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DEMOGRAPHY AS A CRITICAL AREA (conceptual approaches)

*Gagik Harutyunyan**

As it is known, after the collapse of the USSR the population of the Republic of Armenia (RoA) shrunk by 500,000 and currently it is about 3 million¹. This reality is more than troubling and has to be perceived as one of the internal challenges that Armenia faces, or perhaps, even the main one. Among other things (the importance of which is not to be neglected, either) the decrease of population is first of all caused by emigration. There are multi-faceted reasons for this phenomenon, although the key one is the socioeconomic situation; Armenia's GDP per capita ranks around 115th among the countries of the world according various rating lists published by international organizations². Such situation is underlain by numerous interconnected cause-and-effect factors, including the collapse of Soviet Union and continuous war or semi-warlike reality to date, reduction of intellectual potential which resulted in formation of a not particularly efficient economic and governance system. Also, information policy shortcomings are to be especially noted, as they contribute to deterioration of moral/psychological situation, and so forth.

Exposing the origins and providing expert assessments of the mentioned problems are pressing matters, since the absence of such assessments fundamentally hampers adequate perception of reality and hence, the relevant response. Undoubtedly, the linear models, also known as “sustainable development” or “service society”, are presently adopted in the country, which cannot solve the accumulated problems, as the 25-year experience of the Third Republic indicates. In turn, the non-linear models imply systemic and ideological restructuring, for which, unfortunately, there are no necessary prerequisites today.

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¹ See, for example: [http://countrysometers.info/ru/Armenia 2014- 2973000](http://countrysometers.info/ru/Armenia%2014-2973000)

² See, for example: <http://worldgeo.ru/lists/?id=29&page=4>

Obviously, providing substantiated and applicable solutions to the mentioned problems requires complex studies and discussions among decision-makers, experts and representatives of the public. Therefore, the conceptual theses entailing solution of demographic problems in the context of intellectual resources development offered in this article are of somewhat intermediate nature.

At the same time, for whatever research and scenarios, the first step should be attempting to clarify the essence of concepts used in our information space to describe our realities, comprehend the meanings of commonly used terms, or in other words, trying to affix the “information coordinates” of our society. In particular, it is known that many concepts and their respective interpretations circulated in our information space not only form the present to a certain extent, but also outline the future [1].

1.1. The “Deindustrialized” and “Quasi Information” Society

The current economic situation in Armenia till now is still defined as “transition phase”, and the socioeconomic decisions made are often subjected to the rationale of this concept. However, this cannot be a correct characterization, at least because the relevant “transitional reforms” are implemented for about a quarter of a century, while the word “transitional” implies limits for the period duration. Sometimes the wording “developing economy” is used, which again is not well justified and is more of a promotional jargon. It is inadequate to the realities, given the above mentioned GDP per capita, which showed no trend for improvement in the recent years.

In our opinion, in terms of the current economic situation, Armenia can be described as a “**deindustrialized**” country: suffice it to say that various sources indicate a decline of industrial output in the RoA GDP from 40% to 20%, and in the latter the share hi-tech output has decreased considerably. This phenomenon is typical to a number of other post-Soviet countries, where the not-so-competitive and quite undiversified industrial complex was dismantled, but no new one was created instead. Belarus is an exception, where the “Chinese model” was applied, but without its characteristic ideological and meritocratic content (see, for example [2]). After the Western sanctions Russia also tries to implement reindustrialization policy, as the self-sufficiency of the military-industrial complex has become a pressing matter. The term “**deindustrialized**” also allows clarifying the “development status” coordi-

nates of the Armenian society. In media one may encounter a phrase that “the RoA is classified as a country with post-industrial or information society.” Given the used terms, such phrase implies that creation of new knowledge/information is dominant in the society. Under normal development this definition would be justified, because even today Armenia ranks 75th (after Kuwait and ahead of Ethiopia) in the world by its scientific and technical activity¹. However, this is mostly due to some of the traditions still remaining from the scientific, educational and technological system developed during the Soviet period, rather than any new achievements. Sadly, it can be stated that what occurs in Armenia in present is “multiplication” of already known information rather than creation of the new information. Given that the society has lost its “industrial” status, such situation can hardly be called “post-industrial”, and it follows that our society can now be described as “seemingly information” society or “*quasi* information” society [3].

The above-mentioned illusory concepts regarding the status of the economy and society are reminiscent of communism-era mythologems and evidently hinder adequate perception of realities, and hence, relevant decision-making. Mythologems also instigate viewpoints that demographic developments in Armenia are in line with global “trends”, “freedom of movement in the framework of human rights”, and therefore, emigration should not cause any serious concerns. Conclusions are completely different if our geopolitical realities and coordinates are considered in the context of the demographic problems.

1.2. The “Geopolitical Coordinates” and Demographic Problems of Armenia

In terms of the significance of demographic problems the modern military and political realities are paramount for Armenia. This issue is reviewed in brief below.

As a result of known developments related to Azerbaijan and NKR, Armenia is in semi-war situation. In parallel to this, as the logic of the developments indicates, the turbulent belligerence in the neighboring Middle East will persist for quite long, which is also confirmed by predictions of top US officials². According to

¹ Рейтинг стран по уровню научно-исследовательской активности, <http://gtmarket.ru/ratings/scientific-and-technical-activity/info>.

² The US President sought authorization for the use of military force against Islamists for three years: see https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/daefault/files/docs/aumf_02112015.pdf. See details also in *Գ.Հարությունյան, «ԵՏՄ և ՀՀ. հնարավոր սցենարներ», Գլխուս #11/12, էջ 3, 2014:*

some scenarios, armed hostilities occurring in the region may spill over to Caucasus region. In addition, Russian-Ukrainian affairs are warlike, too. It has to be noted that there is an opinion in the analysts' community that the current developments main propagate into the global dimension [4]. Thus it can be stated that in military/political terms Armenia is apparently in an extremely risky zone, which implies, at least, maintaining a regular and combat-ready army [5, 6]. As it is known, this depends first of all on the country's population.

Characteristically, although various international organizations forecast world population growth by 1.2 billion by 2030 to a total of 8.3 billion¹, the UN predicted in 2012 that Armenia's permanent population will drop to 2.81 million by 2030. However, this prediction is based on an assumption that in 2010-2020 the emigration will comprise 10,000 people annually, and in 2020-2030 it will total at 5,000 annually. In fact, in the period between 2010 and 2013 the annual emigration from Armenia comprised 40,000. According to Samvel Manukyan, who is an expert in the area, if pertinent modification is applied to the UN migration estimates, the population of Armenia (which incidentally is smaller by 200,000 than the number of the people registered as permanent residents if the factor of migrant workers is considered) may in some scenarios be as low as 2 million by 2030 (see Samvel Manukyan's article *Industrial Development as Factor for Improvement Armenia's Demographic Situation and Trends*, and Chapter 2 of the study Research Program Aimed at Improvement of Demographic Situation of the Republic of Armenia).

Obviously, this number is not sufficient for forming armed forces adequate to the military situation and hence, for survival. It is important to consider that despite falsifications of demographic data done in neighboring Azerbaijan, the demographic situation in this country at any rate is much better and in the foreseeable future the population may exceed 8 million [7].

Thus, it has to be admitted that the logic of Armenian geopolitical realities prompts to ascribe a *primary* importance to the demographic problems from the perspective of *national security (NS)*. Obviously, the realities in this aspect are in principle different from, say, those in European countries. Certainly, due to birth rate decline, aging, population structure change owing to migration from Africa and

¹ <http://eurasian-defence.ru/sites/default/files/DS/Documents/global-trends-2030-rus.pdf>

Asia, and some other demographic issues also have significance in the context of national security of these countries, but they do not bear the same degree of critical character, as it is in Armenia. It follows that the application of international experience and methodologies adopted in demographic studies is undoubtedly necessary, but not sufficient. As mentioned earlier, it appears demographic studies for on Armenia should first of all involve methodologies and relevant terminology pertaining to the *NS*.

1.3. Critical Areas and Infrastructures

Based on all of the above mentioned, with regard to the due importance of emigration in terms of the *NS*, in order to create an efficient methodology and toolkit for reducing emigration, it is worth to introduce the concept of “critical infrastructure” (CI) in demography, which plays an important role in *NS*. This concept was first used¹ by the American think-tank *RAND Corporation* in an information security context [8]. This term is understood as “systems and assets, whether physical or virtual, so vital to a country that the incapacity or destruction of such systems and assets would have a debilitating impact on security, national economic security, national public health or safety.” This matter was brought to forefront after 9/11 terrorist attack (see *The USA PATRIOT Act* of 2001²).

It has to be noted that based on specially developed methodology *CI* status has been assigned to several million facilities of various types in the USA (some of which are summarized in *Table 1*), and there are about 10 special laws, executive orders and presidential directives in this regard [9].

The concept of *CI* implies special attention to these structures and ensuring their security though appropriate organizational, material, technical and other means³. Generally, the *CI* structures stocktaking and control, as it is done not only in the USA, but also other leading countries such as Israel and Russia, is an urgent matter for Armenia.

¹ It has to be noted though, that if not CI, then at least the idea of “critical spots” had been used since antiquity, “Achilles heel” being one of its formulations.

² <http://www.justice.gov/archive/ll/highlights.htm>

³ *А.Кондратьев*, «Современные тенденции в исследовании критической инфраструктуры в зарубежных странах», http://pentagonus.ru/publ/sovremennye_tendencii_v_issledovanii_kriticheskoi_infrastruktury_v_zarubezhnoj_stranakh_2012/19-1-0-2082.

Table 1

*Protected critical infrastructures and assets
of the USA and their quantitative indicators*

| Area | Critical infrastructure facilities and assets | Quantity |
|---|---|-----------------|
| Agriculture and food | Farms | 1,912,000 |
| | Food-processing plants | 87,000 |
| Water resources | Federal reservoirs | 1,800 |
| | Municipal waste water facilities | 1,600 |
| | Dams | 80,000 |
| Public Health | Registered hospitals | 5,800 |
| Emergency services | Localities | 87,000 |
| Defense industrial base | Firms | 250,000 |
| Energy | Power plants | 2,800 |
| Aviation | Public airports | 5,000 |
| Passenger rail and railroads | Major railroads | 120,000 miles |
| Highways, trucking and busing | Highway bridges | 590,000 |
| Oil and natural gas | Pipelines | 2,000,000 miles |
| | Producing sites | 300,000 |
| Maritime | Inland/coastal ports | 300 |
| Mass transit | Major urban public transit operators | 500 |
| Banking and finance | FDIC insured institutions | 26,000 |
| Chemical industry and hazardous materials | Chemical plants | 66,000 |
| National monuments and icons | Historic buildings | 5,800 |
| Nuclear power plants | Commercial nuclear power plants | 104 |
| Government facilities | Government owned/operated facilities | 3,000 |

At the same time it appears appropriate to assign the status of critical not only to individual facilities and assets of a sector, but in emergency situations also to the sector as a whole, as it was done by us in relation to certain problems of information security (see [10]). Based on this logic, in the context of *NS* a status of *critical* must be assigned to the whole area of demographic processes. Such approach brings more urgency to finding out specific CIs in the critical area, ignoring which significantly

increases emigration rates, whereas their improving and boosting considerably reduces emigration.

In many developed countries, such as the USA, the structures that underlie the state of affairs in demographics have not been included in the *CI* list, because the area itself is not in critical condition. However, this does not mean at all that the area lacks necessary attention. For instance, demographic problems are addressed as a complex in Israel (see [13]), where this area has traditionally received large attention, and the high level of economic development allows implementing mass repatriation programs. This is an urgent matter for Armenia as well, but it has to be considered that unfortunately, Armenia is not attractive yet for potential immigrants.

It is remarkable that in 1920s, when Armenia was in a difficult condition, a ***development*** strategy was adopted to address socioeconomic problems, including demographic ones. One of its key and decisive components was improvement of the country's human capital and intellectual potential [14]. Interestingly, in modern era the solution of demographic problems is tightly knitted with ***development strategy*** as well, the basis of which is human capital and intellectual potential (see [15]). These theoretical approaches were also explored earlier by the author [11].

It seems there is no doubt that without human capital with a necessary development level it is impossible to form the country's technology sector in particular, that is not only industries with "tangible" output (equipment and other products), but also those with "intangible" ones (software or theoretical R&D). A special role in technology sector is played by humanities area, particularly the so-called *think-tank* type structures that are able to develop political, public and other similar technologies and contribute to their implementation (see for example [12]).

It follows from the above-mentioned observations that institutions of technological type and those "nurturing" the latter have to be classified as critical infrastructures and treated with special attention by the government.

At the same time it can be stated that without technological development the socioeconomic and CI structures development is unimaginable, which in turn constitutes a prerequisite for improvement of the demographic situation.

1.4. Prerequisites of the Development Strategy

Development of technologies in the practical sense also needs substantiation and optimization. In this context it is worth to mention the following:

1. The historical experience of the Armenian society, especially the scientific and industrial traditions formed during the Second Republic period (that have been preserved to some extent¹) indicate that there are certain preconditions for development of technology sector.
2. Given the scarcity of economic resources in Armenia, the technological development in the current stage through large-scale and long-term programs is hard to conceive. Hence, the results of planned technological projects should be foreseeable in the tactical prospect. Such realistic approaches will, inter alia, make these projects more attractive for the executive branch of the government and the business sector.
3. For this matter it is also very important to embed “*multiplication*” and “*spillover*” mechanisms in the activities “code” of the created technological structures so that they self-develop and reproduce. Furthermore, efforts need to be applied towards enabling the sector’s improved or newly established structures to assume the role of socioeconomic and intellectual/psychological leader or “*locomotive*” at certain stage of their development, and thus create prerequisites for exponential development of the country.

The criteria for “correctness” of the above-mentioned approaches could be implementation of pilot micro-projects (creation of “active centers”) and their comprehensive analysis in the context of the presented theses.

1.5. Technology Sector Classification in Practical Terms in accordance with the Phased Implementation of This Study

The three components of technological sector mentioned in section 1.3 herein, the “tangible”, “intangible” and humanities areas, also need to be classified according to priority. Obviously, the general rationale of development strategy requires these areas to develop simultaneously and complement each other. However, for the

¹ “Research program directed to improvement of the demographic situation in the Republic of Armenia”

above mentioned reasons, *in tactical dimension it necessary to choose the area, which should be priority in the current conditions. From this perspective the following circumstances have to be considered:*

- Humanities technologies is an area where the R&D may serve a basis for economic growth and improvement of demographics. However, the work implemented in this area and its benefits are currently hard to present in wording that would be attractive for the public, political elite and business sector. This is why the area of humanities is presently not suitable for presenting as a primary issue for development policy.
- The part of intangible (software or other theoretical R&D) technologies related to computer and information area is in relatively good shape in the RoA. In addition, the community of this sector is quite well organized and capable of protecting its interests at various levels and platforms. Despite numerous existing problems, this area is able to proceed with strategic development at least to a minimal extent. Thus, in the first phase placing emphasis on this sector could be perceived as “repeating well-known clichés”, and the public, as well as politicians may not sense it as an acute issue.
- Tangible technologies area is perhaps the most ignored one in our society and it apparently symbolizes the “deindustrialized” state of our country. Yet the results achieved in this sector could be tangible (also alluding to its name) for many layers of the society. The structures of this area are also characterized by multiplication and spillover mechanisms. Out of these considerations it seems that practical activities should start for this very sector.

In parallel to practical steps it is necessary to develop an integrated strategy for hi-tech development, create a database of hi-tech structures with pertinent special methodologies and form a legislative framework that would ensure optimal activities of the high technologies sector.

December, 2014

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THE LERNAEAN HYDRA OF TERRORISM

*Yiannos Charalambides**

Introduction

Who said that the end of the Cold War would bring stability and peace in the Global System? This idea – expressed by Francis Fukuyama [1] - was an illusion. Twenty five years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, which paved the way to the decline of the Soviet Union, the regional and global system still suffers from conventional and other types of wars, such as cyber-wars. The new tremendous threat of ISIS forced the international community to be alarmed and fight once again against terrorism, which seems to be like a Lernaean Hydra. When the Greek mythical hero Hercules cut off one of its heads by his sword in an attempt to slay it, two others grew back instead.

The decapitation of Osama Bin Laden did not signal the end of Al Qaeda and terrorist acts [2]. On the contrary, ISIS took the sceptre of terrorism from Al Qaeda and became an extremely brutal war machine, sowing panic and calamity. With this article we examine the phenomenon of ISIS in relation to national interests and power games existing in the Middle East and particularly the role of Turkey, a state which plans to rise as a regional power. Furthermore, we analyze how national interests can build relations and coalitions, even among hostile nations in order to fight against a new common threat.

In this rationale, there are some other issues of critical importance on which our attention should be focused. These are the way that ISIS is sponsored and furthermore the significance of technology in the international relations. Technology - as factor of strength – should be seen through the lens of cyberwar [3; 4, pp. 36-41] and how this kind of war coexists with the conventional warfare [5, pp. 138-139]. Therefore, in analyzing the ISIS phenomenon, the essential questions to answer are the following: what are the political consequences resulting from ISIS terrorist ac-

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tions? Is Hans Morgenthau's concept that national interests define international relations [5, pp 4-15] still correct or not? Can hostile countries establish coalitions and if the answer is positive, under what circumstances?

ISIS phenomenon and national interests

The civil war in Iraq and its consequences are much more complicated than the crisis in Egypt and Syria. ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) is a Sunni terrorist organisation killing in cold blood Muslim and Christian populations under the pretext of establishing a regional Caliphate comprising of Jordan, Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Cyprus and an area in southern Turkey that includes Hatay [6]. In July 2014 ISIS brutally marched towards Bagdad, the seat of the democratically elected government of Iraq [7; 8]. This evolution generated unpredictable political games between the USA, Iran, Russia and Iraq. The Americans flirted with the Shia Iranian state in order to halt the Sunni ISIS seizing the power in Iraq. The Iranians and the Russians sent military support along with the Americans who dispatched military experts in an effort to help Bagdad practically and morally [9; 10]. Yet, on August 24, 2014, the US Air Forces struck targets of ISIS in Syria [11]. On September 21, 2014 the US along with five Arab countries continued the bombing campaign against ISIS by striking targets in Syria and Iraq [12]. The operations were focused on the strikes of headquarters, refineries and other gas and oil resources thanks to which ISIS became a self-financed organisation by selling oil in the black market. The International Alliance should follow and put in practice the classical strategic recipe of striking critical infrastructures. At the same time, the model of Libya was adopted. The engagement of Arab-Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates in the bombing campaign on ISIS was used by the USA to send the message that the vast majority of the Arab and Muslim world joint their forces with the Western countries and fight on ISIS [13]. This war is not a conflict between Christians and Muslims, but it is a war conducted by the international community against a "network of death" as President Obama stated from the floor of the UN General Assembly on September 24, 2014 [14]. Iran questioned the air bombing campaign from the legal point of view. According to CNN, "*Iran lashed out at the air campaign.... Iranian President Hassan Rouhani said there was no legal basis for the strikes without U.N. authorization or an invitation from the Syrian government*" [15].

The US answer was based on two levels. The first focused on diplomacy and political games that states play behind the scenes. The other level was centred on the legal field. As the US Deputy National Security Adviser Tony Blinken stated to CNN: *"a number of countries, including Iran, were told the United States would be taking action. We obviously didn't say exactly when or where. We wanted to make sure that nobody got in our way"* [15]. Iran stood next to the US in supporting the Shia government of Iraq, but when the time came for taking action and fighting hand in hand with US, Iran stepped back. It kept distances and it is obvious that Iran drew its own red line regarding cooperation with the US. Undertaking military actions along with the US would be seen by the faithful Iranian people as a betrayal, putting in question the ideology of the "revolution". On the other hand, to support a Shia government is a duty for the Iranians. Therefore, the Iranian government let the US do the "dirty job".

As to the legal aspect regarding the bombing campaign against Syria and Iraq, the US made their case by evoking article 51 of the UN Charter. In a letter sent, the US provided the argument that it took action when a country, namely Syria or Iraq, is unwilling or unable to handle a threat by itself. Pursuant to the letter: *"The Syrian regime has shown that it cannot and will not confront these safe havens effectively itself"*. As Samantha Power - the US ambassador to the UN - wrote in the letter obtained by CNN: *"Accordingly, the United States has initiated necessary and proportionate military actions in Syria"* [15]. As President Obama stated from the floor of the UN General Assembly, the only language that ISIS understands is *"the language of force"* [16].

Turkish policy and dilemmas

It is an irony that, whilst in September 2013 the US Forces threatened to attack Assad's regime, less than one year later, they bombed targets of ISIS in Syria for their own reasons. However, by definition, such strikes were in favour of Assad's regime. This is a classical case study to explain how convergent national interests of rival and opponent states can force them to cooperate unwillingly; and/or to tolerate each other. It is evident how difficult is the establishment of a democratic political system based on the western model of governance. ISIS, like other Islamist organizations, fights for establishment of a regional and/or a global Caliphate in line with Sharia Law

and the concept of “living space” [4, pp. 73-74]. Turkey is a Sunni state with a government drawing its political legitimacy from the religious faith of ordinary Sunni people. Thus, it would be a risky game to turn its arms on the Sunnis of Iraq. However, it cannot sit out the game. A partial solution was given through the US political option and particularly with its initial refusal to carry out air strikes against the Jihadist militants of ISIS. This refusal was pointed out by President Obama who stated that the US was weighing the possibility of air strikes on selected targets in Iraq [17]. The Turkish government seized the opportunity to be in line with the American policy. This US policy refused to get involved into military intervention and pushed the Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki to step down and thus a new government to be formed. This “National Rescue Government” was approved by the Iraqi lawmakers and comprises all the religious clans and political powers of the country [18; 19; 20]. The rationale of this policy was to effectively face the ISIS threat. However, when the Kurdish population was trapped by the militants of ISIS and was under a risk of massacre, on August 7, 2014 the US Forces conducted air strikes on selected targets [21]. The Kurdish autonomous region in the Northern Iraq claims for independence and the US does not openly oppose such development, as EXXON/MOBIL – a US-based company– has already invested in the exploitation of gas and oil resources in the region [22]. At this point it should be emphasized that Turkey agreed about the construction of a pipeline which will cross its territory [23]. In this regard, it would not be a surprise to see Turkey tolerating an independent Kurdish state and getting involved into a trade off with the aim of taking returns in the framework of a likely solution on the Cyprus issue. About a month later, in September 2014, Turkey decided to join the Forces (International Alliance) which fought on ISIS. However, Ankara was accused of not sending troops to support the Kurdish militants which defended the strategic city of Kobani in Syria [24]. It was obvious that the Turkish government did not intend to help its Kurdish enemy. The Turks watched the fierce battle in Kobani from distance and they were accused of abetting ISIS. At this point two relevant facts should be underlined:

1. The Turkish Minister of European Affairs, Volkan Bozkir, maintained before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament that his country proposed to its Allies to get together into Kobani, but no answer had been given by NATO and the US [25].

2. As soon as the Turkish Grand National Assembly made the decision to join the International Alliance which fought against ISIS, a crisis erupted in the Cyprus EEZ forcing the European Council to include - within its conclusions issued on October 24, 2014 - the self-evident: the EU recognised the sovereign rights of the Republic of Cyprus and also maintained that Turkey should abide by the content of the statement circulated by the EU on September 21, 2005 stating among other things that Ankara should recognise the Republic of Cyprus [26, p. 15].

It is also true that in October 2014, the Turkish government adopted a more flexible position by allowing the Kurds fighting in Kobani to receive external support through the Turkish territory. But, at the same time, the Turkish policy became much more aggressive on Cyprus. The Turkish government sent the seismographic vessel “Barbaros” to conduct research in the Cyprus EEZ and thus put in question the sovereign rights of Cyprus in its own EEZ [27].

The model of Gaza Strip

Under these circumstances, the Turkish return to the political trade off - that we have already referred to - focuses on the Cyprus Exclusive Economic Zone and a pipeline connecting Cyprus with Turkish coasts. This is a political game in line with the Turkish strategic goal to become an indisputable regional power and an energy hub. On the other hand, what is the price that Turkey will pay? From this political aspect a permanent threat is posed and Turkey is doomed to face it. This threat is the possibility of establishment of a Kurdish state on the Turkish doorstep, which seems to be like a stiletto on its back. There is another view on this issue. It might be a good opportunity for Turkey to gather the interspersed Kurdish populations within a tiny and weak state, which would be an easy target for the Turkish war machine. Despite the fact that the two cases are not directly analogous, such a scenario is similar to the model that Israel has implemented when it accepted the existence of a Palestinian Authority in Gaza Strip. Certainly, a spiral of dilemmas emerges and increases the Turkish concerns. Therefore, another scenario exists based on the concept of the “Kurdish unredeemed homeland” [28]. Such a “Kurdish unredeemed homeland policy” comprises Turkish territories and some others which

are under the Syrian and Iranian sovereignty. From a strategic point of view, establishment of a Kurdish State and the scenario of the “unredeemed homeland” will be in favour of the US foreign policy in the sense that Washington could manage energy issues and its national ambitions through the fuelling of the Kurdish threat. But, the main question is what the US plans to do in the region. So far the American strategy has been proved ineffective and not reliable, causing damages to the US global image and credibility, whilst its national interests are not served in the best possible way.

Cyber – Guerrilla War

The strikes conducted by the US Air Forces on August 7, 2014 against the jihadists of ISIS constituted an effort of active support to the Kurdish population under siege. Humanitarian aid was not the only reason that the US struck ISIS military positions. The American national interests were at stake and the US did not want to let the jihadists threaten oil resources since the US intends to see the Kurdish fighters doing the “dirty job” and thus causing damages to ISIS rebels. There is another reason that the US and the British took military action: if ISIS took over the Dam of Mosul, which means the control of the water, the Iraqi state would find itself in a very difficult situation. Water is a critical strategic resource that has similar, even equal significance with oil and gas resources. In case if ISIS dominated the water dam in Mosul, it could also manage critical and strategic infrastructures which are pertinent to the water and electricity supply. Therefore, we underline that the motive for both the US and Britain, is based on their national interests and critical strategic resources such as water, gas and oil, which are inherent in the functioning of a state. The main objective of ISIS was to paralyse the Iraqi state and thereby impose its own illegal Caliphate as the only entity controlling the territory of northern Iraq and regions of Syria. ISIS has an additional advantage: it is a self-sustaining organisation, since it controls at least four oil fields in Mosul and some others in Kirkuk. Thus, by selling crude oil in black markets, ISIS makes a profit of about 1 to 2 million dollars per day [29]. In August 2014 the estimates were that these oil fields would fetch ISIS about 750 thousands to 1 million dollars per day [30]. With this amount ISIS could finance its own military operations in Iraq, Syria and beyond. How did ISIS succeed to supply oil from the occupied regions to the outer world?

Firstly, it controlled the routes and secondly it sold the crude oil for reduced prices. While in the markets the price of the crude oil was about 100 dollars per barrel, ISIS sold for prices between 26 to 50 dollars per barrel. As Luay al-Khatteeb underlines:

“However, there are enough rich assets in the midlands and the north part of Iraq that ISIS could reach out to, a potential capacity that could ramp up to a million barrels a day -- from its current 30,000 barrels a day -- should they seize control the oil-rich city of Kirkuk and its surrounding districts. If they succeed in controlling those assets, cash inflow could stretch their empire of terrorism beyond imagination. But so far, ISIS oil trading has remained local with buyers in Jordan, Turkey, Syria and Iran via middlemen network and truck owners” [30].

