his scientific credo. "The novelty or independence of thought is not a valuable thing, if it at the same time is not true and useful, for it better to tell an old truth than a new lie."⁵¹¹

Aghayan's worldview is first of all systemic. The nature as a whole, its every element and very link comprise a system described by internal links and harmony. He explains this view in his children's books. "There is a group, a link, a union is everything. What is, for example, a wheat field if not a group of numerous stems that, laying on one another and shadowing one another, grow together, ripen together, and yield one hundred and sixty grains per stem."⁵¹² The observation of public life has to be even more systemic, in fact. "Public life is like one organism, one structure. If

⁵¹¹ **Gh. Aghayan**, *On the Armenian Sounds // A Collection of Compositions in four volumes*, v. 3, Yerevan, 1963, p. 237.

⁵¹² **Gh. Aghayan**, *Summer // A Collection if compositions in four volumes*, v. 1, Yerevan, 1962, p. 351.

one member of the organism is in pain, the pain will be spread over the others too, because it is linked with the rest of the members through different veins and nerves.”⁵¹³ He also calls this approach “a law of harmony,” interpreting it, in particular, through an example-formulation in line with the concepts of modern philosophy of public administration. “A part of any one organization reveals the state of affairs in other parts too; this is, of course, approximately, because there is no law without exception, that is, there is divergence from the general rule, which is called a disorder.”⁵¹⁴

Hence derives one important thought on the mandatory regulation of public life and obeying to general rules both from legal and moral perspectives. “Can one individual of the society enjoy the fruits of his fair labor, if all others are thieves and idle people?”⁵¹⁵

And the question here is not merely the security of the individual, although it is the ultimate goal of the regulation of public life and the core purpose of the existence and function of all institutions of public administration. **Not only individual and public security, but also the motivation work and lead a decent life are possible only through joint efforts.** “And if one member of the society thinks that he can achieve happiness through material abundance alone and, considering that opinion of his as a new invention, tries to achieve his aim by himself, he will inevitably envy his fellow countryman and put every effort to stop him from prospering, so that he can always remain considerably higher than him.”⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ Gh. Aghayan, A Page from our modern history // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 4, 1963, Yerevan, p. 279.

⁵¹⁴ Gh. Aghayan, A modern dissertation // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, Yerevan, p. 103.

⁵¹⁵ Gh. Aghayan, A few words about our compatriots // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, Yerevan, p. 9.

⁵¹⁶ Ibidem.

Thus, in fact, repeating Thomas Hobbes's concept of "the war of all versus all" (*Bellum omnium contra omnes*), Aghayan goes on immediately not towards the legal question, which **would have allows us to regard him among the opponents of the social contract theory, but towards the clarification of the moral purpose.** "And will the man enriched in such a way be considered to have gotten closer to happiness? Not at all, for happiness is neither a metal nor silk. It is rather the balance between spiritual, material, and intellectual needs. If it is through the fulfillment of these requirements that one can get closer to happiness, then the more general and amicable this aspiration, the closer the people would be to their aims."⁵¹⁷

Thus, there emerges a chain of indisputable truths (Aghayan uses "elementary truths" and "general laws"). First, the very birth of a human implies that he should live. "Our nature is created so that we should live after birth... The desire to live is so natural and so mighty in the human that it cannot be interpreted as if he may even not live."⁵¹⁸

Hence derives the next truth, that is, human activity is directed towards maximum prosperous life. "Whatever the human does, both good and bad, he does for living. Everybody works in order to live as well as possible. The human cannot make a voluntary step that is not directed towards living... All vices – theft, homicide, fraud, lying, betrayal, disloyalty, and greed – as well as all virtues, which are much less than the vices, are done for the sake of living."⁵¹⁹

The third indisputable truth is acknowledging the reality that the human is a social creature and his living is possible only in the society and via the organization of the society. "Every institution – political, religious, charity, philanthropic, military, antagonistic,

⁵¹⁷ Ibidem.

⁵¹⁸ Gh. Aghayan, A modern dissertation, p. 80.

⁵¹⁹ Ibidem.

amicable, educational, a workshop, factory, store, and every type of dwelling – is for living.”⁵²⁰

The forth truth is not of neutral nature. It rather requires an evaluation. How do people unite? How do they combine their similar aspirations to live well? Aghayan’s evaluation-diagnosis is the following. “The only reason that brings about all the vices is our selfishness and self-esteem. Thus, all the vices will disappear only when the mode of life is not selfish or based on self-esteem, but philanthropic and altruistic.”⁵²¹

The latest reflections, we think, do not give us a basis to regard Aghayan as a proponent of a socialist ideology. No matter that he objectively and subjectively condemns the negative reflections of private interests, his attitude does not outright deny private property per se. True, he prioritizes common property, considering that it connects people and provides grounds for unification. Here is a passage from his argumentation. “... The moral condition of the people depends on its economic situation, while economic prosperity depends on its communal properties. The more and the more diverse the communal property and institutions in a society, the higher the level of its prosperity and the fewer the vices in the society.”⁵²² If we remain within Aghayan’s worldview, the solution of the problem is the realization of the importance of the common interest and the provision of favorable conditions for the natural functioning of relevant public institutions. “The church, schools, literature, theater, and various charity organizations, being a common property, require common support. The institutions requiring common support should also have common institutions generating material outcome.”⁵²³

Besides, Ghazaros Aghayan clearly realizes that a harmonic life governed by communal principles is not provided for

⁵²⁰ Ibidem.

⁵²¹ Ibidem, p. 85–86.

⁵²² Ibidem, p. 104.

⁵²³ Ibidem, p. 106.

spontaneously. Pastoral reflections on the lost “golden century” are alien to him. Generally speaking, an optimist by character, worldview, lifestyle, and the style of activity, he never loses an opportunity to criticize the backward thinkers with “rotten brains” and the “heroes of backwardness,” of which “the most specialized in ignorance think that the present is the distortion and alteration of the past.”⁵²⁴ Here is what Aghayan wrote in one of his 1875 reviews and until the end of his life he had been loyal to civil progress, inevitable advancement, and the concept of favorable reforms. “Every ‘tomorrow’ is better than ‘yesterday,’ even if it may seem the opposite to us.”⁵²⁵ This is the formulation of the credo of the silver-haired writer published in one of his last articles in 1911. In short, illumination, prosperous life, and harmonic cohabitation are a result of advancement and the deployment of scientific achievements, and not of steady preservation of the heritage of the past. “It is in science that the humanity should look for both its happiness and salvation from delusions.”⁵²⁶ Deploying science for the purposes of public cohabitation, as well as the desired organization of public life imply certain strengths, institutions, and targeted activities.

The regulation of public life, according to Aghayan, is ensured by two subjective behaviors. The first one is the Church with its ideology, preaching, and institutions. The second one is the public and the self-organization and “self-support” of the rural and urban members of the public.⁵²⁷

We would like to discuss the seemingly strange fact that Aghayan almost never talks about the state as the main regulator of

⁵²⁴ **Gh. Aghayan**, A thousand and one important things, national and foreign // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 118.

⁵²⁵ **Gh. Aghayan**, Our Celebrant // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 234.

⁵²⁶ **Gh. Aghayan**, Where do we find our salvation? // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 69.

⁵²⁷ **Gh. Aghayan**, A contemplation after reading the “Murch” (“Hammer”) Journal // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 168.

public life, although all the unlawfulness, bad image of various rural and urban authorities that, albeit briefly, are discussed in the novels of the author (Tsarist literary censorship should not be forgotten), directly reflect his negative evaluation of the activities of state bodies and the behavior of state officials. For the sake of justice, however, one should also note the reflections, such as “the caring sponsorship of the country” and “caring government.” Those words were said on the occasion of the publication of “Hyusisapayl,” a periodical, and, perhaps, had the objective of strengthening the contrast between the attitude of the Russian state and the envy and jealousy of some “brazen scribblers” following the publication of the journal.⁵²⁸

The Church had an exceptional importance in the life of the Armenian people deprived of statehood. It had coordinated both the life within the community and the interrelations with the state authorities. From the viewpoint of the public role of the Church, Ghazaros Aghayan demands decent management activities from the clergy. He makes a nuanced observation here. As it is known, the people have always been as a “flock” led by a “shepherd.” To put it in a modern language, this is a one-sided influence of management. The subject, endowed with levers of authority, influences the object. Contrasting this interpretation, Aghayan formulated a surprisingly modern concept. “No, the nation is not a flock, and the clergy is not its shepherd. The nation itself is the Church, and the clergy are its servants. He who does not look at things like this cannot serve his nation amicably.”⁵²⁹

This assertion by Aghayan is, indeed, an exceptionally successful formulation that defines the essence of public administration in general. Both the Church and the state, the two main religious and secular institutions, have for centuries been perceived as a one-sided authority over the members of the society

⁵²⁸ Ibidem.

⁵²⁹ **Gh. Aghayan**, One necessary answer on the occasion of Bishop Ormanyan’s new book // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 75.

as a flock or subjects. We would like to remind that starting from the mid-20th century, the paradigm of perception has changed, and next to the concept of “state governance” a broader concept of “public administration” emerged. The latter’s logical embrace is broader not only because it encompasses all the participants of the system of human cohabitation, including the state, Church, political parties, non-governmental organizations, local self-government bodies, mass media, and self-organizations of citizens. The qualitative difference is that the activities of the old and new actors of the management of public life is viewed as a service targeted towards the protection of common interests and satisfaction of needs dictated by human cohabitation.

The next basis of the regulation of public life, as mentioned before, is self-support. It refers equally to the individual and the public, including a group of people, strata, nation, and the public as a whole. The main essence and chief criteria of self-support is to what extent the individual (the public) improves one’s wellbeing through one’s own efforts, labor, and other activities. “He who does not respect himself has no right to demand respect from others. He who does not help himself has no right to hope for help even from God.”⁵³⁰ Not surprisingly, the sermon for self-support is present in most of Aghayan’s fairy tales. Emphasizing the ancient behest “Cognize yourself” as a vital, albeit essentially unachievable, aim, towards which, nevertheless, everyone has to constantly strive, he has elaborated his own concept of behest. “It is sufficient for a self-educated thought to be on the track of self-discovery, and be moving along that way, be curious, know the nature of the phenomena that relate to his internal and external senses.”⁵³¹ In his article entitled “A few words about our relatives,” he requires to acknowledge one simple truth, that is, “working is an

⁵³⁰ **Gh. Aghayan**, *Self-support* // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 69–70.

⁵³¹ **Gh. Aghayan**, A contemplation after reading the “Murch” (“Hammer”) Journal, p. 170.

intrinsic need incorporated into the nature of humans originally by the Creator, and there is no human free of that law and it is the only tool getting the humans closer to happiness both in their secular and eternal lives.”⁵³²

The public’s “self-support” should, naturally, be organized and led by certain strata and instances. Ghazaros Aghayan presents certain demands to the public elite. It is not a secret that government has for centuries been the monopoly of the ruling elite. Thus, the quality of government has inevitably been conditional upon their activities. It could not have been otherwise, for, in order to govern, besides authority, one needs education. Based on the “law of evolution,” as Aghayan described the societal struggle, it was the children of privileged strata that received the desired education. “By this very law, the steering wheel of people’s illumination is in the hands of the ruling elite, that is, the religious and secular government, by which the size and the properties of the country’s illumination is dependent upon on the type and properties of that government.”⁵³³

No doubt, the head of any group of people puts his stamp on the nature of management, especially on the regulation of the manager-worker relationship, as well as on the style of leadership and governance. This, in fact, is a well-known doctrine of management. In order to understand Aghayan’s concept, let us start from an occasion from his personal experience, on which he has written in his memoirs entitled “The main occasions of my life.” Being a newly appointed teacher, he does not agree with the obsolete school management system, outdated programs and textbooks, and especially with the incompetent teachers. As a result, he openly criticizes the principal of the Alkhaltskha school; with well-crafted descriptions he not only emphasized the importance of the role of the manager-leader and stressed

⁵³² **Gh. Aghayan**, A few words about our relatives, p. 10.

⁵³³ **Gh. Aghayan**, Simple truths // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 189.

responsibility, but also partially reflected his understanding of the desired management and manager. If teachers are incompetent, but the principal likes that type of teachers, then the principal is not in his place, and even his good personal qualities do not justify his being a bad manager. “You are too kind, but too careless.”⁵³⁴ This brilliant formulation by Aghayan, which resembles Koghbatsi’s precept-demand of strictness on the side of the managers, is the successful discovery of the situation when a person’s personal and managerial features contradict one another, thus pushing the manager to the deadlock of the conflict of roles. Aghayan’s conclusion is as elegant as it is cruel (but fair and applicable even today). “With your kind manners you can be a good example for the pupils, but you cannot be a manager, especially a repairing and constructive manager.”⁵³⁵

Aghayan touches upon the importance of one of the most significant elements of public cohabitation. Indeed, the phenomenon of example, of the just and unjust treatment, good or bad deed, and right or wrong decision, is one of the active regulators of public life. A child’s socialization, in fact, is a range of imitations. In the adult life, too, example performs a role of behavioral regulation, especially in the senior-junior, manager-worker, and experienced-beginner relationships. This contemporary concept is encountered in Aghayan’s reflections that have a very broad embrace. “Example is contagious. It is a huge force, which can keep the machine of human life going endlessly; to put it on the right tracks if it is deviating, and get it going if it is in standstill. This feature, notwithstanding its negative sides and resemblance with aping, is not a bad feature, but rather a very good and useful one. What would a man look like, if he did not have the possibility of following the example of a fellow man, if he could not learn

⁵³⁴ **Gh. Aghayan**, *The main occasions of my life // A Collection of compositions in four volumes*, v. 4, 1963, p. 461.

⁵³⁵ *Ibidem*.

from others' experience, and, finally, if he did not have an ideal in accordance to his level of intellectual development.”⁵³⁶

The mentioned becomes more important when it refers to famous people. Here emerges the moral responsibility of the person who is being imitated. After all, any decision of an individual is based on his system of values, that is, the most significant spiritual and material goods that motivate his behavior. This, hence, is the regulatory role of example. The right behavior of managers and leaders formulates and strengthens corresponding values among their subordinates and followers. This connection was known to the Armenian theoretical thought long ago, and, perhaps, it will be hard to express it more comprehensively than Koghbatsi did it. As a reminder, a leader is a firm pillar upon which rests the whole burden of the public and the establishment. A good leader, as a “divine flame,” burns and wipes out desecrated ills, unites the followers, thus serving them. A bad leader, on the contrary, is evil by his own example and a reason of the society's destruction.

Centuries later, Aghayan revived the same idea, at the same time expressing his credo of the leader. “There are a lot of unleashed frauds among us, who try to seem sublime and become leaders towards external darkness. Great are considered the individuals, who try to free the people from the satellites of darkness and lead them toward the light and truth and towards goodness and perfection.”⁵³⁷

His complaint on the elected officials is especially actual. “Let the Armenian people know that many in the election campaign can be dark and fearless. They tarnish the reputation of fair people, who are not their favorites, while they praise their favorites with all their

⁵³⁶ **Gh. Aghayan**, Samuel Smiles. “Character” // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 4, 1963, p. 200.

⁵³⁷ **Gh. Aghayan**, On great people // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 48.

means, even if they are the owners of seven deadly sins.”⁵³⁸ In terms of prospects, Aghayan’s delicate observation on the mutual correspondence of managers and workers and leader and followers is simply invaluable for the establishment of real democracy and having a real “reformer-manager” on the top of the management of public life. “Great people, even if they are tyrants at the same time, Lord will save us from them... Great tyrants get bigger on the vile surface of the people’s development and at its expense. When the people rise, those kinds of great tyrants cease to exist, instead there emerge ‘great people.’ The representatives of a great nation, no matter how great they are, bow their heads to the people and dedicate their activity to its advancement.”⁵³⁹

Public administration consists of both general, universal laws and differences due to national and cultural peculiarities. It is important to know the peculiarities of every public, which are related to historical, geographical, national-cultural, moral-psychological, economic, political and other circumstances. Without the due consideration of these peculiarities the application of general experience may fail. The differences, according to Aghayan, are not only to be known, but also acknowledged that they are based on the most important factor, that is, the level of intellectual development. “Every society has its law and order, type of government, religion, and traditions, which most likely correspond to its intellectual development, for these all are consequences, not causes.”⁵⁴⁰ Through the consideration of this crucial factor one needs to learn and apply the economic experience and management culture of other, more advanced, nations. Otherwise, the danger of blind imitation becomes greater, as a

⁵³⁸ **Gh. Aghayan**, On election of the Catholicos // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 70.

⁵³⁹ **Gh. Aghayan**, On great people, p. 48

⁵⁴⁰ **Gh. Aghayan**, A contemplation on upbringing // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 4, 1963, p. 55.

result of which, not only devalues the useful experience of others, also own experience and knowledge become skewed.