Those countries, such as Jordan, Turkey, Syria and Iran [31; 30], which bought oil from ISIS for cheaper prices and therefore sponsored its terrorist actions, were targets of the Anonymous – hackers. This is a cyber-war against ISIS codenamed “Operation NO2ISIS”. The Anonymous scheduled to launch a distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) attack with the aim of paralysing the governmental websites and computing systems. This is the first level and the softest type of cyber-war. Other higher levels can be used if the hackers decide to escalate the cyber-war, using sophisticated malwares. As Jordan Schachtel reports: *“According to the [Anonymous] source: we plan on sending a straightforward message to Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and all other countries that evidently supply ISIS for their own gain. In the next few days we will begin defacing the government websites of these countries so that they understand this message clearly” [32].*

ISIS had been already engaged in a cyberwar by utilizing social media. The experts are still divided about the skills of ISIS in the cyber-warfare. It is certain that during the first hacking attack launched by Anonymous, ISIS responded and defaced the Anonymous Twitter account, @anonmessage [32]. There are experts, who maintain that this kind of hacking attack is similar to the techniques used by the Syrian Electronic Army (SEA). However, there are others who reject this assessment. What we do not know yet, is the level that the ISIS capabilities could reach. So far, ISIS exploits social media in order to win the psychological war, calling through internet the Muslim peoples to rise up and fight against the unfaithful Western countries and particularly the US. What is worth to be stressed is that Palestinian ISIS developed and programed an Android app, so that ISIS had the opportunity to deliver and spread

Twitter messages through its supporters' accounts [32]. ISIS draws on cyberspace and technology to transmit pictures with cruel and bloody atrocities, massive massacres of innocent people, executions and decapitations. Its aim is to cause "shock and awe" following the model used by jihadists in Bosnia Herzegovina and afterwards by Al-Qaeda. In this respect, Ran Levs maintains: *"Iraqi government decided to block the access to the different social media sites. Moreover they even blocked network traffic completely in some areas. To overcome this block ISIS members used anonymity methods and programs. These are basic technical skills that can also be used as a starting point for other network operations."*[33]

The US could not stand the temptation of responding to ISIS cyber-attacks. Therefore, it launched a digital blitz on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube targeting the accounts of ISIS friends through which it pursues to control and win the information and propaganda war, causing damage to the US. According to Nicolas Revisa, senior US State Department official US strategy is a kind of cyber guerrilla campaign:

"It is not a panacea – he said- it is not a silver bullet. People exaggerate, people think this is worthless or they think it a magic thing that will make the extremists surrender. It is neither one of those. It is slow, steady, daily engagement pushing back on a daily basis. It is a war of thousands of skirmishes, but no big battles. America likes big battles but it is not -- it is like guerrilla warfare"[34].

ISIS strategic plan and Turkish dilemma

ISIS strategic plan focuses on the foundation of an Islamic State. As already explained, such Caliphate comprises territories belonging to other neighbouring states. Turkey is one of these countries. The implementation of this scenario could void the efforts about the proclamation of a Kurdish state in Northern Iraq and furthermore, the Turkish territorial integrity might be at stake. Thus, there is a combination of ethical, political, economic and strategic reasons for the American military intervention using air strikes. On the other hand, the more the US are involved into the conflict, the more ISIS seizes the opportunity to legitimise its brutal actions in the name of Allah and under the pretext of defending the Muslim peoples from the "powers of evil" and the unfaithful Western countries who aim to plunder the Muslims' natural sources and wealth [4, pp. 66-67].

On August 15, 2014 the EU made a decision to send weapons, ammunition and military support to the Kurds of Northern Iraq. The decision did not provide for the EU itself to militarily support the Kurdish fighters, but only allowed its member states to get military involved on their own. As for Turkey, it does not wish ISIS become stronger, because a part of the Turkish territory is included within the establishment of a new Caliphate that ISIS fights for. Although ISIS is a Sunni Organisation, its strategic objectives may threaten the Turkish territorial integrity. In this rationale, Ankara may tolerate the Kurds so that “clean up” the region from the rebels of ISIS. This development is in favour of Turkish national interests, as ISIS threat would be prevented. Thus, the new challenge for Turkey is the way in which the threats arising around the country should be managed. Turkey might be forced by geopolitical developments to face a dilemma, whether or not it should give the green light to the Kurds in order to establish a state in Northern Iraq. Turkish rationale relies on the strategic concept of preventing ISIS to threaten Turkish territory in the context of founding a Sunni Caliphate. The question for Turkey is which of the two is the more dangerous scenario with respect to its national interests and strategic goals? Are the rebels of ISIS more dangerous threat or the Kurds? What is certain is that, they both claim Turkish territories. The Turkish decisions will be made on the basis of the geopolitical evolutions, strategic goals and the nature of the threats that Turkey faces.

Conclusions

ISIS terrorist actions have destabilised the regional system and have established new ad hoc coalitions to fight against terrorism. From this analysis concrete conclusions can be drawn regarding the role of ISIS and that of other key players such as the great and regional powers, including Turkey. In this regard we underline the following:

1. ISIS strategic plan is to establish a regional and then a global Caliphate functioning on the basis of Sharia. This is a conflict, between the Western and Muslim globalisations, which goes beyond national interests. In fact ISIS declared a Jihad, a holy war [4, pp. 75-79]. On the other hand, the Western countries do not follow ISIS war concept and they argue that the war on ISIS is a war on terror in which Arab and Muslim countries join their forces.

2. A destabilising situation prevailed in the regional system, which resulted in complicated alliances. These coalitions are composed of the US and Russia, including other countries. Even Iran is ready to support the efforts of the International Alliance but it prefers to keep distance. It is a matter of interests. Iran swings between its national security, which implies supporting the war against ISIS on the one hand, and the legitimacy of the Iranian theocratic political system based on the struggle against the Western imperialism, on the other. To defend their national interests and constrain the brutal and bloody march of ISIS, the US and Russia, as well as other countries, set their differences aside and tolerated each other in order to reach a common goal. This political concept illustrates that the need to confront a common threat creates a fertile ground and delivers a good reason for establishment of an ad hoc coalition (International Alliance) on the basis of convergent interests.
3. Turkey seized the opportunity to increase its geopolitical and geostrategic position in order to consolidate itself as an indisputable regional power. To achieve this end, Turkey got involved into a trade-off procedure particularly with the US, seeking for returns on the Cyprus issue. The key point is that Turkey plans to share the Cyprus gas resources with the Cypriots, in order to be not only a transit energy country but also a producer state. Simultaneously, the main problem that Turkey faces is the Kurdish issue and the new impetus, which might be generated regarding the establishment of an independent Kurdish state mainly comprising Turkish, Iraqi and Syrian territories. This development might be a nightmare for Turkey unless the Gaza Strip model turns into a life-jacket and save the day for Turkey. The evolution of this scenario focuses on the view that Kurdish people could be concentrated within a certain piece of land and be also under the Turkish control. In this regard, Turkey will not only have the opportunity of surveillance over the Kurdish Autonomous region or even a weak independent state, but also to punish it, if Ankara deems that its national interests and particularly its security and territorial integrity are at stake. Certainly, one may allege that this is not the end of a conflict, but the beginning of its new phase.
4. Technology constitutes in fact one of the main factors of power. Cyberspace and its techniques and weapons (viruses and other malwares) play their own

role in the conflict between ISIS and the International Alliance. Therefore, cyberwar is consolidated as a modern version of conflict, coexisting with the conventional means and strategic plans of war.

Taking into consideration the analysis mentioned above, we observe following: i) black market, resulting from a conflict, affects oil prices. In the case of ISIS, the quantity of the oil fields that ISIS controls is not enough to dramatically affect oil prices. It seems to be difficult for ISIS to conquer most of the oil fields situated in the Southern Iraq [32]; ii) oil and gas resources may become strategic weapons or “Achilles’ heel”. From one point of view, oil constitutes a strategic weapon for ISIS. With the profit made by selling crude oil, ISIS renders itself a self-sustaining organization. From another point of view, oil is an “Achilles’ heel” as the US and other Western countries got angry with ISIS and conducted collective air strikes to save the day. If we think rationally, the profit and benefit is much higher than the cost. Without controlling oil resources, ISIS could not have money and the ability to promote and serve its interests and furthermore to realise its strategic goals.

ISIS came to show that terrorism is a phenomenon of our international system and coexists throughout the years with the aim of finding recipes and formulas to hold global system in stability and peace. In the past there were many examples of organisations which have been considered as terrorists, such as “Red Brigades”(Italy), IRA (Irish Republic Army), PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation) and now PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê - Kurdistan Workers' Party). Their goal, ideology, identity and the way they act are not the same. Some of them stopped being labelled as terrorist organisations because they were able to convince others that the goal they fought for is good. Yasser Arafat started out as terrorist in his efforts for national integration of the Palestinian people, but he passed away as President of the Palestinian Autonomous Region. As already mentioned, Al Qaeda lost his leader and the organisation seemed to be decapitated. However, ISIS took the sceptre. The panic and peril of terrorism compel states to join their forces in order to prevent both symmetrical and asymmetrical threats [4, pp. 58-59]. National interests still define international relations and this reality is reflected in ad hoc coalitions. Such coalitions are formed between the US, Russia and other countries as a result of ISIS terrorist actions. These ad hoc coalitions last as long as common

threats and foes exist. They are fragile, not concrete and therefore one cannot rely on such ad hoc coalitions. ISIS phenomenon is fuelled by religious fanaticism on the one hand and the faulty policy implemented by the US and other Western countries on the other. As for Turkey, it seizes the opportunity to rise as an indisputable regional power. However, at the same time, it faces severe dilemmas on how the problems generated by the Kurdish issue should be managed and what kind of solution should be given. Therefore, one may argue that ISIS and terrorism in general is a phenomenon inherent to the functioning of the international system and particularly its chaotic character swinging between conflicting and convergent national interests. Terrorism and ISIS is not a myth, but a reality in which the mythic monster Lernaean Hydra is incarnated. Therefore, what we need to find out is who the “Hercules” of the international system is.

November, 2014

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SECULAR ECONOMY AS VIEWED FROM CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

*Tigran Babasyan**

Introduction “A man can have only what God gives him.” (John 3:27)

Plunged in the frenzy of our daily hustle, we often forget that, at least today, we are the makers of the national and, perhaps, also global economy. The reverberations of the state-monopolized socio-political paradigm are dying away, and we are gradually stepping into the realm of Ecumenical Revelation which otherwise is called globalization.

In fact, as Manuel Castells has it, the new spatial form of megalopolis has the “contradictory quality of being globally connected and locally disconnected, physically and socially” [1, p. 404]. We are supranational and powerful in many ways, if you will, with our possibilities stretching across borders.

It turns out, until recently we were practically slaves, but not inside the state borders: rather, slaves of our ignorance. And so we did our best to live up to the following pattern set out by St. Paul: “*All who wear the yoke of slavery must count their own masters worthy of all respect, so that the name of God and the Christian teaching are not brought into disrepute. If the masters are believers, the slaves must not respect them any less for being their Christian brothers. Quite the contrary; they must be all the better servants because those who receive the benefit of their service are one with them in faith and love.*” (1 Timothy 6:1-2). How well it worked, is a different matter. What is undeniable is that now, after the worship of the state as the utmost secular authority has considerably given under, and we are largely left to our own devices, we have the unique opportunity to enjoy our genuine freedom firmly secured by our Lord Jesus Christ. As a matter of fact, we possess an invaluable asset of self-identification through being Christians in our daily routine, at work, and of course in business. “*We recommend ourselves by the innocence of our behavior, our grasp of*

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truth, our patience and kindness; by gifts of the Holy Spirit, by sincere love, by declaring the truth, by the power of God. ...Poor ourselves, we bring wealth to many; penniless, we own the world.”(2 Corinthians 6:6-10).

The previous socio-economic patterns of the Christian state provided an evolutionary cycle for the world community to reach the victorious peak of its intellectual struggle. Historically, it has been a thorny and sanguinary, defiant and ambiguous path, full of atrocities, privations and adventures, only to discover that this world really belongs to God. As Apostle Paul compassionately notes: *“We brought nothing into the world; for that matter we cannot take anything with us when we leave, but if we have food and covering we may rest content.”(1 Timothy 6:7-9).*

To eliminate the apocalyptic foul-up of these days, the individuals and the state must cooperate in a synergic rapport, which is only possible by introducing the ethical tenets of Christianity into all areas of the secular activities of society, including the economy.

If the former ways proved crook, now they have to be revamped, because eventually we all face the challenge of being personally responsible to God for our earthly deeds. *“For no one of us lives, and equally no one of us dies, for himself alone. If we live, we live for the Lord; and if we die, we die for the Lord. Whether therefore we live or die, we belong to the Lord.” (Romans 14:7-8).* In our context, this responsibility implies the responsibility before your business partner. If you need the transaction to be without further ramifications, you first need to take care of the security of your partner. Share with him/her your advantages. Then the disadvantages will get shifted out of the way. This synergic dynamics represents the only prerequisite for the holistic success of the entire economic activity. *“Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother’s eye, with never a thought for the great plank in your own?... First take the plank out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother’s.” (Matthew 7:3-5).* This should be the exegesis of the ethical behavior in business activities at any level.

It fell out that all the sad experiences of the past the contemporary mankind thrust into the wastebasket of the civilization. This spam is largely labeled “corruption”. Sometimes, however, we empty the wastebasket, to rummage about for some important documents and to go over them to get down to the nitty-gritty of the matter at hand.

Corruption as an Inevitable Concomitant of Economic Activity

The starting point for these lines is the circumambient reality that the corruption, primarily in the developed countries, is at risk of transforming into a systemic one or, to make things worse, can *dominate the existing value system whose surety is said to bear the state*.

As we have shown repeatedly, the lie is the groundwork of the secular economy. In organizational terms, even an amateur eye can disclose a glaring discrepancy between the political and economic setup of societal life. Logically, having appropriated the instruments of social control, the State as the herald of societal interests, should and could have resolved economic plight of the citizenry. Why has not the State solved them yet? Because ideologically, the State is structured around the concept of a lie. The powers of the State to organize the economic life of society are limited by and to the social recipients of the public coffer yielded at the expense of the entire society. We know that the State is unable, or rather, unwilling to establish a reliable economic regime/framework to ensure the synergic/interdependent exchange of economic flows (immobility, assets, securities, services, and other components of economic activities of the public creativity). An average statistical man with no appropriate Christian education is kind of a slot-machine that releases sin. With no quality in place, the “self-consolidation” of the sin in that type of man proceeds through quantitative emissions of his sinful activities. It is not for nothing that in this era of global anticorruption campaign, the State shells out huge funds on commenting its corrupt practices, instead of investing them into reforms in the ideological, educational, and administrative sectors. Time has come when the State has to see its reflection in the mirror of its past and present deeds, which we call corruption. Now let us have a look at how it all works. While inhabiting the role of a public mouthpiece, an exponent of general aspirations, the State covertly caters for the needs of the 30 to the maximum of 50% of the population. Being the attending staff of the founding clans of the given state, this portion of the population vicariously enjoys the amenities of public life through their allegiance to those clans. On the other hand, the rest of any society which does not fit in with those 50%, is forced to pay the bulk of the taxes to maintain the clans along with their attending personnel and to generate the means of circulation for the same clans to run the economy for the remaining destitute portion of the society for one purpose only:

that those destitute should not starve in order to continue paying taxes. Admittedly, a purely secular way of running economy that recurs from generation to generation, one polity to another, and is perpetuated in the following quote from *W. Seagle*: “*While the slave performs the labour that is the whole basis of the economy, juristically regarded the slave is only one more form of property*”. [2, p. 155].

It is precisely in this context that the true image of corruption is disguised. The point is that, being ousted from the civilized framework of societal life, the above destitute stratum of population still continues to pay taxes to the State for Constitutional obligations it (the State) deliberately swerves from fulfilling with regard to them (the destitute). Why deliberately? Because had the State performed its Constitutional obligations, it simply would have not had assets available for the rest of its monetary transactions. The reason for non-fulfillment is obvious: the money receipts from the patronized part of population (30 to 50%) is spent toward their own needs with some margin left for the investments at an interest which is another way of saying “to replenish the state budget”. The spare money for the momentous pecuniary projects the state is so avid of can be drawn from the outlawed part of population, whose mission in the life of the contemporary state is slightly different from that of the slaves in the pagan polity. For the most part they are unemployed, with no fixed sources of earnings from which to make contributions toward the budget. So they are taken in at this very stage, because at this stand of affairs the state, without providing them with jobs, is not eligible to levy taxes from them. *Where does the story end? It actually starts all along the boundary that separates the intrastate portion of the population from the extra-state one. That boundary, understandably, is meant to be the legal status of an individual citizen. If the citizen enjoys the full range of constitutional guarantees, he/she is inside the system; and if not, then sooner or later he/she will have to knock the door of the “constitutionalism” to be let into the realm of comfortable life. To bring this plan to fruition that citizen will have to pay the admission fee, which in other words is called corruption.*

Let us enjoy some more hermeneutics. While faith is the ability of man to firmly establish the worship of Christ in his life cycle through confessing Him as his Savior, it also allows him to gain control over the world of inanimate things or, to put it in legal terms, *the right in rem*. Once established between people in their lives, faith becomes the prime reality, while the material world transforms itself

into information flows which become easily manageable, because they lose their sway over people's minds. For instance, a whole whopping megalopolis with its conglomeration of skyscrapers, high-risers, elite boroughs, swanky cars, choice stores just like the sprawling dilapidation of underprivileged areas turn to clusters of corporeal dumps with no one to own them: the faith comes to the fore as the only vital and viable linkage between individuals who care for the maintenance of the "divine presence" between them as the only surety of their peaceful lives. It is common knowledge that the history stands for the science that explores the evolution of the original sin. In our daily routine, by opting for the property interest, we prolong the life span of this highly ominous and onerous knowledge. Thus, the genuine faith is the attempt to step behind the history, and in this way to get rid of the information flows/currents it plays against each other. Once behind the limits of history, humanity can control these information currents the history is made up of.

When talking about economy as a secular science of methodically calculated errors and consecutively fallacious predictions, one cannot silently pass by the fundamental issue of taxation. Without technocratic flourish, we shall put the matter plainly. One average pro capita tax is enough for the state to maintain its budget. As we know, only the clan-supported segment of society is eligible for the rights established by the secular Constitutions. The Constitutional obligations in turn are secured at the expense of the social segment which cannot be placed into the clan-run frame of the state. Thus, a weird frame of society surfaces, where outwardly rights and obligations are to be observed by each and every citizen, while implicitly the eligible segment of society enjoys its rights at the expense of the segment totally neglected and outcast in legal terms. Without availing themselves of the rights fictitiously foisted on them by the faulty lay Constitution, this outlawed part of society in broad daylight is literally forced to provide for the replenishment of the budgetary resources for the utilization by the eligible clan/state-patronized part of society. So we would rather designate this outcast societal segment an "alternative/optional" segment. Anyway, this optional segment of society has to pay to the state to be eligible to the intra-state comfort. In this regard, a propos, different types of taxes attest the fact that the state can only resolve the citizen's problems at their own expense. Moreover, we are inclined to think that the only "creative" work done by the state is to deliberately create hitches in the way of the citizenry to levy taxes from

them for the solution of the problems the citizenry did not create. Is it not a blatant challenge to whatever ethical norms? If the lay ethical science is able to solve this problem, why it does not do this?

Corruption has had a profound and well-documented impact on security: “The cost of corruption is four-fold: political, economic, social, and environmental. On the political front, corruption constitutes a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law...Economically, corruption leads to the depletion of national wealth...It undermines people’s trust in the political system, in its institutions and its leadership... Environmental degradation is yet another consequence of corrupt systems [3].

Corruption has apparent destabilizing effects for nations and their security. The impact is manifold and includes, for example: “Leakage of WMD technology, trafficking and further proliferation is facilitated by systematic corruption, the presence of organized criminals and terrorists, poor governance, lack of territorial control and state failure, all of which are associated with instability” [4]. Ultimately this situation can progress to a situation of state failure. For some states, even great powers, corruption has reached epidemic scale and appears to be beyond control.

Corruption in the public sector as competing with that of the private one should be viewed as a patent challenge to the existence of any political system with its legal, moral, social domains. It poses a direct threat to the national security.

When defining Corruption one has to take into account the components like societal, cultural and governance norms and values, let alone legal component, which is more than germane to the discussion.

What lawyers can technically assert is in reality wanting and repetitious, because they themselves are bound by the limits of the acting law and do not have any tangible resources to change the situation. Lawyers are good at commenting the drawbacks or even blunders of the existing legislature, but rarely are they willing to pitch in and change things for the better. Why is it that way is a thrust of a different and much more voluminous study. Still the maxim once coined by Jeremy Bentham could be fairly applicable to the entire caste of lawyers of all times and nations. He regarded the jurisprudence as the “*art of being methodically ignorant of what everybody knows*” [2, p. 24]. Admittedly, there is no law requiring lawyers to cultivate such ignorance. In fact, law feigns ignorance, because it has a different mission to fulfill: the punishment. The mainstream scholars are always welcome with the law,

because through their law-oriented teaching, they keep society away from the concept of freedom – another key component of ethics. As soon as the true understanding of freedom is rife in society, the latter will need the law no more, because the true freedom is the right of self-limitation and does not need to be imposed. This stage of development in human can only be obtained through the faith in Jesus Christ: “*For man has in his heart a law written by God. To obey it is the very dignity of man; according to it he will be judged*” (Romans 2:14-16). The following rationale by the apostle Paul will help us understand the matter: “*For no human being can be justified in the sight of God for having kept the law: law brings only the consciousness of sin.*” (Romans 3:20). Hence, by cultivating only the legal trend in the citizens’ minds the mainstream scholars vicariously sacrifice them to corruption. Why? Because corruption is generated and punished inside society governed by the state, and as long as corruption is not fully eradicated, we can claim that it is also regulated by the state. Hence, the state turns out to father corruption.

“Corruption can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs” [5]. Corruption can also be understood as systemic corruption or regime corruption – that is, the embedded corruption of an entire political and constitutive system. Even the legality of corruption can become a question as, “TI, Transparency International, further differentiates between ‘according to rule’ corruption and ‘against the rule’ corruption. Facilitating payments, where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute the former. The latter, on the other hand, is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing.” [3]

The vertical corruption represents the power-based political administration and formally is easier to surveil and counteract. By contrast, the horizontal corruption which stands for the entire population, its morals, customs and habits, ancestral traditions, ethno-cultural proclivity, and things like that is practically out of control. You cannot punish a nation because of its conviction that corruption is sort of a gift proving one’s gratitude. A typical QUID PRO QUO¹.

¹ *A prototype of bribery* could well be traced in archaic cultures where, in order to avoid a potential conflict, e.g. blood feud, the parties made up by paying composition in form of the blood money. Failure to come to terms was to lead to an imminent large-scale conflict not welcome with the kinship. Thus grown into the *sanctioned custom*, as W. Seagle sets it out, the application of composition or any other remedy was seen mandatory. Non fulfillment thereof could be rated as *crime* or could lead to *ostracism*. [2, pp. 24-26/228-230).

How about we tackle the problem from another perspective? If we come up with a graph labeling the bottom line “Horizontal Corruption” and the side line “Vertical Corruption”, they will assuredly intersect at more than one point along the curve we have thus plotted. Yet whatever the results of this graphical survey, it will provide for statistical figures only, not the solutions. The latter lie at the Zero position of the system of axes, and is totally neglected. As long as it stays ignored, the issue would not be solved. Let us label the Zero a “Faith” or “Christian Doctrine”, and this will put an end to the allegedly inextricable conundrum. As a matter of fact, social ethics issuing from the depths of the Christian mettle should be viewed as the only remedy to this issue. And as far as the study is concerned, why do we not try a survey of sorts. Teaching of the impossibility to serve the two masters, Jesus Christ said: *“No servant can be the slave of two masters; for either he will hate the first and love the second, or he will be devoted to the first and think nothing of the second. You cannot serve God and mammon”* (Matthew, 6:24). With these words Christ denies the simultaneous adherence to the satanic host and Power of God, Light and darkness, Righteousness and sin. That the Lord dwells on this idol (mammon) is noteworthy. This deity had a tremendous sway over the heathen civilizations of the Near East. It patronized unrighteous enrichment, understandably, at all costs. However, its real peril was that it *distracted people’s attention* from the true God.

The pagan temple where evil spirit of mammon was once worshipped in broad daylight, in our days seems to have ensconced itself in the very heart of the state. By calling itself Christian, the modern political system of the West in reality is but disguising its unenviable face pitted with poxes from no end of grave diseases. It means that basically nothing has changed since those historical times. What we witness can be interpreted this way: the contemporary Christian state is vicariously enjoying the “amenabilities”, i.e. permissiveness of paganism by failing to nurture its Christian values. Here is a pervasive citation from S.Huntington which cannot be closed with entirely, but which has a very useful mention in Christian terms: “The West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion... but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence. Westerners often forget this fact; non-Westerners never do.” [6, p. 51]. If not for values, i.e. Christian faith, how else could this war be waged and won?

Obviously, a private bribery is largely an economic, a business thing, while public corruption engages a pivotal component of sociopolitical responsibility cause it is based on the institution of social representation which connotes accountability before the society. Failing this accountability, the society is entitled to remedy its moral and economic detriment in a legal way. And not only¹.

Hence, as we see it, *the corruption should be viewed as a systemic perturbation of such a critical degree that the system desists from functioning on the constitutional level hence incurring undisguised threat to the very existence of the state along with the national security.*

Secular Scholars on Economics

The indelible impression from the first acquaintance with the theory of economics is the eclecticism, with which this branch of worldly science is trying to create a halo of competence among its fans – the aggregate of consumers.

Evidently, the capitalist-run economy shall rely on the economic calculation, and especially double-entry bookkeeping method of business accounting. It is dubious, however, whether this method can ensure a proper allocation of the resources towards the satisfaction of human needs; in a completely socialized economy, prices would not exist and central planners would have to resort to in-kind (rather than monetary) economic calculation, being incapable of solving the problem of imputation (i.e. of accurately determining the relative values of capital goods).

Given that the state is the only mastermind behind organized trade barter and capital flow, we would raise a question: how then does the state deal with the value thing? On sound reflection, it becomes apparent that the money stands for the universal tool for gauging all the values, a criterion for those values. The values in turn are the divine qualities in man who keeps recklessly selling them to the state on daily basis. Hence, the money is no less than a ransom in the state's hands to hush

¹ Mostly, at such troubled a point the positive law as the bedrock of market-based society gives under, and the natural custom, as a more viable regulatory means premeditatedly ousted by the positivistic state out of socio-legal circulation, comes to the forefront again with its historically tempered mission: a revolution. Caught at this interplay between law and custom, society sees itself bound to have recourse to this irreproachable, though sanguinary, leverage which always proves a godsend in that it always guarantees the mutual settlement to all parties involved in this public transaction under the title "the state". *"A revolution may be defined as the suspension of the custom of obedience. A new state is always established illegally"*[2, p. 23). This is exactly the point where the legal assumes its illegal image.

up the divine presence of Christ in this world. And it is up to each individual to swallow this bait or not. Besides, it is not values that are calculated but rather the absence thereof. Given that a value is a virtue, it does not need to be computed. Meanwhile problems caused by the ousted virtues, are the pretext so much desired by the world to launch its computations, because on them precisely does the world erect its fraudulent and evasive digital realm. Welfare can also be calculated but in direct ratio to the damages it is derived from, which statistically always steal the show. So by ratcheting up a system of scheme-based relationships the state methodically fosters corrupt practices among people.

Thus the state appears to be the mediator of an organized public game called economy. To lend this game an image of competence the state has sanctioned a science called economics. This science, admittedly, is fairly inconsistent and corrupt for the most part: like father like son, as the saying goes. An eye-opener in this regard is provided by a renowned scholar who wrote back at the beginning of the past century: *“The outstanding faults of the economic society in which we live are its failure to provide for full employment and its arbitrary and inequitable distribution of wealth and incomes”* [7, p. 184]. It stands to reason that wealth and incomes within a societal context can be distributed by the state only; hence the state is at fault for the distribution being arbitrary and inequitable. Why so? The answer is foolproof: because if the distribution of wealth and incomes proceeds in the right way, then there will be no room for the state to cultivate slavery, i.e. the generators of those very wealth and incomes. As the same Keynes has it: *“The authoritarian state systems of to-day seem to solve the problem of unemployment at the expense of efficiency and of freedom. It is certain that the world will not much longer tolerate the unemployment which, apart from brief intervals of excitement, is associated—and, in my opinion, inevitably associated—with present-day capitalistic individualism. But it may be possible by a right analysis of the problem to cure the disease whilst preserving efficiency and freedom.”* [7, p. 189]. We will venture to argue that it is not possible to provide whatever analysis to the problem called corruption; moreover, there is no cure for the disease named *state-controlled economy*, because as soon as you cure that disease, there will be no economy as it is perceived today, i.e. a speculation-based show at an exchange, where goods are assessed as values which they are not, since values belong in man only. Hence a treacherous scheme

can be discerned behind the so called economic society: the values are extracted from their owners, i.e. individuals and attributed to a vast variety of inanimate things called commodities, while those very individuals are brought down to a status of slaves, for without values they can but create them for someone else who in this context is the state – an aggregate exponent of the ruling elite. Or to put it more plainly, we shall resort to the explanation by Herbert Spencer who wrote about the condition of an average individual in society: *“The degree of his slavery varies according to the ratio between that which he is forced to yield up and that which he is allowed to retain; and it matters not whether his master is a single person or a society. If, without option, he has to labour for the society, and receives from the general stock such portion as the society awards him, he becomes a slave to the society.”*[8, p. 43].