“Self-support,” his main concept establishing the spirit of **communism**, Aghayan refers to not only on general terms, but also in his reflections on best organization of management activity. Especially noteworthy is his “Teachers’ responsibilities”⁵⁴¹ designed for teacher. In a number of works there are conclusions on the requirement of self-support formulated in a concise summary. Moreover, there are reflections of his vital standpoints and notions, judgment and advice on public life and especially on the regulation of the teacher-student connection. As a summary, below are a few of his reflections.

❖ “Let us honor the worthy, so that we can dishonor the unworthy.”⁵⁴²

❖ “Work and remuneration and no parasite behavior. This has been my motto.”⁵⁴³

❖ “No teacher should not gossip about another teacher among the people, but during the council, everyone is free to make his observations on the shortcomings of others, doing it on grounded facts and with no words that can cause personal offense.”⁵⁴⁴

❖ “The relationship between the teachers and students should be based on fraternal love. This love should be felt by the pupils.”⁵⁴⁵

❖ “The teacher, who does not teach the pupils how to improve, should be expelled as an incapable; and the pupil, who

⁵⁴¹ **Gh. Aghayan**, Can punishment be considered as an educational technique in upbringing or not? // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 4, 1963, p. 76–80.

⁵⁴² **Gh. Aghayan**, Father Ghevond Alishan // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 3, 1963, p. 216.

⁵⁴³ **Gh. Aghayan**, The main occasions of my life, p. 404.

⁵⁴⁴ **Gh. Aghayan**, Can punishment be considered as an educational technique in upbringing or not? // A Collection of compositions in four volumes, v. 4, 1963, p. 76–77.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibidem.

has not improved by any moral technique, should be expelled without any other punishment.”⁵⁴⁶

❖ “99 percent of a pupil’s misbehavior, inattention, dumbness, and other vices are due to the teacher.”⁵⁴⁷

❖ “As the principal of a religious school, I was not an authority for the teachers, rather a teacher and a friend of a teacher.”⁵⁴⁸

❖ “To educate and develop have the same meaning, which means neither to teach nor to train. They rather mean providing both the teaching and training such a form, so that they are educational and developing.”⁵⁴⁹

❖ “The effect of an action depends on the actor not the action.”⁵⁵⁰

❖ “The decoration of the spirit can always conceal the nudity of the body, but the decoration of the body can never conceal the nudity of the spirit, on the contrary, it makes it even more nude.”⁵⁵¹

❖ “A dwarf cannot give birth to a giant, but a giant sometimes gives birth to a dwarf.”⁵⁵²

❖ “The old does not retreat before the new very easily and without a fight, especially if the old is an institution and is in the claws of the old.”⁵⁵³

❖ “I am not saying that everyone can do everything, but those who feel capable, let them start working, and he will see that a job that seemed hard and inaccessible in the beginning becomes a toy in his hands.”⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 77, 80.

⁵⁴⁷ **Gh. Aghayan**, The main occasions of my life, p. 457.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 498.

⁵⁴⁹ **Gh. Aghayan**, Can punishment be considered as an educational technique in upbringing or not? p. 71.

⁵⁵⁰ **Gh. Aghayan**, A contemplation on upbringing, p. 42.

⁵⁵¹ **Gh. Aghayan**, Samuel Smiles. “Character” p. 202.

⁵⁵² **Gh. Aghayan**, The main occasions of my life, p. 391.

⁵⁵³ **Gh. Aghayan**, A Page from our modern history, p. 304–305

⁵⁵⁴ **Gh. Aghayan**, The main occasions of my life, p. 400.

4.7. Aleksandr Myansikyan and Simon Zavaryan on Public Administration

The theoretical-methodological issues related to various components of the system of public administration have been also discussed by Armenian social-political thinkers in the beginning of the 20th century, notwithstanding the fact that Armenia had not yet regained its independence.

In this regard, Aleksandr Myasnikyan's article entitled "Democratic Republic," which was first published in 1907 in Baku, is especially noteworthy. Observing the types of state governance – autocracy, constitutional monarchy, and republic – the author finds that autocracy exist in backward countries (Turkey, Russia), whereby the government and the three main state institutions, legislative, executive, and judicial, are under the control of one body or person, which is a great disaster for the people.⁵⁵⁵ "It is clear that here everything depends on the whim of one person and his favorites," stresses Myasnikyan. According to him, in a constitutional monarchy, the head of the government is the monarch, whose rights are somewhat limited. The legislature is under the control of the House of Representatives or the Parliament; the latter, however, does not represent an authorized body.

These formulations by Ghazaros Agahyan that summarize both his theoretical reflections and own experience in management can, no doubt, become (together with concise formulations of other Armenian authors, starting from Koghbatsi), in a conditional formulation, the core of the document-to-be entitled "a maxim of public administration" (which was far overdue). Of course, it will be more like a moral regulator of public life, rather than a codified book of law with legal implications. Nevertheless, it may be very useful for the managers and specialists of public administration.

⁵⁵⁵ A. Myasnikyan, *A Sophisticated Country*, Yerevan, 1957, p. 9–10.

No legislation adopted by the democratic representative body cannot become a law without the monarch's approval.⁵⁵⁶ He substantiates his conclusion by the arguments that it is the monarch who forms the government, while the parliament cannot be considered a representative dear to the people, because the election system has lots of flaws, and the will of the bourgeoisie and the ruling elite plays a major role here.⁵⁵⁷

As a result of an analysis, Myasnikyan justifies the concept of a democratic republic, which is tantamount to a real democratic republic.⁵⁵⁸ According to the author, in a democratic republic, "the only and true representative of the people should be the one-house parliament, which is elected by each and every single citizen. It is independent in its activities. The ministers should be elected by the people's representatives and are accountable to the latter. The judiciary should be passed on to the judges elected by the people."

Myasnikyan regarded elections as a way of forming government bodies. The elections, "of whatever type, should take place through general, equal, direct, secret ballots."⁵⁵⁹ Perhaps, as a mode of the formation of state governance bodies and supervision over their activity, Myasnikyan found that "in a real democratic republic, there should be complete and unlimited freedom of thought, press, conscience, assemblies, and strikes."⁵⁶⁰

Simon Zavaryan's "Decentralization" was published in Constantinople in 1908, which substantiates the need for local self-government and the principles of the democratization of state governance. The author views government centralization as a reason for the destruction of very big countries and stresses the following. "Everywhere **the degree of a country's freedom** is related to the level of local self-government. It will be sufficient to

⁵⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 11.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibidem.

remember that there is no local self-government in authoritarian countries, and local self-government is limited in moderate constitutional countries, while in Switzerland, where freedom is in a perfect state, perfect is local self-government too.”⁵⁶¹

Zavaryan’s perception of democracy is unique and contemporary. “The rule of the people and democratic governance can happen when a maximum number of people, all adult and eligible elements of the nation, participate in law-making and the regulation of public affairs. This, however, is impossible without the institutions of local self-government...”⁵⁶²

4.8. Garegin Nzhdeh on the Reasons of the Crisis of the State Governance System

The history of civilization, including that of state systems, is a history of origination, development, and collapse. A number of small and artificial states, as well as huge and seemingly mighty and firm powers, such as the “Eternal Rome,” the huge British Colonial Empire, where “the sun never sets,” and the Soviet Union, one-sixth of the world, have vanished and become history. Of course, every state has its specifics regarding its phases of origin, development, and collapse. At the same time, the existence of general patterns should not be rejected. There are a number of underlying internal and external factors behind the crisis in the state governance system, which have different reasons, such as the loss of supreme authority’s legitimacy (whereby, in contrast to a legitimate authority, the subjects do not voluntarily accept and obey the state bodies), the prevalence of centrifugal forces over the centrist ones, external interference (overtly or through a network of agents), ethnic clashes, religious intolerance, extreme economic

⁵⁶¹ S. Zavaryan, *Compositions*, Yerevan, 1991, p 33.

⁵⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 34–35.

polarization of the society, separations within the ruling authority, inter-party clashes, and short-sighted and wrong government decisions.

As mentioned earlier, the essence of public administration is the cooperation between state and civil society institutions; in other words, the “co-administration” of public life. This means that there cannot be true public administration without the state as “the main player.” The state, as an exclusive public authority, defines the mandatory laws of the legal regulation of public life and respects those laws together with the rest of public institutions. This is why the analysis of the internal reasons of the crisis and collapse of the state governance system is important for the theory of public administration.

For conducting such an analysis, there is no better “expert” in the Armenian intellectual heritage than Garegin Nzhdeh. His reflections on the legal and moral responsibilities of government officials, managers, and authorities need to be perceived within the circle of his general philosophy, on which there are thorough analyses.⁵⁶³ The activity of Garegin Nzhdeh in general is a good example for seeking legislative solutions, while his formulations are an exemplary code of behavior. The image of the great Armenian is rediscovered, when his activity is discussed as one

⁵⁶³ See: **M. Lalayan**, *Tseghakron and Taron* movements and Garegin Nzhdeh’s activity, Yerevan, 2001. **S. Zakaryan**, Garegin Nzhdeh (a philosophical sketch), Yerevan, 2001, **V. Ghazakhetsyan**, Nzhdeh in Zangezur, end of 1920 – July 1921, Yerevan, 2001, **V. Mirzoyan**, The philosophy of Garegin Nzhdeh, Yerevan, 2002, **R. Hambardzumyan**, The spirit that transformed the widespread panic in Gharakilisa into a victory, Yerevan, 2005, **R. Hambardzumyan**, Garegin Nzhdeh: biographical additions, unpublished writings, and contemplations, Yerevan, 2005, Nzhdeh’s semasiology, Yerevan, 2006, **V. Atoyán**, Garegin Nzhdeh’s doctrine: Eternally valuable lessons, Yerevan, 2011, **V. Mirzoyan**, The methodology of leading, according to Garegin Nzhdeh, Yerevan, 2011, **A. Sargsyan**, The philosophical and ideological in Garegin Nzhdeh’s theoretical heritage, Yerevan, 2011.

belonging to the leader of Mountainous Armenia. The analysis of the reasons why this republic collapsed from the perspective of the theory of state governance is not merely of a historical value.

Now, let's start with the description of the origination of Mountainous Armenia. Garegin Nzhdeh left for Syunik and assumed the military and political governance of Zangezur in November 1919 by the proposal of the Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF). The situation there was fatal, but Nzhdeh with his volunteer units (called "Davit Bek") managed to cleanse the region of Turkish invaders in a short period of time. He later countered the military units of the Red Army (the commanders of which wanted to annex Zangezur to Azerbaijan after it became part of the Soviet Union, especially when Armenia was still being considered as "imperialistic"). On 25 August 1920, the authoritative representatives of the population of Kapargoght (Kapan, Goris, Meghri) anointed Nzhdeh as a commander-dictator in the Kavarti Church. After the collapse of the First Republic (Armenia was declared Soviet on 29 November, and on 2 December the Dashnak government signed an agreement with the representative of Russia, passing its authority onto the revolutionary committee of Armenia), the people of Zangezur made the only right decision dictated by historical circumstances, that is, to form an autonomous state unit called "Sovereign Syunik." This was going to be a temporary and "transitional" republic, which was going to join Armenia when the political circumstances changed. Sovereign Syunik was founded on 25 December 1920 during the first Zangezur congress assembled at the Tatev Monastery. The congress declared itself the legislative body (the parliament, which in fact acted as a Constitutional assembly) of the state and formed the executive body, the government (divan), consisting of 9 persons. Gedeon Ter-Minasyan was elected as the president of the government, and Garegin Nzhdeh became the *Sparapet* (Minister of Defense). There was a name change on 26 April 1921 (which was not just a name change, but was rather

connected with the confirmation of the status as a counterbalance to the Soviet Armenia). Sovereign Syunik was renamed “Mountainous Armenia” (“*Lernahayastan*”), a government was formed under the leadership of Nzhdeh, who was the head of the ministers (Nzhdeh was also the Minister of Defense and the minister of Foreign Affairs). Later, the former Dashnak government, headed by the former Prime Minister Simon Vratsyan, arrived to Mountainous Armenia, and on 1 June the two governments united as the state of “Armenia” with a new government. Vratsyan was Prime Minister, Arshak Hovhannisyan was Deputy Prime Minister, and Nzhdeh was Minister of Defense and Chief Commander of the Army. Everything was predetermined, however. The *Sparapet* (PM) and his small number of supporters could not resist the Red Army, burden of migrants, famine, lack of arms, despair, corrosive propaganda of the Bolsheviks, and the losing spirits. And on 9 June, Nzhdeh was forced to flee to Persia.

Garegin Nzhdeh has repeatedly answered the question “why did Mountainous Armenia fight?” and “why did it lose?” and thoroughly analyzed the main subjective and objective reasons of those decisions. Among other reasons (around seven thousand temptations, food and arms scarcity, unfavorable geopolitical environment, and defections), Nzhdeh underlined a number of management-related mistakes.

A. First of all, the division of state authority as a result of the merger of two governments on Mountainous Armenia played an unfavorable role.

Anticipating even such type of developments, Garegin Nzhdeh, nevertheless, obeyed the party order, which he later regarded as his mistake. “I was completely against calling the country the Republic of Armenia and the 11-member ministerial staff (3 of which were without a position). I have openly expressed this opinion during the Assembly in Tatev, where all our comrades were present, because the people should have simply seen that the government was not under the control of the people they had entrusted. But as a junior

to my comrades and a person who obeyed the party orders, I kept silent, hoping that Vratsyan, who assumed the steering wheel of the government from me, would, given his experience, be useful to the country if only he acted hand-in-hand with us. But very soon I was disappointed.”

Concerned about the situation, Nzhdeh wrote from Goris to Vratsyan in Tabriz (the latter was almost permanently residing there), drafting the reasons for the division in the government and projecting future threats. He notes, in particular, that the Army units of Yerevan that are under the control of the government of Mountainous Armenia continued to regard the government of the Republic of Armenia as their leader, and there has emerged a “foreign country psychology” in the circles of their officials.⁵⁶⁴ This situation was reflected on the psychology of the population, and provided room for hesitation. The population of Zangezur, explained Nzhdeh, was undecided. “What kind of double-authority is that, when there is only one government? Why aren’t the orders of the Sparapet realized by the head of the Yerevan army unit?”⁵⁶⁵ In other words, the divided authority was weakening the bearer of authority, for it did not ensure the mandatory principle of one-party management. Feeling the need for one-party management in those fatal times and tolerating a little liberalism and, especially, anarchy (such kind of divided authority inevitably leads to chaos) was itself a lethal threat to the existence of the state.

B. Even from a strictly legal point of view, state authority in Mountainous Armenia had lost its legitimacy. In fact, the merger between the old and new governments had happened merely by the decision of the ARF leader and without the approval of the legislature. And, indeed, there was no Zangezur-wide congress assembled in order to ratify the merger. To put it in the modern language, the legitimate government of the Mountainous Armenia

⁵⁶⁴ Garegin Nzhdeh’s letters // A. Harutyunyan, Garegin Nzhdeh’s 1921 Tabriz trial, second edition. Yerevan, 2004, p. 76.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 90.

was artificially annexed to a non-existent and, thus, illegitimate body and itself lost all grounds of legitimacy. During the 1921 trial, Nzhdeh formulated this idea quite explicitly. “The legitimate government of the country, as such, ceased to exist, while the newly created government of Armenia was considered illegal by the people and was not recognized.”⁵⁶⁶

C. The change in Garegin Nzhdeh’s status, which was, in fact, a demotion, was also illegal. Zangezur’s population had elected him as a dictator, that is, an official enjoying supreme authority, which also implied unconditional trust in him in making crucial decisions. The persona, in which people saw not only a leader but also a Savior, voluntarily gave up his privileges (and thus the responsibility). He directed the complaints of the people of Zangezur to himself and Vratsyan. “Who gave the right to the *Sparapet*, **criticized the confused people**, to give up his dictatorial authority to his elder comrade?”⁵⁶⁷ He talked about his own position with annoyance during the trial. “... I was left with going from one front to another and dealing with the military affairs without being a leader.”⁵⁶⁸

D. Renaming part of Armenia “Hayastan” (“Armenia”) was harmful for the perception of the statehood, too. “A week after declaring the country ‘Armenia,’ a heavy atmosphere of distrust, chill, and doubt prevailed.”⁵⁶⁹ The name change was not accepted by the people; likewise the new government was unknown and alien to the people. “Declaring the country ‘Armenia’ was a crime,” writes Nzhdeh to Vratsyan, “forming a government with eleven members was giving the people a serious reason to complain, while

⁵⁶⁶ G. Nzhdeh, A few more words about Mountainous Armenia // A. Harutyunyan, The 1921 Tabriz trial of Garegin Nzhdeh, Yerevan, 2004, p. 173.

⁵⁶⁷ Garegin Nzhdeh’s letters, p. 89.

⁵⁶⁸ **Garegin Nzhdeh**, My explanation on the reason why Mountainous Armenia failed // A. Harutyunyan, The 1921 Tabriz trial of Garegin Nzhdeh, Yerevan, 2004, p. 134.

⁵⁶⁹ Garegin Nzhdeh’s letters, p. 95.

the appointment of Arshak Hovhannisyan, who was neither familiar with the country and its people nor the relationship of the people with the neighboring Turks, was at least an insult to the people, who had expressed its unreserved will towards a certain direction through the Tatev Assembly.”⁵⁷⁰

E. The state government apparatus had grown too big. Before the arrival of the government from Yerevan, the whole Mountainous Armenia was governed by 28 people. The new administrative apparatus, however, grew to 267 people afterwards. Moreover, there were artificial positions created for those coming from Yerevan.

Nzhdeh talked about an instance of government absurdity. There were only three elementary schools in the region, for which a ministry was created with its apparatus. And that groundless and unviable administrative apparatus became a heavy burden, while receiving a salary, foodstuff, and other privileges. “I have had a number of arguments with Melik-Yolchyan, the Interior Minister, and suggested to cut down the number of officials to the minimum, so that the idle and parasite officials be removed and there be a rainy day food stock for the army, because a soldier should be cared well in order to defend well. But, in response to my proposals, I have heard only groundless objections, while the ministerial portfolios remained unchanged till the last minute. That was why, when the fighting started in the region of Zangezur, there were hardly a few pounds of wheat left in the warehouses.”⁵⁷¹

F. If a few people from the government of the First Republic could help (not oust) local authorities as consultants, there had been chances that the local people would not have perceived the new government negatively. That was what national interests required, but the interests of the party prevailed, and the united but de facto stillborn government was not enjoying the trust of the people. Thus,

⁵⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 89.

⁵⁷¹ **Garegin Nzhdeh**, My explanation on the reason why Mountainous Armenia failed, p. 135.

the psychosocial perception of the government that came from Yerevan ultimately played a negative and destructive role.

The low level of authority of the current government system led Garegin Nzhdeh to a deep conceptual generalization. “One needs not be a psychologist to understand that when one country is defeated politically and militarily and is forced to migrate with part of its people to one corner, the responsible state officials of that country cannot enjoy any authority in a new country, because the people, albeit without reasonableness, put the blame of defeat onto the leaders.”⁵⁷² This perception deepened given the high-scale migration and refugees. People who fled their homes could not help blaming, first of all, the leaders of the country. Such moods could not have been avoided among the people of Zangezur, who had provided refuge to displaced Armenians.

G. The army units coming from Yerevan to Zangezur, too, had harmful and corrosive moral-psychological role through their attitude towards the local authorities and the geopolitical situation in general. The indiscipline, rude behavior, violence, theft, and psychology of panic could not arouse positive feelings among the population of Mountainous Armenia towards the newcomers. Nzhdeh had officially told Vratsyan about this even before the merger of the governments. “The army units of Yerevan, which were put under our control by your government, have together with their commanders become a tool of corrosion and defection.” He later made his tone even stricter and directed the accusation towards a specific address. “All that leads to the destruction of Mountainous Armenia, the responsibility of which will rest entirely upon the government of the Republic of Armenia and the commanders of the Yerevan army unit.”⁵⁷³

On the same occasion, Nzhdeh warns Arshak Hovhannisyan, the Deputy Prime Minister. “The latest developments in the

⁵⁷² Ibidem, p. 130.

⁵⁷³ Garegin Nzhdeh’s letters, p. 130.

western front are not self-purposed. They stem from the politics and tactics that the commanders of the Yerevan army units and many in the government have hard time to give up.” And again Nzhdeh points the arrow of responsibility towards the authorities, while formulating his credo. “The soldier in the army unit is always good, combative, and victorious. If only such were his commanders too.”⁵⁷⁴

H. The system of state governance, to put it mildly, was not well-organized. Administrative activities were inefficient; bureaucracy, paperwork, the abuse of power, and corruption were widespread. The expanded staff had inevitably increased the danger of bureaucracy, which was documented by Nzhdeh to the members of the Sovereign Syunik government. “During the course of months, in your dead offices you have killed the spirit of initiative in your officials.”⁵⁷⁵

Generally speaking, Nzhdeh was not against bureaucratic governance. He merely demanded that the activities stem from local peculiarities and do not imitate legislative decrees of other countries. “... We have enacted ‘jungle,’ ‘judicial,’ and ‘sinodian’ laws (that is, to translate and publish a little bit from the majoritarian laws, and a little that was left from Nikolas II).”⁵⁷⁶

Later in his philosophical reflections, Nzhdeh talked about the methodology of the legal regulation of public life, demanding, first of all, a correspondence between the law and the lifestyle. “Institutions should reflect the daily life, traditions, beliefs, strife, and national peculiarities of the nation they have come into existence for... laws are long-lasting only when they correspond to the lifestyle.”⁵⁷⁷

I. There were unjustified changes in tax collection as a result of rude mistakes by the officials of the system of state governance.

⁵⁷⁴ Garegin Nzhdeh’s letters, p. 79.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 66.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibidem.

⁵⁷⁷ **G. Nzhdeh**, *Metapolitica // Compositions*, vol. 2, Yerevan, 2002, p. 510, 513.

The condition of the people of Mountainous Armenia had become dire due to unjustified tax burden. This is what Garegin Nzhdeh states angrily, blaming the members of the government. “You, despite my reiteration for a thousand times, with no remorse whatsoever, approve unheard of taxes on the people while I was absent and order the heads of the regions to collect the required amount in an ‘urgent’ manner and send them to the coffers of Syunik.”⁵⁷⁸

On the example of this unwise policy, Nzhdeh makes a precise conceptual formulation. “This is how you have governed, without understanding that any type of government (be it a monarchy, republic, or kleptocracy like the Soviets) is condemned, if it demands from the people more than they can give, that does not care to consider the situation of the people... This is how you have governed, and instead of warming faith of the people, you have provoked its anger.”⁵⁷⁹

J. And, finally, as per the logic of the internal rules of government hierarchy, based on the replication of bad management practices, the inefficiency among the higher instances of the government resulted in exacerbated discipline among government officials, as well as in abuse of power and an atmosphere of impunity.

Under such conditions, the state government system was condemned to a collapse. With a retrospective view towards recent developments, Garegin Nzhdeh explained to the expatriated government. “A country, where it is allowed to do anything, abuse, sabotage, defect, betray, overtly preach losing mentality, in other words, a country that lacks the principle of punishment cannot survive for very long, it will collapse.”⁵⁸⁰

There is an eloquent passage in Garegin Nzhdeh’s “Notes from Jail” on the relationship between the individual and the state.

⁵⁷⁸ Garegin Nzhdeh’s letters, p. 87.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁸⁰ Garegin Nzhdeh’s letters, p. 67..

According to Nzhdeh, there can be three types of relationships between the two. First, the individual loves his state and is ready for any kind of sufferings and sacrifices for the sake of the state's defense and development. Second, the individual has become alienated and indifferent to the state, as a result of which, the state "becomes weak and prone to destruction." Third, the individual has become an enemy to the state and fosters its destruction. Of course, there are other circumstances both for the prosperity and the destruction of the state, but the most important, according to Nzhdeh, is the stance taken by the individual citizen. "The amicable position of an individual citizen and his attitude towards the state is what determines the fate of the state."⁵⁸¹

"There cannot exist a united and independent Armenia without the Great Syunik. If we ignore this truth, we will lose everything."⁵⁸² The broad activities of the Armenian military commander and political figure were to serve that very concept. Garegin Nzhdeh's greatest service to his nation and his state was the existence of the state of Mountainous Armenia, albeit for only a few months. "It would have been a moral death for me to leave a country I was entrusted to protect and let the enemy join with Nakhijevan through the corpses of the Armenian population and thus threaten the grounds of our Republic."⁵⁸³ It was impossible to do more in such a situation. Nevertheless, it was owing to Nzhdeh's titanic efforts that Mountainous Armenia fulfilled its historical mission, that is, by preserving its independence, allowed the government of the Soviet Armenia to retain Syunik in its territory. Nzhdeh's analysis of the reasons of state government crisis is not less valuable. Although he mentioned five main reasons for the fall of Mountainous Armenia in his explanation to

⁵⁸¹ **Garegin Nzhdeh**, Notes from Jail // Compositions, v. 1, Yerevan, 2002, p. 297

⁵⁸² Garegin Nzhdeh's letters, p. 80.

⁵⁸³ **Garegin Nzhdeh**, My explanation on the reason why Mountainous Armenia failed, p. 104.

the ARF Supreme judicial instance, as we saw, Nzhdeh's insightful mind went beyond it and thoroughly described both the objective (internal and external) reasons and grave management mistakes underlying the collapse of the state system.

In Garegin Nzhdeh's later oratory, this all is transformed into a theoretical contemplation and precise conclusion. Particularly, important sides of Nzhdeh's analysis are the perception of responsibility of subordinates and the distinction between legal responsibility and moral obligation in the management system. In any official relations of the management system, everyone is a subordinate to the head of a higher instance. How should the subordinate act? As a disciplined official, should he silently fulfill the will of higher levels? In other words, should he be solely accountable to his immediate supervisor? What if the order is wrong and the will is merely a self-will? Doesn't the subordinate bear a responsibility, albeit moral, for fulfilling a wrong order? This is the eternal dichotomy of the "supervisor's order – subordinate's obedience" relationship. To obey only because it is an order by the supervisor and then justify oneself as merely following orders (let's remember that during the Nuremberg trials, none of the war criminals admitted his guilt) or to act independently, realizing the personal responsibility?

In the end of his life, in a retrospective description of himself as a person, Garegin Nzhdeh openly confessed in his notes written in jail. "I am a man of spirit, and, as such, I am completely unsuitable for all those positions that require certain hierarchy from subordinates."⁵⁸⁴ The same source talks about another observation, which has a value of a general principle. "He becomes a hero and goes down the path of super-responsibility."⁵⁸⁵

No doubt, for a soldier, an order is a law, like the fulfillment of the requirements of the higher levels of management for the lower

⁵⁸⁴ G. Nzhdeh, *Autobiography* // Compositions, v. 1, Yerevan, 2002, p. 503.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 505.

levels is an important precondition for the natural flow of the activities of an organization. But not all fulfillments of orders and not all types of fulfillments are themselves a sign of discipline. Often, especially during times of turmoil, many mid-level officials justify their impotence, uselessness, and avoiding responsibility under the pretense of the responsibility of fulfilling orders. Thus, especially when there happens a conflict between the sense of responsibility inherent to a good manager and the willingness to bear personal responsibility for one's own decision, on the one hand, and the hierarchy expected from the officials and precise fulfillment of orders, on the other hand, it requires a certain solution.

Nzhdeh's solution is a desirable code of conduct for all levels of management. "In such historic times, the criteria of manager and his query should be the following: what dictates the eternal interests of my country and my nation? And not just daily government."⁵⁸⁶ There is no shortage of examples provided by Nzhdeh in making such decisions, for which he even earned a reputation of a troublemaker and stood before the court (in 1921, based on the decision ARF Supreme Court, he was expelled from the Dashnak party). However, his viewpoint has remained indubitable (and exemplary). "He who does not fulfill the order given to him creatively, deeply sins before the human cognition."⁵⁸⁷ When the Republic of Armenia signed an agreement with the Soviet Russia on 10 August 1920, Ruben Ter-Miranyan, the Minister of Defense, ordered Nzhdeh to flee Zangezur with his army units and come to Yerevan. Nzhdeh, however, disobeyed his superior. Moreover, he went on to justify his decision to disobey the government. In a similar manner, in February 1921, Simon Vratsyan invited him to Yerevan to assume a position, and again Nzhdeh refused to obey. Later on both the minister and the Prime

⁵⁸⁶ **G. Nzhdeh**, *My answer*, Sofia, 1937, p. 33.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 32-33.

Minister conceded that Nzhdeh was right. And after so many years, we should admit that in case he obeyed the fictitious subordination, we would have lost Syunik (like Artsakh and Nakhijevan annexed to Azerbaijan). Besides, the Mountainous Armenia governed by Nzhdeh later became a path to salvation for the Armenian *intelligenza* emigrating to Perisa. Nzhdeh's behavior shows the difference between the standpoint of a disciplined official and an official motivated by state interests, or, in his own language, "between a horseman and a knight."

Thus, the observations of Garegin Nzhdeh are not only of historic importance, related to the short existence of Mountainous Armenia and the reasons of its collapse, but are also an economic and political behest, which is useful for a comprehensive analysis of a crisis in the state governance system.

4.9. Public Administration in the 20th Century

4.9.1. The First Republic

In the beginning of the 20th century, on 28 May 1918, 543 years after the fall of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, the Armenian statehood was restored and a contemporary parliamentary republic, with its legislative, executive, and judicial branches, was created and is currently called the First Republic. The activities of the legislative body in the initial stage, including the formation of government, was carried out by the Armenian National Council, and then (starting from 1 August 1918) by the Council of Armenia, while one year later, starting from 1 August 1919, a multi-party parliament elected by the people was in operation with its 12 committees.⁵⁸⁸

The Government, which was the supreme executive body of

⁵⁸⁸ S. Vratsyan, *The Republic of Armenia*, Paris, 1928, p. 132, 260, 251, 252.

the First Republic, initially consisted of a Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Interior Minister, Finance Minister, and Minister of Defense. The later government, which approved by the parliament, was considerably different from its predecessor, however, due to undertaken reforms. It consisted of a Prime Minister (who was also the Minister of Foreign Affairs), Interior and Justice Minister, Finance and Guardianship Minister, Labor and Social Security Minister, Minister of Public Education and Culture, and Defense Minister.⁵⁸⁹

According to Al. Khatisyan, one of the former Prime Ministers of Armenia, the activity of the government of the Republic of Armenia between the summer of 1918 and December 1920 can be divided into three stages.

- ❖ State-Organizational
- ❖ Political-Creative
- ❖ A struggle against internal and external enemies⁵⁹⁰

In the summer of 1919, according to Vratsyan, Armenia was already an organized state. The country was divided into 10 regions (*gavars*) (Yerevan, Ejmiatsin, Daralagyaz, Nor Bayazet, Dilijan, Gharakilisa, Alexandrapol, Kars, Zangezur, and Surmalu) with their bodies of territorial administration comprising of heads of regions (*gavars*) and local governments.⁵⁹¹ Judicial power was created (there were conciliatory courts in the regions, and a district court, judicial house, and a senate in Yerevan).⁵⁹² The forth power, the press, was being developed. Meanwhile, the announcement (August 1919) of the government program in the parliament emphasized the development of regional and city self-government.⁵⁹³ By the way, the issues of local self-government

⁵⁸⁹ Ibidem, p. 252.

⁵⁹⁰ **Al. Khatisyan**, *The Origination and Development of the Republic of Armenia*, Beirut, 1968, p. 133.

⁵⁹¹ **S. Vratsyan**, *The Republic of Armenia*, Paris, 1928, p. 320–321.

⁵⁹² Ibidem, p. 320.

⁵⁹³ Ibidem, p. 253.

were trusted to the Interior Ministry. According to Khatisyan, “the basis of the draft law on local self-government was the latter’s full independence. Local self-government was delegated a number of functions and positions within the local boundaries.”⁵⁹⁴ In sum, a system of public administration based on democratic principles was becoming more complete. The main social-economic principles of the government were the following:

- ❖ Create accessible state credits to exploit a number of enterprises, fight unemployment, and apply vital norms of work remuneration

- ❖ Provide state assistance to the working class, especially for the revival of the natural disaster-ridden economy

- ❖ Promote the entry of intellectual capital into the country

- ❖ Regulate the tax system by applying progressive income tax rates and raise direct taxes at the expense of indirect ones

- ❖ Establish a free and mandatory general education system, promote specialized education

- ❖ Assist the cooperatives, foster the industrial development

- ❖ Nationalize the lands belonging to big landlords, the Church, and private wine-makers, and distribute them between small-holder peasants, as per the norms and order approved⁵⁹⁵

It is evident that economic policy is based on the ideology of market economy and private property, which was typical for the European civilization. The Armenian system, however, had certain socialist inclination, which was due to the ARF’s socialist party program.

The First Republic did not manage to develop and adopt the country’s constitution, and although attempts to create a legislative field, particularly the principal law of the country, during earlier periods of the Armenian history were known (Vachagan Barepasht’s “Canonical Constitution” (*“Sahmanadrutyun kanuna-*

⁵⁹⁴ **Al. Khatisyan**, *The Origination and Development of the Republic of Armenia*, Beirut, 1968, p. 134.