Now let us turn back to the previous statement by Keynes about “the authoritarian state systems of today”. It is safe to say that these lines by Keynes could not have been more convincing in terms of passing a sentence against the mainstream economic scholasticism of the age of the mature law. The penetrating mind of this scholar has justly fixed the brittle point, where the contemporary economic science has reached and at which the further societal paradigm desists from developing. The only rub with this scientist is that he hedges himself from the patent reality that if the academically fashionable mathematical and statistical analysis and prognostication of these days do not hold water, it may not be possible to mend this approach in any relevant way, because structurally and technically any new paradigm is doomed to be assembled with the same material. To preserve efficiency and freedom, one has to overhaul the entire building project and adjust it to the new expectations of Christian society. To land this, as the sacerdotal wisdom teaches us, one will have to mark out an appropriate project site, which for this context has the implication of Christian ideology to be inculcated also in the economic domain. Without this new building concept the model economists had better allocate in good time new funds towards rubble disposal from their further scholarly brainwaves. It is undeniable that the modern society, whatever its intellectual upsurge, has to abide by the constitution of the Christian Church edited by St. Paul. The quote to follow from his 2 Corinthians is a ready pattern to a revamped secular society: *“Provided there is an eager desire to give, God accepts what a man has; he does not*

ask for what he has not. There is no question of relieving others at the cost of hardship to yourselves; it is a question of equality. At the moment your surplus meets their need, but one day your need may be met from their surplus. The aim is equality." (2 Corinthians 8:12-14). Then St. Paul, in confirmation of his inspired instructions, cites the Old Testament: *"The man who got much had no more than enough, and the man who got little did not go short."*(Exodus 16:18). Anyway, equality does not seem to be included in the economic plans of the state: and now we know why.

Furthermore, Keynes demonstrates a really valorous stance as a true scientist by saying that: *"We are merely reminding ourselves that human decisions affecting the future, whether personal or political or economic, cannot depend on strict mathematical expectation, since the basis for making such calculations does not exist; and that it is our innate urge to activity which makes the wheels go round, our rational selves choosing between the alternatives as best we are able, calculating where we can, but often falling back for our motive on whim or sentiment or chance."*[7, p. 154-155].

As we approach closer to the modern age of human evolution, it becomes more obvious that knowledge on which the science rests cannot be obtained in an empirical way only: too costly and time-consuming has the human experience been. Even today, when scientific mind has consumed the circumterrestrial space, mankind still craves for the true knowledge, because it cannot be satiated with the lie it has surrounded itself with. The following words by the Lord are the key to a new world the mainstream scholars should discover to themselves, because precisely these words have been behind the staggering scientific impetus ever since the humanity was granted the freedom through the glorification of Christ Jesus on the Golgotha: **"Everyone who drinks this water will be thirsty again, but whoever drinks the water that I shall give him will never suffer thirst any more. The water that I shall give him will be an inner spring always welling up for eternal life"**(John 4:14). This is how the unprecedented growth of modern science has to be understood, where faith is a prerequisite for knowledge and science.

It is common knowledge that science, both theoretical and applied, can be perceived only at the social level, because it is inextricably connected with the marketplace economy which heavily stakes on revenues it gets from society. So it is mandatory that also the organizational and administrative sides of the issue should

be given due consideration. How to achieve the unmistakable pattern of the just allocation and relocation of the assets? Again faith proves to be the key for the secular economy to use while settling its problems. Let us consult the sobering lines by St. Paul: *“We are simply God’s agents in bringing you to the faith. Each of us performed the task which the Lord allotted to him: I planted the seed, and Apollos watered it; but God made it grow. Thus it is not the gardeners with their planting and watering that count, but God, who makes it grow... We are God’s fellow workers; and you are God’s garden.” (1 Corinthians 3:5-9)*. Evidently, secular economy cannot be managed efficiently unless it is governed by people able to interpret the true knowledge through faith, i.e. familiar with the principles by which the sound social life proceeds. By way of addition Apostle Paul brings one more rationale as to how it is possible to balance the possibilities of the system regardless of the assets it has piled up. Again man as the aggregate of divine qualities comes to the fore: *“Or again, you are God’s building. I am like a skilled master-builder who by God’s grace laid the foundation, and someone else is putting up the building. Let each take care how he builds. There can be no other foundation beyond that which is already laid; I mean Jesus Christ himself. If anyone builds on that foundation with gold, silver, and fine stone, or with wood, hay, and straw, the work that each man does will at last be brought to light... Surely you know that you are the God’s temple, where the Spirit of God dwells. Anyone who destroys God’s temple will himself be destroyed by God, because the temple of God is holy; and that temple you are.” (1 Corinthians 3:10-17)*. Hence, the «garden» and the «temple» should be perceived as the only workable models of society, inclusive of its economic transactions. The following quotation is exceedingly important for those scholars, who are dedicated to eulogizing the ubiquitous destruction on which the secular economy is based upon: *“Make no mistake about this: if there is anyone among you who fancies himself wise – wise, I mean, by the standards of this passing age- he must become a fool to gain true wisdom. For the wisdom of this world is folly in God’s sight. Scripture says, ‘He traps the wise in their own cunning’ (Job 5:13), and again, ‘The Lord knows that the arguments of the wise are futile.’ (Psalm 94:11)...For though everything belongs to you..., yet you belong to Christ, and Christ to God.” (1 Corinthians 3:18-23)*.

After the destructive campaign of the age of geographic discoveries and industrial revolutions, a new age of knowledge-based economy cropped up that allegedly

should make a splash on a global scale. And so it did: the quantitative factor, this time around, was so heavily staked upon that only a few splitters from whatever resemblance to quality could be found. The comprehensive and coherent interpretation of the innovation process in economy was first delivered by J. Schumpeter in his "Theory of Economic Development" he wrote in 1911. He formulates the "innovation" as the aggregate changes made towards introduction and application of novel consumer goods, new means of production and transportation, markets and organizational technicalities into the industry, and brings to the fore a new type of the entrepreneur whom he qualifies an "innovator" [9, p. 18].

An attempt to provide the theoretical substantiation of the innovative investment was made by the British scientist John A. Hobson. At the beginning of the 20-th century he introduced a change into the formulation of the production factors in that to the existing formula "land + capital + work" he added a fourth factor, that is, the talent which stands for the creative powers of man, or to put it in other words, - "his entrepreneurial skills". According to Hobson, the genuine power of an entrepreneur roots in his ability to discover new marketplaces, turn out a novel production, and to find out the new modes of manufacturing. This type of manufacturing he called "the area of advanced industry" [10, p. 20]. To put it in other words, as Hobson tends to view it, the like entrepreneur virtually proves to be the same innovator brought into the spotlight by J. Schumpeter a bit earlier, an image whom Hobson vested with significant social functions. This army of "innovators" and "skilled entrepreneurs" did not take long to appear, and it really assumed a groundbreaking mission. Only there are two technicalities to the issue at hand:

1. Without the state-granted sanction, these innovators could not have accessed new markets and explore new outlets, i.e. again the state saddled them with contracts they had to purchase first and then to sooth the state with kickbacks from their operations. H. Spencer shares a somewhat rough, yet clear-cut model by which the economy operates: "For nothing can be more certain than that if, to maintain A's profit, B is forbidden to buy of C, or is fined to the extent of the duty if he buys of C, then B is aggressed upon that A. may be "protected." Nay, "aggressionists" is a title doubly more applicable to the anti-free-traders than is the euphemistic title "protectionists;" since, that one producer may gain, ten consumers are fleeced." [8, p. 114];

2. This “innovative” army proved overly destructive while breaking ground on new economy. An old story, some would say. Yet not exactly, because from sociopolitical perspective this setup should be viewed as something more fateful than one could take at a face value, namely the state has yielded its regulatory leverages to unauthorized rulers, e.g. supranational corporations (again we confront with a feeble representative institution). Incidentally, the devastating aftermath of their activities is amply evidenced in the respective section of a marvelous manual by William Richter & Frances Burke, *A Practical Guide to Management Ethics* (pp. 52-56) [11]. As we perceive this process, the Schumpeterian «creative destruction» proved nothing less than the destruction of the very foundations of the state: by selling its responsibility in quotes to the competitive contractors, the state abdicated its moral authority. One American scholar puts it more sternly: “The legislature, in granting rights and concessions to exploiters is in position of a landowner bargaining for the development of his estate” [12, p. 20]. Emotionally less succulent and academically more relevant sounds this interpretation: “Charters of corporations granted by all leading industrial nations, were franchises solemnly granted in each instance by the state – social compacts by which the state abdicated some of its most important functions.” [2, p. 269].

“If the State is able to determine the aggregate amount of resources devoted to augmenting the instruments and the basic rate of reward to those who own them, it will have accomplished all that is necessary. Moreover, the necessary measures of socialisation can be introduced gradually and without a break in the general traditions of society.” [7, p. 187]. To fulfill this function the state needs to be responsible for each and every citizen in terms of providing for his/her welfare, which has never been the case throughout human history; not because it is physically unable to, but since the first and perhaps the last mission of the state is to ensure that the larger part of society be exploited by the smaller one – the most unequivocal rationale of the income generation. In fact, the only logical function of the state should be ensuring the smooth run of “the general traditions of society”, but in that case the state would be unrecognizably sane and sound which is drastically athwart with its charisma: creation of an auspicious environment for social malady in order for the

state to appear as a mesmerizing doctor with a kit full of all sorts of prescriptive pills that perform miracles. The greatest of those “miracles” is the fact that instead of living your God-inspired life for yourself you slog through it for “others”, i.e. for the state, for the state is always alien to an individual, because in reality it is predicated on the fictitious tenets which cannot catch on inside a sound community of people that lives its own life based on the laws of revelation and sovereignty granted from above. This approach is shared also by the coryphaeus of the contemporary legal doctrine W. Seagle: *“The greatest of all fictions was the concept of the state as an external power, standing above all society and creating law for society”*[2, p. 67]. In fact, the masterminds behind the statist game are numbered clans who run the economy underpinned by the sweatshop labor of the citizenry. This can only be possible if there is a perfected punitive leverage in place. It is not for nothing that Max Weber links the economy and the state into one indivisible whole: *“Even as the market tends towards monopoly the State tends towards a monopoly of the machinery of compulsion”*[13, p. 29]. Self-evidently, the political monopoly cannot be sustained without the monopoly over the market.

Herbert Spencer has come very close to the real image of the state-run troops on the social front he has portrayed in the following lines: *“A comparatively small body of officials, coherent, having common interests, and acting under central authority, has an immense advantage over an incoherent public which has no settled policy, and can be brought to act unitedly only under strong provocation. Hence an organization of officials, once passing certain stage of growth, becomes less and less resistible; as we see in the bureaucracies of the Continent”*[8, p. 35]. Hence, the bureaucracy is to the citizenry as the “fifth column” working for the state which is alien, irresponsible, and therefore also hostile to society; the state, to wit the ruling clans, shares the potluck with the citizens, but it will never share their grieves and aspirations that are largely due to the subversive acts by the very state.

Speaking of mundane economy we have to admit the simple fact that the staple commodity in economic terms comes to be the man: the state cannot demand the redress from inanimate things. Instead it sacrifices the man, in a variety of ways, to the world of goods in which the state trades the man off for them. Therefore, to harness the individual will, the state resorts to the institute of a contract which it cherishes as the apple of its eye. The legal doctrine seems to be consonant with this

statement : *“The law of contract is not so much a body of rules as the basic mechanism of development in modern law, for it deals with nothing less than the individual as a source of law”*[2, p. 253].

Basically, people could full well come to terms with each other even if they failed to perform their obligations under the contract: but then the state would have stayed without a business, because on closer look we can discover that the economic turnover patronized by the state is activated by setting individual wills against each other. The myriads of conflicts arising therefrom are the bottom-line of economy. *“Indeed, the law of contract has become virtually the civil law itself”*[2, p. 253]. Apparently, patronizing the institute of contract is another cagey contraption of the state to set the societal pulse racing and to sway every throb of free society’s life. Hence, in terms of lay economy a bad contract ends at a court, while good one – at the Inland Revenue.

Therefore our Lord Jesus Christ instructs us: *“If someone sues you, come to terms with him promptly while you are both on your way to court; otherwise he may hand you over to the judge, and the judge to the constable; and you will be put in jail. I tell you, once you are there you will not be let out till you have paid the last farthing.”* (Matthew 5:2-26). Why not a generic model of an economic modality?

That any physical malady burgeons up on the spiritual level is an old truth. But that corruption, as a societal disease, could have decimated entire states, few would believe. Greece or Spain are among a few evident samples of what is equally applicable to Ireland when it was on the verge of a similar plight several years back. But if somebody still lets himself be carried away with the hope that Germany or Finland, or any other “business wonder” or “economic miracle” or “regional tiger”, new or old, could pattern the prosperity, -- he is desperately mistaken. I have been recently perusing materials on the state of corruption in different countries: Spain, Russia, Germany, USA. All these countries have one commonplace: their Christian image is dismantled.

Little wonder people perceive corruption to be a criminal, economic, or statistical phenomenon, but not a spiritual one. They see the bud and the flower without getting to the root. Meanwhile *“Make no mistake about this: God is not to be fooled; a man reaps what he sows. If he sows seed in the field of his lower nature, he reap from it a harvest of corruption, but if he sows in the field of the Spirit, the Spirit*

will bring him a harvest of eternal life. So let us never tire of doing good, for if we do not slacken our efforts we shall in due time reap our harvest” (Gal, 6:7-9).

Ways of Reconciliation

“What I mean, my brothers, is this: flesh and blood can never possess the kingdom of God, and the perishable cannot possess immortality.”(1 Corinthians 15:50).

Let us consider a structural model of society: the State, the Business, and the Public. We shall venture to build this model on the biblical allegory on the Prodigal Son. Thus, the nexus between **the State** as the **formal father** behind social, and consequently, economic developments, and **the Business** impersonating **the son** who, for some reasons, has been left to his own devices for quite some time, stands for the socio-economic dynamics of any society. Now after yet another spell/cycle of his ups and downs he has resorted to his father’s assistance for umpteenth time. This Son, however, represents the part of society which is free to act as it likes. The globalization stands for this character to a dot. So, as we can see, the State is no more in position to attend to the mission incumbent on it, i.e. to rectify the foul-up on the national level. Lately, a weird pattern can be traced in the economic developments globally. The State seems to be more descriptive rather than prescriptive, as far as ethical norms of entrepreneurship are concerned. Conversely, the omnipresent corrupt practices bear out the view that corruption has become a custom prescribed by implication. What is the reason for this? The answer is as old as the following excerpt from the Old Testament: *“You shall not accept the bribe, for bribery makes the discerning man blind and the just man give a crooked answer” (Exodus 23:6-8).* Patently, corruption automatically means the failure of integrity that has been ousted from the scenario of the social coexistence. A foul /rotten reality – that is the name of the game. This corrupt social pattern is designed to preclude every sign of probity in human relationships. In such a pattern the Business is always a puppet whose strings are firmly reeled round the fingers of the State – a puppeteer. And it is up to the Public only to rectify the situation, that is, to reach the balance of powers. To land this goal the Public has to identify its main, and possibly the only, mission: development and application of the surveillance leverages. But, as E. Ehrlich has it: *“The center of gravity of legal development therefore from time immemorial has not lain in the activity of the state, but in society itself, and must be sought*

there at the present time" [14, p. 360]. Therefore it has to rely on the right ideology, but primarily inside itself, without striving to get it from the other two ones, i.e. the State and the Business. Formally the Public can and does resort to the main resource – the Fundamental Law, which does not seem to be efficient enough. Yet the Constitution does not expire the possibilities of the Public: it has one more and much more powerful tool – Christian Ethics, which is neither deontology nor Code, nor any other tool devised by the State to keep the Business and the Public under its stern control. Rather, it bases on the invocation and fostering of self-esteem and creativity in a free individual who is perfectly aware of his divine right to live and create on his free will for the benefit of society, which he sees as the unity of as free and creative persons as himself. This should be the ideology behind the successful empowerment of the part of society which has not been smudged by the foul transactions between the State and the Business commonly known as corrupt practices or, simply, corruption. Hence, each of the players has to exert strain to come to terms with each other. The State has to declaratively shift from its punitive to collaborative charisma. Time has come for the Father to sacrifice a choice bull for his Son. The bull here should be understood as Integrity. With the advent of knowledge-based wave of the evolution of society the state finally released that potential, i.e. knowledge-driven economy and scooped enormous revenue. The difference was that both the state as administrative machinery and society as its potential market, profited from this new economic trend. This liberalization of the state's approach towards society was precisely the sacrifice expected from for such a long time. This trend in the statist behavior could be full well be construed as its proclivity towards total integrity. Alas, corruption is thrust into the public spotlight over and over again. As one of the pundits of the innovation economics, Alstrohm, has it: *"The main goal of business is to develop new and innovative goods and services that generate economic growth while delivering benefits to society"* [15, p. 11]. Sadly enough, no benefits can be delivered to society, because the quantitative comfort wears out rather quickly and requires to be substituted by a new generation of "smart" gismos which only derogate from man's spiritual immunity. What Alstrohm states is the stand of a visionary in the negative sense of the word: in fact, there is an economic growth at the expense of the customers; but if the customers have to pay for "someone else's" economic growth, then who is going to pay for the customers'

benefits? What economists call “economic growth” we would rather put a foul addition to the world of commodities, which is another manifestation of the paganism in the Christian world. This yarn has been spun all along from the time immemorial. To put the matter in technical terms, we could once again cite the following quotation which sounds as fresh as it did at the end of the 19-th century: *“For nothing can be more certain than that if, to maintain A's profit, B is forbidden to buy of C, or is fined to the extent of the duty if he buys of C, then B is aggressed upon that A may be "protected." Nay, "aggressionists" is a title doubly more applicable to the anti-free-traders than is the euphemistic title "protectionists;" since, that one producer may gain, ten consumers are fleeced”*[8, p. 114].

Admittedly, having expired the tangible assets on which the positive law is largely built, the state has to struggle to make itself room within the context of the upswing of the intangible/abstract/intellectual potential that is a driving force behind the knowledge economy that ratchets up an unbelievably effective and hyper-profitable output. Why is it that difficult for the state to identify itself under these new conditions? Because now it is more difficult to monopolize the relocation of the assets: they have become as thin as air. Should the state wish to materialize them, it would have to openly declare a man to be the prime commodity. This, however would be equal to a suicide which is totally unnecessary, because the state still has to serve the Public, though after it has undergone a thorough reformation. In this connection we would like to cite the following unfading lines by St. Paul: *“For Christ ends the law and brings righteousness for everyone who has faith.”*(Romans 10:4). Law has become obsolete for roughly 2000 years now. It took the lay science almost as much time to get aware of this undeniable truth: *“The world of law is, after all, only a brief experiment. Mankind has not lived by law as long as it has lived by custom. It may live by science longer than it has lived by law.”*[2, p. 374].

Moreover, we strongly believe that the achievements, whatever dramatic, of the modern science are due to the Christian faith of those who are behind them. The moral life of Christians is sustained by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit that sustain the moral life of Christians are wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, *knowledge*, piety, and the fear of the Lord.

In all aforesaid considerations *corruption* should be seen as the main stumbling block, because it derives directly from incomplete and ailing faith and under-

lies all of the ensuing material, visible, and effective phenomena at a societal level. **“You shall not steal”** – says one of the commandments, which means that the good created by God for everyone should in fact reach everyone in accordance with justice and with the help of charity. Yet, as we know, integrity, along with justice, is the divine quality not to be expected from this irreparably profligate world. *“Take up God’s armor; then you will be able to stand your ground when things are at their worst.... Fasten on the belt of truth; for coat of mail put on integrity; let the shoes on your feet be the gospel of peace, to give you firm footing; and, with all these take up the great shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the evil one.” (Ephesians 6:10-17).*

Meanwhile, the situation is clear-cut as to the framework within which the socio-economic developments proceed. First and foremost, one has to bear in mind the imminent paradox of the evolution of capital: the more it is accumulated, the less it is, or to put in other words, the more money you have, the fewer problems you are able to resolve. Why not admit that the money is made not by or for solving problems, but rather by creating them? So, the more problems you have created over the process of assets generation, the more the number of the problems after you have become aware of the situation. Money is not that bad a thing as long as it serves consumers needs, but it becomes a bane when it starts buying and selling ethical values: then the whole systems may tumble down as the house of cards. How does it happen? The weird pattern by which the money works is based on the assessment. Assessed can be something worthwhile, valuable. Whatever is worthless is normally rejected. If the economy is unethical, i.e. is based on the mercenary, self-interested precepts, which is the very source of the flaw, the values are gradually eroded from the social circulation. The money continues its assessment function. It does not care what to assess. So it starts evaluating the absence of values. With no values in place and assessed the society can develop only the system of vices. And so the vicious circle is activated. Let nobody think this is a sheer philosophy: the global economic downturn of these days is nothing less than a trite effort of evaluating the worthless. The simple truth behind this is that a man without faith, i.e. ethical values cannot maintain the economy. Here is how the words of apostle Paul are adamantly born out: *“The love of money is the root of all evil things, and there are some who in reaching for it have wandered from the faith and spiked themselves on many thorny griefs” (1 Timothy,6:10).*

What can be done at the secular level to rectify the situation? One has to engage the organizational leverages towards regulating the adequate deployment (allocation + relocation) of accumulated assets within the societal context. This, again, can be achieved only provided the Christian ethics is in place. It was for good reason that the same Schumpeter wrote about the “Evaporation of the Substance of Property” [9, p. 156]. While doing this one has to be mindful of the congenital nexus tightly binding up the economy with the law. Again W. Seagle presents us with yet another of his penetrating observations: *“Archaic law dealt with physical and tangible property. Mature law has made of property a law of abstraction and intangible rights”* [2, p. 270]. This happens because mature law is based on the contract, and the contract draws upon the individual law. The state has run out of its maneuvering resources in the socio-legal game it once happened to beget. The toolkit it has been so eagerly using ever since has recently been emptied of the first ever and the most dependable tool, i.e. man as the prime commodity. The freedom which has been capitalized upon by the state for so long a time has finally been discharged from the statist imprisonment. Freedom cannot be materialized any longer, because it equally belongs both to the state and the citizenry; it is a common property inherited from God, so that if someone wants to draw profit from it at the expense of others, he by so doing entraps himself. *“Now the Lord of whom this passage speaks is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. And because for us there is no veil over the face, we all reflect as in a mirror the splendor of the Lord; thus we are transfigured into his likeness, from splendor to splendor; such is the influence of the Lord who is Spirit.”* (2 Corinthians 3:17-18). So the genuine freedom can be enjoyed, provided that society lives by the tenets of justice which in turn can be perceived only as the presence of the living God; in other words unless people learn to honor the divine will of the Almighty in their lives and enshrine his commandments in their interpersonal relationships, they will never be able to find the key to the meaning of their own selves. The answer to the eventual question in this connection is anticipated in the following lines of Apostle Paul: *“For there is one God, and also one mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus, himself man, who sacrificed himself to win freedom for all mankind.”* (1 Timothy 2:5-6). This premise is as inevitable as the recurrent calamitous cycles of the evolution of humankind. Therefore, our Lord is so keen on the ‘corner-stone’,

i.e. the will of God: *“Then what does this text of Scripture mean: “The stone which the builders rejected has become the main corner-stone”? Any man who falls on that stone will be dashed to pieces; and if it falls on a man he will be crushed by it.” (Luke 20: 17-18).* The message is still vital because it directly concerns also the builders of society and the state, that is the public administration: for them there is only one way of not rejecting the corner-stone – to serve the freedom ensured by Christ Jesus. To put it more simply, unless the secular ministers acquiesce in the true essence of their ministry, i.e. serving those in need for the sake of Christ Jesus, freedom and justice, on the government level, will be the relics of the paperwork in the wastebasket. Hence, Individual interests in the society dealt with on the legal level, without being controlled by the ethical precepts of Christianity, are ruinous for democratic, i.e. Christian, society on the whole.

The matter at issue has one more dimension in the traditional economic science: the so-called extralegality. As the talented scientist Andrzej Rapaczynski points it out: *“The notion that simply instituting an appropriate legal regime will establish a set of property rights that can undergird a modern economic system is deeply implausible, because most property rights can only be marginally enforced by the legal system. The core of the institution of the ownership is a matter of unquestioned and largely unconscious social and economical practices that must be rooted in non-legal developments.”*[16, p. 88].

The same view is shared by another famous economist Hernando de Soto: *“Once governments understand that the poor have already taken control of vast quantities of real estate and productive economic units, it will become clear that many of the problems they confront are the result of the written law not being in harmony with the way their country actually works. It stands to reason that if the written law is in conflict with the laws citizens live by, discontent, corruption, poverty, and violence are sure to follow..... massive extralegality is not a new phenomenon. It is what always happens when governments fail to make the law coincide with the way people live and work.”*{17, p. 92}.

To summarize our deliberations on this score, we shall take leave to adduce the following statement by St. Paul which surely is going to be edifying for all the three parties of the socio-economic triangle: the State, the Business, and the Public.

“For the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but justice, peace, and joy, inspired by the Holy Spirit. Let us then pursue the things that make for peace and build up the common life. Do not ruin the work of God for the sake of food.” (Romans 14:17-20).

Conclusions

The logical inferences from the above considerations are as follows:

1. Corruption thrives in societies where state is incapable of handling its genuine tasks (mostly representative institutions endorsed by the Fundamental Law).
2. That law is the midwife of commerce is an old truth. And when the commerce starts buying the moral image of the state as the guarantor of social peace and justice, then corruption comes to the fore. However, this should be viewed as something more fateful than one could take at a face value, namely the state has yielded its regulatory leverages to unauthorized rulers, e.g. supranational corporations (again we confront with a feeble representative institution). Incidentally, how devastating the aftermath of their activities is, is amply evidenced in the respective section of a marvelous manual *by William Richter & Frances Burke, A Practical Guide to Management Ethics* [11, pp. 52-56].
3. In other words, the state has lost its authority—that is the name of the game.
4. In this respect a scintillating observation is made by an eminent political scientist S. P. Huntington: *“While states remain the primary actors in world affairs, they are also suffering losses in sovereignty, functions and power. International institutions now assert the right to judge and to constrain what states do in their own territory. In some cases, most notably in Europe, international institutions have assumed important functions previously performed by states, and powerful international bureaucracies have been created which operate directly on individual citizens. Globally there has been a trend for state governments to lose power also through devolution to sub-state, regional, provincial, and local political entities. In many states, including those in the developed world, regional movements exist promoting substantial autonomy or secession. State governments have in considerable measure lost the ability to control the flow of money in and out of their country and are having increas-*

ing difficulty controlling the flows of ideas, technology, goods, and people. State borders, in short, have become increasingly permeable.”[6, p. 35].

Now the only feasible way of getting over the impasse is the restoration of the value system, because the systemic crisis can mean but that of the values without which all of the formal institutions become emasculated.

5. Having enhanced life standards of Asian civilizations, and created new ones in Americas, Christianity has not only fulfilled its historical mission, but also the spiritual charisma, for it, like never before, brought together man and God. Following the commandments and acts of Christ and Apostles, Christendom constitutes the most active, educated, and prolific part of any socio-economic and cultural environment.
6. The ongoing crisis of the Christian civilization can be explained by the following reasons:
 - a. Global demographic growth and the quantitative problematic related thereto.
 - b. Western nations have not fully considered and applied vast resources of the Christian doctrine, having confined themselves solely to the mercenary realm.
 - c. The Asian civilizations, which owing to the favorable impact of Christianity have put on unprecedented spurt in their development, having ensured their material well-being, now are starting to alienate themselves from the true faith which pattern is so irreparably intrinsic in paganism.
7. Caught in this set-up, Christianity faces the urgency to regain its strength lavished on fostering the rest of civilizations. This can be achieved through fairly tangible and realistic measures:
 - a. Enhanced teaching of Christian ethical norms (so called integrity, *social accounting, transparency, anti-corruption*, etc.) at community/public educational institutions.
 - b. Accentuate the involvement of public administration into the scope of the above educational/deontological activities.
 - c. Overt Christianization of Western legal systems, judiciary, with possible elimination/transformation of the correctional branch.
 - d. Reconsideration/re-construction of functional activities of the contemporary Christian states/statist systems, which will enable to settle a two-fold issue at a

time: a) to ensure the proper education and civil functionality with generations to come, and b) to consolidate Christendom in the face of the new phase of pagan onslaught.