⁵⁹⁵ **S. Vratsyan**, *The Republic of Armenia*, Paris, 1928, p. 253–254.

kan”), the books of codes by Mkhitar Gosh and Smbat Sparapet, “The Snare of Glory” by Shahamiryants, and others), the Armenian Council and later the Parliament had adopted 116 and 202 laws and decrees,⁵⁹⁶ respectively, which had comprised the legal and normative base for the government of the country. As per the accounts of contemporaries, as well as published legislative decrees, the laws adopted referred to current problems of the time and stemmed from the circumstances, while “there were relatively few laws that reflected general policies or have universal social, economic, or cultural value.”⁵⁹⁷

4.9.2. The Second Republic

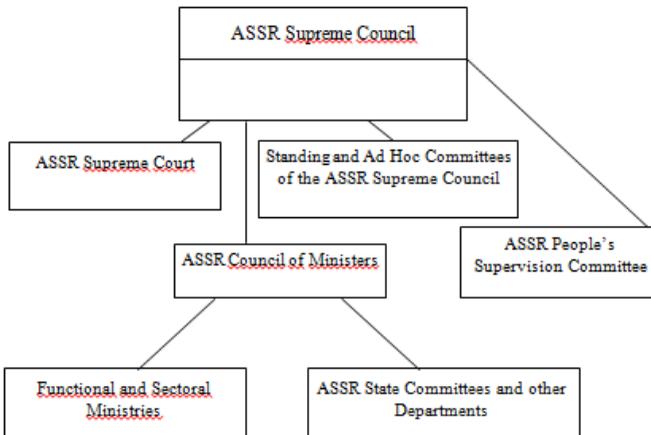
On 29 November 1920, under complex military and political circumstances, the “Armenian Revolutionary Federation” political party had to surrender state authority to the Bolsheviks. The First Republic was followed by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR). The First Republic existed as an independent state for two and a half years, while the ASSR existed until the 21 September 1991 independence referendum, although on 23 August 1990 the newly elected Supreme Council consisting of the representatives of various political forces of the ASSR (the Armenian National Movement, the Communist Party of Armenia) and dominated by the deputies belonging to or supporting the Armenian National Movement had adopted the Declaration of Independence of the Republic, and independent social-economic policy was being implemented in the country, which means that starting from August 1990 the Communist Party had been constitutionally deprived of authority in Armenia. The Second Republic, too, had the attributes of the parliamentary republic – legislative, executive, judicial branches of power, a coat of arms, a hymn, and a Constitution – but

⁵⁹⁶ Ibidem, p. 518, 529.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 518, 519–546.

was not a fully independent state. It was rather part of the Soviet Union. The functions of state government bodies were limited, they were mainly implementing the decisions adopted by Soviet government bodies and carrying out the Soviet-adopted economic and social policy in the territory of Armenia.

The economic base of the Soviet Armenia was the socialist, that is to say, state ownership of the means of production, while government was strictly centralized. Particularly, the dominant way of managing the economy was through the adoption and implementation of comprehensive state economic plans. The dominant ideology of the country was the Marxist-Leninist Communist Doctrine, which was at the same time the methodological base of the state governance. Based on the above, the ASSR replicated the main laws of the RSFSR and, later on, the USSR, adopted three constitutions, in 1922 (amended in 1925), in 1937, and in 1978.⁵⁹⁸ Based on the principal law, the legal-normative field of the country has developed. The system of state governance, as per the latest constitution, is presented in Picture 10.



Picture 10. The State Governance System of the ASSR

⁵⁹⁸ ASE, Yerevan, 1987, p. 8.

According to the Constitution of the ASSR, the supreme body of state authority was the Supreme Council, which was authorized to adopt the country's constitution, form the executive judicial branches of government, approve economic and social development plans and the state budget, as well as form the legislative field.

The supreme executive body of state authority was the ASSR Council of Ministers, which had broad authority over the economic, social, and cultural fields. These authorizes were defined by the Constitution and the law "on the ASSR Council of Ministers," as well as by authority reserved to Soviet republics by the Constitution of the USSR. The local government bodies included the city, district, township, and village people's deputy committees, as representative bodies, and the executives committees of local councils, as executive and stewardship bodies. By the way, as of 1 September 1987, the territory of the ASSR was divided into 37 rural and 10 urban districts, there were 22 cities under republican and 5 cities under district control, as well as 31 urban-like townships and 479 rural councils.⁵⁹⁹ It should be noted that the whole system of state governance was functioning under the leadership and supervision of central, republican, and district bodies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for, based on the constitutions of both the USSR and ASSR (Article 6), the leading and directing force of the Soviet society, as well as the core of its political system is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

A number of scholarly works related to the theory of management has been produced during the Soviet rule, which have substantiated the management methodology, the principles of the constitution, as well as economic planning and financial management within the framework, the Marxist-Leninist Doctrine and, especially, class-based interpretation of the state. The thesis of the

⁵⁹⁹ ASE, Soviet Armenia, Yerevan, 1987, p. 19.

state's historical transitory nature was being accepted, according to which, the socialist state was regarded as the supreme type of the state, which will gradually die out, ceding its place to a communist sovereign. This thesis stems from the class-based interpretation of the state and is not confirmed by real-life facts, especially in the contemporary unviable circumstances regarding the future of communism.

The socialist type of the state created in the ASSR was build on a political direction, namely on the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Its economic model was based on the efficient state ownership of the means of production, while the arsenal of state governance was full of administrative methods. The economic liberty of private proprietorship was strictly limited, and competition, the natural driving force of development, was missing from the system. Such a political and economic system should have either been considerably overhauled or be replaced by another, more advanced, political and economic system and its corresponding state governance mechanism, which is exactly what happened in 1991.

4.9.3. The Third Republic

The Declaration of Independence of Armenia, which is the first legal document declaring the Third Republic, adopted by the Supreme Council of the ASSR on 23 August 1990, states that, building on the democratic traditions of the 28 May 1918 independent Republic of Armenia, the process of establishing an independent statehood had been initiated. The process of establishing an independent statehood in Armenia completed by the 21 September 1991 independence referendum, while by the Constitution adopted by the 5 July 1995 referendum, it was declared that “the Republic of Armenia is a sovereign, democratic, social state governed by

rule of law.”⁶⁰⁰ Although independent statehood in Armenia and the attempts to develop a constitution, as noted before, has a rich history, it was in 1995, when for the first time the Armenian state practically adopted the principal law of the country. In the course of the development of the document, both national and international achievements in this field have been taken into account.

From the time of its inception and until the first presidential election in 1991, the Third Republic was of Parliamentary nature. The Speaker of the Supreme Council was the head of state, while the government was formed in the Parliament and was accountable to it. With the election of the President of the Republic of Armenia, the country moved to a semi-presidential government system, which was confirmed by the Constitution adopted on 5 July 1995. Later there emerged a need to improve the system of public administration, particularly, to emend and balance the authority of the president, and the legislative, executive, and judicial powers and create an efficient system of checks and balances. Necessary amendments were made in the Constitution that was to serve that purpose. The amended version was approved in a referendum on 27 November 2005. The government system, as per the Constitution of the Third Republic, is in line with the contemporary principles and requirements of public administration. As such, the system of public administration of the Republic of Armenia is presented in Chapter 1 of this book. As it was mentioned earlier, as per the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, the president of the country is the head of state, which ensures the regular functioning of the legislative, executive and judicial powers (Article 49), while legislative power is vested in the National Assembly (Article 62), executive power is realized by the government of the Republic of Armenia (Article 85), and the judicial power is executed by the Constitutional and general authority courts.

⁶⁰⁰ The Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, 1997, p. 4.

The **President** of RA, in line with the procedures under the Constitution of RA, appoints and dismisses the Prime Minister, members of the government, and top officials of the judiciary. The laws adopted by the National Assembly are published and exercised only after the endorsement by the President of RA. As it is stated in Article 49 of the Constitution of RA, the President of the Republic is the guarantor of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Armenia. The President represents the Republic in international relations, signs international treaties and presents them to the ratification by the National Assembly, signs their ratifications, and approves International treaties.

The **National Assembly** adopts laws, creates the necessary legal field for the economy, ratifies the state budget and the administrative-territorial division of the country in the presence of the government, appoints the president of the Central Bank and the president of the Control Chamber based on the President's proposal. At the same time, the National Assembly carries out supervision over the implementation of the state budget, as well as the deployment of loans and credits received from foreign states and international organizations. In order to realize its legislative activities, the supreme legislative body can create up to 12 standing committees and, if need be, ad hoc committees, which will examine the draft laws and present the conclusions to the National Assembly.

The following is the standing committees currently in existence:

- ❖ On Healthcare, Maternity, and Childhood (healthcare, motherhood and childhood),
- ❖ On Foreign Relations (international treaties, international relations and inter-parliamentary relations),
- ❖ On Science, Education, Culture, Youth and Sport (science, education, publishing, culture, relations with the Diaspora, press, radio, television, youth, and sport),

❖ On Agriculture and Environment (agriculture, natural resources, environmental protection),

❖ On European Integration (relations with the EU and the EC, the harmonization of the laws of the Republic of Armenia with the European legislation),

❖ On the Protection of Human Rights and Public Affairs (human and civil rights and freedoms, law and notary services, children's rights, parties and other public associations, religion, gender issues, national minorities, information),

❖ On Defense, National Security, and Internal Affairs (defense, security and internal affairs, emergency situations, police, military-industrial complex, military-educational institutions, military and police services),

❖ On State and Legal Affairs (constitutional amendments, electoral system, public service, judiciary, justice, prosecutor's office, civil, criminal and administrative legislation, Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly),

❖ On Social Affairs (social security, problems of disability, labor, employment, housing conditions, demography and repatriation),

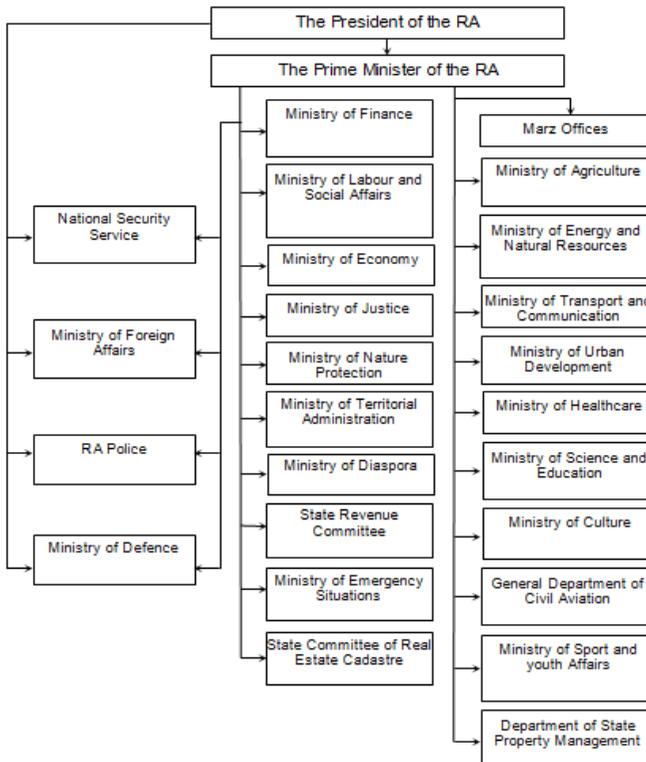
❖ On Territorial Administration and Local Self-Government (territorial management, local self-government, territorial development, community service, local taxes, duties and payments),

❖ On Economic Affairs (taxes, duties, payments, industry, urban development, energy, transport, communication, telecommunication, other branches of production infrastructure, tourism, trade and services, entrepreneurial activity, state property management),

❖ On Financial-Credit and Budgetary Affairs (budgetary legislation, state budget, loans, credits, money, money turnover, banking system, financial-credit organizations).

The **Government**, as the supreme body of the executive power, develops and implements the domestic policy of the Republic of Armenia. Particularly, it manages state property,

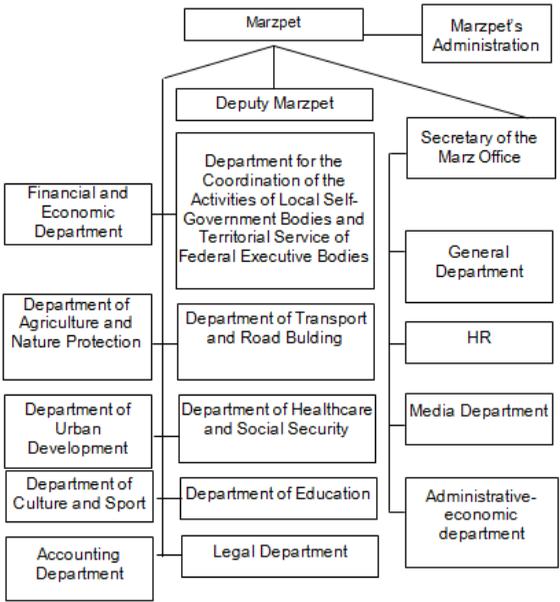
implements financial-economic, credit, and tax policy of the state, provides for state policy in the fields of science, education, culture, healthcare, social security, environmental protection, and other fields. It presents the draft state budget for the ratification by the National Assembly and ensures the implementation of the approved budget, as well as presents an action plan for the approval by the legislative body. The government consists of the Prime Minister and the Ministers. One of the Ministers, based on a proposal by the Prime Minister, can be appointed Deputy Prime Minister by the President. The structure of the government is defined by the law. The functions of the executive power are realized by **functional and sectoral ministries and departments** (see Picture 11).



Picture 11.

Territorial Administration in Armenia is implemented through the regional (*marz*) government bodies. The *marzes* and communities are the administrative-territorial units of the Republic. Each *marz* consists of urban and rural communities. There are 10 *marzes* in Armenia, including Ararat, Aragatsotn, Armavir, Shirak, Lori, Gegharkunik, Syunik, Tavush, Kotayk, and Vayots Dzor. According to current legislation, there is state governance implemented in the *marzes*. The government bodies in the *marzes* implement the territorial policy of the government and coordinate the activities of territorial functions of the executive bodies.

State governance in a *marz* is implemented by the head of the *marz* (*marzpet*) through the *marz* office, which is financed by the state budget. *Marzpets* are appointed and dismissed by the Government. The *Marzpet* appoints a deputy *marzpet* (in coordination with the Minister of Territorial Administration) and forms the structural units of the *marz* office (Picture 12).



Picture 12.

The activities of the bodies of territorial administration in Armenia are governed by the Minister of Territorial Administration.

Some of the specific characteristics of the system of public administration include the decentralization of certain functions of state governance and their delegation to the government bodies that stand closer to the people, that is to the circles of community management.

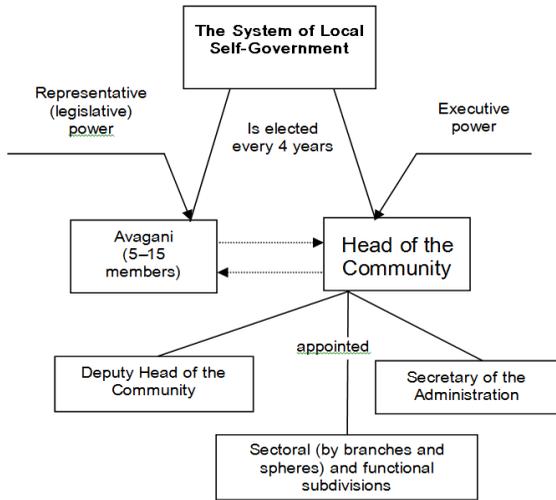
According to Article 104 of the Constitution of RA, **local self-government is implemented in the communities**. Local self-government, as it is stated in the European Charter, is the right of local self-government bodies, ensured and guaranteed by the state, as well as by the real ability to regulate and govern a considerable share of public affairs on its own responsibility and for the well-being of the population of the community, in accordance with the laws of the country. The community is a collection of the population of one or many settlements. It is a legal entity and has its property and other types of property rights. The bodies of local self-government are elected for a four-year period, the 5-15-person legislature of the community (*avagani*) and the head of the community (a mayor or a head of the village). Thus, in order to manage the property of the community, the authority for solving community-level problems is constitutionally transferred to the local self-government bodies. This means that a territorial decentralization of state government functions is in place.

Local self-government is realized according to the RA law “On Self Governance.” Currently there are **915** communities in the Republic of Armenia (49 urban and 866 rural).

Prior to the 2005 Constitutional amendments, Yerevan had a status of a *marz*, while local self-government was realized in 12 district communities. The Mayor of Yerevan was appointed by the President of RA. Under such conditions, Yerevan did not have a representative body (*avagani*), neither an approved budget nor a development plan. After the constitutional reforms, however,

according to Article 108 of the principal law, Yerevan was granted a status of a community. As per the mentioned article, “The peculiarities of local self-government and formation of local self-government bodies in the City of Yerevan shall be defined by the law. A law may provide for either direct or indirect elections of the Mayor of Yerevan.” As per the RA law “On Local Self-Government in the City of Yerevan,” the Mayor of Yerevan is elected in the session of a multi-party elected legislature of the capital city.

The *avagani* of the community is a representative body, which, in accordance with the law, manages the property of the community, approves the annual budget of the community, and supervises its realization and the deployment of the loans received by the community. It is authorized to define local duties and payment, make decisions on the management of the property of the community, and approve the organizational structure of the administration of the head of the community, which includes the Deputy Head of the community, the secretary of the administration, and the structural units (Picture 13).



Picture 13.

The authority of local self-governments is defined by the charter of the staff, which is approved by the head of the community.

The **Head of the Community**, together with his administration, is an executive body of local self-government. He realizes the authority reserved for him by the Constitution and the RA law “On Local Self-Government.” In particular, the head of the community carries out the following:

- ❖ Runs the *avagani* sessions (with an advisory voting right)
- ❖ Develops and presents for the *avagani* approval a four-year program of the economic development of the community, as well as the draft budget, and ensures the realization of the approved budget and the program
- ❖ Organizes the development of the general layout of the community’s urban development and the scheme of land use, as well as the construction activities and land allocation
- ❖ Manages the communal economy of the community, the exploitation of the networks of water supply, sewage, irrigation, gas, and heating, organizes the improvement of the territory of the community, sanitary cleaning, road building and exploitation, and regulates the activity of public transportation on the territory of the community
- ❖ Defines the regulation of trade and public food catering
- ❖ Organizes the activities of educational and cultural organizations (schools, libraries, clubs, cultural houses, kindergartens, and so on)
- ❖ Supports the realization of agricultural activities, as well as the preservation of nature and the environment

The financial basis for the implementation of the above-mentioned authority is the community budget. The sources of income of the community budget are the following: the land tax and property tax levied within the administrative boundaries of the community, the annual deductions from the income tax, profit tax, and environmental payments defined by the law on the state

budget, state and local dues, the payments from renting out communal land and property, state budget subsidies and specific-purpose allocations provided by the principle of equalization.

As per the current legislation, local self-government bodies are authorized to create inter-community units based on contractual principles in order to solve common problems and reduce expenditures. A council is formed from the head of communities and a president is elected for the management of such inter-community units.

The contemporaneity of the system of local self-government operating in Armenia can be evaluated by the degree of fulfilling the principles of the European Charter “on Local Self-Government,” as well as by the outstanding problems, which are represented in the table below.

The Degree of Fulfilling the Principles of the European Charter “on Local Self-Government” and the Outstanding Problems

Articles and principles	Fully Implemented	Partially Implemented	To Be Implemented
Article 2 Constitutional Adoption of the Principle of Local Self-government	RA Constitution, Article 105	-	-
Article 3 3.1. The Concept of Local Self-government 3.2.1. Creation of the Representative body 3.2.2. Creation of the Executive body	RA Constitution, Article 105, RA Law on “Local Self-Government”	-	-
Article 4 The Authority of Local Self-government	RA Constitution, Chapter 7, RA Law on “Local Self-Government”	-	-

Articles and principles	Fully Implemented	Partially Implemented	To Be Implemented
Article 5 Changing the Boundaries of the Communities Only by Considering the Opinion of the Population	-	Implemented by the RA Constitution, Article 110, RA Law "On the Administrative-Territorial Division of RA," Considering the Current Borders of the Communities	
Article 6 6.1. The Definition of the Organizational Structures of Government 6.2. The Selection of the Professionals	Implemented by the RA Law "On Local Self-Government" -	- RA Laws "On Local Self-Government" and "On Community Service"	-
Article 8 Administrative Supervision Over The Activities of Local Self-government Bodies	-	Due by RA Law "On Local Self-Government" and RA Constitution (Article 109)	
Article 9 9.1. The Correspondence Between Own Financial Resources of Local Self-Government Bodies and their Authority 9.2. Possibilities of Financial Equalization	- Financial Equalization is Reserved by the Law	Own Financial Resources Comprise about 50% -	The Problem Requires a Solution -

Articles and principles	Fully Implemented	Partially Implemented	To Be Implemented
Article 10 The Right to Form Partnerships with Local Self-Government Bodies	The Formation Of Inter-Community Units is Re served by RA Law “On Local Self-Government” (Articles 78-80)	-	-

In general, although the system of public administration and local self-government in Armenia mostly corresponds to the democratic and legal criteria of the civilized world, as an ever-evolving phenomenon, it is subject to reform and improvement, in order to make it more democratic and raise its political, economic, and social efficiency.

4.10. Participatory Governance in Local Self-Government System of Armenia

Participatory governance, and, in particular, residents' participation in public management processes, is a commonly encountered concept in recent times, that is used in different dimensions. However, as the international and local practices of local governance show, in many cases it just turns into a term that is being used for populist purposes. And questions such as “who can participate?”, “when is participation useful?”, “how can participation be ensured?”, “is that participation a desirable thing” often remain unanswered, which leads to a participatory governance to become a formal process. Residents' participation concept can be viewed in different planes. It can be considered as a separate theoretical problem, a legal concept, but at the same time as an actually and practically applicable process. The latter interpretation significantly differs from the previous two by presenting new

problems for scientific research, the solution of which can be given through a study of legal framework and the outcomes of practical implementation. In this regard, participation of residents in local self-government can be viewed as an established legal concept in the Republic of Armenia.

In the local self-government system of the Republic of Armenia, and also throughout the world, state, and particularly, central authorities play a critical role in the implementation of participatory governance. And although this idea can seem a little controversial, provided the principle of separate and independent functioning of local self-government system, but the logic is that the state government bodies are directly responsible for the formation of the country's legislation, which, of course, must also include provisions regulating participatory governance at local level. The latter may have both guiding and enabling, and also obligatory characters. Moreover, it is clear that the existence of legislative framework regulating participatory governance can be viewed as merely a necessary, but in no case a sufficient one. In this sense, both laws adopted at the state level, and also regulations adopted by the local councils must be based on the disclosure of the needs of residents and other stakeholders and enabling a real participation. Without clear rules, procedures and policies participatory governance can not operate efficiently in a local self-government system. But at the same time, the contrary assertion, that without real incentives for participation and practical steps laws, rules, and procedures are meaningless, is also reasonable.

Local self-government, as an integrated component of public administration system in the Republic of Armenia was first established on November 10, 1996, when the first municipal elections were held. Before that, the constitutional grounds of local self-government had been set up in the Constitution of RA, adopted on July 5, 1995 and the bases for territorial administration - in the Law of RA "On Administrative-Territorial division of the Republic of Armenia". In other words, the idea of system of local self-

government was rooted, when Armenia adopted the political and economic course based on the development of democratic values. Before the formation of local self-government system and after regaining independence, the Soviet system of administrative-territorial division and the implementation of power at the local level was still in force.

After the proclamation of independence, the Republic of Armenia entered a new phase of economic and legal reforms, where the creation of mechanisms for democratic governance was put in the core of those reforms. The Constitution of RA, 1995, and the Law of RA “On Local Self-Government” expanded the scope of the rights and powers of local self-government bodies, citizens gained the right to participate in decision-making of the local authorities.

In 2001 Armenia became a member of the Council of Europe and agreed to sign and ratify the European Charter of Local Self-Government within a year. The Charter defines and guarantees the principles of local self-government, which is one of the pillars of democracy. Among a number of provisions the Charter declares publicity, transparency and accountability of the local self-government bodies to the community members.

A new law on local self-government was adopted in 2002, by which the council sessions must be open to all citizens, except special cases, when the two thirds of the members of the council voted to hold a closed session. Another law promoting local democracy is the Law of RA “On Budget System of” which emphasizes the importance of participation of citizens in budget discussions at all stages, from programming to the discussions, implementation and evaluation. In 2003 this law was amended and enriched by the provisions on the basic principles of the design of municipal budgets.

Constitutional amendments in 2005 also addressed the local self-government system, namely:

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- The heads of communities and the member of councils are elected for a four-year period instead of three,
 - The community development program is designed for a four-year period, instead of three,
 - The decisions of local councils must be published, local referenda can be held, citizens can directly participate in decision-making,
 - The heads of communities can only be dismissed by the Constitutional Court.

In 2004 the Law of RA “on Freedom of Information” was passed, the basic principles are the following:

- a uniform procedure for recording, classifying and saving information,
- freedom to seek and receive information,
- ensuring access to information,
- publicity.

The authorities with their own initiative and according to the instructions of the law should take the necessary measures to publish their stored information, if:

- the provision of such information serves the transparency in the public administration and the promotion of performance of government bodies,
- can contribute to the informed public participation in the issued of public interest.

Although the legal framework for democratic mechanisms and public participation exists, but in most cases the law doesn't clearly set requirements for the concrete tools for their realization. For filling this gap legislation allows to set procedures, regulations, mechanisms, guidelines. For instance, notifications, public hearings, as well objections or appeal mechanisms against the decisions made, should be clearly described in the municipal regulations.

Armenia's membership in the Council of Europe was essential for the development and reform of local self-government system.

Particularly, after ratifying the European Charter of Local Self-Government, the new Law of RA “On Local Self-Government” was passed in 2002, and constitutional amendments in 2005 opened a new page for a further development of the system.

The ideological base of the European Charter of Local Self-Government itself essentially draws on the principles of participatory governance. By declaring the fact that self-government bodies are one of the most important grounds of democratic societies, the Charter includes the right of citizens to participate in public affairs in the list of general democratic principles for all of the Council of Europe member states. Besides, the importance of citizens’ right of participation is particularly emphasized for the local self-government system, because direct participation can be most effectively ensured at local level. In general, the member states of the Council of Europe, that have signed the Charter are “convinced that the existence of local authorities with real responsibilities can provide an administration which is both effective and close to the citizen”⁶⁰¹.

It should also be noted that the Republic of Armenia ratified the Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority in 2005, and thus received new legislative obligations. The Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on September 9, 2009. The protocol clarifies the concept of the right of citizens’ participation, the methods of implementation, as well as the extent of its applicability. According to the protocol, “The States Parties shall secure to everyone within their jurisdiction the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority”. Moreover, “The right to participate in the affairs of a local authority denotes the right to seek to determine or to influence

⁶⁰¹ European Charter of Local Self-Government, Strasbourg, 1985, Preamble.

the exercise of a local authority's powers and responsibilities”⁶⁰². With this the protocol, in essence, considers different degrees of participation.

Speaking of citizens’ participation in the community management, it should be noted that the legal basis for this process is quite strong in the Republic of Armenia. This fact is natural, because the idea of local self-government itself reflects the closeness of population to the management and their direct participation in the formation of governing bodies and decision-making processes. In this regard, local elections and referenda are the brightest reflection of this phenomenon. And it’s quite logical, that a number of legal documents contain various provisions related to these processes. Particularly, in the Constitution of RA it is clearly stated that “the members of community can directly participate in the management of community affairs to resolve the issues of local importance through local referendum”⁶⁰³. Additionally, another article stipulates that “eighteen-year old citizens of the Republic of Armenia have the right to take part in the elections and referenda as well as the right to take part in the public administration and local self-governance through their representatives chosen directly and through the expression of free will”⁶⁰⁴.

Development of participatory governance at local level is always touched upon in the executive authority programs. In particular, in the Governments 2012–2017 program it is planned to ensure efficient mechanisms for the decisions made by the heads of communities and for the control of their activities, as well as to enhance the transparency of local self-government bodies’

⁶⁰² The Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority, Utrecht, 16.11.2009, article 1. Available at <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/207.htm>

⁶⁰³ The Constitution of the Republic of Armenia: Yerevan, “Tigran Mets”, 2005, article 107.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, article 30.

operations, which reflects the passive forms of participatory governance. It is also mentioned that Government intends to take measures encouraging citizens' participation in the decision-making and public administration at local level, which already covers the development of more active forms of participation⁶⁰⁵.

For the realization of the fundamental right to participate that is fixed in the above-mentioned international commitments, as well as in the Constitution of RA, the legislation also includes a number of provisions, which regulate the process of participatory governance at local level. These legal norms refer both to the formation of local self-government bodies (indirect participation), and also to the participation in the decisions that are made by already formed bodies (direct participation). But, unlike the first segment, which is regulated by the law quite clearly and in details, the range mechanisms for participation in decision-making is rather general, and there is a lack of clarity. In this regard, a significant progress was made in 2013, when the National Assembly of RA passed the Law "On the Addenda in the Law of RA "On Local Self-Government"". The new provisions mainly refer to the direct participation of citizens in local self-government and correspond to the requirements of Utrecht protocol.

Three of the local-self-government principles that are mentioned in the Law of RA "On Local Self-Government" refer to the participatory governance. One of them is the accountability of local self-government bodies to the members of the community, the next one is the publicity and transparency of local self-government bodies' activities. And finally, according to the above mentioned addenda in the law, "direct participation of citizens" was added as a separate principle⁶⁰⁶. Before that, citizens' direct participation in local self-government was not reflected anyhow in the law.

⁶⁰⁵ Government Program of the Republic of Armenia 2012-2017, decision N 730 of June 18 of the Government of RA.

⁶⁰⁶ Law of RA "On Local Self-Government", Yerevan, 2002, article 9.

The heads of communities are vested with a number of obligatory functions in the field of protection of the rights of citizens and economic agents by the Law of RA “On Local Self-Government”, which states, that the head of the community must host the citizens in the administration, as well as to examine their proposals, requests, complaints and take appropriate measures⁶⁰⁷. This provision of the law, of course, reckons for the absence of the obstacles on the way of citizens’ participation, but on the other hand the formulations are rather general, which sometimes gives an opportunity to the heads of communities to imitate participation at times. The same obligation is vested to the heads of administrative regions in Yerevan, and not to the mayor, because of being closer to the citizens according to the Law of RA “on Local Self-Government in the City of Yerevan”.⁶⁰⁸

One of the most important means of having a direct participation in local self-government is the organization of local referendum, on which a separate law has been passed. The right for the initiative to hold a local referendum belongs to the initiative groups formed by residents of the community, however so far local referenda have not been practiced. One of the reasons for this is that the results of local referenda are not binding for the local self-government bodies, but rather consultative. Besides, the law has been passed mainly in correspondance with the international obligations of RA, but a lot of practical issues of its applicability remained unsolved. The law also contains a number of restrictions⁶⁰⁹ – community budget, disposition of the community property, etc. – which considerably decreases the real significance of local referendum in the solution of local problems. Moreover, the range of issues that can be put on referendum is rather general, namely the issues carried by the Constitution and the laws to

⁶⁰⁷ Ibidem, article 33.

⁶⁰⁸ Law of RA “On Local Self-Government in the City of Yerevan”, Yerevan, 2009, article 92.

⁶⁰⁹ Law of RA “On Local Referendum”, Yerevan, 2002, article 5.2.

competence of local self-government bodies, and also the issues provided by the law⁶¹⁰.

In the legislation of our country one can also find certain provisions, which regulate citizens' participation in community budgeting process. In particular, the Law on Local Self-Government in Yerevan states, that for making the budget of Yerevan more available for the citizens of Yerevan, general indicators, reference books and brochures, containing statistical and graphic information, are being prepared and published.⁶¹¹ This process is regulated by the Law on the Budgetary System of the Republic of Armenia, which determines that for ensuring the publicity the draft version of the community budget shall be published in the local press within three days after submission to the community council and the annual report on budget implementation is published within 5 days after the approval by the community council. It is also mentioned that the heads of municipalities take steps to facilitate the access of community members to the draft of community budget, the annual account and other appropriate documentation.⁶¹²

In the context of participatory governance at local level in the Republic of Armenia it is necessary to introduce the addenda made in the Law of RA "On Local Self-Government" in June, 2013, which are devoted to the direct participation of citizens, reflect the requirements of the Utrecht Protocol of European Charter of Local Self-Government and create new opportunities for the development of local participatory governance both in Yerevan, and also in the whole Republic.

As we have already noted, as a result of the above mentioned addenda a new provision was added in the law which clearly

⁶¹⁰ Ibidem, article 5.1.

⁶¹¹ The Law of the Republic of Armenia on Local Self-Government in the City of Yerevan: Yerevan, 2009, Article 77.

⁶¹² The Law of the Republic of Armenia on Budgetary System: Yerevan, 1997, Article 36.

defines citizens' participation in local self-government as a separate principle. Moreover, citizens' participation in local self-government is fixed by the law as a process, through which the citizens are not only being informed on the activities of local self-government bodies, but also have a direct impact on the decision-making⁶¹³. Before that citizens' direct participation in local self-government had not been included in the law. Although being rather general the definition of this principle by the law is of utmost importance in the sense that there will be no more controversies on why to include citizens in the decision-making processes: the idea and the concept of local self-government itself assumes that it should be implemented through the direct participation of citizens, which is henceforth a "principle".

According to the addenda, not less than one percent of local residents of the community that have reached the age of sixteen can come up with the initiative of including a question in the agenda of the local council meeting in the communities with population more than ten thousand people, not less than two percent – in the communities with less than ten thousand population, and not less than four percent – in the communities with less than one thousand population. The initiative for including a separate question in the agenda of the local council meeting is signed by the community members and is passed on to the head of the community. Besides, the initiative of local residents must be submitted and discussed at the council meeting not later than within a month after receiving it by the head of the community. The same initiative can be submitted to the discussion of the council and be included in the agenda not earlier than after six months from the initial discussion. The initiative of the local residents is presented at the council meeting by the representative elected by the initiators, and the procedure of the discussions is determined by the council regulations⁶¹⁴. One of

⁶¹³ Law of RA "On the Addenda in the Law of RA "On Local Self-Government"", Yerevan, 2013, article 1.