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ARMENIA – DIASPORA: NEW CHALLENGES

*Gagik Terterov **

On the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide there are many messages and publications, events and various gatherings. The message of the Pope Francis and meetings at the top political level in Yerevan were especially noteworthy. By and large the organizational efforts were effective and contributed to both providing an international spin to the issue and consolidating the Armenian public.

In parallel to all that it is sometimes useful to step aside from the traditions formed around this issue and try a slightly different approach to the century-old realities.

The primary tenet that we believe needs to be accepted is that the Armenian public and especially our political elite, the parties, intellectuals and the Church, have their share of responsibility with regards to the Genocide. They failed (with exception of a few individuals) to grasp the political realities and processes of the time, to predict and forestall the catastrophic developments. By force of circumstances the Western Armenian part of that very elite was first to fall victim of the 1915 Genocide. This demonstrates that, unfortunately, the Armenian society had neither a national strategy nor means and tools to implement one. In turn, a culture of strategic thinking and political prognosis is formed based on intellectual potential and organizational capacities, and thus, the insufficient level thereof at the time has to be admitted.

A century thereafter, Armenia and Diaspora face a situation that also needs to be adequately comprehended and assessed. The urgency of this stems from the global restructuring process: the monopole world order declines and a multipolar one is formed instead, with all the resultant geopolitical, economic, and value system changes. Military and political tensions increase throughout the world, as relations between major geopolitical actors reach the conflict stage, and run under rules

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of a new, “Second Cold War” [1, 2]. The current phase of history is likely to become a turning point. In a way, it can be compared to the reshaping the world and revolutionary shifts during the World War I period, or the collapse of the USSR and subsequent processes that were taking place in not so distant past. Undoubtedly, this phenomenon of systemic restructuring has to be understood in its content and subjected to scenario analysis, only based on which it would be possible to develop strategic programs in line with the interests of the Armenian public.

Without discussing the entirety of global processes, we shall briefly touch upon the processes that occur in our geographic vicinities. In this tactical dimension the most vivid manifestations of the situation are the so-called “hybrid” wars in the Greater Middle East (GME) and Ukraine. An attempt is made below to review concisely the processes in these regions from the perspective of the security of Armenia, that is Republic of Armenia (RoA) and Nagorno Karabakh Republic (NKR), as well as Armenian Diaspora communities.

The Greater Middle East

The Iraqi war (2003), “Arab Spring” and self-declaration of the Islamic State (*IS*) wreaked havoc in the region, which brought sufferings to the local Armenian communities, sometimes leading to their irreversible demise. These communities are not only direct successors of the Western Armeniency, but also the carriers and disseminators of the Western Armenian culture. In this respect the developments in GME can be perceived continuation of the Genocide. Obviously, the Middle Eastern processes are a direct threat for the Diaspora and the entire Armeniency. Admittedly, we were not prepared to face these challenges and unfortunately, to date we have no programs and capabilities to respond them in a combined manner.

At the same time, the Middle Eastern processes need to be interpreted from the perspective of information policy. As it is known, mass murder and deportation (in millions) of population based on religious and ethnic affiliations takes place in GME, along with destruction of cultural assets that belong to the whole humankind. The responsibility for these realities lies with the countries whose military/political activities created conditions for such genocide to happen [3]. Perhaps, it is worth that our scholars of Genocide Studies pay attention to this phenomenon, not least because Turkey has assumed a direct role in the war against Syria and unfolding of

Islamic extremism, and thus continues today its genocide-begetting policies.

The developments in the GME pose threats to the security of not only Diaspora, but also Armenia (RoA and NKR). Chaotic situation prompts the regional states to conduct more self-directed and sometimes, more aggressive policies, and drop accords and treaties concluded before. This can be noticed especially on the examples of Israel and Turkey; particularly, in disagreements and chilliness observed in their relations with the USA. In addition, competition grows between Iran, Israel and Turkey for the leadership in the region. Turkish plans for creating nuclear weapon should be viewed in this very context [4]. Evidently, this problem must be perceived as an utterly serious challenge for Armenia and Diaspora. It has to be noted that this problem also failed to find its way into the list of issues watched by the Armenian public or otherwise brought to the information forefront. Meanwhile, nuclear arms in hands of a state with genocidal traditions are multiplicatively dangerous.

It is characteristic that in order to act more independently from the West and increase its autonomy, Turkey seeks to establish strategic partnership with Russia. In turn, Western sanctions imposed on Russia drive Moscow to closer relations with Ankara. Such political logic is somewhat reminiscent of the Moscow-Ankara close cooperation precedent in 1920s. It is especially worrisome that economic interaction points between these two countries include not just Russian natural gas transit, but also nuclear energy. On the other hand, unlike the situation in the 20th century, Russia is the security guarantor of Armenia and hence a “nuclear shield” against Turkey¹. Yet we need to consider that such “shield” is functional today because of the system formed by the charismatic leader of Russia, whereas in the long term the said guarantees are not all that unequivocal and clear-cut.

The *IS* negative factor is not limited to Turkey. In some scenarios the *IS* militants may bring their activities to Caucasus and Caspian Sea region (which partially happens already²) and hence, destabilize also South Caucasus [5]. Such developments pose an immediate threat Armenia, too. It also has to be noted that Islamic extremists may take advantage of some “colored revolution” sentiments existing in

¹ Гагик Арутюнян, «Наихудший сценарий – реализация Турцией своих амбиций по созданию ядерного оружия», <http://www.golosarmenii.am/article/26167/naixudshij-scenarij-%E2%80%93-realizaciya-turcijej-svoix-ambicij-po-sozdaniyu-yadernogo-oruzhiya--->.

² See, for example: Станислав Иванов, «Россия в борьбе с исламистскими группировками», <http://ru.journal-neo.org/2015/03/08/rus-rossiya-v-bor-be-s-islamistskimi-gruppirovkami/>.

the Azerbaijani society. As the Arab and Ukrainian experiences have shown, situations resulting from such revolutions are first of all exploited by extremists, which have militias and clear-cut action plans. Such a radicalized Azerbaijan would be incomparably more dangerous for Armenia in all aspects. Though it seems the likelihood of this scenario is low, but it needs to be analyzed and taken into account. In addition, similar scenarios are possible for Turkey as well, the “moderate Islamic” government of which may turn into a radical one. Here we must definitely bear in mind the circumstance that in person of Turkey and Azerbaijan we are dealing with two mutually accrete states and peoples.

However, the rise of extremism occurs not only in the GME region.

Ukraine

Another color revolution that was fomented by external forces in this country in 2014 occurred in the context of the “Second Cold War” and was aimed against Russia. Without going too deep into these processes, we shall briefly examine their impact on the Armenian public and state. It is known that about 100,000 Armenians are officially residents of Ukraine¹ and rise of nationalism in the country coupled with deepening crisis in governance and economy negatively impact their lives. Many of our compatriots that live in Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts are affected by military clashes and have found themselves in particularly difficult conditions. Ethnic Armenian refugees now arrive in Armenia not only from the Middle East, but also from Ukraine. Also, the developments in this country and related sanctions imposed by the West on Russia bear quite negative consequences for the Russian economy and hence, for 2 million Armenians that reside there. In particular, devaluation of ruble in 2014 resulted in a 10.7% decline of money transfers from Russia to Armenia. These transfers constitute over 80% of total private remittances. It has to be noted that the “Russian transfers” have an important role in the Armenian economy. For instance, in 2013 their share in the RoA GDP comprised 15.4% (\$1.6 billion). The significance of this factor is rather high given Armenia’s quite low ranking of the GDP per capita (115th among the world countries). Therefore, based on this parameter alone it can be argued that the Ukrainian conflict has negatively influenced the Armenian economy.

¹As a rule, the actual numbers of Armenians residing in post-Soviet countries is 10-20% larger than the officially registered numbers.

Generally, the Ukrainian crisis and strained relations between Russia and NATO have adverse effects on Armenia's security. The recent extensive military activities of Azerbaijan can be explained in part by these tensions. However, there are also some positive corollaries. Crimea's unification with the Russian Federation and the struggle of Donbass and Lugansk for autonomy are important for us as vivid manifestations of peoples' self-determination. Also, in geopolitical terms, given Armenia's membership in CSTO and EAEU, Crimean unification significantly obstructs Turkey's ambitions to turn the Black Sea into an "internal pond", which certainly would have materialized if this peninsula remained part of Ukraine¹.

Thus, it can be stated that due to developments occurring in more or less close neighborhood to Armenia, a considerable part of Armenianness is in a quite dangerous situation, which requires deep comprehension, analysis and assessment. Such work implies consolidation, appropriate guidance and effective management of the national intellectual resources. Nonetheless, both Armenia and Diaspora face serious difficulties in this matter.

The intellectual potential of Armenia has qualitatively declined as a result of revolutionary changes and "vulgar liberalization" after the collapse of the USSR. Hundreds of research institutions, engineering companies and hi-tech factories had been shut down. The current state of economy prevents adequate funding of science and education. It is disturbing that in the last two decades not only the population of the country has dwindled², but also the structure of society has changed with service and trade sector workers dominating [6]. Suffice it to say that according to some expert assessments the number of those involved in so-called complex work (from qualified laborers to renowned scientists) has declined tenfold even by the most optimistic estimates. According to the official data, the number of researchers has decreased five times, from 30,000 to about 6,000. Decline of the scientific and educational sector is exemplified by the fact that in international ratings Yerevan State University is ranked lower than 1400th.

The state of the intellectual potential is not reassuring in Diaspora, too. One of the largest losses in the recent years was the closure of Melkonian Educational Insti-

¹ *Гагик Арутюнян*, «Возврата к прежнему статусу Крыма уже не будет», http://www.noravank.am/rus/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=12594

² In 1989 the population of Armenia was 3.3 million, which the forecasts for 2020 and 203 are 2.5 and 2.0 million, respectively. Note that for the same years the corresponding population numbers for Azerbaijan are 7.0, 10.0 and 10.5 million.

tute. The centers for Armenian Studies do not fare well either. According to Noravank Foundation experts, only 14 out of 90 such centers in foreign countries are involved to one or another extent (unfortunately, often not at a high level) in pressing matters of Armenianness [7]. As for the Armenian media in Diaspora, sometimes their approaches to geopolitical realities are somewhat simplistic [8]. The existing state of affairs stems in part from the reality that the so-called “Armenian capital” (both in Armenia and Diaspora) does not have a good idea about the current situation in Armenia and Diaspora, or their “coordinates” in the global system. Unsurprisingly, the importance of developing the intellectual potential is not comprehended. As a result, their “patriotic” activities outside their main business often are limited to placing yet another khachkar at some site. It has to be noted that in the conditions of increasing military and political turbulence the international law and regulations rapidly lose their value. This means the Armenian hopes that the “favorable attitude” of the international community toward the Armenian Cause may lead to fulfilling our demands, for example, in accordance to the Treaty of Sèvres, are futile, and hence, precarious.

Meanwhile, the situation is quite different with our adversaries. In Turkey, an economically developed country (17th biggest GDP in the world), there are 186 universities and \$24 billion is allocated to education. *The Times Higher Education* World University Rankings 2013-2014 placed five Turkish universities among the top 500. According to the US National Science Foundation’s R&D activity indicators in 2014 Turkey ranked 19th in the world. It is also one of the leading countries by book publication and reading: 42,626 new books were published in Turkey in 2012¹.

What is worth a special attention is that about 100 think tanks have been founded in Turkey, a large part of which conduct analysis and strategic research. Some of them develop special political technologies to neutralize Armenian demand initiatives, with main emphasis on the Armenian Diaspora [9]. In addition, the Azeri research structures that previously had no much success are stepping up their activities [10].

¹ See: Հրատարակությունները Հայաստանի Հանրապետությունում 2013թ. Վիճակագրական ժողովածու, Երևան, ՀԱԳ, 2014, էջ 8, http://book-chamber.am/pdf/statistika-mamul2013_new.pdf.

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Some Conclusions

One of the British analysts researching the Artsakh conflict has stated in a publication that the Armenians won the war because of “technological superiority” (or worded differently, intellectual resources) over the adversary. In the current historical period, which also has a turning point significance, the mentioned superiority has unfortunately diminished considerably and this situation must be perceived as an extremely serious challenge for Armenia and Diaspora. At the same time, there is no doubt that our creative people can quickly fill this gap, if adequate attention and organization is in place. In particular, one of the urgent matters to be considered is creation of think tanks with participation of Armenia and Diaspora, which would analyze the “Armenian problems”, develop national strategic programs and political/economic technologies for implementation of the latter.

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THE EURASIAN FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

*Alexey Shanyavsky**

Introduction

The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) is a new international economic integration alliance, which was founded on January 1, 2015. The Republic of Armenia joined the EAEU on January 2, 2015 according to the agreements signed before [1]. Armenia became the fourth member of this alliance after the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Belarus. By this accession Armenia probably chose its definite course after more than twenty years of independence. Nevertheless, Armenia is also a member in the Eastern Partnership (EaP) of the European Union (EU) that means gradual economical and political integration as well and opens the prospect to join EU. It is notable that decision to turn from gradual EU integration to the Eurasian integration was made in a very short time period. This step was absolutely unexpected and caused broad resonance in Europe and Armenia itself. That is why it is necessary to find the reasons of these political decisions made by the Republic of Armenia.

This paper tracks Armenia's integration activities from the moment of gaining independence to present days and analyses advantages of Armenia's accession to EAEU.

The Integration Activities of Armenia in 1991-2013 under the Influence of the Complementary Policy

Armenia became an independent state as a result of referendum on September 21, 1991, which is considered the birthdate of the modern Armenian state. It is important to note that Armenia refused to take part in referendum over the future of the USSR on March 17, 1991. It joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS),

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which was the first integration alliance of the post-Soviet area, only 3 months after declaring the independence.

The first integration activities of the fledgling republic should be dated to period of 1992-1994, when Armenia ratified the Belovezhskaya Pushcha and Almaty Accords and accession to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) of NATO. Moreover, the Republic of Armenia became cofounder of the Collective Security Treaty (CST) and received additional security guarantees, which was necessary in view of permanent conflict with the Republic of Azerbaijan over the Nagorno Karabakh.

The specific strategy of the multi-vector policy of Armenia named complementary policy or complementarism appeared in Armenia's foreign policy since 1993. This was the case when "Yerevan received weapons and military equipment from Russians, the funds for statehood development (and arms purchases in Russia) from Americans, the food and humanitarian supplies from Europeans mostly delivered through Turkey and fuel materials from Iran" [2]. There were several reasons for this policy, the first one being the complicated geopolitical situation in the region resulting from the conflict over Nagorno Karabagh, when Armenia lost some of its allies. The second reason was the presence of three strong diaspora communities in the USA, Europe and Russia. All the mentioned communities tended to help the republic in building an independent state by using the political institutes in their countries of residence.

The Republic of Armenia signed an agreement on creation economic alliance, which was intended for foundation of the Eurasian Customs Union within CIS and deeper integration in comparison with the EAEU in 1993. It came into effect for Armenia on July 26, 1994. According to this document the members of alliance expected to conduct integrated trade and economical policy, create common goods, services and labor market and even to organize the single ruble currency area. This fact was recalled in the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia as a response to the criticism connected with the country's accession to EAEU [3]. Nevertheless the provisions of this agreement were failed to fulfill. There are several reasons why Armenia chose to ignore its commitments. The first one was a quick breakup of the alliance because of strong character of its provisions that were not suitable for its

members. The second reason was the economic crisis in Russia, the most economically advanced country in the alliance. Third, it is important to mention that ruble area ceased to exist in 1993. According to its multi-vector integration policy Armenia joined NATO program Partnership for Peace (PfP) in 1994. It was time when the conflict in Nagorno Karabagh was receding and that was viewed positively by NATO and EU.

The next integration period in the foreign policy of Armenia involves the first decade of 21st century and “connected with a name of Vartan Oskanian, Foreign Minister of Armenia (1998–2008), who was the main creator and ideologist of this political course and the author of the term complementarism” [2]. In our opinion the activities of the government in this period can be explained by the mentioned term.

The Republic of Armenia became the member of the European Council in 2001 that opened up the path for gradual integration for the country. The Republic of Armenia and other member-states of CST decided to transform it into real international alliance named the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) in 2002. Next year Armenia joined international integration processes and received observer status of the Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC). After that Armenia became a participant of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) in 2004.

During the Great Recession of 2008-2009 the Republic of Armenia took part in foundation of the Anti-crisis Fund (ACF) for the members of EAEC based on the Eurasian Development Bank (EDB). After signing the agreement on creation EDB and payment for the part of bank shares in 2009 the Republic of Armenia became its co-founder. It is interesting to note that the main area of activity of EDB besides the overcoming the global financial and economic crisis was “creating the conditions necessary for encouraging sustainable economic development and promoting integration between EDB member states” [4]. The Republic of Armenia continued its cooperation within CIS and signed the CIS Free Trade Zone Agreement in 2011. Next year this convention was ratified by the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia. “Tigran Davtyan, the Minister of Economic Affairs, who presented this agreement to the Armenian Parliament stated in a debate that the CIS Free Trade Zone Agreement will affect favorably on the economical system of Armenia and boost GDP growth and export” [5].

In this period Armenia continued to cooperate with EU using complementary policy. It is important to remind that according to ENP convention the new integration project named the Eastern Partnership (EaP) was established during the Prague Eastern Partnership Summit in 2009. “The main goal of the Eastern Partnership is to create the necessary conditions to accelerate political association and further economic integration between the European Union and interested partner countries. <...> With this aim, the Eastern Partnership will seek to support political and socio-economic reforms of the partner countries” [6]. Through this cooperation it became possible to start negotiations between Armenia and EU about the European Union Association Agreement (AA). The talks about the creation free trade zone within AA took place in 2012. According to this goal “it was planned that Yerevan will sign Association and Free Trade Agreement on the EaP Vilnius Summit. Nevertheless it was recognized that the Republic of Armenia decided to join the Eurasian Custom Union and then to take part in creation of EAEU. It was the result of the talks between the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin and the President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan on September 3, 2013” [7]. This event was the start point for the accelerated period of integration of the Republic of Armenia into economic area of the future EAEU.

***Integration U-Turn of the Republic of Armenia in 2013-2015:
the Advantages of the Accession to EAEU***

Drastic change of the development path by the Republic of Armenia from the cooperation with EU to the accession to EAEU was unexpected and caused astonishment in the foreign press and even some opposition within the country [8]. It is notable that during the Armenian press briefing on March 18, 2013 President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan gave the following answer to the question about Association with EU: “We have almost concluded works on the Deep and Comprehensive Trade Zone Agreement and God help us to finish and sign it at the end of this year.” [9]. Nevertheless the situation in which government of Armenia made its choice shows us that this decision in that moment was the most promising for the future of Armenia’s statehood. The main reasons that had impact on the final decision and acceptance Eurasian pattern of the integration development are presented below.

The first reason is the problem of railway connection. True hope for the country in solution to long-standing transportation problem appeared in January, 2013 during the formal visit of Bidzina Ivanishvili, the Prime Minister of Georgia. "In a joint press conference together with his Armenian counterpart Tigran Sargsyan, Ivanishvili stated that opening of railway through Abkhazia is possible. "We have to work on immediate solution of this problem", stated the Prime Minister of Georgia. Bidzina Ivanishvili emphasized that Tbilisi tries to do it as soon as possible despite the difficulties between Russia and Georgia. The Prime Minister said that Georgia is ready to start a dialogue with Abkhazians for that." [10]. It was recognized that "Russian Railways may invest about 15 billion rubles in development of Armenia's railways" after the talks between Russian and Armenian presidents in Moscow on September 3, 2013 [11].

The second reason is energy security. In his election campaign 2013 named Towards a Secure Armenia, Serzh Sargsyan promised to finish in time the construction of the second nuclear power plant unit [12, p. 14]. It has to be noted that this unit is constructed by the Russian Rosatom State Atomic Energy Corporation. "Meanwhile, in the infamous EU Association agreement there was nothing about the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant. Europe offered different programs for conservation the plant after the end of its operating period and Turkey and Azerbaijan actively lobbied this process. It is obvious that in case of the Association with EU Armenia will receive neither technology, nor funds, nor even more importantly, political assistance" [13]. It is also has to be mentioned that there was a gas agreement signed by Armenia and Russia on August 29, 2013 with a provision to maintain discount prices for a period of five years. "According to the new agreement the gas price for Armenia will be 189 US dollars per TCM instead of 270 US dollars. Moreover, Gazprom's share in gas monopolist company of Armenia ArmRusGazprom will increase to 100 percent from 80 percent" [14].

The third reason is the national security. It is well known that the Russian Federation is a guarantor of the Armenia security and this fact had valuable influence on Serzh Sargsyan's attitude to the Eurasian integration: "Today our CSTO membership creates new base of economic interconnection. I told several times that it is not possible to isolate ourselves from a certain geo-economical area within a single system of military security." [15]

The fourth reason is closely connected with economical factors. To prove this let us use the statement of Serzh Sargsyan, which he made after signing the agreement on accession to EAEU in Minsk on 10th October, 2014. “We come to this decision in order to speed up the progress of our economical system. The new opportunity to increase competitive ability effectiveness of economic system will appear by the movement of goods, services, funds, man power, availability of energy sources and using integrated transport solutions”[16].

It is notable that government’s decision to join the Eurasian Customs Union and to cooperate with the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Belarus coincided with the opinion of the Armenian people, as it was shown by a survey conducted in Armenia on October 5-10, 2013 [17, p. 25].

- In case of free will, overwhelming majority (67 percent) chose the cooperation with Russia and only 17 percent preferred cooperation with the EU;
- In case of forced choice between cooperation either with Russia or with the EU, 75 percent chose the former and only 19 percent the latter;
- Population of Armenia is inadequately aware of the Eurasian Customs Union between the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Belarus. About 40 percent do not know anything about it, and 30 percent have heard about it, but have no idea what it is. This means 70 percent of the country population have little to no information about this union;
- After the clarifying what is the Eurasian Customs Union and its main ideas, 86 percent approved Armenia’s accession to it. This is even higher than the number of those who preferred cooperation with Russia in case of free will.

The Republic of Armenia made its integration choice in 2013 and after that the government signed the agreement on accession to EAEU with the Presidents of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Belarus. This event took place in Minsk on May 24, 2014. The National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia ratified this agreement in December, 2014 and on January 2, 2015 Armenia became a full member of EAEU. According to the prior statements “share of Armenia in distribution of the customs duty for import of goods into EAEU area is 1.13 percent. In the service industry Armenia accepted all common obligations of the EAEU members. In the trade of goods Armenia will harmonize its customs tariffs

gradually to become equal with the common EAEU tariffs by 2022.” [18]

The future projects of Armenia in the light of its accession to EAEU are the main reason of the decision to join the Eurasian integration. For example about 150 million US dollars from anti-crisis foundation of EDB were earmarked for the special project named North-South which aims at solution of the transportation problem in Armenia [19]. Moreover, the modernization of the second nuclear power plant unit is in process, planned to be finished in 2019 [20]. The free movement of goods, services and labor within the union and related investments will help grow the GDP of Armenia by 2 percent annually [21, p. 6].

Conclusions

The mentioned facts suggest that the choice made by the Republic of Armenia in 2013 was not inconsiderate or faulty. Using complementary foreign policy Armenia has maintained good neighborly relations with Russia and Europe for twenty years. Nevertheless, when the Government of the Republic came to a decision point, it considered all pros and cons and chose Russia, having the common historical past of the two countries in mind. Moreover, the Russian Federation defined the new integration project for Eurasia as high-priority [22].

Accession of Armenia to EAEU will lead in the immediate future to reconstruction of the disrupted economic relations after the dissolution of the USSR and increasing the market presence of Armenian companies in the EAEU area. It also should be mentioned that Armenia's membership to EAEU will provide an opportunity for more effective protection of Armenian business interests in Eurasian states. Furthermore, it will help increase the quality of life and social prosperity of the Armenian citizens. Nevertheless, the absence of railway connection between Armenia and EAEU members (first of all with Russia) is the most serious barrier for the implementation of the EAEU program. That is why the Eurasian future of the Republic of Armenia depends on the quick solution of the mentioned problem by the members of the Eurasian Economic Union.

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THE ARMENIAN PORTENT AND PARADIGM: TOWARD RE-CONCEPTUALIZING THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY

Marek Jan Chodakiewicz

The Armenian Tragedy is a sin crying to the Heavens for vengeance. Not only a horrible crime was committed, but there has been no contrition to speak of. This answers one question: What happened? But the matter is not closed. Christian understanding of the horror is not enough for scholarly and legal reasons. We have usually referred to the Armenian Tragedy as “genocide.” This concept is inadequate for it is not commodious enough to convey the scale of the horror and its driving forces. Clarity is sorely needed when talking about the Armenian Tragedy which was the portent of the horrors of the 20th century and initially served as our paradigm of mass murder. With a view to re-conceptualize the catastrophe, to accommodate a multitude of factors and narrations, we shall ask: Why? Who? And How? And we shall also elaborate more on: What happened?

To be sure, mass murder is *nihil novi sub sole*. In antiquity the Assyrians pursued wholesale slaughter as state policy in the Fertile Crescent. The extermination of the inhabitants of Jericho is only the first example of killing alien people in the Bible. The killing of the worshipers of the Golden Calf in the desert is the first political purge recorded in the Old Testament. Here the Hebrews killed their own. The list of perpetrators and victims in history is nauseating. In his *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007) Ben Kiernan attempts to conceptualize and chronicle the horrors. The magnitude and persistence of mass murder boggles the mind. Kiernan is just one example, if a woefully flawed one, for selecting politically correct massacres by “imperialists,” “racists,” and “colonialists,” while depicting

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“The Other” solely as victims and dismissing human nature in favor of post-modernist musings. Fortunately, there are other scholars, for example the magisterial Irving Louis Horowitz, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Transaction Publishers, 2001), which turns the sociologist’s lens to the problem of mass murder comprehensively.

Why start with the Armenians then? In the 20th century the Herrero people were the first to go under the knife wholesale in Germany’s South-Western Africa (contemporary Namibia). The Herreros rebelled; they were suppressed, rounded up, chased into the desert, and prevented from returning to civilization. Some were shot for attempting to break through. Most perished of thirst, hunger, and exposure. Hermann Goering’s father presided over the killing. But this horrific extirpation receded into history. Fortunately, the opposite is true about the Armenians. We know and remember much more, mainly thanks to the victims themselves. The perpetrators, however, first denied the mass murder by pretending it had never happened and now they deny it by relativizing the crime in congruence with the spirit of the times.

Who were the perpetrators of the Armenian Tragedy? Generally, they were Ottoman subjects. At the helm, there was the decreasingly relevant and rapidly diminishing old elite of the Sublime Porte. Only in the remotest corners of the Empire, where the old relationship of submission had not been violated by modernity, there remained a few exceptional chieftains and sheiks who took their lordly duties vis-à-vis the Armenians seriously and protected them throughout the carnage. But both at the periphery and the center, the old guard was being overshadowed by Turkish folk nationalists, or ethno-nationalists. Although largely secular, these radical Young Turks stressed the Muslim religion as well as common Turkish folk heritage and language as a binding element of their project. Yet, they also were capable of working with various post-Ottoman people so long as they were Muslims: Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and others. They were soldiers, paramilitaries, auxiliaries, policemen, bureaucrats, and assorted civilian opportunists. The logic of modern nationalism would set the perpetrators at the loggerheads soon but not before the Christians, chiefly Armenians (as well as the Assyrians and Greeks), were “taken care of”. Not everyone was slated to be exterminated, however. Women who were willing to submit to their tormentors were sometimes spared at the price of conversion and

sexual degradation. Children slated for Turkification and Islamisation could live as well, often robbed of their identity.

More specifically: Who were the victims? They were the Armenians both conscious and unconscious. All were perceived as Armenians by the outside world. Probably most had an Armenian sense of identity. They were also Christians; most of them were Orthodox. Some, Armenian Catholics, were in communion with Rome. A few were Protestant. One can assume that most had a religious sense of understanding themselves but also a historical one as heirs to Christendom's eldest kingdom. One can speculate that most may have had, therefore, a pre-modern sense of nationality or ethnicity, rather than a modern, constructed, ideological one. Their identity as Christian Armenians set them apart from their Muslim – Turkic, Kurdish, Azerbaijani, and Arab – surroundings.