⁶¹⁴ Ibidem, article 3.

the essential amendments was that the head of the community received new powers and obligations in the field of participatory governance. Particularly, in accordance with the law, the head of the community:

- creates adequate conditions for the community members to be informed on the activities of local self-government bodies and to participate in the management and development of the community using all the available forms and means (including information technologies and tele-communications) for that purpose,
- provides the organization and implementation of the measures for the citizens' participation and the dissemination of the information in the locations available and convenient for the citizens, as well as creates necessary conditions for the people with disabilities and low mobility groups, that wish to participate in the community activities,
- organizes public hearings and discussions on the legislative and sub-legislative crucial initiatives and projects concerning local self-government, particularly on the community development programs and the annual budget, the decisions of the head of the community and the community council in the field of the provision of public services, on the community master plan, urban development, environmental protection, planned changes in environmental activities, as well as organizes the acceptance of proposals regarding the mentioned issues, and their submission to the authors of the initiatives and projects,
- informs and includes community residents and the representatives of the society in the teaching and requalification programs, organized on the territory of the community⁶¹⁵.

It is worth mentioning, that the law also regulates citizens' participation in the community development program and the budget management processes, which, as already mentioned, is one of the necessary and integral components of participatory gover-

⁶¹⁵ Ibidem, article 11.

nance. In particular, for ensuring citizens' participation in community development four-year program and yearly budget management (development, public discussion, implementation and control) processes, based on the proposal of the head of the community and the decision of the community council a deliberative body, adjacent to the head of the community, is formed with the inclusion of the relevant specialists from the municipality staff and municipal organizations, as well as up to three members of the community council, local residents, experts and other stakeholders (upon the latter's agreement). The head of the community, before submitting the drafts of the community development four-year program or the annual budget to the approval of the community council, organizes and holds open public hearings or discussions. The head of the community provides the community council with information on the remarks and proposals received during the public hearings or discussions⁶¹⁶. The given provision of the law, in fact, makes citizens' participation in community development program and community budget management processes mandatory, moreover, it calls for a creation of a purely participatory body (deliberative body).

⁶¹⁶ Ibidem, article 12.

Chapter 5.

LANGUAGE AND SPEECH IN THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

5.1. Language as a Public Reality

The main concepts on the origination of the state emphasize in unison the role of the unification and consolidation of people in the emergence of the unitary state, as well as in the natural functioning and harmonic development of state governance. However, these concepts, as a rule, do not particularly stress, or simply eschew, the phenomenon of language as one of the main conditions of both the origination of the state and the opportunity of actual functioning of state governance. Meanwhile, the very possibility of human cohabitation implies a public function of language, albeit in an embryonic form. Every kind of joint activity, even the simplest type, implies joint human efforts, which is possible, first of all, through verbal communication.

Thus, we can state that the famous phrase by Socrates, “Speak so that I may know you,” had been actual even before the Great Greek philosopher was born. People had to know the virtues of one another back in electing the *Avagani*, the tribal government body. Especially in the direct democracies of the Greek city-states, the public speech of an individual was an indicator of his public worth. “The people, indeed, can be attracted by speech” is the formulation by Plutarch, which serves as a concise description of the important public function of language.⁶¹⁷ Later on, the more complex public life becomes, the more develops language, reflecting that very complexity and responding to the need that derives from it, thus, first of all, fulfilling its main function of regulating public life.

⁶¹⁷ **Plutarch**, *Precepts of Statecraft // Compositions*, Yerevan, 1988, p. 674.

Language, as a self-sufficient phenomenon, tends towards unification, for it strives to reflect the whole reality. This is what the system-generating mission of language is about. A government system is complete (and thus efficient), first of all, owing to its linguistic completeness. The role of the state language is not limited to ensuring official activities, although the basis of every government system is the official language. Language makes the whole system complete not only by its communicative function, that is, by ensuring the verbal communication of the officials, but also by organizing the inclusive life of both the individual and the public. In their joint life and activities, people do not merely record external situations and react to impulses (as it is often presented by the scholars of the behavioral approach in a simplified manner), but also “translate” them and perceive them based on their language awareness, which directs their intentions and forms the behavior.

The system of public administration is usually divided by subjects, sub-systems, the types of authority, levels and functions of government, spheres of responsibility, and so on. These are fertile scientific approaches, as well as general and nodal analytical reflections that refer to the whole system of government. The observation of the system of government from the viewpoint of the status of the state language is a similar type of legal and real analysis.

No single factor can fully explain and interpret such a complex phenomenon as the system of public management. In this regard, the role of language should not be exaggerated. Nevertheless, the Biblical “Babylonian confounder” is a vivid example of what a destructive blow can be inflicted upon the management system through the lingual system alone. The initiative of the Babylonians to build a sky-reaching tower, God regards as a reflection of arrogance on the part of the humans He had created. He had no limitation in his choice of how to punish the daring constructors. Meanwhile, an unexpected punishment in the form of confounding

the languages is exercised. Ceasing to understand one another, people become unable to continue the work.

Why was this method of influence considered especially efficient becomes clear from the content of the argumentation, by which the almighty God justifies His decision. “If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them” [Genesis 11.6]. In other words, a nation that speaks one language is indeed so mighty that can realize its every idea, which disturbed even the almighty God. This is, perhaps, the most valuable advise of the Bible, which, alas, has not been realized by us the way it should have been (although the expression “to know wisdom and instruction” has been reiterated endlessly).

According to Movses Khorenatsi, when Mesrop Mashtots and Sahak Partev started to translate the Bible after inventing the Armenian alphabet, their first attempt was to translate not from Greek but from the Assyrian language. Meruzhan Artsruni had ordered to burn all books in Greek before that, while Persian overseers were consistently impeding the spread of the Greek language and imposing the Persian and Assyrian languages (because the center of the Assyrian Church was in Persia).⁶¹⁸ Other Greek books too were translated through the intermediary Assyrian language. Later on, when Mashtots leaves for Byzantium, to get permission for spreading the Armenian script in the western part of Armenia, both the religious and secular leaders of Byzantium urge him to translate the Bible one more time, this time from the “original Greek version,” as a precondition for their permission.

This kind of concentrated attention of the heads of states towards, to put it in the modern terminology, “the language policy of the state” and the public function of language is not a coincidence at all. Starting from those ancient times, there were officials on the higher levels of the government pyramid, who had

⁶¹⁸ M. Khorenatsi, *The History of the Armenians*, Yerevan, 1990, p. 215.

deeply realized the importance of the public function of language and had tried to guide it to a certain extent.

It should be emphasized that language is one of the principal conditions for the existence of the people and the society and the main medium that makes the regulation of public life possible. In order to govern and be governed, people, first of all, should unite (initially in the form of tribal and later as state units), while the unifier is, first of all, language. This argument is so comprehensible, an intrinsically undisputable truth, such a simple (even primitive) formulation that it gradually ceases to be realized. The failure to realize reaches to the point that some people have trouble to comprehend the expressions “the state language,” “law on language,” and “state language policy”, while, nevertheless, being their proponents, rather than the opponents.

This circumstance looks especially odd from the viewpoint of the issues of public administration in Armenia. Movses Khorenatsi provides us with one important fact. When King Aram conquers a new territory, he “orders the population of that territory to learn to speak Armenian.”⁶¹⁹ It can be assumed that these people were not Armenians, but the head of state finds it necessary to impose the Armenian language on them for the sake of strengthening the Armenian state or, in modern terms, “for strengthening the national security.”

If we take a general look at the analytical literature, we will have to state that philologists and philosophers traditionally paid greater attention to the problems of the origination of a language, the kinship between languages, inter-lingual influences, linguistic psychology, and linguistic philosophy, than to the public functions of language. No doubt, these are exceptionally valuable for understanding both the essence of a language and the patterns of its development, as well as for the public function of language. Nevertheless, we will not be mistaken, if we state that the majority

⁶¹⁹ M. Khorenatsi, *The History of the Armenians*, p. 31.

of scholars, admitting that language is a result of cohabitation, nevertheless, views it as an almost fully self-sufficient phenomenon. “Language has its intrinsic principles of its own development,”⁶²⁰ This is the methodological basis of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. We emphasized the systemic essence of language above; however, we cannot ignore the fact that language is a living and evolving system, first of all, due to its servicing function. Without the collective of native speakers, the language is dead, while without the daily communication of the speakers of a language in public life, the lingual system is deprived of real development impulses, no matter how self-efficient it is and what internal levers of development it has. The linguistic works of Foucault and other authors are very useful for the analysis of the public significance of language. The reality, however, is that “Sociolinguistics,” which deals with such issues, has become a branch of science very late, namely after the Second World War.

If we were to briefly describe the publications, the following observations would be especially noteworthy from the cognitive and methodological points of view.

The Swiss linguist **Ferdinand de Saussure** promotes three interrelated terms for the analysis of the public role of language – “language” (*langue*), as the property of collective of native speakers, “speech” (*parole*), as the language of an individual, and the so called “lingual activity” (*langage*), as a type of social nexus between the people. This nexus is not only synchronous, a medium of communication for the contemporaries, but also asynchronous, connecting the past with the present. Moreover, in the live usage of language (*langage*) these two phenomena are always present. “Lingual activity is an individual reality, on the one hand, and a public reality, on the other. One cannot be understood without the

⁶²⁰ **М. Фуко**, Слова и вещи. Археология гуманитарных наук / Пер с франц., Санкт-Петербург: А-сэд, 1994, с. 76.

M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Pantheon Books, 1971.

other. Moreover, every second of the lingual activity encompasses both a stable system and evolution. It is always both a contemporary entity and a result of the past.”⁶²¹

Endlessly accumulating, the lingual system encompasses the experience of the given collective of language speakers, and, as a general wisdom of that collective, is indeed a big treasury. This is why, although speech is regarded as an individual usage of language and a reflection of an individual’s conception, purpose, and will, verbal communication is basically a deeply public reality. “Language is a treasure, which, owing to speech, is crystalized in all the individuals belonging to the same collective. It is the grammar system that exists in every brain or, to put it more correctly, in the brains of the individuals of a collective, for language is not fully summarized in either of them, it rather fully exists only within the mass.”⁶²² It is through its social nature that language ensures the unity of the language speakers. “The social nexus tends to form a lingual collective and, perhaps, to embody certain lingual generality. In its turn, the general nature of language, to a certain extent, creates national unity.”⁶²³

The German linguist and philosopher **Wilhelm von Humboldt** conducted a comprehensive study of the national-cultural causes of the functions of the linguistic system. He sees a certain link between the “character of the people” and the “character of the language.”⁶²⁴ “Language is a typical external reflection of the spirit of peoples. A people’s language is its spirit, and a people’s spirit is its language. And it is hard to imagine anything more identical than

⁶²¹ **F. de Saussure**, *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Payot & Rivages, 1995, p. 24.

⁶²² *Ibidem*, p.30.

⁶²³ *Ibidem*, p. 306–307.

⁶²⁴ **В. фон Гумбольдт**, *Характер языка и характер народа* // В. фон Гумбольдт, *Язык и философия культуры* / Пер. немец., М.: Прогресс, 1985, с. 370–381.

this.”⁶²⁵ A nation’s spirit and language have always been in a constant interaction and mutual enrichment process. The spirit influences the development of the language. Moreover, the stronger it influences, the richer and more canonized becomes the language. In its turn, the national spirit, “no matter how complex and divided, is merely a result of a nation’s linguistic self-consciousness.”⁶²⁶ The following thought by the author, in fact, talks about the main public function of language. Language, as functioning speech, according to Humboldt, is intrinsically directed towards certain actions. “Language is one of the phenomena, which fosters the person’s spiritual power and pushes for eternal activities.”⁶²⁷

The English mathematician, linguist, and philosopher **Bertrand Russell** has had his reflections on the role of language in human knowledge. The latter is possible owing to the fact that language is a public reality. Verbal communication would have been impossible, if knowledge had been an exclusively individual reality. The main function of language is that the individual experience of each of us becomes impersonal and above personal and, thus, accessible to the others. “Language, our only mode of scientific communication, is public by its nature, origination, and main functions.”⁶²⁸ It is, in fact, especially vivid and especially useful in the field of scientific knowledge. In contrast to, say, poetic speech, where the most important part is the individual uniqueness, scientific language tends to absolute impersonality. Of course, Russell continues, if a mathematician finds himself in an uninhabited island, he can diversify his solitude by writing notes in the mathematical language, whereas others make diary notes only

⁶²⁵ **В. фон Гумбольдт**, О различии строения человеческих языков и его влиянии на духовное развитие человечества // В. фон Гумбольдт, Избранные труды по языкознанию / Пер. немец., М.: Прогресс, 1984, с. 68.

⁶²⁶ Там же, с. 47.

⁶²⁷ Там же, с. 52.

⁶²⁸ **B. Russel**, Human Knowledge: Its Scope and Limits. London: Routledge, 2009, p. V.

for themselves. Nevertheless, the main function of language is communication, thus language cannot be invented by an individual, and especially with the use of language individual experience merges and becomes a public property.

The French literary critic **Roland Barthes** has paid special attention to the relationship between the individual language (“idiolect”) and the language of a collective of speech (“sociolect”), as a type of lingual stratification. Public life is characterized by “social multilingualism.” There are a number of languages, such as the language of the church, the language of the prison, the language of the children, the language of the ruling elite, and other “social languages.” These languages, which exist within the framework of the national language, reflect the social and professional fragmentation of the public, as well as perform a unique role of adaptation. “We remain within our social and professional area and, with such a neurotic self-limitation, we to a certain extent adapt to the fragmentation of our society.” Barthes urges to study this phenomenon, which he even considers a branch of science, calling it “sociolectics.”⁶²⁹ The Babylonian confounder, thus, refers not only to the diversification of languages and the phenomenon of their opposition to one another. We can add the threat of linguistic-cultural invasion to Barthes’s observation, whereby the language of an economically more developed or politically dominant state penetrates to another lingual system and undermines its national integrity.

From the viewpoint of language’s public functions, the Armenian theoretical thought is characterized by the fact that the problems related to the public functions of language have been more thoroughly discussed by the Armenian writers and publicists, who use the language, act in it, and develop it the most. Their observations, we think, can be very valuable for the Armenian

⁶²⁹ **Р. Барт**, Разделение языков / Избранные работы / Пер. с франц., М.: Прогресс, 1989, с. 520–533.

public linguistics (when this branch of science is established here too). The descriptions related to language can be conditionally divided into two groups. The first group is the internal problems of the functions of the Armenian language, whereby the writer also acts as a linguist, characterizes a historical change in the Armenian forms of being, as well the problems of phonetics, structure, word usage, and related areas. The second is a more comprehensive observation, whereby an Armenian author refers specifically to the public function of language, getting closer to public linguistic questions. Within the framework of the Armenian theoretical thought, these two types of characteristics that relate to the functions of language are important from the viewpoint of public administration, the main subject of this book. In terms of methodology, it is perhaps important, first of all, to see the connection between the two groups. For it is impossible to fully comprehend the inner regularity of the functions of any language, if we discuss them in isolation, without considering the specifics of a given lingual system in a given time.

The above idea is confirmed by the thesis substantiated by Armenian authors, who argue that **language is a living and evolving reality, which is intrinsically connected to the public behavior of the language users**. “Language is not an artistic, beautiful, and adorned construction. No, that construction is dead, breathless, and soulless,” stresses Ghazaros Aghayan and continues, “language, however, is a factory construction, it has a soul, and is created by natural, spiritual, and political circumstances, by which the language of a people starts to gradually develop or be deprived of development, divert from its initial properties or retain its properties for long. Language is not the property of an individual, so that they bend it as they please.”⁶³⁰ The perception of the “language – thought” nexus has an important significance for

⁶³⁰ Gh. Aghayan, *On the Armenian Sounds // A Collection of Compositions in four volumes*, v. 4, Yerevan, 1963, p. 249.

the comprehension of the peculiarities of the thought of certain speakers of the language and the whole culture in general. “Language seems a natural thing, but its might is supernatural or moral. Our thought contains what we speak. A French, a Russian, a Persian, and a Mongol, cannot think and explain the same thing in the same manner.”⁶³¹

The analysis of the use of language, according to Garegin Nzhdeh, can best reveal the moral-psychological state of public life. “To know a family, a society, a nation, one should listen to the speech that circulates in it.”⁶³² According to the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates, in order to know a person, one needs to listen to his speech. A similar formulation was made by Nzhdeh, who emphasized the cognitive value of the language use, in order to, among other things, understand the motivations behind an individual’s behavior. “Nothing reveals our emotions, thoughts, and description more easily than our speech.”⁶³³

The opposite observation is also important. **To what extent does language, as a certain reflection of the reality, really perform its main function of system creation?** As a national-cultural phenomenon, language, even a single word, is deeply related to the history, psychology, everyday life, and traditions of the collective of the speakers of the language. Daniel Varuzhan formulated this thought in the form of a theoretical thesis. “We consider the language of a nation luxurious and perfect only when it is capable of depicting the psychology of the majority of the nation with all its shades, and when it also retains the description of the ancestors in whose mouths the initial form of the language was developed.”⁶³⁴

⁶³¹ **Gh. Alishan**, Patriotism // Gh. Alishan, Compositions, Yerevan, 1981, p. 184.

⁶³² **G. Nzhdeh**, The struggle of sons against the fathers, Melanik, 1927, p. 43.

⁶³³ Ibidem.

⁶³⁴ **D. Varuzhan**, The problem of the Armenian Language, Yerevan, 1987, p. 121.

One of the specifics of the development of language is that, being transferred from one generation of language speakers to another, the inheritance of the language system get dual “addressing.” We mean the “division of labor” of sort between the speakers of the language, whereby the majority of them simply uses their mother tongue as a basis for world perception, a means of communication, a principal condition for daily activities, and so on. While the minority – writers, poets, linguists, and the ones teaching the systemic language to the others – obtain (by education, professional activity, or title) the responsibility to regulate the development of the language. It is strictly about responsibility, not the right. The latter belongs to the people, as a mass language user and the owner of the language.

Indeed, by its nature and function, language is a public reality. Thus, it is the majority of the nation that ultimately decides the fate of the language. No matter how deep the individual clarifies the regularities of the origination, structure, vocabulary, and grammar of the language and no matter how hard he tries to influence the inclusive lingual system through his own language use, philological merit, and illuminative activity, the verbal behavior of the majority remains the decisive factor.

Nevertheless, two circumstances should be taken into consideration. First, the above-mentioned does not at all undermine the role of the creative *intelligenza*. Even one single person can foster the development of a language and, thus, the solution of national problems. Second, the above-mentioned does not free the very *intelligenza* from responsibility. The regulation of language, particularly the development of the vocabulary in line with the intra-national and international changes and the equivalent linguistic reflection of new phenomena are not only the professional problem of those who create in that language, but also their national and civic responsibility. The *intelligenza* that does not develop its own linguistic culture and, living, say, in an Armenian-speaking environment, created in a foreign language is a

linguistic parasite, an alien to the Armenian culture, and a backslider.

In line with the above mentioned, a number of Armenian writers had **regarded the spread of the love toward the language among Armenians as the chief mission of the *intelligenza*** to understand the God-given nature of the Armenian language and evaluate the responsibility of the speakers of the language. The following is how Mkrtich Peshiktashyan formulates the mission of the nationwide company. “The sublime language that Adam spoke, that beautiful language we should try to spread among our compatriot brothers, for language is a steady connection of unity and love, and the basis of the direction.”⁶³⁵

Ensuring lingual purity, as one of the important national-cultural responsibilities of *intelligenza*, has been constantly emphasized, expressing, naturally, the peculiarities of the lingual situation of the time. The following is Aleksandr Shirvanzade’s formulation of the issue. “... Our new literary language should be purified of vulgarism and especially of Turkish words, that especially the folklore writers do a huge amount of work in us. The fans of regional dialects forget that one cannot incorporate every single word and expression into the literary language... A Babylonian confounder emerges. ‘The style is the writer himself,’ was said by an author I do not know, but is it true. However, in the mixture of styles, too, we can find an approximate scale and thus pursue the development of the beauty of the language. One should not appreciate every vulgar expression only for the reason that it is accepted in one or another nation.”⁶³⁶

The **evolution of vocabulary**, the basis of the lingual system, takes place based on both internal reserves and loan words. There is a question of exceptional importance here, that is, the golden rule

⁶³⁵ **M. Peshiktashyan**, Speech at the meeting of the nationwide company // A Collection of Compositions, Yerevan, 1987, p. 432.

⁶³⁶ **A. Shirvanzade**, The language needs to be purified // A. Shirvanzade, A Collection of Compositions, V. 10, Yerevan, 1962, p. 227-228.

that provides for the harmony between these two ways of language development. Languages regulate this problem differently.

A more systematic way of posing the question was carried out by Paruyr Sevak. “Our rapidly evolving age gives birth on a daily basis to a new phenomenon, a branch of science, surrounds us with new subjects and articles, which cannot avoid bringing about new words, and only a fool can oppose the acceptance of these words... But we should not forget that each language has its advantages, which can be absent in other languages. The Armenian language, for example, has an advantage, which very few other languages have – the simplicity and efficiency of word-formation. And if any language, even if richer and more flexible than Armenian, is **compelled** to accept the foreign word because its opportunities of word-formation are limited, a language like Armenian is **obliged** to Armenianize that word, because the foreign word, as a general rule, tells an Armenian less than the well-formulated equivalent in the Armenian language. It will be unfair to say we do not use this great advantage of our language, but we cannot avoid mentioning that we use it far less frequently than we can and should.”⁶³⁷

Of course, if we do not have the Armenian equivalent, we have to use the foreign word, never forgetting, however, that there is no phenomenon impossible to express in Armenian. It is another question that the new name should precisely express the essence of the subject, correspond to the rules of word-formation in Armenian, and be concise and euphonic.

The low level of language culture, according to Hovhannes Tumanyan, is one of the “great pains” of Armenia. “Language in literature is not a dry range of unstructured and shapeless set of a few hundred words, poorly represented in press and mostly biased. You enter the house of a more or less educated family, they

⁶³⁷ P. Sevak, Let’s Preserve and Enrich Our Mother Tongue // P. Sevak, A Collection of Compositions, v. 5, Yerevan, 1974, p. 152 (emphasis in the original).

apologize for not speaking Armenian.”⁶³⁸ Tumanyan is stricter, even unmerciful, in his article with a telling title “They Do Not Know Armenian” towards those, who professionally have to teach Armenian, but they themselves lack the knowledge as teachers. “We say they do not know Armenian, and the reader might think we talk about the Armenians from Georgia. Unfortunately, we do not talk about them, but about Armenian teachers, the teachers that have come out of our religious schools, the Nersisyan school and seminary. It is them, with rare exceptions, that do not know Armenian. For an experiment, ask those people to write a composition and you will see that you put them in misery. Usually, they cannot deal with simple sentences, while if they encounter complex sentences, it is the same as if having fallen into an inextricable labyrinth. They not only cannot compose orderly, but make rude grammatical and linguistic mistakes. Moreover, they not only cannot write well, but cannot speak proper Armenian and express their thoughts clearly at least like their ignorant parents.”⁶³⁹

The **lingual confounding** for the Armenian thinkers is rejectable both as a linguistic behavior of an individual and for the linguistic-cultural natural functioning and development of the whole public system. Quite eloquent is Khachatur Abovyan’s opposition to the Armenian language speakers who favor mixed languages. “If you speak any language, you should not mangle that language. Indeed, an illuminated person does exactly that by, for example, serving the others. Do not think what the listeners will think. While the knowledgeable and illuminated person speaks clearly every language he speaks. If you speak your language clearly, what harm it may bring? Or you think your brain will be taken out of your head, or you will lose all your accumulated

⁶³⁸ H. Tumanyan, *The Great Pain*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 176.

⁶³⁹ H. Tumanyan, *They do not know Armenian // A Complete Collection of Compositions*, v. 6, Yerevan, 1994, p. 226.

wisdom, or you want to flatter the empire?”⁶⁴⁰ The anger of the great Armenian illuminator is actual even today, although the list of distortions is naturally different. The irrelevant use of English and computer terminology has been added onto the **Russian** everyday vocabulary used since an earlier period. Nevertheless, the convincing argument used by Abovyan is quite contemporary. If foreigners appreciate Armenian, as a lingual system, we, Armenians, should appreciate it even more. “If the French, the German, the English love and praise your language, you should love and praise it multiple times.”⁶⁴¹

A typical evidence of Abovyan’s broad thinking is that, ironically criticizing those who show bad behavior of language disturbance, he at the same time tries to mitigate his criticism by explaining the reason of the careless attitude towards the language situation by a number of people (in the past and in the present). “I am not offended by you. Times have changed so rapidly that until now people can hardly take care of themselves, how could they care about the language? This is the reason why a half of our modern language is Turkish and Persian words. But the cure for this is easy, too. It can be gradually purified when the nation gets educated and starts to understand the word of its language. It is enough that the Turkish language is not written in by the Turks, they only speak it, and they are much more vulgar and cruder than us. But, nevertheless, the taste of their language is so much in the mouth of our nation that we tell the games, fairy tales, and fables in Turkish, leaving aside our language. The reason? Because it is a habit. We call the nation faithless but love their language. Isn’t it amazing?”⁶⁴²

The **change of language** inevitably leads to the change of nation. This is how Ghevond Alishan describes the relationship

⁶⁴⁰ **Kh. Abovyan**, *Wounds of Armenia* // Kh. Abovyan, *Compositions*, Yerevan, 1984, p. 81-82

⁶⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

⁶⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 82.

between the love towards language and the love towards nation. “If one does not know the language of his nation and uses a foreign language with his parents, we can say that the speaker of the language will have ideas like that of the language, not of his own, and he would be indifferent towards his nation. This indifference is like the ear of a deaf man, which has an equal perception of the sound of the lyre and the mew of the cat. After losing the language and especially after being careless about it, another national tradition and memory will soon be lost, thus the love towards the nation is hugely supported by the language of the nation.”⁶⁴³

Voluntary change of language is rejectable, for it leads the Armenian person to alienation. The criticism by Peshiktashyan is strict but rather fair. “The one who hates his own nation likes to decorate himself with deceiving feathers of a foreigner and boast with them before the foreigners. The poor guy does not know that the feathers will eventually get lost and he will remain naked and shameful. Let’s ask a person like this what nationality he is. He is not an Armenian, for he never admits his being an Armenian, nor accepts the Armenian language. But do not think that the foreigner will be willing to accept him who refuses to recognize his own nationality?”⁶⁴⁴

All these observations refer to the public functions of language, thus their practical application relates to the social regulation of the functions of language, a field that is commonly known as “the state’s language policy.” Although the concept itself has entered into circulation after the WWII, during the collapse of the colonial regime and the emergence of newly independent states, however, the existence of the state implies a certain standpoint and actions regarding the public function of language. We would like to remind the earlier-mentioned records on the language policy of the Persian state. From the viewpoint of public linguistics, the mentioned

⁶⁴³ **Gh. Alishan**, *The Love towards Nation // Compositions*, Yerevan, 1981, p. 184.

⁶⁴⁴ **M. Peshiktashyan**, p. 429.

concept can be defined as public's targeted influence on the language situation through state government bodies.

The language policy in the times of the USSR was viewed and implemented mostly within the framework of national policies, which formally was being conducted under the motto of "the prosperity and rapprochement of nations," but, in fact, was serving the ideological requirement of the formation of a united collective of "the Soviet people" (with a clear understanding under the dominance of which language). Fortunately, the collapse of the Soviet Empire provided an opportunity for national languages to get rid of the dominance of the Russian language and fully function as the languages of independent states. It is not a coincidence that all the states that emerged from the former Soviet Union adopted "laws on language" during the first years of independence, thus announcing the principles of their own language policies. The respective law was adopted by the Third Armenian Republic in 1993 and had played a significant role in restoring the rights of the Armenian language, as the only state and official language, in all spheres of public life. It should be noted, however, there are still serious problems in the language policy of the state, particularly related to the cultural infiltration of the English language.

In the times of globalization, the problem of improving one's own linguistic-cultural system becomes especially urgent. Cultural and linguistic isolation leads to a deadlock. The right way of solving the question is to deploy the useful and worthy trends of globalization and mitigate its negative effects. New technology can be used to strengthen one's own language and to spread it among its speakers (especially for the Armenian with a huge diaspora). The interaction with other languages can enrich the Armenian language, if a farsighted language policy is carried out in this field. Particularly, we should avoid the repetition of an earlier situation, when the only intermediary language for the Armenians to communicate with the outer world was Russian. Currently it is English. Ensuring the *de facto* dominance of the Armenian

language, as a state and official language, the state should at the same time regulate the entire system of teaching foreign languages, creating opportunities to learn many other languages.

A clear and balanced language policy is a useful tool for ensuring harmony in public administration. If we briefly describe the urgent problems of language policy, we should, first of all, stress the importance of developing the Armenian vocabulary. There is an acute need for developing an Armenian terminology in information technologies, exact and technical sciences, medicine and a number of other branches of science. In the past, the situation around the language was controlled by the Terminology Committee adjacent to the ASSR Council of Ministries and later by the Supreme Council of the Armenian Language (within the Language Inspectorate). In the present, however, these activities are unfortunately not regulated.

The need for professional literature in universities originally written in Armenian is not less acute. In those very universities, the teaching of the principles of the Armenian language used in different professions is not at the highest level either. The publishing of non-academic (fictional) literature by classic and modern Armenian authors and international masterpieces, as well as its promotion are of exceptional importance for the formulation of the Armenian lingual thinking of the future generations. Translation of foreign literature is not regulated or culturally guided either. Certain guidance, moreover, public supervision, should be exercised over the language of the press, television (especially translated film and series), electronic media, commercials and other public writings, and the public speeches of the officials. Of course, this does not imply restoring the Soviet-style censoring. It is rather about compliance to the principles of the language policy defined by the state, national-cultural values, and the objectives of public administration.

The potential of the public is still underutilized. What we mean by this, is that state bodies should include their natural partners –

the numerous civil society institutions, local self-government bodies, non-governmental organizations, compatriotic unions, mass media, religious organizations, and the interested *intelligenza* – more broadly in the implementation of various activities targeted towards the improvement of the situation around the language both within Armenia and in the Diaspora.

Language is the reality that unites public life and encompasses all the spheres of public cohabitation. Ensuring the full public functioning of language requires the targeted deployment of state and public efforts. If we intend to create a unique national system of public administration (“Armenian Management”), without which there is no and cannot be a really independent state, we should enable the Armenian language to fully and freely function and develop without impediments, as the state and official language. Here we are not talking about cultural isolation or “reinventing the wheel,” we rather talk about adopting foreign experience through the lenses of our own lingual thinking and perceiving it based on our national-cultural peculiarities.

In the case of such a linguistic-cultural strategy only, we will be insured against two types of threat. First, the invasion of today’s foreign-language culture (one of the most negative reflections of globalization) will not bring with itself a foreign way of thinking and acting. On the contrary, it will merge and assimilate with the Armenian language and Armenian-centered government system. The second threat is that, when blindly replicating the foreigners and merely copying the foreign language models, the Armenian language may lose its concept-generating and system-forming abilities, thus being moved back again to the arrears of the organization and management of public life.

We, the Armenians, have had the bitter experience of that phenomenon. But we also have a splendid example of how to solve that problem. The Greek-speaking Christianity that, after becoming a state religion in Armenia, inevitably shook the Armenian statehood. It was only the genius of Mesrop Mashtots that saved the

Armenians from the threat of merging with the co-religionist Greeks. Meanwhile, Christianity, becoming strictly Armenian-written and Armenian-spoken, gained an opportunity of performing a beneficial role for the nation. **It is an undisputed truth that the stateless Armenian national identity has been preserved both by language and religion (Armenianized).** The opposite, however, is as indisputable: in the case of unregulated language policy, the whole system of public administration becomes vulnerable, while the statehood becomes unstable.

5.2. Rhetoric as a Tool of Public Administration

As a branch of science and art, rhetoric originated in the 5th century BC in the ancient Greek city-states (poleis). Its main conditions are the ways of organizing public life – direct democracy (whereby the decisions on state matters were made with direct participation of all adult population, and everyone could freely express and substantiate one’s own opinion) – the specifics of the judicial system (every citizen was obliged to defend himself in the trial), and the cult of speech. Rhetoric can be discussed from the cultural, political, psychological, historic, and linguistic points of view, but the public causal relationship of this science and art is the most significant factor, according to which, rhetoric has emerged from the fact of human cohabitation, as a means of targeted regulation of this cohabitation.

Starting from the Ancient Greek Sophists, many orators have left their trace in history.⁶⁴⁵ Getting to know the life and art of those orators, we discover that their eloquent speech was not an end in itself; it was rather motivated, first of all, by providing a solution to the urgent problems of the regulation of public life. The saying by the prominent Sophist Gorgias about the prominent Athenian

⁶⁴⁵ For details see V. Mirzoyan, *Rhetoric*, Yerevan, 2012.

military leader Themistocles that the walls of Athens had been erected by the power of Themistocles's speech can, with a few exceptions, be referred to the public significance of the activities of all great orators. The role of the rhetoric skills is specifically emphasized in the biographies of almost all the Consuls, Tribunes, and military leader of the Roman Republic. Even in the times of the Roman Empire, when rhetoric was mostly confined to dithyramb – the speech to please the high-ranking officials – the heads of state strived to master the art of public speech.⁶⁴⁶

During the history of mankind, rhetoric has been constantly used to affect the behavior of the masses, both by direct influence, though public speeches targeted towards broad audience, and indirectly, as a means of making philosophical, religious, moral, and literary studies more accessible and influential, “the art of persuasion” as the essence of rhetoric was concisely described by Davit Anhaght.⁶⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the issue of persuasion was posed especially acutely in the critical moments of history and during radical movements and revolutions. It is not coincidental that starting from the 16th century the bourgeois revolutions, national-liberation movements, and the demand of political struggle gave birth to a new type of orators, who made their speeches not in the court or church, but before the broad masses of people. It is impossible to imagine the Great French Revolution of 1789-1894 without the crucial speeches of Jean-Paul Marat, Maximilien Robespierre, Georges Jacques Danton, Honore Mirabeau, and Louis Saint-Just.