In addition, there was the legal dimension of inequality. They were ostensibly the dhimmi, “the protected people.” At the same time, in the realm of the Sublime Porte they knew their place. Within and without their curia they were still subject to the scourge of the sharia and to the whims of the caliphate. Their archaic legal status was infused with modern legal meaning as the Ottoman Empire experimented with constitutionalism. Ostensibly, in theory, the Armenians became equal before secular law. But in practice, this was largely ignored. And any attempts to invoke constitutionalism infuriated the Turkish masters. The whole legal system, thus, both old and new, only served to solidify the separation and self-separation of the Armenians within the Ottoman body politics. It also cut them off from the majority adherents of modern folk nationalism that emerged in the Empire in the second half of the 19th century.

Further, they were perceived not only as traditionally lowly Armenian Christian dhimmis and modern nationalist aliens, but also as an object of envy. And envy is mediocrity craving success it cannot have. After all, some Armenians were successful in business, trade, finance, industry, agriculture, professions, crafts, and arts. Their success was projected at the Armenian community at large. This gave mass murder a class struggle dimension. It fanned the flames of resentment and hatred. The Armenians did not deserve their success because they did not deserve to reap the benefits of living in the realm that hosted them as they were unworthy. This

somewhat circular and self-contradictory proposition applied equally to the historical Armenian domicile and to relatively new centers of Armenian settlement. They did not deserve success and prosperity, whether rural or urban. Thus, there was also a spatial dimension to the anti-Armenian animus. The political factor reflected a conviction that anything the Armenians demanded was uppity, presumptuous, treasonous, and, sometimes, terroristic and revolutionary. True, the Armenians were unhappy with their status in the Ottoman Empire. They tried to alleviate it. A few even turned to revolution and terrorism to the detriment of the majority of their community. As we see, multifarious, poisonous factors negatively impacted the lot of the Armenians. But no single cause, not even Armenian terrorism, was the reason for the mass murder. It was, rather, the decline, disintegration, and, finally, collapse of the Ottoman polity and the birth pangs of a new Turkish order. This massively monstrous process brought about mass death that astounded humanity.

For it was the Armenian Tragedy that entered into the collective consciousness of the world's elite, in particular in the West, as a ruthless crime that required a category of its own. This arduous process of communicating and absorbing the horrible required a radical agent to be triggered. Armenia was not liberated; the burial grounds were ensconced in inaccessible territory; the survivors were traumatized and scattered; the witnesses were mostly silent; and the perpetrators were in denial. Yet, the Armenian Tragedy did enter our consciousness rather early (unlike The Holocaust) because an Armenian nationalist assassinated one of the perpetrators in the West, more precisely in Berlin, in the 1920s. During his cathartic trial public opinion was exposed to the horrors of what had transpired a few years prior: first, Germany, then, Europe, next, the United States, and, finally, the rest of the world.

The astonished public learned about a morbid progress of mega death. Only a few Armenians resisted, arms in hands. The bulk of them were killed in an astonishing variety of ways. Many of the able bodied males died in a rather orderly and premeditated fashion. In particular, the community leaders and the draftees in the Ottoman military perished in well-organized shootings. Elsewhere, savage primordial chaos of mass murder replaced the apparent order of modern executions. The rest of the Armenian people, including elderly, women, and children, were driven into the wilderness, exposed to the elements in the mountains and deserts, starved

to death and denied water. Some were isolated in makeshift camps, or herded in forced marches, where they sometimes perished of diseases and exhaustion. Most were shot, bayoneted, stabbed, slashed, burned, impaled, mutilated, tortured, beaten to death, buried alive, and driven off the cliffs. Before they were dispatched, they were routinely despoiled. Their real estate was confiscated; they were forced to make contributions to their captors; their households were looted and their personal belongings were stolen from them. This was one of the greatest thefts in 20th century history, soon to be overshadowed, first, by Nazi Germany, in particular as far as the Holocaust of the Jews, and, of course, by the total extermination and expropriation of the Communist revolution.

Whether or not there was a comprehensive plan or a central order given to murder the Armenians, very few survived. There has not been no contrition, no reconciliation, and no restitution. The Armenians wield the most powerful weapon available to the victims: memory. They remember the *Hayots Tseghaspanutyun*. But they are scared others will forget. Hence, we can see an occasional tug of war between Armenian and Jewish scholars. The former attempt to translate the Armenian Tragedy into the framework of the Holocaust of the Jews (e.g., Vahagn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995/2004). The latter endeavor to defend the idea of the uniqueness of the Shoah which, nowadays, serves as the iridium-platinum standard for our understanding of mass murder or, more precisely, genocide (e.g., Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* (Salt Lake City, UT: The University of Utah Press, 2005).

The conceptualization of the Holocaust as the paradigm for mass extermination is a new phenomenon, however, dating from the 1960s. Initially, the Armenian portent of the unveiling horrors of the 20th century shocked humanity to such an extent as to command its imagination almost absolutely. There were several reasons. From the vantage point of the 1920s and 1930s, the Armenian suffering clearly overshadowed anything else, including even the anti-Jewish pogroms in the *Inter-marium*, the lands between the Black and Baltic Seas. Arguably, the cognizance of the Armenian Tragedy continued briefly into the World War II and its aftermath. Obviously, the horrific fate of Jews, Christian Poles, and other victims of the Third

Reich was mirror imaged, even grafted onto the Armenian experience. Also, the public discourse of the time was nationalist. Thus, it preferred conceptualizing both victims and perpetrators in nationalistic terms.

Last but not least, other forms of mass murder concerned the Communist perpetrators. Progressive intellectuals who dominated the narrative in the West avoided such unpleasant topics. On the other hand, the detractors of the Communists usually failed to conceptualize the Red extermination actions properly. Most also preferred to resort to the nationalist discourse and referred to the Bolshevik mass slaughter as “murder by the Jews” who, of course, as the canard went, invented Communism and controlled the Soviet Union to take over the world. Thus, no all-encompassing narrative of mass murder emerged to do justice to the Armenians or anyone else.

The most successful narrative, arguably, was Poland’s brilliant Jewish lawyer Rafael Lemkin’s concept of genocide, the killing of a *gens*, or nation/ethnicity. His idea clearly stemmed from the mass murder of the Armenians. Lemkin began his work on the legal concept of genocide already in the 1920s and continued furiously into the 1940s. He absolutely based himself on the Armenian predicament. His original Armenian model easily accommodated the murderous actions of Hitler and his minions as well as such Nazi policies which, while not lethal, Lemkin still subsumed under “genocide”. Thus, for instance, he included the kidnapping and Germanization of Polish children as well as looting and fencing of cultural treasures. He further saw the murder of the Polish elite as a facet of genocide. Obviously for him, killing need not embrace the entire people to be classified as genocide. Murdering the elite decapitates the nation. Lemkin could easily relate to those shocking Nazi practices precisely because they were not new: the Armenians were the first to bear their brunt in the 20th century.

Yet, the concept of genocide is inadequate to express and explain the phenomenon of the Armenian suffering comprehensively. First, it obsesses with the 20th century’s favorite designation: ethnicity. Since nationalism was, arguably, the greatest force and the greatest concern, Lemkin and others concentrated on a narrow definition of mass murder, only as it applied to ethnicity. Instead of a multifarious definition and explanation, we received an unvaried narrative. Further, second,

applying the term genocide interchangeably and synonymously to mass murder tends to imply that the perpetrators not only focused solely on their victims' nationality, thus projecting a rather unidimensional picture of the tragedy, but also that this was in essence an aggression of one ethnicity against another one. This means collective responsibility of anyone who is perceived to be of the perpetrator or the victim nationality. It is sometimes not clear whether the aggressor's unique brand of nationalism was particularly to blame, or was nationalism, in general, the trigger. What about the nationalism of the victims then? Is it to blame, too? If so, isn't it blaming the victim? What if the victim managed to avenge himself by unleashing genocide against the erstwhile perpetrator?

Third, and most importantly, genocide is a preferred term among those who try to ignore or deny the unspeakable crimes committed explicitly for other than ethnic reasons. Namely, the term genocide excludes or at least obfuscates the mass extermination record of the Communists. In fact, the Communists liked to harp on the Armenian Tragedy, including abusing its memory in their propaganda, precisely because talking about the murder of the Armenians (or the pogroms of the Jews) deflected the public's attention from the Communist crimes.

What is the solution so that the truth is told and the victims properly honored? The most commodious term is democide: killing of people by government for political reasons. This has been introduced by R.J. Rummel in his *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Transactions Publishers, 2005). This is flexible enough to account for almost all reasons for mass murder, including genocide. It should, however, be re-conceptualized to accommodate mass slaughter by non-state agents. As we see, for instance, both ISIS and Boko Haram are perfectly capable of democide. They are also equal opportunity, avaricious killers. They murder for no apparent reason at all and for all sorts of reasons. And this is exactly what also happened to the Armenians. To call it genocide would be shortchanging, even disrespecting the victims. Their suffering and deaths were comprehensive. So should be our understanding of them.

Washington, DC, 28 March 2015

ARMENIAN STATEHOOD AND GOVERNANCE THROUGH MILLENNIA: HISTORY AND MODERNITY

*Eduard L. Danielyan**

An examination of the historical background of the ethno-cultural, social and political foundations on which the traditional infrastructure of independent Armenian statehood is based helps to delineate the path of its historical development. It also helps to classify theoretically the regenerative developments in the political system of the Republic of Armenia and the Arstakh Republic (the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic) and elaborate scientifically a conception of historical-comparative approaches in order to understand how the Armenian society can respond more efficiently and fundamentally to the rapid influx of modern reform ideas and projects. It is very important to comprehend the historically formed Armenian statehood's responses to the present-day international developments in the context of the world multi-cultural processes marked by the trends of modern democratization and globalization [1, pp. 7-17]. As is stated in "National Security Strategy" of the Republic of Armenia: "The Republic of Armenia is engaged in a transitional process of an active reform. Any deterioration in the efficacy of public administration and any decrease in the speed or scope of its reform effort are seen as potential threats to national security"¹.

Armenia with more than five millennia-old ethno-spiritual, cultural and social-political roots of the Armenian statehood² and civilizational achievements has the great national heritage a considerable part of which was destroyed as the result

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¹ The Republic of Armenia National Security Strategy (approved at the session of National Security Council at the RA President office on January 26, 2007) [2].

² The Haykian kingdoms of Aratta, Armanum (the 3rd millennium BC), Hayasa, Nairi (the 2nd millennium BC), Van-Ararat (Urartu), Great Armenia, Armenia Minor (the 1st millennium BC-the first decade of the 1st c. AD), Great Armenia (Armenian Arshakuni, 65-428), Artsakh-Utik (eastern provinces of Great Armenia) (Haykian-Sisakian, 484- the first half of the 6th century), Bagratuni Armenia (885-1045) and Cilician Armenia (principdom – 1080-1197, kingdom 1198-1375).

of the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923) and during the following decades by the genocidal Turkish regimes.

The Armenian people, particularly, in the 16th -17th centuries, as a result of the Turkish-Persian wars and divisions of Armenia (1555, 1639), suffered tragic periods of devastations, territorial and human losses which continued during the following centuries. The Turkish state genocidal policy and actions intensified in the late 19th (1894-1896, the massacres of more than 300.000 Armenians in Western Armenia and other areas occupied by the Ottoman Empire [3; 4; 5]) and early 20th cc. (1909, Cilicia/Kilikia: 35.000 Armenians were massacred in and around Adana) [6; 7] culminating in the Armenian Genocide (more than 1,5 million Armenians were killed and eight hundred thousand deported) in Western Armenia, Cilician Armenia, the Armenian-populated areas of Asia Minor, Armenian (northern) Mesopotamia, some regions of Eastern Armenia [8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15].

The Armenian state was restored in a part of Eastern Armenia due to the Armenian people's victories in the May Heroic Battles against the Turkish invaders. After the Battle of Sardarapat on May 28, 1918 the Republic of Armenia was established (1918-1920).

From the middle of 1918 artificially formed "Azerbaijan" [a pan-Turkic project with the illegally misappropriated name of Iranian Atropatene-Aderbaigan-Azerbaijan] following the Turkish genocidal policy periodically committed massacres against Armenians (Baku – September 15-17, 1918, Shushi – March 23, 1920). After the illegal and plunderous treaties signed between the Bolsheviks and Kemalists in Moscow (March 16) and Kars (October 13) and the Kavbiuro unlawful and forced decision (July 5, 1921), during the following decades AzSSR perpetrated inhuman acts of deportations, racial, political and religious persecutions of the native Armenian population and the destruction of Armenian cultural monuments in some regions of Eastern Armenia (Nakhijevan, Artsakh, Utik), as well as committed genocide against Armenians in Sumgait (February 27-29, 1988), Baku (January 13-19, 1990), Getashen and Martunashen (in Northern Artsakh) (April 30-May 7, 1991). In November 1988 Armenians were massacred and deported from Gandzak (Kirovabad), Chardakhlu [a home village of the heroes (from Artsakh) of the Sardarapat Battle and the Great Patriotic War, Marshals Hovhannes Baghramyan and Hovhannes Babajanyan, 12 generals and many others] and neighbouring villages.

The demand of the Artsakh Armenians (powerfully supported by all Armenians in the Motherland and the Armenian Diaspora) to restore historical justice resulted in the Resolution of the joint session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the National Council of NKAO on the re-unification of Artsakh with the Motherland (December 1, 1989).

After the declaration of independence (September 21, 1991) the Republic of Armenia set course for restructuring the political system, bringing changes in social, political, cultural and educational spheres. But the geopolitical situation had been aggravated by the aggression of Azerbaijan against the Artsakh Republic, which declared its independence on September 2, 1991. The ethnic purges, deportations and massacres of Armenians (Maragha - April, Shahumyan - June-July, 1992, etc.) intensified during the aggression of Azerbaijan against the Artsakh Republic.

The Artsakh Liberation War (1991-1994) was culminated in liberation of Shushi (May 8-9, 1992) and eastern Armenian territories [districts (*gavars*) of Artsakh - the tenth province of Great Armenia].

The falsification of Armenian history and destruction of historic monuments¹ have been raised to the Azerbaijan's presidential level, becoming amalgamated with the revanchist propaganda, particularly after Azerbaijan's defeat in the war it unleashed².

Thanks to the heroic struggle of the Armenian freedom fighters in the Artsakh Liberation War the native Armenian population and Armenian historic monuments are protected in the Artsakh Republic. The guarantors of the security of the Armenian civilizational heritage are the Republic of Armenia and the Artsakh Republic. The Artsakh Glorious Victory - a token of future victories - has proved the might of the Armenian spiritual potential, steadfast will and military firmness in protection of the foundations of the national security of the Motherland based on

¹ During the last decades among the numerous destroyed Armenian monuments were all churches and *khachkars* (cross-stones) in Nakhijevan and the Jugha's Cemetery [16; 17].

² "The Republic of Azerbaijan continues to pursue an aggressive policy of militant posturing that explicitly threatens the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh. Despite numerous factors preventing such development, openly militant statements articulated at the highest level, cause to consider them as direct threats. In light of the heightened threat environment, there is an additional danger that the Republic of Turkey, a strategic partner of Azerbaijan, may also pose an additional threat. Taking into consideration the universally known provisions of international law, the Republic of Armenia considers the trade and transport blockade imposed by Turkey and Azerbaijan as a use of force against the Republic of Armenia" [2].

more than five millennia of Armenian holistic cultural creativeness and freedom-loving traditions in the spirit of the Victory of the Armenian Patriarch Hayk.

For the theoretical grounding of the reforms touching upon the social strata, together with investigations in the fields of economics, education, political sciences (particularly comparative politics and law), public administration and governance, etc., historical research based on historical-comparative argumentation is also needed. The term *governance* has been defined as “regimes of laws, rules, judicial decisions, and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable the provision of publicly supported goods and services,” and its studies continuing to hold strong interest for public administration scholars [18, p. 7].

A comparative analysis of the historical developments of Armenian civic, political and administrative thought with the theory and practice of public administration in the Western world provides the opportunity of expanding the field of Armenian studies and advancing the research of public administration [19, p. 10]. The methodological basis of such complex comparative study deals with the analysis of the main aspects of the history of civilization as a foundation for construction of the theory of extrapolation of historically formed national values in response to present-day global challenges. Such a historical concept implies that a country undergoing the process of integration into the global or regional political and economic systems ought not to be a passive subject of application of the leveling schemes, but must be an active and responsive partner in the world community owing to its historically accumulated inner potential.

Nowadays a worldwide interest and necessity to understand the regularities of historic developments is observed through the prism of their contemporary reflections. F. E. Halliday noted: “One of the vexations of mortality is that we shall never know what happened next, but we can at least know what has happened, and have some idea, therefore, of what might happen. It is vitally important that we should know, for unless we do we are in an undiscovered country without a map” [20, p. 11]. As Mike Greenwood wrote: “This renewed interest in history has an important part to play in addressing one of the key issues of the new century - how to meet

the needs of society for lifelong learning by reaching out to people by way of their passions and interests, as well as their needs” [21, p. 3]. According to B. L. Lawrence, “Studying the subject from its earliest phases in evolutionary continuity sharpens the vision of the present” [22, p. 307].

The historic evidence of the civilizational significance of Armenia is testified to in the spheres of archeology, rock art, metallurgy, agriculture, horse breeding and the development of the chariots, astronomy, architecture and other fields of cultural creation [23, pp. 44-48, 24, p. 341, 25; 26, pp. 10, 13; 27, pp. 79-94; 28, pp. 6, 8; 29; 30, c. 3; 31; 32, p. 154; 33; 34; 35; 36, էջ 120-125].

Historically Armenia, along with cultural values, has accumulated social, political and democratic ones of international significance.

(A) Historical background of international relations and politics. In ancient and medieval times the Armenian state carried great weight in international relations due to its might and geopolitical position. David Marshall Lang noted: “The ancient land of Armenia is situated in the high mountains... Although Mesopotamia with its ancient civilizations of Sumer¹ and Babylon, is usually considered along with Egypt as the main source of civilized life in the modern sense, Armenia too has a claim to rank as one of the cradles of the human culture. To begin with, Noah's Ark is mentioned in the Book of Genesis to have landed on the summit of Mount Ararat, in the very centre of Armenia.... Again, Armenia has a claim on our attention as one of the principal homes of ancient metallurgy, beginning at least five thousand years ago. Later on, Armenia became the first extensive kingdom to adopt Christianity as a state religion pioneering a style of Church architecture which anticipates our own Western Gothic” [38, p. 9].

The “Treaty of Hukkana” [39, S. 103-163] signed in the middle of the 14th century BC by the Hittite King Suppiluliuma I and the King of Hayasa Hukkana is considered to be the oldest treaty in the world [40, pp. 279-280], which was concluded a century earlier than the Treaty (c. 1259 BC) between Egyptian Pharaoh Ramesses II and Hittite King Hattusili III [41, p. 256].

Armenia's relations with powerful countries of the East and the West were guaranteed by the might and stability of the Armenian state and its political system,

¹ W. Durant mentions Armenia as one of the countries from where the Sumerians (moving “through northern Mesopotamia down the Euphrates and the Tigris...”) could arrive to Sumer [37, pp. 118-119].

based on the hereditary *nakharardom* (the Armenian patriarchal principalities' system - the main factor in preserving the statehood even at times when the kingdom was abolished) and the might of Armenia's defensive forces, economic potential and rich natural resources, ethnic homogeneity (one of the causes of its deeply rooted cultural traditions) of the country and spiritual unity.

The strategic significance of Armenia was due to its territorial integrity (the Armenian Highland) and the control of important junctions of the great trade routes from Asia to Europe. Analyzing the foreign policy of the King of Kings Tigran II the Great (95-55 BC) from this viewpoint we see that the Kingdom of Great Armenia played a civilizing role in Western Asia and the creation of the Armenian Empire by him was dictated by the necessity to stop the Roman and Parthian aggression against Armenia, as well as to take under his control and protection the major routes of the Silk Road in Western Asia, a certain part of which passed through Armenia [42, էջ 3-12; 43, с. 292-311].

(B) Continuity of the Armenian state's political doctrine. The continuity in the development and implementation of the Armenian state political doctrine is reflected in the history of the Armenian statehood, particularly from the time of the Hayasa kingdom (the above mentioned Treaty of Alliance concluded with the Hittite Empire) up to the Cilician principedom (1080-1197 AD) and then the Kingdom (1198-1375 AD). The rise and prosperity of the Cilician Kingdom depended much on its flexible policy and skillful diplomacy with Eastern and Western countries, along with its military might.

During the existence of the ancient and medieval Armenian kingdoms a number of great states rose. Armenia pursuing its own state interests was an active participant in international relations and political life. In the course of the Armenian independent nationhood's existence the main principles of state doctrine pursued the solution of internal and external problems. The essence of the Armenian state political doctrine, with some variations, during those times was defensive in accordance with the political situation. Identical policy was also continued later, during the period of the First Republic of Armenia.

It is notable that at present time "The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Armenia" (adopted in 2007) (aimed at ensuring the military security of the state) is

also defensive in nature [44]. Thus, the internal and external policies and protection of national values are guaranteed by the Armenian state [2].

(C) Governance and elements of a democratic participation in the ruling of the country. In the public administration's history prominent proponents¹ have contributed to the inception and development of the theory of public administration as a full-fledged discipline up until modern times². The inception of the theory of public administration has been traced back by modern researchers applying the method of analysis of ideas relating to the formation of its concept in the works of Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacque Rousseau, John Locke, Charles-Luis Montesquieu, David Hume and Hegel [19, pp. 14-22].

Armenian thinkers also have made a contribution to the inception and development of the theory of public administration. The inception of the Armenian management thought is reflected in Armenian sources (the 5th century AD), particularly Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia". The Father of Armenian historiography presents state activities of the Armenian king Vagharshak directed to the reestablishment of order in way of life of the country [45, էջ 104]. Furthermore, a number of features of public administration have been traced, such as territorial administration of the state, activities of the courts, the authorities of executive power, etc., consequently, "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" [19, p. 58]. The evaluation given by the 5th-century historians to the government of the kings of the 4th century AD is vividly diversified; particularly the state activities of Trdat III [45, էջ 224-250] [along with his role in the adoption of Christianity, as the state religion in Armenia (301 AD), first in the world] [46, 832], as it is noted, had a significant input in restoring the Armenian independent state, strengthening its government and waging numerous victorious wars [19, p. 58].

Pavstos Buzand's information elucidates a legislative nature of Ashtishat's³ *council* (354 AD). There were introduced some norms for improving secular order,

¹Auguste Comte, Herber Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Vilfredo Pareto, Max Weber, Gabriel Tarde, Gustave Le Bon, Georg Simmel, Thorstein Veblen, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Simon, Luther Gulick, Marshall Dimock.

²Richard Stillman, Robert Denhardt, Michael LeMay, Leslie A. Pal, David Osborne, Ted Gaebler, Frank Goodnow.

³A village in Taron gavar (a district) in Western Armenia.

definition of universal canons and establishment rules and regulations between the rulers and the subjects [47, էջ 118]. It has been noted that concerning the time of Arshak II (350-368) “such kind of public administration could not have been implemented or even proposed without the consent and partaking of the King”. The King Pap’s reforms have been introduced as good examples of the background of today’s “milder” concepts of public administration. It is underlined that Pavstos Byuzand told us about one of the exceptionally positive features of Armenian social-political thought, that is, tolerance towards the opinions of others, at the same time King Pap initiated radical reforms, strengthening the independence of the Armenian Church and the Armenian state in general [19, pp. 59-67, 69].

An ancient and medieval expression of a democratic participation of the Armenian people was the Popular Assembly (*Ashkharhazhoghov*), which discussed important affairs of the country [48, էջ 142]. Along with the Armenian royal decision-making system of governance, *Ashkharhazhoghov* - Popular Assembly [cf. *the forum of delegates* [19, p. 97] was a kind of democratic institution going back to the times of the Kingdom of Hayasa. In the “Treaty of Hukkana” as a side of the Treaty are mentioned “people of Hayasa” [39, S. 106, 132; 49, էջ 69, 86], which developed into an institution called *Ashkharhazhoghov* in medieval Armenian sources. This public institution, as a consultative body, existed both in times of kingship and its absence, when the Armenian statehood continued to function in the form of the *nakharar system* and the country was governed by the *nakharars* (princes).

(D) Elections of the Head of the Church-Catholicos; constitutional elements in Armenian canonical legislation. Another kind of democratic expression of the will of population was the election of the Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Such elections were documented by the early medieval Armenian sources. The joint council of spiritual and secular representatives of Armenian society and the Church elected the Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church – Catholicos [46, 791-792]. This procedure, with some changes, extends till the present day.

As far as it concerns constitutional elements in Armenian canonical legislation it has been noted that “the accounts by the Armenian historians and religious and political thinkers, too, are full of episodes of state, community and territorial administration, as well as comprehensive theories around different issues of public ad-

ministration”; these accounts testify to the writing constitutions – Canonical Constitution (*Մահմանադրութիւն կանոնադատ*) by Vachagan Barepasht (the Pious) [50, էջ 89-94; 51, էջ 3-61]¹ and *The Snare of Glory* (Որոգայթ փառաց) by Hakob and Shahamir Shahamiryan, as well as *The Armenian Canon-Book* (the 8th century) (Կանոնագիրք Հայոց)...” [54] containing along with ecclesiastical, spiritual, and moral theses, some legal ones valuable for state and public administration [19, p. 5].

(E) Federal elements of governance in Armenian history. The Armenian principalities constituted the backbone of the Armenian ancient and medieval state system. They held the offices of the state and some of them gave birth to the royal dynasties. It also took place in the period of the Bagratuni Kingdom when the royal Bagratuni dynasty’s branches and some other mighty principalities formed kingdoms. This period of Armenian history was marked by federal-like power in the country [5, էջ 96-97]. One of the peculiarities of such an early federalism was that after the fall of the Ani-Shirak Bagratuni Kingdom (885-1045) (as a result of the aggression of the Byzantine Empire) for a certain time some of the other Armenian kingdoms survived and the Cilician Princedom and later the Kingdom became the successors of the Armenian nationhood.

(F) The historic background of the Armenian society's infrastructure. Since ancient times the infrastructure of Armenian society due to the entity of its ethno-spiritual, social-political and cultural constituents has been the backbone of the Armenian nationhood; but its integrity suffered great losses from the second half of the 11th century AD when the wild nomadic tribes² invaded and ravaged Armenia, which was then devastated by the Ottoman³ and Safavid invasions, wars and divisions (16th-17th cc.) with grave consequences. During the 18th century, due to the Armenia’s innermost vital state-preserving potential national-liberation programs were adopted and movements rose in Syunik and Artsakh aimed at liberation of the Motherland and restoration of the Armenian state.

¹ Vachagan Barepasht (484–the first half of the 6th century) was the Armenian King of the Kingdom of Artsakh and Utik (eastern regions of Great Armenia) [52, էջ 31, 41, 45, 64-65; 53, էջ 37, 42-45].

² Seljuk and Oghuz-Turkic tribes (the ancestors of the present-day Turks) began their devastating invasions from far away Trans-Altai and Cis-Aral steppes and deserts since the second half of the 11th century AD; then followed devastating invasions of Mongol-Tatars (1236 – 14th c.), Kara-Koyunlu (14th-15th cc.) and Ak-Koyunlu (15th c.) nomadic tribes.

³ A monastic scribe in Crete wrote with horror about the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453: “There never has been and never will be a more dreadful happening” [56, p. 1].

The reality is that the Armenian statehood, due to political circumstances, the national-liberation struggle and legitimate activities since 1991 is developing in the Republic of Armenia and the Artsakh Republic in a very complex geopolitical situation. The use of scientifically elaborated Armenian historic experience may help in this process taking into consideration the deeply rooted Armenian national values.

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ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF EGYPT

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Historical Background

Although Armenians first appeared in Egypt in the 4th century B.C.E, their influx into the country became sizeable starting from the late 18th century. This was caused by hostile life conditions and religious/ethnic persecutions of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, which forced them to migrate. One of the destinations for migration was Egypt, where economic conditions were better, there was no religious or ethnic persecution and attitude towards Armenians was favorable.

Migration of Armenians to Egypt reached significant levels especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during the Armenian massacres and the Genocide. This continued also in the period after the Genocide, due to which the number of Armenians in the country steadily increased. Before 1917 about 17,000 Armenians lived in Egypt, whereas in 1926-27 their number was already 25,000-28,000. In 1950s the number of Armenians residing in the country reached its peak; about 60,000.

In order to understand the potential of Armenian community in Egypt it is worth reviewing the matter in two dimensions – human and institutional:

1. Human factor: When considering the human factor, it is of primary importance to see what prominent people the Armenian community of Egypt gave to this country, to Diaspora and Armenia.