The development of the political varieties of rhetoric speech fostered the development of the activities of the parliament (Sejm, Congress, Duma), the supreme representative body, in a number of countries. Court rhetoric progressed as a result of judicial reforms implemented in a number of countries. In Russia, for example, it

⁶⁴⁶ **Svetonios**, *The Life of Twelve Caesars*, Yerevan, 1986.

⁶⁴⁷ **D. Anhaght**, *The Definitions of Philosophy // Compositions*, Yerevan, 1980, p.61.

happened in 1864, after which the rhetorical abilities of Russian attorneys progressed so sharply that the speeches and works of many of them (Anatoli Koni, Pyotr Porokhovshchikov, Fyodor Plevako, Vladimir Spasovich) are now used as rhetoric manuals in the field of public administration.

Rhetoric is the one of the oldest component of the Armenian culture. Armenian orators have ensured major achievements in the centers of oratory of the time. The head of a school of rhetoric in Athens Paruyr Haykazn (with the Greek name of Proeresios) had such a fame in Athens and Rome that (according to his student and biographer Yevnapios) in his lifetime a statue of his was built in one of the squares of Rome with the note “Rome, the queen of the world, to the king of eloquence” (“Rerum regina Roma – regi Eloquentiae”). A number of prominent people graduated from Paruyr’s school, including Emperor Julian, the prominent orator Libianos, and the major Christian theorists and heads of churches Grigor Nazianzatsi and Barsegh Kesaratsi.

The full-fledged development of the rhetoric thought in Armenia itself started from the 5th century, albeit there are records on the rhetoric abilities of kings before that too. It was the invention of the Armenian script that made the formation of Armenian rhetoric possible. Before that the official written language in Armenia (including in religion, education, diplomacy) was Greek and Assyrian (and also Persian in the Eastern Armenia). Speaking in Greek was spreading like a virus among the Armenian society, especially after the adoption of Christianity. The translation movement headed by Mesrop Mashtots and Sahak Partev, fortunately, was directed in the beginning not to the blind copy of foreign culture, but to the creation of our own. Rhetoric had its important role in that national movement. According to Koryun, one of the main objectives of Mesrop and his pupils was to make the coming generations “plainspoken, orator, educated.” The

praised teacher himself was inventing “easy-to-tell, well-written, multiform speeches” for the same purpose.⁶⁴⁸

It was owing to that spiritual-political patriotic viewpoint that our historiographers, theologians, and philosophers familiar with the Greco-Roman culture (Koryun, Yeznik Koghbatsi, Movses Khorenatsi, Davit Anhaght, Yeghishe, Ghazar Parpetsi and others) did not remain hostage to that culture, way of thinking, and style, but rather created an Armenian way of thinking, an Armenian style, and Armenian terminology. It was owing to that stance of our great thinkers that the translations from Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, Procle, and a number of other authors did not remain alien, but rather assimilated to the Armenian culture, strengthening and developing the Armenian literary spirit. This is the principal objective our ancestors pursued when they 1500 years ago translated “Girk Pitoyits” rhetorical manual (which was used as the main textbook for rhetoric until the end of the 14th century), Teon Aleksandratsi’s “On Rhetoric Education” (“Taghags Chartasanakan Krtutyanyan”), Dionisos Trakatsi’s “The Art of Grammar” (“Arvest Kerakanutyanyan”), and many other books.

Rhetoric penetrated into educational establishments starting from the 5th – 6th centuries. Rhetoric had its important role in Haghpat, Sanahin, Goshavank, Nareka, Metsopa, Khor Virap, Hermon, Kars, Ayrivank, Haghartsin, and other school of the Medieval Armenia. There were also specialized institutions, such as the “rhetorical school” of Kamrjadzor, the oratory school of Yezras Angeghatsi, and so on. In the educational system of high schools, this discipline has had a higher status. In the universities of Gladzor and Tatev, rhetoric was not only taught, but orators were trained to carry out agitation. Contemporaries even called Gladzor “the second glorious Athens.”

A lot of scholars have dealt with the issues theory and methodology of rhetoric in the course of the history of the

⁶⁴⁸ Koryun, *Life of Mashtots*, Yerevan, 1994, p. 47, 54.

Armenian thought. A number of men, including Davit Anhaght, Mambre Vertsanogh, Hovhan Mandakuni, Hovhan Mayravanetsi, Grigor Magistros, Hovhannes Sarkavag, Nerses Mshetsi, Yesai Nchetsi, Hovhan Vorotnetsi, Grigor Tatevatsi, Vardan Areveltsi, Nerses Shnorhali, Nerses Lambronatsi, Tovma Metsopetsi, and Arakel Syunetsi, have been honored by the titles “great orator,” “undefeated orator,” and “famous orator.” The most prominent publications of the new era include Hovhannes Holov’s “Summary of the Art of Rhetoric” (1674, Marseille) and Khachatur Erzurumetsi’s “Rhetoric” (1713, Venice). The 19th century theoretical literature is especially rich and includes the following publications: “Instructions for Rhetoric or Oratory” (Mikayel Sallantyan, 1836, Moscow), “The Art of Eloquent Speech” (Madatia Garagashyan, 1844, Vienna), “Handy Rhetoric” (Eduard Hyurmuzyan, 1856, Venice), “The Element of the Art of Rhetoric” (Samvel Gantaryan, 1875, Venice), “A New Taste of Writing or Concise Rhetoric” (Yeghiazar Muratyan, 1886, Jerusalem), and “The Art of Rhetoric” (Manvel Gabrielyan, 1891, New York).

The ever-increasing interest in rhetoric in the beginning of the 21st century is connected, first of all, to the process of the democratization of public life, especially with the expansion of freedom of speech and the spread of pluralism in the transitional societies. In the sphere of agitation, this is a consequence of the emergence of multi-million audiences due to mass media, the imperative of guiding the public opinion, the right way of addressing the public speech, increased influence, and other issues. In the sphere of public administration, too, the regulation of international relations, the efficiency of negotiations, the process of business communication, and the solution of numerous other problems require the development of rhetoric. In this regard, there is broad literature dedicated to exploring the experience of successful business people, as well as a number of questions related to teaching rhetoric in this field.

The American prominent management expert Lee Iacocca directly points out the main condition of his success, that is, the willingness to listen to one's subordinate, in his autobiography entitled "A Manager's Career." A mediocre organization, explains Iacocca, differs from a prosperous one by the fact that the managers of the latter are willing to listen to their employees any time and patiently listen to even strictly personal complaints. Iacocca's unreserved formulation is the following: "Public speech is the best way of inspiring a big group of people with work."⁶⁴⁹ The works of the scholars of public administration recently have been frequently emphasizing the importance a manager's public speech. The title "the leader as a spokesperson" meets especially frequently. Under this title, the authors substantiate the need for the manager's oratory abilities, in order to both represent the interests and viewpoints of the organization in the external environment and favorably influence the intra-organizational atmosphere.⁶⁵⁰

Life has proved that the various ways of public administration, the calculations of efficiency, technical tools of control, and economic means of stimulating production cannot eliminate the role of oral speech, moreover, they are far less effective than the stimulating effects of speech. As shown by comparative analyses of various management systems, the organizations, whose managers are aware of the stimulating power of human speech and are able to skillfully use it, are more efficient than the others. The manager (the leader, pedagogue, political figure) has to know how to speak and master the principles of rhetoric. Nothing can substitute his live speech. The manager's inefficient speech has no justification. The manager's lingual inability and not mastering his own language cannot be justified by any argument or other positive features of his personality. Talking about his perception of perfect manager, leader, and military commander, Garegin Nzhdeh has provided a

⁶⁴⁹ Л. Якокка, Карьера менеджера / Пер. с англ., М.: Прогресс, 1991, с. 79.

⁶⁵⁰ M.C. LeMay, Public Administration: Clashing Values in the Administration of Public Policy. 2nd ed., Belmont (CA): Thomson Wadsworth, 2006, p. 261.

comprehensive formulation. “He has one means of management, that is, his speech, strict but amicable, sometimes as a curb but always as a stimulator.”⁶⁵¹ And, indeed, the art of management ultimately comes down to such a deployment of verbal communication – always as a stimulator (motive) and sometimes also as a curb (punishment).

As an activity, management is, first of all, a type of interpersonal communication. Everything else derives from it and serves its development and regulation. The orders, order requirements, equipment, furniture, technical means of communication are there to ensure the efficiency of interpersonal communication. Meanwhile the chief medium is again speech. The deployment of speech in interpersonal communication is also important in regard to the specifics of style. Various interrelations emerge between people, based on age, gender, characters, official positions, as well as differences in education, worldview, culture, profession, and roles. Every situation of communication requires a unique approach, use of words, logic of developing and concluding the conversation, degree of information reliability, share of sincerity among the parties, degree of jokes tolerated, and so on. These are things one should know and be able to use in interpersonal communication. American experts of persuasion techniques, discussing the objective of influencing one’s interlocutor through powerful speech, first of all emphasize linguistic specificity, that is to say, how much the speaker considers the expectations of the recipient of his speech and accordingly chooses the words, style of expression, tension, the degree of emotions, and so on.⁶⁵²

During various situations of public life, people influence one another not only through reasonable substantiation, but also through emotional attitude. A skillful orator, however, manages to control his emotional influence as well. Particularly, there is an old

⁶⁵¹ **G. Nzhdeh**, *The Pages of my Diary*, Cairo, 1924, p. 56.

⁶⁵² **A.B. Frymier, M.K. Nadler**, *Persuasion: Integrating Theory, Research, and Practice*. Dubuque (Iowa): Kendall/Hunt, 2007, p. 223–226.

rule, which was followed by Demosthenes, Cicero, and other prominent orators, according to which, tightened emotion influences the audience more than the unloaded one. Garegin Nzhdeh's formulation on this matter is quite interesting. "We influence not as much by expressing, as by the pain of our speech, that we do not manage to express what we feel... To make the readers and audience feel what we cannot express is the inexpressible feeling through which influence the real writer and orator."⁶⁵³

We not only interact through speech, but also know each other. And the better we know the object of government, the more influential the management influence will be (and not only with regard to verbal influence). It is sufficient to listen to a person for a few minutes, and it is possible to form certain impression about him. In addition, often the "what" and "how" in your interlocutor's speech provide for opportunities of deeper knowledge about him, than his occupation and appearance; we only need to be able to listen to him. This is why, for example, the foreign experience of training managers pays due attention to how to listen to your interlocutor, how to show that you listen and understand him, and, if need be, show that you are ready to support him, as well as to the development of the so-called "active listening" skills.

The society is a complex network of various types of connections and interrelations between numerous organizations. Each individual organization, be it a state government body, a political party, a cultural union, or a trading center, needs targeted management of its relations with other institutions. It is not a coincidence that nowadays one of the most discussed problems is ensuring a two-way connection between an organization and its target communities or, broadly speaking, managing public relations. This is basically the reputation management of the organization, in which the role of rhetoric, with its toolkit, is hard to overestimate. Of course, organizations have a number of means to

⁶⁵³ G. Nzhdeh, *Jail Notes*, Yerevan, 1993, p. 53.

influence public opinion, including philanthropy, sponsorship, and advertisements, but the public speech and direct and live communication of the head of the organization or the head of public relations are the most effective ones.

The scholars of public administration emphasize the importance of “dialogue,” which is one of the most efficient means of participatory management. By shifting from the monologue-based to the dialogue-based nature of the manager-worker relationship, the members of the organization get involved in the discussion of general matters, as well as in the decision-making process, thus becoming interested in their implementation. The introduction of participatory elements into the intra-organizational culture and the strengthening of dialogues in various levels and various formats (business communication, public discussions, open debates) are especially important for the current Armenian reality. It is not a secret that sometimes the command style of the Soviet system and the one-sided mode of action persist, which, obviously, isolates ordinary workers and, to a certain extent, alienates them from the general objectives of the organization. We have not yet developed the right formula of the “manager-worker” dialogue, which can provide prospects for the workers to interested attitude, be devoted to the goals and interests of the organization, and feel own co-participation in the organization, while the managers can make best management decisions. This kind of situation is often not a result of the non-willingness of the parties, but is due to the lack of elementary rhetorical skills on both sides and, first of all, the inability to attentively and patiently listen to the other side and to present their own substantiated opinion.

The strengthening of the democratic principles of the management of public life and the revitalization of the activities of various civil society institutions have greatly emphasized the culture of public debate. Generally speaking, the need for and the inevitability of debate are due to the core essence of human cohabitation. The human is a social creature, which lives and functions

owing to certain cooperation with other humans. In all spheres of public life, there is a need for comparing solutions to problems, justifying the proposals, comparing the opinions, and discussing the opinions in all types of political, economic, educational, leisure, cultural, scientific activities of the humans. Even the powerful monarch standing on the top of the government pyramid needs to know the opinion of others. The head of a business company needs to be crazy to make a strategic decision without prior consultations, discussions, and debates with his employees.

There is a voluminous literature on the manager's art of debating. The author of one of the publications, the British Madsen Pirie, specifies the objective of his book right in the introduction. "This book is designed as a practical guide for those, who want to win arguments."⁶⁵⁴ Meanwhile, the American scholar Jay Heinrichs in his book entitled "Thank You for Arguing" distinguishes between argument and fight. "The main difference between argument and fight is the following. When arguing skillfully, you make people to want what you want. You fight to win, while you argue to agree."⁶⁵⁵

We discussed this issue in a little more detail, for the ability to argue in a civilized way, patiently listen to the opinion of the opponent, and tolerate the opinions of others is, perhaps, exceptionally important for the Armenian reality for all subjects and levels of public administration. This is, of course, not a new phenomenon. Garegin Nzhdeh was concerned that "the Armenian argument makes the parties enemies instead of persuading," that in our environment in general "the parties of an argument desperately lack elementary good manners, decency, and fairness."⁶⁵⁶ Grigor Zohrap has talked about the harmfulness of mutual intolerance and

⁶⁵⁴ **M. Pirie**, *How to Win Every Argument: The Use and Abuse of Logic*. London: Continuum, 2006, p. IX.

⁶⁵⁵ **J. Heinrichs**, *Thank you for arguing*, New York: Three rivers press, 2007, p. 17.

⁶⁵⁶ **G. Nzhdeh**, *The Struggle of Sons against Fathers*, 1927, p. 45–46

the attitude to scrap opposing opinion altogether, simply calling for the abandonment of such behavior. “This type of mutual criticism should be changed from now on.”⁶⁵⁷ The main shortcoming, according to the author, is the one-sidedness of the parties. The substantial basis of an argument implies the knowledge of each other’s argumentation, but, if we know and accept only ours, we become unable to understand the useful or, at least, undisputed elements of the counterargument of our opponent. Thus, Zohrap urges to keep in mind that “the opposing side, too, has very important objections, while considering them pointless is called nothing other than unwise arrogance.”⁶⁵⁸

If we soberly assess the Armenian reality, generally speaking, we can unambiguously describe the current period as one of the rise of rhetoric. We should, nevertheless, state that during the period of independence we have become more demanding toward language. The contemporary audience is quite sensitive towards distortions of the Armenian language in public speeches. The broadcasting of the Parliamentary sessions played its favorable role (although, to put it mildly, not all Members of the Parliament have an exemplary speech). We would like to also mention the re-Armenianization of business in the country (albeit still imperfect) and the foreign-speaking Armenians’ switch to the Armenian language (alas, again still imperfect). With all its shortcomings, however, the democratization of public life, the expansion and activation of political parties, non-governmental organization, and other types of civil society institutions, the frequent gatherings, press conferences, television debates, political campaigns and a number of other factors also played a beneficial role in raising the reputation of oral speech, promoting lingual taste, and developing the culture of rhetoric.

The development of oratory skills has, thus, gained exclusive

⁶⁵⁷ **G. Zohrap**, *A Collection of Compositions*, v. 5, Yerevan, 2004, p. 282.

⁶⁵⁸ **G. Zohrap**, *A Collection of Compositions*, v. 4, Yerevan, 2004, p. 161.

importance for acting efficiently within the system of public administration and for actively participating in the regulation of public life. There is no organization, regardless of its legal-organizational status, type of ownership, or nature of activity, the managers of which does not need to address both their own employees and different groups of the public in a public speech. The administrative and economic levers of regulating people's joint activities will, no doubt, always retain their significance, but they become much more efficient in combination with the deployment of the social-psychological levers of management, especially persuasive speech. We could, perhaps, conclude with the formulation of a thought by Cicero (the Great Roman orator said it for the development of human memory) that there is no manager, who is such a powerful orator that he does not need to develop his oratory skill, and there is no such an incapable manager who cannot benefit from improving his oratory skills.

YU. SUVARYAN, V. MIRZOYAN, R. HAYRAPETYAN

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