Among the Armenian community of Egypt there have been high-ranking officials, public and political figures. Many wealthy Armenian entrepreneurs have been doing business in Egypt. The country's prime minister (in 1878-79, 1884-89, 1894-95) Nubar Nubarian is especially worth mentioning among the famous Armenians of Egypt.

Presence of numerous Armenian prominent individuals in various areas of the Egyptian society (politics, public, economy) speaks volumes about the potential of the Armenian community and its close integration with the local society.

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There were also many well-known national level persons who were members of the Egyptian Armenian community. Among them Boghos Nubarian stands out, who was a national benefactor, public/political figure, founder of the AGBU, leader of the Armenian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. The Armenian community of Egypt also had individuals that were renowned in the whole diaspora for their activities in literature, art, culture and other areas, such as satirist author Yervant Odian, writer Vahan Tekeyan, and many more.

Regarding those in the hall of fame of Armenia it has to be noted that Gohar Gasparyan, a celebrated opera singer proclaimed “the Nightingale of Armenia”, was from Armenian community of Egypt.

2. Institutional factor: For the institutional factor it is critical to know what pan-national structures were established and acted in Egypt. From this perspective it has to be mentioned that two notable national structures were established in the Armenian community of Egypt and they continue to function for the benefit of the nation to date (although they left Egypt long ago). These are the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) and Hamazkayin Armenian Cultural and Educational Society (Hamazkayin). AGBU was established in 1906 in Cairo and its headquarters functioned in Egypt till 1922. Hamazkayin was established in 1928, also in Cairo. Its central office was located in Egypt till 1947.

However, since mid-20th century Armenians tended to emigrate from Egypt. The reasons for this included undemocratic regime in the country, periodic internal political shockwaves and instabilities, rise of Islam (despite Egypt being a secular state), better quality of life and favorable conditions in developed western countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, countries of Western Europe, etc. Under these circumstances the Armenians of Egypt started to migrate to western developed countries¹.

The repatriation to Armenia also has to be mentioned among these circumstances, as the Soviet Armenia implemented relevant policies. In 1947-48, during the Great Repatriation, about 4000 Armenians migrated to Soviet Armenia from Egypt².

¹ This phenomenon is characteristic not only to the Armenian community of Egypt. It is an overall trend for all Armenian communities in the Near and Middle East (Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Turkey, etc.). The trend continues to date – see also: Հովյան Վ., Հայկական սփյուռքի փոխակերպումը. մարտահրավերներ և հնարավորություններ, «Գլոբուս», 2013թ., թիվ 5, էջ 43-47 (43-50):

² See: Ավագյան Քնարիկ, Հայրենադարձության կազմակերպման նախապայմանները և գործընթացը Եգիպտոսում (1947-1948թթ.) (Եգիպտահայ Գառնիկ Սվազյանի ներգաղթի գաղափարախոսության դասերը), «1946-1948թթ. հայրենադարձությունը և դրա դասերը. հայրենադարձության հիմնախնդիրն այսօր» համահայկական գիտաժողովի զեկուցումների ժողովածու, Եր., Լիմուշ, 2009, էջ 137-138 (120-140):

Consequently, starting from mid-20th century a steady trend of shrinking numbers of Armenian community in Egypt has been recorded. If in 1960s the Armenian community of Egypt totaled 45,000 people¹, by 1974 this number was down to 10,000².

The diminishing numbers of Egyptian Armenians inevitably led to decreased potential and less integration in the Egyptian society. Since mid-20th century almost no Armenians are to be seen at higher positions of the political and government system of Egypt. There are no prominent business people in economy either. Armenians are mostly engaged in small and medium businesses³.

Current numbers and distribution

According to the official data, Armenian community of Egypt currently consists of 6,000 people⁴. However, regarding the community an important circumstance has to be mentioned about this number. As with the other countries of Middle East (Turkey, Iran, Lebanon) the Armenians of Egypt have a status of religious, rather than ethnic community. Thus, the official figure of 6,000 applies only to the members of Armenian Apostolic Church, while Armenian Catholics and Protestants are not accounted for in this number.

The number of Armenian Catholics in Egypt is about 1500⁵. A small number of Armenian Evangelicals also lives in the country. If these two groups are included in the total, then the number of Egyptian Armenians reported as 7000-8000 by some unofficial sources appears reasonable⁶.

Traditionally, Armenians of Egypt were concentrated in two cities – Cairo and Alexandria. However, the capital city of Cairo is a much larger Armenian center.

¹ Գասպարյան Ս., Սփյուռքահայ գաղթօջախներն այսօր, Երևան, Հայաստանի պետական հրատարակչություն, 1962, էջ 246:

² «Հայ սփյուռք» հանրագիտարան, խմբագիր՝ Այվազյան Հ. և ուր, Երևան, Հայկական հանրագիտարան. հրատարակչություն, 2003, էջ 154:

³ It has to be noted that economic weakening of Armenians started already in the first half of the 20th century, caused by two world wars, global economic crisis, and rise of nationalism in Egypt, which was manifested in form of discrimination policies, including in economy. All these factors resulted in significant loss of positions by Armenian entrepreneurs in Egypt.

⁴ Armenians in Egypt, <http://egypt.mfa.am/en/community-overview-eg/>

⁵ Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայաստան-Եգիպտոս. հայագիտական կամուրջ, «Գլոբուս. ազգային անվտանգություն», 2011, թիվ 1, էջ 42 (38-43):

⁶ Վերջին օրերի ցույցերն ավելի գոտեպնդեցին եգիպտահայերին, <http://www.lin.am/196946.html>

Both in terms of number of people and organizational centers the Armenian community in this city unquestionably prevails over Alexandria.

Organizational structures

Armenian structures functioning in Egypt can be divided into branches of pan-Armenian organizations and those created locally by the Armenian community of Egypt.

Pan-national structures of Diaspora may be divided according to their activities, including political, spiritual/religious, charity, cultural and sports.

- *Political structures.* For the political organizations it should be noted that the traditional Armenian parties – Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramgavar, ADL) and Social Democrat Hunchakian Party (SDHP) – are not officially registered in Egypt. Instead their subsidiary cultural and sports unions and mass media are represented. In Egypt Housaper daily is the ARF’s mass media, Arev daily is published by ADL and Tchahagir newspaper by SDHP.
- *Spiritual and religious structures:* All three pan-national Armenian churches, Armenian Apostolic Church, Armenian Catholic Church and Armenian Evangelical Church are present in Egypt. The Egyptian Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church is subordinate to Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin. There are five Armenian Apostolic churches functioning in Egypt. The Armenian Catholic Church has three churches in Egypt. As for the Armenian Evangelical community, a small number of its members reside in Alexandria and run a single church there.
- *Charities:* Among the charity organizations of the Diaspora, AGBU and Armenian Relief Society (ARS) represented by its chapter Armenian Relief Cross operate in Egypt¹.
- *Cultural structures:* The Armenian pan-national cultural organizations in Egypt are represented by the Hamazkayin Armenian Cultural and Educational Society (in short Hamazkayin).
- *Sports organizations:* Among the Armenian pan-national sports organizations Armenian General Union of Body Culture (Homenetmen) operates in Egypt represented by “Ararat” and “Nubar” Sports Clubs.

¹ Եգիպտոսի հայ համայնք, <http://old1.hayernaysor.am/1360068671>

In addition to Egyptian chapters of Armenian pan-national organizations there are also those created and run by the local Armenian community. These include schools, mass media, non-government organizations, cultural unions, etc. There are three Armenian schools in Egypt. As for mass media, in addition to the newspapers mentioned above, the Armenian community of Egypt also has a one-hour radio broadcast in Armenian language. There are Armenian cultural NGOs in Egypt, such as Dikran Yergat Armenian Cultural Association, Friends of the Promotion of Fine Arts, Housaper Cultural Association and other structures.

With some reservations the Center for Armenian Studies established on December 13, 2007 at the Cairo University Faculty of Arts may also be viewed as an Armenian structure. It was established through joint efforts of the Armenian Embassy in Egypt and Armenian community of Egypt, and is financed by Republic of Armenia Government and Egyptian Armenian organizations. The Center for Armenian Studies implements both educational and research activities, organizes international conferences, publishes works on Armenian studies, cooperates with Armenian scientific structures. The research interests of the Center include Armenian language, Armenian history, Armenian-Arab relations, etc.¹

It has to be noted that the decreasing numbers of the Armenian community in Egypt due to emigration negatively affects the community structures. As a result they weaken and sometimes even close down. For example, because of emigration the Armenian Evangelical community almost disappeared, and the local Armenian Evangelical church no longer functions². Currently, the Armenian Evangelical community of Egypt is limited to a small number of Armenian Evangelicals in Alexandria and along with those in Iraq is one of the weak Armenian communities of the Middle East³.

¹ Դանիելյան Է. Լ., Հայաստան-Եգիպտոս. հայազիտական կամուրջ, «Գլոբուս. ազգային անվտանգություն», 2011, թիվ 1, էջ 39, 41-42 (38-43):

² Հովյան Վ., Եգիպտեսի հայ ավետարանական համայնքը, «Գլոբուս, ազգային անվտանգություն», 2011, թիվ 3, էջ 44 (43-50):

³ Հովյան Վ., Մերձավոր Արևելքի հայ ավետարանական համայնքները, «21-րդ ԴԱԸ», 2012, թիվ 4, էջ 98-99 (91-112):

Current Situation

Currently, due to small numbers and weak potential the Armenian community of Egypt plays no serious role in the political life and other matters in Egypt.

For this reason the “Arab spring” that tormented the Arab countries since 2011 did not leave any significant impact on the Armenian community of Egypt. The community did not participate in the events and kept neutrality. The only impact was that due to deterioration of the overall economic conditions in Egypt the living standards of Egyptian Armenians worsened as well. In particular, the National Prelacy encountered difficulties in collecting the payments for the sale and rent of its land plots¹.

After resignation of Egypt’s former President Hosni Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood party’s rise to power with its leader Mohamed Morsi ending up as the country’s president became a matter of certain concern for Armenians. The rule of Muslim Brotherhood could spell an upsurge of fundamentalist Islam, which might have evolved into anti-Christian sentiments and result in persecution and discrimination against Christians. The signs of this started to emerge during the short period of Mohamed Morsi’s rule. However, the new coup in Egypt overthrew Morsi (on July 3, 2013) and relative stability established in the country dispelled these concerns, because the new forces that came to power are guided by the principle of equality before the law regardless of religious affiliations.

Currently, the activities of Armenian community in Egypt are limited mainly to community life, participation in pan-Armenian events and ties with Armenia.

The community life is organized through:

- events prepared by cultural and sports associations,
- organization of book presentations, graduation ceremonies, and other events at various Armenian structures²,
- celebration of national holidays, e.g. Armenian Independence day (September 21), commemoration of the Armenian Genocide victims (April 24), etc.³

¹ «Հասնոգուած եմ իմ տարած աշխատանքով, եթէ նոյնիսկ տարակարծութիւն կը ծագէր» - Գեորգ Երզնկացեան (Հարցազրոյց), <http://egypt.mfa.am/hy/events/item/2011/12/08/kokointerview/>

² See, for example: Մելքոնեան մանկապարտէզի ամսվերջի հանդէսը՝ բովանդակալից եւ ներկայանալի, <http://egypt.mfa.am/hy/events/item/2012/05/26/Melkoniankg/>; AGBU Cairo honours Mrs. Araxi Deuvletian <http://egypt.mfa.am/en/events/item/2012/05/13/HGBUhonoringAraxy/>.

³ See, for example: Հայոց Յեղասպանութեան 98-րդ տարելից, <http://egypt.mfa.am/hy/news/item/2013/04/24/genocide98/>

The Embassy of the Republic of Armenia contributes to vitalization of the community life by initiating various events and assisting with implementation of others¹.

Pan-national events: Egyptian Armenian community participates in Armenia-Diaspora conferences, the Pan-Armenian Games, Armenian cultural festivals, pan-Armenian congresses, and so on. For example, the representatives Egyptian Armenian newspapers and Armenian radio broadcast hour attend the conferences of Armenian journalists.

The ties with Armenia are maintained through:

- Egyptian Armenian students visiting Armenia for study;
- participation of teachers from Armenian schools of Egypt in training programs organized by the RoA Ministry of Education and Science;
- participation of Egyptian Armenian youth in “Ari Tun” Program annually organized by RoA Ministry of Diaspora;
- participation of Armenian cultural associations of Egypt in cultural events organized in Armenia; and other ways.

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¹ See, for example: Հայոց ցեղասպանության նվիրված միջոցառում Կահիրեի Ռոթարի ակումբում, <http://egypt.mfa.am/hy/news/item/2013/04/22/rotarygenocide/>; «Սումգայիթ. Սովորական ցեղասպանություն» ֆիլմի ցուցադրություն ՀՀ դեսպանությունում, <http://egypt.mfa.am/hy/news/item/2013/03/18/sumgaitdocumentary/>

THE INFLUENCE OF SOAP OPERAS ON ARMENIAN TV ON THE FORMATION OF THE SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF TEENAGER¹

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Introduction

Television and TV serials in particular, are widely consumed by Armenian teenagers. They greatly influence the process of the formation of the teenager as an individual, develop certain social attitudes and determine a certain type of behavior among teenagers.

The primary goal of the research is to reveal the reasons for the manifestation of the teenager's social behavior influenced by the TV serials made in Armenia as well as to understand the drawbacks of the TV products of this type (TV serials).

The research on media impact and social attitude carried out by the Western theoretical school, the data provided by the National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia as well as the data collected from surveys carried out among the teenagers all over the Republic (which in addition to other questions also include questions concerning Armenian TV serials) have been used as a theoretical background for the study of the above-mentioned issues.

During the research process the Armenian TV serials which are mostly watched by Armenian teenagers have been thoroughly examined. An attempt has been made to identify the messages conveyed by the TV serials and the attitudes they form. The findings of the research have been combined with the above-mentioned surveys carried out among teenagers throughout the country. Incidentally, these surveys present the social attitudes of teenagers towards various issues of

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our reality, namely the army, family, cultural reality, books, school, etc. They also enable revealing the most popular TV channels and serials with the teenagers.

Adolescence (according to most specialists between ages 12 and 16) is the most vulnerable age from psychological point of view. At this period the teenager starts reconsidering his/her former attitudes, tries to skip the influence of the seniors, becomes more aware of public opinion, tries to get adjusted to the accepted rules and to assert himself/herself among his/her peers.

In this respect the role of television is very important. Especially as according to the specialists, television is in the third place with its force of impact on the teenager after the family and school. According to the French theoreticians in the field of communication, every person above the age of 12 daily spends 3 and a half hours on average in front of the TV which makes more than 1200 hours per year or nearly 2 months during the year. Thus, the teenager gets the code of life, family and other values from the TV screen. He is provided with ready-made, established values formed not in the result of life experience and knowledge but on the screen [1].

TV serials define certain way of thinking, break and develop stereotypes, change the accepted rules in society, distort the psychological, value and conventional picture of society. The screen defines a certain standard of lifestyle for the teenagers. And in this case, the child's identity, his or her upbringing have little significance as he or she is in the process of active transformations and the messages coming from the screen significantly influence the process of the formation of his or her identity expressed in the form of certain ambitions and certain behavioral patterns. These manifestations are expressed in the process of the teenager's self-realization as a member of society or family and as a representative of a nation.

Broadcasting of reality TV serials in Armenia started in the 1990s. Brazilian, Argentinian, Venezuelan soap operas attracted large audiences at once becoming a topic of everyday conversations and discussions. The first Armenian soap opera was broadcast in 2003 and immediately attracted large audience. In one of the studies on soap operas (Herzog's Research) 3 main reasons are presented with regard to the audience's affection towards soap operas. They are the following: emotional discharge, fantasy satisfaction and thirst for information and advice [2]. All these three factors can serve as an important impetus for watching soap operas especially as far as teenagers are concerned.

From the very first day of showing and propagating soap operas their impact on social life has been most actively discussed. Soap operas are supposed to introduce new unacceptable values and ideas to society, they are considered to be worthless and bad quality products. And very often as far as the phenomenon of soap opera is concerned, no particular soap opera is singled out. Before introducing our research on TV serials let us first consider this criticism which develops a certain attitude towards the product presenting it negatively. The problem exists not only in Armenia.

Charlotte Brunson, who has been involved in the study of soap operas, refers to Dorothy Hobson who upbraids television critics for employing critical criteria derived from high art in the evaluation of a popular form such as soap opera, and appears to argue that popularity itself should be a central evaluative criterion [3, p. 77].

Thus, to bridge that gap between the critic and audience Brunson applies two strategies: the first one is called the addiction strategy when the critics view the audience as a person watching the soap opera unwillingly. "The soap opera is regarded as opium for the masses, particularly for women, it is sympathetic, delusive, the product and producer of pseudo consciousness" [3, p. 77]. The second strategy is called «kitsch strategy» when phenomena are criticized, but are watched with pleasure as well. It is obvious that these two strategies are trying to avoid accepting the fact that most people enjoy soap operas and take them seriously. In our studies we shall try to ignore these two approaches. We consider the teenager to be an individual who can accept the soap opera differently. Taking this fact into consideration during our surveys we have tried to get the rough characteristic of the personality of each teenager, to identify their world outlook, way of thinking and their cultural ideas.

Though Brunson considers their poor quality undeniable, she also argues why they are unlikely to improve: "to millions of fans production values are clearly not the point-or at least not the main point. I can spot shaky scenery, a muffled line, an odd shadow, as well as the next fan. But what I watch for is different. It is partly a ritual pleasure, which offers reassurance in its familiarity and regularity" [3, p. 78].

It should be mentioned that in the soap operas under study we have instantly spotted the muffled line, scenes contradicting one another, shortcomings, faults, etc., but the fact that the Armenian teenager's favorite TV product is the soap opera completely confirms Brunson's words.

Taking into account the above-mentioned facts, it should be mentioned that in our research we shall avoid employing critical criteria derived from high art in the evaluation of soap operas, according to which soap operas are plain and worthless products or simply “junk”. Soap operas are an important part of mass culture. In modern media and cultural studies the impacts and messages conveyed by soap operas are considered increasingly often. They help to form social attitudes towards the phenomena surrounding us.

There are different definitions for social attitude but more frequently it is defined as the individual’s orientation towards a particular social object. Social attitude ensures long-term emotional and conscious attitude towards a phenomenon or person and the targeted, long-term change of social attitudes can bring the change of society’s cultural identity. That is to say, the transformations of the Armenian teenager’s social attitudes will account for the values, quality and type of the cultural environment of the next society.

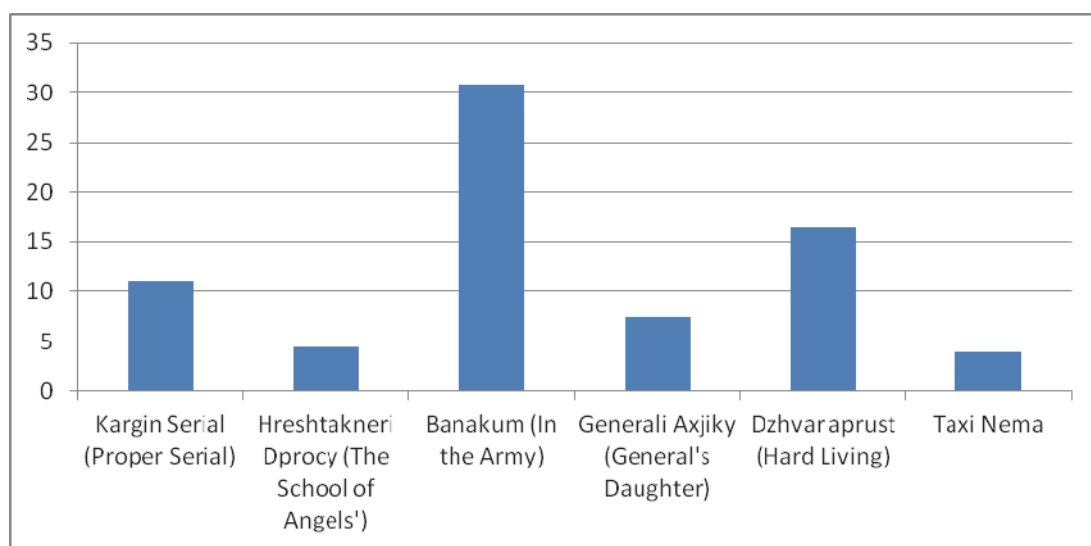
When measuring the impact of soap operas on the teenager, it should be determined especially on which component (cognitive, affective and behavioral) of the teenager’s social attitude and to what extent the given soap opera produces impact. This can help test the stability of social attitude: the attitude formed at the cognitive level may be more stable than that formed at the emotional level. The implemented surveys also help identify the level of the teenager’s motivation and the level of his/her cognitive capacities to some extent. Therefore, certain methods are selected which influence the formation of social attitudes. The methods more closely related to media impact are defined within the framework of the theories of “Persuasive Messages” (Carl Hovland) and “Systematic Information Processing” (McGuire). Our soap operas are typical with respect to the application of both theories as they produce daily impact both on conscious and unconscious levels.

In case of the **Theory of Persuasive Messages** media develop or change social attitudes with its constant persuasive messages. In this respect the approach of the recipient is important, as well as who is viewed as an active party of information processing. Depending on the type of information processing (central or peripheral) the process of formation and transformation of social attitude is greatly changed.

The central model assumes a cognitive, conscious approach by the recipient, whereas the perception of the peripheral model is based on the feeling coming from the memory. In case of peripheral type the social attitude is changed not as a result of detailed analyses, but through surface deduction. It should be mentioned that teenagers equally use both models for processing the information. The first model is easier for them: at this age their emotional background is in the process of transformations and the voice heard in the serial which they had previously heard at a pleasant moment may develop a positive social attitude towards the given character. On the other hand, central processing takes place as at this age the teenager tries to give meaning to everything and willingly or unwillingly starts analyzing the serial. This evidenced by the fact that teenagers' frequently discuss one or another situation or the behavior of a certain character.

Armenian soap operas also develop social attitudes with the help of systematic information processing. In this case the following steps taken by media are distinguished:

1. attraction of attention,
2. perception of the message,
3. agreement with the message,
4. memorization of the message,
5. behavior.



The TV serial “Banakum” (“In the Army”)¹ has the largest audience among teenagers; it has been watched by 30.80 percent of the respondents. Now it has been renamed and is called “Kaghakum” (“In the City”).

We have considered this serial not only because of the fact that it is very popular among teenagers, but also because it is targeted at them, as at the end of adolescence young men are conscripted and we can say that they are considered to be target audience of the serial.

Let us start with the soundtrack of the serial which is played at the beginning of each episode, partly at the end as well and is best remembered by the teenagers. The teenagers assured that the song is quite attractive, encouraging and it seems as if it calls to the screen. The music is simple; easily comprehensible, is accompanied with equally simple words, and is performed with an imposing tone. In the song the day of conscription to the Army is a long-expected one and signals the beginning of a new life, however, the years spent in the Army are also described as difficult and the ways to overcome the difficulties are the happy moments and jokes.

Thus, a respective social attitude is formed towards the soldier: he is brave, courageous, and fair; his homeland is proud of him and is defended by his soldiers. The scenes accompanying the song are mainly objects of military life: military uniforms, weapons, shoulder straps, agenda, etc. Some episodes from military exercises are shown where soldiers are cheerful and the existence of these positive emotions naturally contributes to the development of positive social attitude towards military life and the Army. The continual technique of showing frames is very interesting. The frame comes up and stops at a certain object, and then the frame opens in the context of another scene where the same object is present. During the song (less than 1.5 minutes) this technique is repeated for 9 times. It creates a feeling of interconnection and identity, which is very important for creating an image of strongly structured Army providing equal opportunities.

The combination of the music, tone, choice of words and scenes accompanying the music allows concluding that in spite of its simplicity, the soundtrack solves a number of problems: it relieves the aggressive disposition of young men towards the army, prepares them for easy, cheerful military service, inspires them and develops positive social attitude towards the army.

¹ <http://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/Բանակում>:

Generally the objective of the producers of the serial to advocate the principle of equality in the army is obvious in the TV serial “Banakum” (“In the Army”). A lot of episodes have been filmed for the same reason, for example the officer is being persuaded to grant privileges to one of the soldiers, but he naturally does not give in to the temptation, neither is he afraid of the threats. Except for the boy and his friends, everybody, even his fellow soldier is against him. The soldier who tries to show off himself is severely made fun of.

But in some episodes the relations between soldiers are quite different. In some episodes a clear inequality is evident, for example some soldiers feel superior to others, their opinion is accepted by the majority, and they can make others work, they can send them to any place, whereas nobody else has such privilege. “It seems to you that Melo must pay no attention to what you’re doing»,- honestly resents the “authority-soldier”. The underlying message is clear: Melo has the right to control others’ behavior, to forgive or not to forgive the newly recruited soldier. The “Authority-soldiers”, for instance, have the right to take the meal out of the canteen and eat it in the military quarters. In some cases, the officer does not allow them to take out the meal, but such cases are presented as unique incidents, and the person in charge of the canteen makes an excuse for not letting them take out the meal. The friend is also sure that he can take out the meal for the soldier, but the officer watches them and prevents him. In this case they fail to take the meal out, but the general implication is such that there are certain people in the army who can easily “solve problems”. This remark is confirmed by several characters who during their military service try to become a “commander”, gain authority and privileges. The concept of being or not being alienated is present throughout the whole serial. Even friends who have made mistakes become alienated (sometimes temporarily) and vulnerable for others. Such a situation is depicted in one of the episodes of the serial of 29.05.2012.

Minas, who is considered to be authority in the army has to punish Varuzh who is considered to be an authority as well, because he has challenged the “common principle”. Of course, it is obvious that this principle is not the principle of the Armenian Army; it is determined by these authorities.

The authorities as a rule (and this concerns all the Armenian TV serials) are presented in the serial as fair-minded people, but it is obvious that in this case we

deal with inequality. This idea completely contradicts the objective of the producers of the serial, nevertheless there is a clear message coming from the screen. Unfortunately, this phenomenon is considered to be something natural, which is reproduced and culturally grounded in real life, expressing the reality.

This notion is also present in the studies of foreign researchers. For instance, Luiza Saffhil notes that “although the category of identity is not fully adequate for soap operas, the audience may compare themselves with the characters of the soap operas as such films often seem quite real to the viewers” [2].

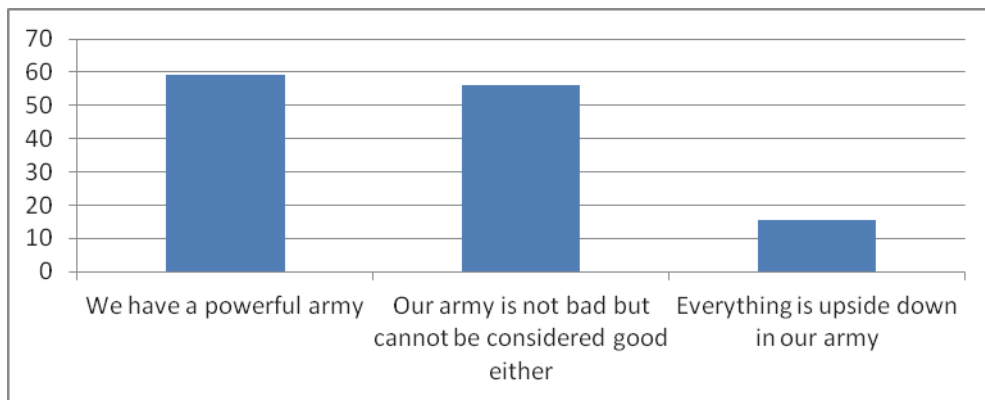
Misunderstandings and aggression are the natural continuation of the above-mentioned reality and its demonstration is very dangerous for the teenager’s mentality and social behavior. The existence of such scenes is especially dangerous in the background of army life, as it can develop a disposition of aggressive behavior among teenagers shortly before getting drafted to the army.

In the TV serial “Banakum” (“In the Army”) the demonstration of aggressive characters, behavior and situations is frequently introduced. Scenes containing aggression are present in almost every episode (3-5 scenes). Out of 15 authority figures 5 figures constantly demonstrate aggressive behavior including both positive and negative characters. The other ten characters are calmer and demonstrate aggressive behavior only in certain situations. It is interesting that the proportion of negative and positive characters is the same (note that only the more vivid characters are considered), 10 and 5 respectively, but this coincidence is only numerical. The 3 characters constantly demonstrating aggressive behavior are introduced in quite a positive context, they are strong and self-confident figures and will surely serve as role models for teenagers.

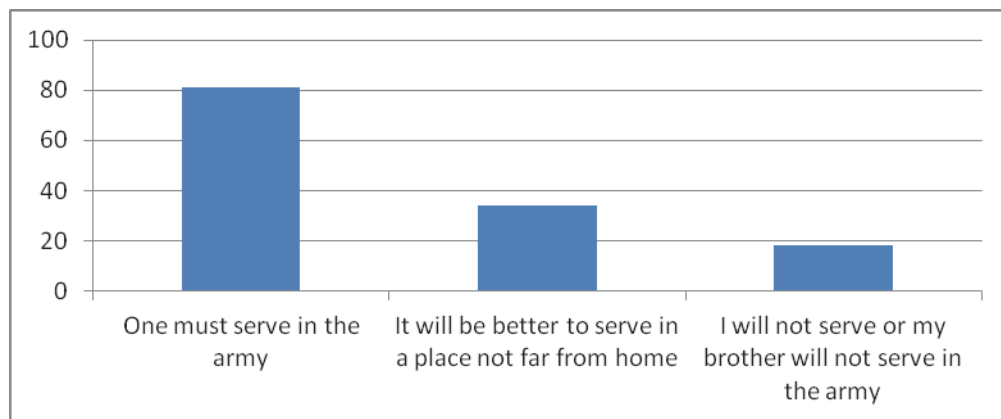
Thus, in the episode of 17.05.2012 the word “to beat” is repeated 8 times which is accompanied by the scenes of the fight between Varuzh and Hakobyan where the latter takes a knife out of his pocket and pushes it on Varuzh’s throat.

Incidentally, in the serial humorous characters are more than serious ones. Ten of most vivid characters are humorous, whereas the number of serious characters is 8. These figures also present a certain image of the army and can have a double impact: to prepare teenagers for easy military life and at the same time reduce the more serious and responsible approach to the army.

The humorous episodes perhaps have the objective of easing the atmosphere of unjustified fear among Armenian society towards the army and counteract the groundless and short-sighted information flows, which try to form an atmosphere of fear towards the Armenian army. This is also accounted for by our surveys.



The vast majority of teenagers watching the series “Banakum” (“In the Army”) are inclined toward serving in the Armenian Army, but 20.75 per cent stated that they would prefer to be drafted to a place not far from home. 56.27 per cent think that our army is not bad, but cannot be considered good either. The answer “I will not serve or my brother will not serve in the Army” was chosen by 18.28 per cent.



Humorous episodes sometimes exceed the norm turning into cynicism. It is demonstrated in various forms: one of the characters has to go and kiss one of the funny soldiers whom he does not like at his fellow soldier’s request every time because he has lost the bet. This makes him make humorous, cynical remarks concerning his sexual orientation, creating funny scenes. The abundance of such scenes

(3-5 scenes in each episode) is manifested in the real Army sometimes they complain that the recruits pretend to be the characters from the serial, forgetting about the seriousness and strict discipline of the military life.

The episodes introducing discipline and orders for maintaining order are also abundant, but their number is much fewer than the humorous ones being repeated once a few episodes with no regular periodicity. In this respect it is important to note that the most disciplined soldier of the serial is a Russian-speaking young man who served in the Russian Army. We can conclude that the existing stereotype about the disciplined Russian Army in the Armenian information sphere is reproduced here as well and harms the reputation of the Armenian Army. The Russian-speaking soldier is strong-willed, fair-minded and friendly, he is ready to help his friends and serve his homeland.

The military life is presented as very clean and tidy in the serial. Once in a few episodes scenes and conversations concerning cleaning and maintaining personal hygiene are shown.

As in real army life there are a lot of arguments about maintaining the area of stationing clean, and the way of the introduction of such episodes is very important. The soldiers in the serial carry out cleaning operations without complaint, but none of the so-called “authority soldiers” happened to tidy or clean the area. Moreover, in some cases even after getting an order from the officer they do not carry it out. “I don’t think Hrach can peel potatoes”, wonders one of the soldiers who performs the officer’s order alone. The contradiction is very interesting: on the one hand the “authority soldiers” condemn the soldier who does not carry out the order; on the other hand they do not appear to carry out any order themselves and in the serial very often soldiers appear who perform some work instead of others. In the first case the producers of the serial try to intentionally advocate equality, in the second case the approach existing in society is unintentionally reproduced.

A separate topic for discussion is the evening talks of the army life at their free time. When each of the soldiers is presented with his characteristic features, sometimes with his dreams and details of life outside the army, as well as his longings. This part is usually the most emotional part of the serial, which is often accompanied by sad music. From these talks the teenagers usually feel home-sick, which depending on the teenager’s inner world and character can influence them differ-

ently. It is worth mentioning that these talks are usually followed by the sight of the moon which seems to signal the change of the day. As the moon is usually depicted in the form of a full moon it can be associated with a longer period, the month thus symbolizing the soldier's anticipation for returning home.

No serial targeted at teenagers can be exempt from love stories. Three main characters of ladies are introduced in the army, where 2 of them are humorous characters and one of them is more serious (here we talk about the love stories inside the army life, the number of current love stories is larger). If we consider these relationships in terms of discrimination, it should be noted that the character of the dressmaker lady who appears in the serial only for a short period is not correctly presented. She appears as a naive girl, who is not serious, easily falls in love and fails to make decisions.

A discriminated approach is also observed in the relationship between the tea-room girl and "authority soldier" Melo who never misses any opportunity to offend the girl, whose love is expressed by violence, aggressive vocabulary, demonstration of false traditionalism.

The language of the serial is important, too, as on the one hand it expresses the common vocabulary popular with our teenagers and young people, and on the other hand this vocabulary used by their favorite characters becomes more and more popular and common among them. Perhaps the existence of dialectal speech should be considered a positive fact in the serial. Firstly, the dialects are the wealth of our language and secondly, any manifestation of regional reality should be considered to be positive, especially when nowadays the regional life is not introduced on TV in any way. However, it should be mentioned that literary language is presented in the serial very little, even in the speech of officers slang expressions predominate; especially certain characters (which are popular with teenagers) use excessively vulgar speech using a great number of vulgarisms.

Each topic discussed here can trigger a quite long analysis and become a topic for a separate article, but the comprehensive study of the impact of TV serials prompts us to use a more generalized approach.

The second most popular TV serial with teenagers is the soap opera "**Dzhvar Aprust**" ("Hard Living"). If the potential audience of the previous serial could be considered to be mainly teenagers as it was humorous, easy to watch and the inter-

est of this age group was quite natural, whereas in case of “Dzhvar Aprust” the attraction of teenagers to this serial is rather difficult to explain. The serial presents a long chain of hardships, sufferings, uncertainties, depression, aggressive behavior which at first sight should not be attractive for teenagers. Some teenagers claim that they are attracted by the young actors in the serial, whose involvement was quite big especially during the initial period of the show: each episode presented 2-5 scenes showing their routine, relationships, etc.

The scenes trying to resolve various intertwined relations predominate in the serial: 5-8 conversations out of 15-17 in each episode occur in a bad-tempered and irritated manner. Meanwhile, they occur not only in cases of misunderstandings, but also in cases of everyday conversations.

Nearly in all the episodes (in some episodes for 3-5 times) a threat is uttered which is expressed by using rude words such as “I will give you a beating”, “I’ll beat you up”, “I’ll give you a slap in the face”, “I’ll blow you up”, etc. All these threats were uttered in 3 successive episodes¹.

The natural continuation of the threats is the manifestations of physical and verbal aggression, which are abundant in the serial as well (4-6 incidents in each episode). Physical aggression is usually expressed in forms of beating, fight, kidnapping, etc.

Areas of the verbal aggression are various: relationships between men and women, relationships between parents and children, company of friends or young people. Verbal aggression is more vividly expressed in the relations between men and women: the presentation of improper gender relations is typical of the serial. The woman who is devoted to her family, who has forgiven her husband’s betrayal and brought up his child born out of the wedlock and who is actually already a victim of verbal aggression is addressed by her husband as “dimwit” and is often subjected to physical violence. A much younger character, whose behavior can be exemplary for the teenager talks about his former wife with explicit aggression calling her “schizophrenic”, “mad”, etc. Another more vulgar young man not only ignores the mother of his child, deprives her of all parental rights, but also addresses her with expressions which are beyond any limit of morality. Needless to say, the use of such words and behavior may form an improper attitude among teenagers towards

¹ Episodes 423, 424, 425.

women even if a negative woman character is concerned. Especially as the above-mentioned men are well-established, handsome, loved and are respected by friends. What else does the teenager need?

There is also a demonstration of verbal aggression addressed at men. The woman tries to humiliate the man devoted to her calling him backboneless, weak-willed and wonders why she paid attention to such a man, and prompts him to dishonest deeds which eventually lead to the man's frustration. The man is conscious of the situation, does not trust the woman, but can do nothing with his feelings and silently obeys her. In this case, too, the danger of imitating the social behavior is present as here we deal with a fatal, loved woman who can cause the destruction of men. And for a teenager girl it is of primary importance to be a fatal, loved woman.

Verbal aggression is also demonstrated in relations between parents and children. In particular one of the characters constantly offends his mother denying her the right to personal life, humiliating her and giving orders. Sometimes the character is subjected to verbal aggression by the parent too.

As far as the manifestation of verbal aggression in the relations between friends are concerned we must note that their number is not small either (their number is changed from time to time due to the changes made in the plot). At first the main character of the serial is subjected to verbal aggression by her fellow students (she is called "slattern"), then by the family of the young man she is in love with as a member of a poor family, then by her fellow prisoners. The sick girl who was brought up in an orphanage is also subjected to verbal aggression by friends. Her friend always insults her, emphasizing that she has no family, makes fun of her naivety. In this case we deal with the reproduction of a stereotype existing in our social and cultural reality. Poor people are not respected, they are associated with dirtiness, and socially well-off people tend to become related to families with the same social status, the girl brought up in an orphanage can be mocked. Together with these stereotypes a certain social attitude is formed that people who are underprivileged or brought up in an orphanage are unhappy and should be made fun of.

Here we discussed certain aspects of relations existing in the families presented in the serial but in general it is very important to define what kind of family is depicted on the screen with its structure and values and what model of a modern family the serial introduces to the Armenian teenager.

The serial “Dzhvar Aprust” (“Hard Living”) includes 12 families 6 of which are not full families. The married couples are divorced or widowed. The other 50% live together, but our analysis reveals a sad picture. In one of the families the spouses are together simply because the mother of the family has no other way and has to tolerate her husband’s violence and neglect. In two young families quarrels and split-ups are constant and in two other families one of the spouses is in love with another person. And only in three families out of these 12 the married couples live in harmony (incidentally these families have a secondary role in the serial, not primary). Nearly all the families are characterized with vividly aggressive behavior, which is expressed in wife-husband and parent-child relations. Nine families out of the above-mentioned 12 have grown-up children. In four of these families parent-child relations are based on mutual respect whereas in other 5 cases the relations are quarrelsome and aggressive¹.

If in the case of family relations the serial develops mainly a negative stereotype, in the case of relations between friends the developed attitude is certainly positive, as the characters of friends are always together, ready to help each other.

There is a great number of lies and intrigues (once or twice in each episode). But they are usually easily revealed and form a social attitude that such lies are easily discovered.

During the whole serial the vast majority of the characters are in despair, both the positive and negative ones, all of them. In each episode one can find 4-6 despaired scenes 1-2 of which are accompanied with crying.

In spite of the fact that in some cases young characters use slang words, in general in the serial “Dzhvar Aprust” (“Hard Living”) the language is more literary than in “Banakum” (“In the Army”) and “Kargin Serial” (“Proper Serial”). The vast majority of the characters have higher education. Even in bad financial conditions the issue of getting proper education is a primary goal for the main character and her mother, and they do their best to find the money necessary for her education.

Relations between friends and young people as well as man-woman, parent-child relations are presented in the serial called “Kargin Serial” (“Proper Serial”) which is the third most popular serial with teenagers after “Banakum” (“In the Army”) and “Dzhvar Aprust”(“Hard Living”). Unlike in the other two serials, the

¹ See the data of a prior period.

characters of this one are comic and the serial is intentionally marked throughout with humorous scenes. The above-mentioned relations define the good and the bad, the modern and the backward, the right and the wrong and all these things are eventually based on the money. This idea is present in all the stories of “Kargin Serial” (“Proper Serial”).

Possession of money dictates a special range of attitude and behavioral patterns and a certain way of life. The two main characters of the serial, brothers Vardan and Arkadi (Adik), the first of whom is rich and the other earns little, appear in the serial with the nicknames “king” and “slave” respectively. And Adik accepts his status of being a “slave”. He is frequently subjected to physical and verbal aggression and has low self-esteem. The two brothers are contrasted in everything. Vardan is always rude, impolite, speaks distorted Armenian, has low level of education, at the same time he is self-confident and all the girls fall in love with him. Adik who is polite, educated, speaks literary language, always has to yield and give in for the sake of money. He is not loved by women, even his wife; the mother of his child has expelled him out of the house. Good life is associated with the property Vardan possesses and once again confirms that in order to be rich one does not need to be intelligent and educated. Another rich character is Vardan’s neighbor who is not quite civilized and his vulgar words are unpleasant even for the serial’s main characters highlighted by their cynicism. In the same episode Vardan orders Adik to prepare a luxurious dinner to celebrate his wife’s April 7 (day of Maternity and Beauty in Armenia). At the end of the dinner he gives Adik AMD 80,000 for the “serviette” which he pronounces wrongly. After Vardan’s departure Adik remarks bitterly, “How can you pay AMD 80,000 for a thing you can’t even spell correctly?” Adik reaffirms that education and literacy cannot guarantee prosperous life. The real prototypes of Vardan’s character can be found in Armenia reality. The message is clear. The producers of the serial talk about the unfair, faulty aspects of society but if we consider the issue in terms of media impact the characters may be exemplary and attractive for the teenager. Poor and miserable Adik “forgets about everything”¹ at the sight of money. His only expectation from life is “we live our lives only once, why not eat as much barbecue as we can one day”².

¹ Kargin Serial 4, Episode 8.

² Ibid, Episode 6.

The fact that the youngest character of the serial teenager Aramik likes his uncle Vardan (and quotes his words when he feels necessary) and not his father, points to the fact that Vardan is quite a likeable character for teenagers. Thus, on April 7 Aramik goes to the restaurant with his girlfriend. The girlfriend doubts they will be let in as they are schoolchildren. Vardan is an authority for Aramik and he repeats his uncle's words "money can make everything possible."

The typical characters of the serial are Halal and Zulal (who personify representatives of underworld leaders). Their attitude towards different phenomena is extreme and reproduces the mentality of the certain layer of our society (of course, partly exaggerated). Thus, Halal and Zulal propose a toast on April 7 praising women with high-flown and grandiloquent words¹. At that moment a woman comes up to them. Here is the talk between the two friends and the woman.

- Sis, why did you come and cast your anchor here?

- I'm waiting for a person.

- Please, clear out!

- You, creeps,- shouts the woman and runs away.

- The creep is your aunt,- they answer throwing the vodka glass at her. The woman shrieks... Halal and Zulal continue their toast with the same calmness "... and we should take on our shoulders the care of these gentle creatures..." Here we see evidence of verbal aggression accompanied by physical aggression. The situation is taken from Armenian reality. The woman is praised in toasts, but in real life she is subjected to rude and violent treatment.

With regard to the demonstration of relations between relatives the serials brings about a completely new, strange and even unacceptable norms and mentality. Generally the values dominating in the families of the serials are not always identical with the real values. It is clear that such projects are taken from similar Western projects which are generally aimed at making fun of the characters they embody, but unfortunately their impact on the behavior and mentality of children cannot be denied. Simply because of the fact that these characters are embodied by the actors who are very popular with teenagers and in everyday speech that imitate these characters, quote them, use their manners and undoubtedly their way of thinking as well.

¹ Ibid, Episode 8.

In the family model introduced in “Kargin Serial” (“Proper Serial”) the children (unlike Armenian families where children adore their parents) do not like their parents, avoid them in every possible way, the grandchild considers it to be a severe punishment to have to deal with his grandmother.

Parent-child relations are extremely simplified and deprived of any sense. The serial and the products associated with it encourage a superficial treatment towards people and their values, whereas they must be exciting and precious in personal relations. Theoreticians detect a clear link between advertising and serials considering that both promote and spread certain goods and mode of life all over the world [4]. The mode of life promoted by Armenian serials leads to the materialization of social values.

May, 2015

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EU POLICY ON IRANIAN PROLIFERATION ISSUE (2000-2014)

*Mher Sahakyan**

Background: European-Iranian Nuclear Cooperation

In the shadows of rising proliferation threats, this paper is aimed at explaining the dynamics of **EU Policy on Iranian Proliferation Issue (2000-2014)**.

During the 21st century Iran continues to be a focal point for attention of the international community, because of rich energy resources, strategic location and its nuclear program. Iran had been a unique bridge between East and West from the times of “Silk Road”. In the 20th century during the two World Wars the European superpowers such as the United Kingdom, Germany, Russia and France tried to occupy Iran or increase their influence on the country. As a result of the World War I, the UK was able to increase its influence on Iran and took control over the Iranian energy sources and oil production. After the World War II the USA, like another international political players also started to struggle for the political influence on Iran. When Mohammad Mosaddeq came to power in Iran, he tried to eliminate UK from the Iranian oil production and started the nationalization of Iran's oil industry. The UK as a global player imposed an embargo on the Iranian oil production, and as a result Iran could not sell its oil. This step weakened Mossadeq's power. After 1953 when the US CIA was heavily involved in the coup that toppled Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq and returned the power to the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the USA increased its influence in Iran and assumed the role of patron or at least a reliable supplier of arms. The USA gave added impetus to Iranian nuclear ambitions. The USA and European powers like Federal Republic of Germany, France and UK helped Iran develop its nuclear program. In Tehran the USA built Nuclear Research Center which was equipped with 5 megawatt research reactor. For this nuclear facility uranium was supplied by the

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USA. On July 1, 1968 Iran signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and ratified it in February 1970. Iran also took steps to demonstrate that its nuclear program was peaceful. For instance, in 1974 Iran submitted a draft resolution to the General Assembly of the United Nations that called for establishing a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the Middle East.

Iran had bought two nuclear reactors from France and from FRG. In 1977 Iran bought 4 other nuclear reactors from FRG. German Kraftwerk Union (Siemens) supplied reactors and began the construction of two units of the Bushehr nuclear plant. Total construction cost was estimated 4-6 billion US dollars. The completion of construction was planned for 1982. By 1979 one of the above mentioned reactors was 50% complete while the other one was 85% complete¹.

In 1974, Tehran issued a \$1 billion loan to the French Atomic Energy Commission for the construction of a multinational uranium enrichment plant Eurodif. Tehran secured a ten percent equity stake in the enterprise, entitling it to ten percent of the plant's output. In 1977, a \$2 billion agreement on the construction of two 950-megawatt reactors in Darkhovin was finalized with the French firms Framatome, Spie-Batignolles and Alstom Atlantic. Talks were also held on the purchase of an additional six reactors from France. In the mid-1970s, Iran also signed a letter of agreement with a number of British firms to purchase a large amount of natural uranium².

European powers and USA continued to support Iran in accordance with its nuclear program till 1979, when during the Islamic Revolution the West's partner Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was toppled by Ayatollah Khomeini and fled from Iran. As a result, West-Iran strategic partnership collapsed. The USA stopped assisting Iran in its nuclear program and used its influence to pressure other countries to halt cooperation with Iran in the field of nuclear research.

Washington expressed a major concern that Tehran might build a nuclear arsenal. The USA imposed its own sanctions against Iran in the beginning of the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1979 and the hostage crisis. In 1996, for example, the Clinton administration passed the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act (ILA), which im-

¹Берг И.С., Оценка Роли Германии и России в Иранской Ядерной Программе, Институт Ближнего Востока, 27 July 2009, <http://www.iimes.ru/?p=9059>

²Pre-Revolution Endeavors, Iranian Nuclear History Program, http://nuclearenergy.ir/history/#Pre-Revolution_Endavors

posed mandatory penalties on any foreign country that invested more than \$20 million in Iran. In response, the European Union, through its then trade commissioner, the former British Cabinet Minister Sir Leon Brittan, stated adamantly that the United States was "not entitled to impose their will on us" and lodged a note of formal noncompliance with the ILA at the World Trade Organization. To drive home the point, the spokesman for the German Foreign Ministry expressed the view that the "U.S. follows the wrong path." At the same time, France even publicly defied Washington, declaring that it would make upgrading the ties with Iran a major foreign policy objective. The country's Foreign Ministry spokesman, Yves Doutriaux, was even more explicit. The U.S. move, he said, "Is one nation telling the rest on earth what they can and can't do. Is that right?"¹.

On March 14, 2000, the US President Bill Clinton signed The Iran Nonproliferation Act of 2000. The act authorizes the President of the United States to take punitive action against individuals or organizations known to be providing material aid to weapons of mass destruction programs in Iran². With this step the US Democrats made the next aggressive step to interrupt or delay Iranian nuclear program. USA continued its anti-proliferation policy against Iranian nuclear ambitions when Republicans won the elections and came to power. Bush's administration tried to take the Iranian case to UN SC, but EU took responsibility to solve Iranian nuclear problem and started the EU3-Iran negotiations. Russia was against bringing the Iranian case to UN SC because Russia was constructing Bushehr reactor in Iran and it planned to build up to five other reactors similar to Bushehr. China was not interested in taking the Iranian issue to UN SC or imposing any sanctions because of the energy and economic interests in Iran as well.

The EU 3-Iran negotiations on Iranian proliferation issue

On February 21- 22, 2003 IAEA Director General of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) visited Iran. After this visit, on June 6, 2003 IAEA Director General reported that Iran had failed to meet its obligations under its Safeguards Agreement

¹ Rory Miller, "The European Union's Counterproductive Iran Sanctions." *Foreign Affairs*, 23 February 2012, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137298/rory-miller/the-european-unions-counterproductive-iran-sanctions> (accessed on 27 July 2014)

² Iran Non Proliferation Act of 2000, U.S Department of State, 14 March 2000, <http://www.state.gov/t/isn/c15234.htm> (Accessed on 11 July 2014)

with respect to the reporting of nuclear material, the subsequent processing and use of such material and the declaration of facilities where the material was stored and processed. Although the quantities of nuclear material involved have not been large, and the material would need further processing before being suitable for use as the fissile material component of a nuclear explosive device, the number of failures by Iran to report the material, facilities and activities in question in a timely manner as it is obliged to do pursuant to its Safeguards Agreement is a matter of concern¹. On October 23, 2003, H.E. Mr. R. Aghazadeh, Vice President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and President of the AEOI, reaffirmed that “the Islamic Republic of Iran had decided to provide a full picture of its nuclear activities, with a view to removing any ambiguities and doubts about the exclusively peaceful character of these activities and commencing a new phase of confidence and co-operation in this field at the international level.” Mr. Aghazadeh stated further in his letter that Iran was prepared “to provide, in full transparency, any additional clarifications that the Agency may deem necessary.”² In October 2003 Iranian government invited foreign ministers of the EU3 to Tehran for negotiations, and after negotiations EU3 and Iran issued statement known as the Tehran declaration. Due to this declaration the Iranian Government has decided to sign the IAEA Additional Protocol. It has decided to voluntarily suspend all uranium enrichment and reprocessing activities as defined by the IAEA. The EU3 ministers announced that they recognize the right of Iran to enjoy peaceful use of nuclear energy in accordance with the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty³. On November 15, 2004 In Paris EU3 and Iran signed Paris Agreement. Iran verified that it would continue to extend its suspension to include all enrichment related and reprocessing activities. EU3 mentioned that EU would help Iran on the opening of Iranian accession negotiations at the WTO and that EU would resume negotiations on Iran-EU Trade and Cooperation Agreement.

Cornelius Adebahr notes that United Kingdom, France and Germany (EU3) took the initiative in Iranian nuclear issue and started negotiations directly with

¹ Reported by IAEA Director General, Implementation of the NPT safeguards agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran, 6 June 2003, <http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Board/2003/gov2003-40.pdf>

² Reported by IAEA Director General, Implementation of the NPT safeguards agreement in the Islamic Republic of Iran, 10 November 2003, <http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Board/2003/gov2003-75.pdf>

³ Statement by the Iranian Government and Visiting EU Foreign ministers, IAEA and Iran, 21 October 2003, http://www.iaea.org/newscenter/focus/iaeairan/statement_iran21102003.shtml

Iran. When the Europeans—represented by the foreign ministers of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom (the EU3)—first got involved in diplomatic negotiations with Iran a little more than ten years ago, they had three goals:

1. Demonstrate the value of diplomacy and head off a possible military attack on Iran by the United States or Israel.
2. Make a case for “effective multilateralism”—a cornerstone of the EU’s 2003 Security Strategy—with regard to nonproliferation.
3. Earn a greater global role for Europe by picking up the Iran dossier at a time when the United States was preoccupied with neighboring Iraq and therefore not engaged on it¹.

The EU3 and Iran exchanged several proposals regarding to their visions on problem solving. In August 2005 the three European countries presented their own comprehensive proposal for a long-term agreement, outlining the following:

- Arrangements for the assured supply of low enriched uranium for any light water reactors constructed in Iran
- Establishing a buffer store of nuclear fuel located in a third country
- A commitment by Iran not to pursue fuel cycle technologies, reviewable after 10 years
- A legally binding commitment by Iran not to withdraw from the NPT and Iran’s adoption of the Additional Protocol
- Arrangements for Iran to return spent nuclear fuel to supplier countries
- EU recognition of Iran as a long-term source of fossil fuel energy
- EU-Iran cooperation in a variety of political-security areas, including Iraq and Afghanistan, terrorism, and drug trafficking.

Iran rejected that proposal days later, claiming that it did not recognize Iran’s right to enrichment. Tehran proceeded with uranium conversion, breaking the suspension agreement with the EU3 and ending negotiations².

The USA was against these negotiations and called upon the EU 3 to stop negotiations with Iran and take the Iranian case to UN SC. This happened when on

¹Cornelius Adebahr, “EU-Iran Relations: A strategic Assessment”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 23 June 2014, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/06/23/eu-iran-relations-strategic-assessment/health>

²Kelsey Devenport, History of Official Proposals on the Iranian Nuclear Issue, *Arms Control Association*, January 2014, http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/Iran_Nuclear_Proposals

January 10, 2006 the Iranians broke the IAEA seals at Natanz enrichment facility and restarted the work on their projects there.

The USA was against the Iranian nuclear program, as the leaders in Washington believed it was a nuclear threat for the USA and for Israel. American policy-makers started to use the term “Nuclear Holocaust” to characterize Iranian nuclear ambitions. USUN ex-ambassador John Bolton in his book quoted Bush’s words regarding Iranian nuclear program: “I thought we are just beginning to watch the beginning of a Holocaust. There has to be no ambiguity and no rewards unless there is a complete dismantlement.”¹ The so-called Iranian threat seems to be more realistic when from time to time Iranian officials threaten to destroy or eliminate Israel. For instance, in October 2005, speaking at a Tehran conference convened under the banner of “A World without Zionism,” Iranian president Ahmadinejad declared that “Israel should be wiped off the map,” and that “anybody who recognizes Israel will burn in the fire of the Islamic nations’ fury.” Further developing this theme two months later, he called the Holocaust a “myth” and lectured the Europeans that they should create a Jewish state in Europe rather than the Middle East².

Iranian nuclear case in the UN SC: Resolution 1696

In 2006 the situation concerning Iranian nuclear program totally changed when IAEA Director General noted that after nearly three years of intensive verification activity, the Agency is not yet in a position to clarify some important issues relating to Iran's nuclear program³. In 2006 after long-lasting US lobbying the Iranian nuclear issue was brought to the Security Council and at its 5500th meeting, on July 31, 2006 the Resolution No. 1696 was adopted. It called upon all states, in accordance with their national legal authorities and legislation and consistent with international law, to exercise vigilance and prevent the transfer of any items, materials, goods and technology that could contribute to Iran’s enrichment-related and re-processing activities and ballistic missile programs. It called Iran without further

¹ John Bolton, *Surrender Is Not An Option; Defending America At The United Nations And Abroad.*, New York, Threshold Edition, July 2008, p. 140

² Robert Litwak, *Iran's Nuclear Chess: Calculating America's Moves*, Wilson Center, Middle East Program, July 2014, p. 39

³ Implementation of The NPT Safeguards Agreements in the Islamic Republic of Iran, 4 February 2006, International Atomic Energy Agency, <http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Board/2006/gov2006-14.pdf>

delay to take the steps required by the IAEA Board of Governors in its resolution GOV/2006/14¹.

After voting, the UK representative in UN Emyr Jones Parry said that his country remained committed to working towards a negotiated solution. On June 6, 2006 Javier Solana presented Iran a new set of far-reaching and imaginative proposals for a comprehensive agreement, offering a way forward, one that would give Iran everything it needed to achieve its stated ambition of developing a modern civil nuclear-power industry. That included, among other things, support for building light-water power reactors, as well as legally binding assurances relating to the supply of nuclear power material, for which it would not have to depend on a single foreign supplier. The proposals would also offer Iran, among other benefits, significant trade benefits, including with the European Union. The representative of France mentioned that France, together with Germany, would underline the following elements: the text had made the suspension requested by the IAEA mandatory, but that did not mean end to negotiations, and he had reaffirmed the proposals made on June 6 to Iran; if Iran refused to comply, the Council would work under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter; and if Iran did comply and resumed negotiations, the Council could abstain from such action². China urged Iran to practice restraint, earnestly implement the requirements of the resolution and make an early response to the “package proposals”.

UN SC Resolution 1737

As Cornelius Adebahr mentioned the formation of the “P5+1”—the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany can be seen as another diplomatic success. Although it did not solve the question of Iran’s nuclear program per se, the joining of the three European powers with China, Russia, and, crucially, the United States (hence the EU’s preferred acronym E3+3) lent the European diplomatic approach more weight³.

¹ Resolution 1696 (2006), UN SC, 31 July 2006. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8792.doc.htm>

² “Security Council Demands Iran Suspend Uranium Enrichment by 31 August, or Face Possible Economic, Diplomatic Sanctions”, Security Council 5500th meeting, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8792.doc.htm>

³ Cornelius Adebahr, “Easing EU Sanctions on Iran”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 16 June 2014, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/06/16/easing-eu-sanctions-on-iran/he34>

Almost six months after the EU3+3 Iran negotiations commenced, Resolution No. 1696 was followed up with Resolution No. 1737. The US argued that sanctions should be as wide and tough as possible. In general, the USA did not accept Tehran's argument that Iran needs civil nuclear energy, because Washington believed that Iran had huge amounts of energy resources and they believed that Iran was going to build nuclear weapons. Russia and China preferred more limited and less severe measures and certainly not ones that would affect their economic interests with Iran. **It seems that the Europeans were in between these two approaches**¹.

With the Resolution 1737 adopted by the Security Council at its 5612th meeting, on December 23, 2006, the UN SC placed a ban on sale and trade of nuclear technologies which could be used by Iran to accomplish heavy water related activities or develop nuclear weapons delivery systems. By this Resolution UN SC offered all countries to place voluntary ban on individuals who were engaged, associated with or provided support to Iran's nuclear program. The Resolution 1737 imposed financial sanctions on individuals and companies engaged with Iran's nuclear and ballistic missile industries². Speaking after the vote, UK representative Emyr Jones Parry mentioned that however, the door was not closed for Iran. He said that the United Kingdom, France and Germany, with the European Union High Representative, Javier Solana, had led negotiations with Iran and remained committed to seeking a diplomatically negotiated solution based on cooperation. A new relationship between Europe and Iran was "on the table", but that must be with an Iran that eschewed nuclear ambition³.

French representative mentioned that the text -- developed on the basis of a draft submitted by France, Germany and United Kingdom -- confirmed the mandatory nature of the suspension of proliferation sensitive activities in the nuclear field. He said that should Iran suspend all its sensitive activities and conform to relevant resolutions of the Council and IAEA, the measures just adopted would be suspended. Should the country persist, however, other measures would be taken under

¹ "Middle East, Iran", Security Council Report, *Monthly Forecast*, November 2006, http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2006-11/lookup_c_gIKWLeMTIsG_b_2193647.php (accessed on 15 June 2014)

² Resolution 1737 (2006), UN SC, 23 December 2006, [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1737\(2006\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1737(2006)) (accessed on 16 June 2014)

³ Security Council 5612th Meeting, 23 December 2006, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2006/sc8928.doc.htm>

Article 41. The resolution sent a clear message to Iran, which was now facing a strategic choice: cooperation with the international community or growing isolation¹.

On February 22, 2007, El Baradei reported that Iran continued to enrich uranium at the Natanz facility and refused to provide details required for verification purposes per IAEA BG Document GOV/2008/8 (February 22, 2007). The U.S. and its partners sought a ban on arms sales to Iran and limits on export credits for firms involved in commercial deals in the country. This posed particular problems for PRC, which had existing contracts to supply the IRI with various weapons, including anti-warship and surface-to-air missiles. China's exports to Iran as a whole had increased dramatically, rising from \$713 million in 2000 to \$7.29 billion in 2007. As a result, on March 9, Wang Guangya said that he did not "see the need to expand [the measures] to an arms embargo" and objected to a prohibition on export credits².

UNSC Embargo on Arms Exports from Iran: Resolution 1747; EU Embargo on Arms Exports to Iran

After the negotiations, on 24 of March 2007, the Security Council at its 5647th meeting adopted Resolution 1747 (2007) which decided that Iran must not supply, sell or transfer any arms or related materiel. It called upon all states and international financial institutions not to enter into new commitments for grants, financial assistance, and concessional loans, to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, except for humanitarian and development purposes. The new list of 13 entities and 15 persons involved in nuclear or ballistic missiles activities to be subjected to financial limitations was added to the Resolution 1747³. If Iran was prohibited to sell, supply or transfer weapons, all other countries were called for "vigilance" in arms sales to Iran and to omit a ban on export credits. What was the problem that EU and USA, though temporary, agreed not to prohibit but abstain from selling weapons to Iran? The reason was Russia and China that could have put a veto if the USA tried to include this point into the resolution text. With this regard the USA, Great Britain and France insured themselves from the possible veto of Russia and China.

¹ Ibid.

² Joel Wuthnow, *Beyond the Veto: Chinese Diplomacy in the United Nations Security Council*, Columbia University 2011, p. 183, <http://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:132019> (accessed on 15 July 2014)

³ Resolution 1747 (2007), UN SC, 24 March 2007.

China's ambassador in UN Wang Guangya said that his country had all along supported safeguarding the international nuclear non-proliferation mechanism and opposed the proliferation of nuclear weapons. UK representative Emyr Jones Parry made statement that as requested by resolution 1737 IAEA Director General Mohamed El Baradei had reported on February 22, 2007 that Iran had continued to pursue these sensitive technologies, in defiance of its obligations under international law. That was the backdrop to the intensive and constructive deliberations that had led to the resolution today. By adopting the resolution, the Council had continued its incremental and proportionate approach, increasing gradually the pressure on Iran to address the concerns shared across the international community. He added that the path of proliferation by Iran is not one that the international community can accept. French representative Jean-Marc De La Sabliere added that nobody in the Council wished to deny Iran its right to, or prevent the Iranian people from benefiting from, nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. It was unacceptable that Iranian officials shirked their obligations under the NPT. Iran's choice, he said, was to meet the international community's demands or face growing isolation¹. However Iran's foreign minister Manoucheher Mottaki, mentioned. "Iran's nuclear program is completely peaceful".

In April 2007 the EU extended the prohibition to include arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary equipment and spare parts for the aforementioned².

***UNSC increased vigilance over Iranian banks:
calling for voluntary cargo inspection: Resolution 1803***

Movement towards further UN SC sanctions was spurred by an Iranian rocket launch on February 4, 2008 that the U.S. and, notably, Russia were concerned might be a test of ballistic missile technology³.

¹ Security Council, 5647th Meeting (PM), SC/8980,
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc8980.doc.htm>

² EU Arms Embargo on Iran, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 22 November 2012,
http://www.sipri.org/databases/embargoes/eu_arms_embargoes/iran/eu-arms-embargo-on-iran-pdf/at_download/file

³ Joel Wuthnow, *Beyond the Veto: Chinese Diplomacy in the United Nations Security Council*, *op. cit.*, p.186

On 3 March 2008 the Security Council adopted Resolution 1803 at its 5848th meeting. The resolution provided that all states shall take the necessary measures to prevent the supply, sale or transfer materials which can be used for producing nuclear weapons. It called upon all states to exercise vigilance over the activities of financial institutions in their territories with all banks domiciled in Iran, and their branches and subsidiaries abroad, in order to avoid such activities contributing to the proliferation sensitive nuclear activities. It also called for voluntary cargo inspections. A new list of officials, individuals and entities that were involved in nuclear or ballistic missiles activities and were subjected to financial restrictions was attached in Annexes I, II, and III of the Resolution 1803¹. After the voting, the UK representative John Sawers noted that Proposals presented to Iran in June 2006 offered “substantial opportunities” for political, security and economic benefits to Iran and the region, and he urged Iran to take the opportunity to find a negotiated way forward. He added that the United Kingdom does not have confidence that Iran’s program is for exclusively peaceful purposes. French representative Jean-Pierre Lacroix mentioned that Iran had concealed an underground nuclear program. While enrichment was going on, Iran was working on techniques that could be used to develop nuclear weapons². The representative of Belgium Johan Verbeke stressed that new resolution was part of a gradual approach aimed at urging Iranian authorities to adopt a more cooperative and transparent position. The resolution also made clear that the path of good faith negotiations remained open to Iran³.

Resolution 1835

On June 14, 2008 Secretary General and high representative of the EU Javier Solana delivered to Iranian government the text of the letter compiled by China, Russia, France, United Kingdom, Russian Federation, Germany, United States, the UN Secretary General and high representatives of the EU. The six powers offered Iran provision of technological and financial assistance necessary for Iran’s peaceful use of nuclear energy, support for the resumption of technical cooperation plans in Iran by the

¹ Resolution 1803 (2008), UN SC, 3 March 2008,

http://www.iaea.org/newscenter/focus/iaeaيران/unsc_res1803-2008.pdf

² UN SC, SC/9268, 3 March 2008. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sc9268.doc.htm> (accessed on June 18, 2014)

³ Ibid.

IAEA, support for the construction of the light-water reactor, provision of legally binding nuclear fuel supply guaranty, cooperation in regard with the management of spent fuel and radioactive waste, if Iran fulfills the requirements of resolutions adopted by UN SC¹. Iran asked to give information in details and UN SC decided that Iran tries to gain time, and adopted Resolution 1835 (2008), which called Iran to comply fully and without delay with its obligations under the above-mentioned resolutions of the Security Council, and to meet the requirements of the IAEA Board of Governors². Long-lasting negotiations between P5+Germany and Iran were unsuccessful. The negotiating parties were unable to find new ways for solving Iranian nuclear dispute. The patience of Western powers, however, had dissipated by mid-July, 2009. A joint statement issued by the G8 countries following a summit in Italy set a deadline of September 15, 2009 for Iran to engage in negotiations or face the possibility of increased sanctions. Obama asserted that the U.S. was “not going to just wait indefinitely” for Iran to respond. With Western strategy reverting to a punitive approach, the basis of a diplomatic confrontation with China was laid. Unlike prior cases, which were resolved relatively quickly, it would take nine months for the P5+1 to secure an agreement on added pressure against Tehran³.

UN SC arms embargo: Resolution 1929

In May 2010, Iran, Brazil and Turkey signed a joint declaration in Tehran to exchange much of Iran’s low-enriched uranium for fuel for the Tehran Research Reactor. The accord main points were in effect identical to the failed 2009 swap proposal. Iran agreed to ship 1,200 kilograms of LEU to Turkey for a later exchange of 120 kg of fuel for the Tehran Research Reactor. But the declaration was immediately rejected by the US⁴.

On June 9, 2010, the UN SC approved the Resolution 1929 by a vote of 12 in favor, while Turkey and Brazil opposed, and Lebanon abstained. Like the three reso-

¹ IAEA Information Circular INFCIRC/730, 1 July 2008. <http://www.iaea.org/Publications/Documents/Infcircs/2008/infcirc730.pdf> (accessed on June 20 2014)

² Resolution 1835 (2008) UN SC, 27 September 2008, http://www.iaea.org/newscenter/focus/iaeairan/unsc_res1835-2008.pdf (accessed on 20 2014)

³ Joel Wuthnow, *Beyond the Veto: Chinese Diplomacy in the United Nations Security Council*, op. cit., p. 191.

⁴ Negotiations with P5+1(2006 present), Iranian Nuclear History Program, http://nuclearenergy.ir/history/#Pre-Revolution_Endavors

lutions that preceded it since 2006, by the Resolution 1929 UN SC decided that Iran should not acquire an interest in any commercial activities in other states involving uranium mining and must halt its uranium enrichment activities in accordance with the IAEA inspection guidelines. The Resolution decided that all states should prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to Iran of any battle tanks, armored combat vehicles, large caliber artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, and missile systems. Resolution 1929 called upon all states to inspect all cargo en route to and from Iran. The Resolution called upon the states to take appropriate measures to prohibit opening of new branches of Iranian banks in their territories which could have any connection with Iranian proliferation issue. The resolution imposed financial restrictions on some Iranian entities and individuals¹.

UK representative Mark Lyall Grant mentioned that the adoption of the resolution “keeps the door open for continued engagement between the EU3+3 and Iran.” He went on to say that the Ministers were prepared to continue dialogue and interaction with Iran in the context of implementing the understandings reached during their meeting in Geneva on October 1, 2009. They had asked Baroness Ashton, European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to pursue that dialogue with Saeed Jalili, Secretary of Iran’s Supreme National Security Council, at the earliest opportunity. “We expect Iran to demonstrate a pragmatic attitude and to respond positively to our openness towards dialogue and negotiations”. He said that resolution had been made necessary by Iran’s own actions. French representative Gerard Araud welcomed the adoption of the text, saying there was no doubt about what was going on: Iran had built a clandestine military facility that was far too small for civilian purposes, and had also begun to enrich its uranium to 20 per cent, bringing it “dangerously close” to military grade. He added that Iran was using the Tehran Declaration as an alibi to avoid discussing the program with the EU3+3, and to buy time for continued enrichment, he said, adding that Iran was using it to ignore the will of the wider international community. He added that with all that in mind, the Security Council had adopted a text that would slow down the progress of Iran’s nuclear program and allow diplomacy more time².

¹ Resolution 1929 (2010), UN SC, 9 June, 2010.

http://www.iaea.org/newscenter/focus/iaea/iran/unsc_res1929-2010.pdf (accessed on 22 June 2014)

² Security Council, 6335th Meeting (AM), Security Council Imposes Additional Sanctions on Iran, 9 June 2010, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2010/sc9948.doc.htm> (accessed on 14 July 2014)

EU3 voting record on United Nation Security Council Resolutions relating to Iran

| Affirmative | | Abstain | Against |
|-------------|---|---------|---------|
| 1696 | | | |
| 1737 | | | |
| 1747 | | | |
| 1803 | | | |
| 1835 | | | |
| 1929 | | | |
| Total | 6 | 0 | 0 |

EU Sanctions on Iran and the results

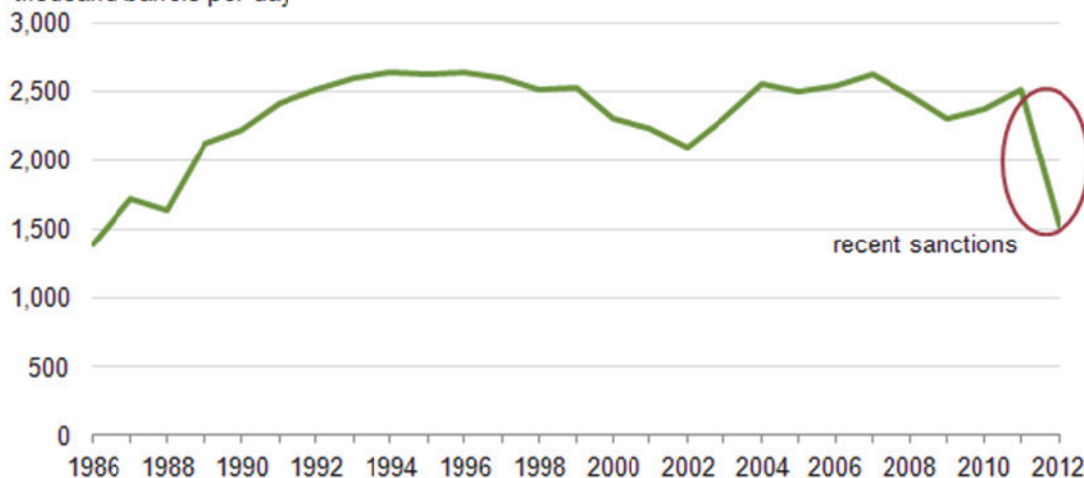
While economic sanctions have a long and disputed history in foreign policy, the EU formally acquired this tool only in 1993 with the Maastricht Treaty and the emergence of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)¹. The EU Council followed suit and regularly went beyond the UN's mandate by extending the list of targets, compiling a long and detailed list of technologies which were not supposed to be sold to Iran due to the risk of them being used to support either the nuclear or missile program, and imposing a number of financial restrictions on Iranian financial institutions as well as an embargo on oil and gas in 2012. The oil and gas embargo clearly went beyond the mandate of the Security Council, as denounced by Russia and China on several occasions. A number of sectors, such as graphite, and raw or semi-finished metals, such as aluminum and steel, fell under the ban which also included software for integrating industrial processes and key naval equipment and technology for ship-building, maintenance or refit. States were also prohibited to enter into new commitments with Iran, either to provide financial support or to construct new oil tankers. Finally, financial transactions between EU and Iranian banks and other financial institutions were not allowed unless authorized by Member States².

¹ Cornelius Adebahr, "Easing EU Sanctions on Iran", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 16 June 2014, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/06/16/easing-eu-sanctions-on-iran/he34>

² Francesco Giumelli and Paul Ivan, "The Effectiveness of EU sanctions: An Analysis of Iran, Belarus, Syria and Myanmar(Burma)", European Policy Centre, Issue Paper No. 76, November 2013, p.13, http://www.epc.eu/documents/uploads/pub_3928_epc_issue_paper_76_-_the_effectiveness_of_eu_sanctions.pdf (accessed on 6 August 2014)

Iran's exports of crude oil and condensate (1986-2012)

thousand barrels per day



Source U.S. Energy Information Administration

In 2011, the EU was Iran's first trading partner, accounting for almost a third of Iran's exports and for about 23% of Iran's oil exports, with Italy, Spain and Greece as its top customers. More than 90% of the EU's imports from Iran were represented by fuels and mineral products. The entry into force of the EU embargo on oil imports in July 2012 has led to a sharp drop in EU imports from Iran. As a result, the EU dropped to the fourth position among Iran's largest trading partners¹. The embargo has also been strengthened by other measures. For instance, the EU has stopped European Protection and Indemnity Clubs (P&I Clubs) providing Iranian oil carriers with insurance and reinsurance, given that more than 90% of the market is covered by EU companies. Oil imports from Iran accounted for about 5% of EU consumption, but this figure was considerably higher in some of the southern EU member states; Greece, Italy and Spain accounted for about 68% of Iranian oil exports to Europe. Iran's crude oil represented about 30% of Greece's oil imports, and about 14% for Italy and 12% for Spain. Severely hit by the economic crisis, in 2011 Greece encountered difficult conditions in the oil market, with banks refusing to provide financing for fear that Athens would default on its debt. Iran offered very good credit conditions to Greece and the share of Iranian oil in Greece's oil imports grew during 2011 to more than 50%, up from 16% in 2010².

¹ Ibid 17.

² Ibid., p. 18.

The European Union imported about 450,000 barrels of Iranian oil per day in 2011 before the European oil embargo started in July 2012. Tehran cut off oil to France and the United Kingdom. That was bad enough: It pushed the price of gasoline in the United Kingdom to 135.39 ppl (\$2.1262 per liter), up from 132.25 ppl (\$2,077 per liter) at the beginning of January. It also resulted in near-record oil prices across Europe¹.

Though Iranian leaders like to mention that sanctions are not a problem, but Iranian economy has effectively been harmed because of sanctions. Iranian economy largely declined when EU member states imposed an oil embargo on Iran. China also reduced its average oil import levels from Iran because of the disagreement on Iran's nuclear program. According to Iran's Central Bank, in 2013, inflation was running at 44 percent, youth unemployment was 28 percent, and, in 2012, the country's economy had contracted by 5.4 percent. Under the impact of the European Union's embargo Iran's oil exports had fallen to a meager 1 million barrels per day, down from 2.5 million as recently as 2011². The inflation of Iranian Rial, reduction of oil export and shortcut of foreign currency has created hard social-economic situation in Iran. So sanctions are working and it was the main reason that in November 2013 Iran agreed on *Joint Plan of Action* (Interim agreement), which put limits on Tehran's nuclear program. In return, the EU3+3 will provide sanctions relief that the Washington values \$7bn. Iran agreed to change its nuclear policy which will give an opportunity to suspend heavy sanctions on Iranian economy and will save Iranian political system from the final collapse. Many times I have traveled to Iran for studying and field work. I can definitely tell that till 2010 Iran was the country where the government confronted Western powers, but Iranian people liked European values, USA and "the American dream". This situation changed, when through the U.S. great efforts UN SC, EU adopted heavy sanctions against Iranian economy. After this sanctions hyperinflation, the currency crash, product shortages hit and harmed ordinary Iranians life. The Iranian government was able to make a propaganda case that all Iranians' difficulties were coming from the West. Thus, in 2012 when I was in Iran, people's attitude towards EU and USA

¹ Rory Miller, "The European Union's Counterproductive Iran Sanctions." *Foreign Affairs*, 23 February 2012. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137298/rory-miller/the-european-unions-counterproductive-iran-sanctions> (accessed on 27 July 2014)

² Robert Litwak, *Iran's Nuclear Chess: Calculating America's Moves*, *op.cit.*, p. 44

has totally changed. Ordinary people like to mention that after this sanctions government or ruling elite are still living very well and only the Iranian people suffer under the sanctions imposed by the West.

Joint Plan of Action: When will be the Solution?

After some long multilateral negotiations on November 24, 2013 Iranian Foreign Minister Zarif and Catherine Ashton (EU3+3), signed the proposal known as the Joint Plan of Action.

What has Iran voluntarily committed to undertake as a first step?

As a first step, Iran commits to undertake measures in the following areas to address the international community's most pressing concerns regarding Iran's nuclear activities:

- Suspend enrichment above 5% everywhere in Iran
- Freeze its enrichment capacity (i.e. no installation of new centrifuges, no new centrifuges with natural uranium, production of centrifuges only for replacement of damaged machines)
- Reduce significantly its stockpile of enriched uranium (all the 20% enriched uranium stockpile needs to be converted or diluted; all newly enriched below 5% uranium will be converted to uranium oxide).
- Make no further advances in the development of the Heavy Water Reactor at Arak (no commissioning of the reactor, no installation of further components, no production and testing of fuel, no transfer of heavy water to the reactor).
- No reprocessing or construction of a facility capable of reprocessing.
- Allow enhanced monitoring and verification measures which go beyond the current level of cooperation with the IAEA (provision of information about their nuclear facilities to the IAEA, more access for IAEA inspectors to key nuclear sites).

What have the P5+1 voluntarily committed to undertake as a first step?

In response, the P5+1 will undertake the voluntary measures as specified in the Joint Plan of Action. This includes measures at the level of the EU and the US, as well as the commitment not to pursue new nuclear-related UN SC sanctions. In this context, the European Union will undertake the following measures:

- Not pursue new nuclear-related EU sanctions. This commitment will be without prejudice to the full implementation of the restrictive measures which will remain in force.
- Suspend certain nuclear-related sanctions (petrochemicals and gold and precious metals). The EU will suspend the prohibition on the import, purchase or transport of Iranian petrochemical products. The suspension will also cover the provision of all related services such as financing, financial assistance, insurance and reinsurance, including for third States. The EU will suspend the prohibition on trade in gold and precious metals with the government of Iran, its public bodies and the Central Bank of Iran, or persons and entities acting on their behalf. The suspension will also cover related services such as transportation. The items concerned are listed in the EU legislation.
- Facilitate financial transfers for non-sanctioned trade, including for humanitarian purposes, such as food and medicines

EU will increase tenfold all the EU authorization thresholds with a view to allowing more financial transfers to and from Iran to be processed without authorization requirements and therefore facilitating non-sanctioned transactions.

- Oil sanctions

The EU will suspend the prohibition on the provision of insurance and transport in relation to Iranian crude oil “E3/EU +3 nuclear negotiations with Iran¹. However on July 2014, after the negotiation process Iran and EU3+3 announced that there were still significant gaps on some core issues which would require more time and effort. The negotiating parties mentioned that they will extend the implementation of measures of the Joint Plan of Action until 24 November 2014

Conclusion

Alea iacta est ("The die is cast")

It can be summarized that from the very beginning of the escalation of the Iranian nuclear issue the EU tried to exclude military solution and initiated direct negotiations with Iranian counterpart. Three European superpowers France, Germany and

¹Terms of the agreement on a Joint Plan of Action, including measures to be undertaken by the European Union”, European Union External Action System,

http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2013/131219_02_en.pdf (accessed on 1 August 2014)

UK started these negotiations in 2003 and in 2006 China, Russia and USA also joined the “nuclear diplomacy”.

After the long confrontations it seems that the EU3+3 and Iran are ready to find the final solution for Iranian nuclear issue. The Joint plan of Action underlined the ways which are necessary to achieve final *modus vivendi*. This road map for peace gave another chance to find solution without military actions, which still exist in the speeches of Israeli government and in the statements of some US hawks. Now it seems that after the long lasting and heavy sanctions Ayatollah Khamenei and other Iranian decision makers decided to curb their nuclear ambitions. It can be argued that they agreed to make some concessions in 2013 when Ayatollah Khamenei let Rouhani to run for presidency, who was advocating that Iranian economy could be saved from final destruction if Iran agreed with the EU3+3 demands and in result achieved suspension on certain nuclear-related sanctions. Rouhani and his political team understand that if they do not eliminate sanctions on Iranian economy and if they do not stop destruction of their economy, it will threaten and put under the question the survival of modern Iranian political system. This kind of changes in Iranian leadership and nuclear policy must be used by the EU3+3, if they really want to solve Iranian nuclear issue peacefully. As Iranian political group of hardliners is still strong in Iran and they are against the negotiated limitations on Iran’s nuclear capabilities at an acceptable political price.

As ex-foreign minister of Russian Federation Igor Ivanov mentioned, “The question remains: is there any guarantee that the current leaders in Tehran will not give way to another, more conservative and anti-Western grouping? The answer, of course, is no. But a failure of the Iranian government must also be seen as a failure of its negotiating partners – a failure of those Western political powers who, knowingly or otherwise, play into the hands of the conservative critics of President Rouhani. If Rouhani fails, then we all fail. This would set the P5+1 negotiations back significantly, greatly impede the settlement of the Syrian conflict, affect Arab-Israeli relations, create additional risks in Iraq, etc. Those politicians who are calling for a resumption of the “hard-line” stance of the West toward Tehran might be better served by considering the costs of such an approach¹. So due to the Joint Plan of

¹ Игорь Иванов, Возвращение Ирана, 16 July 2014, The Russian International Affairs Council, http://russiancouncil.ru/inner/?id_4=4068#top

Action Iran is ready to suspend enrichment above 5%, freeze its enrichment capacity, make no further advances in the development of the Heavy Water Reactor at Arak in exchange for the EU suspension of sanctions on petrochemicals and gold and precious metals and on some financial transactions and assistance. Some sanctions on Iranian political, military, economic sectors still will remain until the final Comprehensive agreement on Iranian nuclear program is signed by the EU3+3 and Iran. I would like to describe the EU policy on Iranian nuclear issue on the following way. The EU put diplomacy on the first place excluding war. The EU chose dual-track approach: on one hand it continues to use diplomacy as the main tool for the solution of the problem, on the other hand EU imposes sanctions for returning Tehran to negotiations' table. The most powerful shock for Iranian economy was EU embargo on Iranian energy sources. The sanctions imposed by EU, USA, UN SC and another states on Iranian financial and economic sectors actually left out Iran from international economic and financial systems, for this reason Iranian government agreed to make some compromises and concessions on its nuclear program. This example prompts once again that it is very hard to confront with the countries which are creators and designers of the Western-dominated international financial and economic order. I think that "West-Russia confrontation" can give another reason to the EU to solve Iranian problem, because EU is interested to find energy sources to substitute the Russian oil and gas. The second reason which can give added impetus to solve Iranian nuclear issue is the chaos in Iraq. Iraq exports its 20% of crude oil to Europe. So, solution of Iranian nuclear issue is good for EU and for Iran. It will give opportunity to EU to strengthen its energy security and it will give Iran a chance to revive its weakened economy.

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