

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA

**INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

*BY*

ANNA DRNOIAN

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SIGNATURE PAGE

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Faculty Advisor

Date

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Program Chair

Date

American University of Armenia

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

*“I realized that for a small country like Armenia which confronts such big challenges the diplomacy is not only the front, but the first line of attack. It is only through bold diplomacy possible to hope to overcome these problems and pave the way for the country's sustainable development.”*

*(Oskanian 2013)*

### **1.1. Statement of the Problem and Importance of the Study**

The National Security Strategy (NSS) of the RA<sup>1</sup> specifies the efficiency in governance and the effective functioning of the bodies of public administration among pivotal objectives in providing domestic security (NSS 2007). Moreover, almost half of the document addresses the external security concerns, thus stressing the need for efficient management of the country's foreign policy. Additionally, the 2008 election program of S. Sargsyan prioritizes the improvement of the public administration system by employing corporate management rules, in particular, consistently increasing operational effectiveness and transparency, as well as clearly formulating the desired objectives and making the performance monitoring possible (Sargsyan 2008). Since the diplomatic service of the RA is an integral part of the public service and the key executor of the foreign policy (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA, 2001, article 3.2) (Ibid., article 4), the need for effective functioning of its domestic institutions and missions abroad are of distinct significance.

However, so far Armenia's foreign policy has not been studied from the institutional perspective, in terms of the structuring and functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA, Ministry), resources allocated to a field, the organization and evaluation of the diplomatic missions and the formation of future diplomats (DerGhougassian, 2013). The new national strategy should not only address the development of the measurable indicators of the effectiveness of public administration, but also elaboration of the principles of human resource management (Ter-Matevosyan 2013).

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<sup>1</sup> Adopted during the last year of R. Kocharian's presidency (2007), while in charge of the document making process as the Secretary of the National Security Council and the Minister of Defense of the RA at that time was Serzh Sargsyan

Moreover, the incidents of an abrupt shift in the foreign policy course, which not only ruin the efforts made by the institutions thus far, but negatively impact the country's image as a sovereign decision-maker, reinforce the urgency for explication, reevaluation and subsequent amelioration of the managerial capacity of institutions in the decision-making process of the RA.

## **1.2. Research Questions and Hypotheses**

The study formulates the following research questions:

1. What is the structural capacity of the MFA in addressing the foreign policy priorities of the country?
2. Does the Ministry possess a system of foreign policy planning mechanisms?
3. Does the Ministry contribute to foreign policy formulation or does it perform purely executive and coordinative functions?
4. How can the role of presidential administration in foreign policy making be assessed in comparison to that of the MFA?
5. **Does the Ministry use the resources allocated efficiently?**
6. **What are the major mechanisms and principles of the recruitment and career growth of diplomatic personnel?**
7. What are the underlying principles of the disposition and performance of Armenian missions abroad?

The study develops the following hypotheses:

***H1: The impact of the MFA on the foreign policy decision-making in Armenia is marginalized***

***H2: The Ministry has significant deficiencies in the recruitment and career promotion strategies, particularly at an ambassadorial level***

## **1.3. Scope and Assumptions of the Study**

The study mainly focuses on the assessment of the RA foreign service since the beginning of S. Sargsyan presidency, i.e. since April 2008. Occasionally, some parallels and

comparisons are made with the functioning of the MFA during R. Kocharian and L. Ter-Petrossian's administrations. The selection of research scope is justified by the relevance of the most up to date assessment, as well as by the availability of data and time restraint.

Moreover, the single-level analysis is conducted with a focus on state/government policies, from the perspective of the government institution – the MFA. The research assumes that despite of the growing engagement of the multiple non-state entities in the conduct of foreign policy and diplomacy, nevertheless the state-based diplomacy remain compelling and the foreign service of the country persist to be the major representatives of the official foreign policy course.

#### **1.4. Research Design/Methodology**

The research methodology is mixed with both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. The research design is explanatory. In order to gather sufficient data to answer the aforementioned questions, the research relies on the following instruments:

- Secondary data and document analysis (laws, presidential/government decrees and orders; institutional reports, statistical and factual data)
- Discourse analysis (official statements and press releases made by the president and the minister of foreign affairs, election programs and inaugural speeches of the president)
- In-depth interviews with high-ranking diplomats

The interviewees did not want to be identified therefore they were categorized by the sequential abbreviations for the conditional usage. The sample included four high-ranking diplomats (Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary) and a diplomat who hold the position of an Advisor at the MFA. All of them are currently not employed by the MFA. Initially, the interviews were planned to include also the MFA concurrent personnel, but as it would be explained later on, the present-day diplomats proved to be reluctant to reply and to assist the institutional analysis.

The descriptors developed and used for the codification of the notes taken from in-depth interviews correspond to the research questions of this study. For that reason, the content analysis is incorporated in the respective parts of the subchapters and corresponds to the MFA structure, policy planning/formulation vs. policy implementation capacity, role of presidential administration vs. MFA, financial management of the institution and the recruitment / professionalism of diplomats.

### **1.5. Limitations of the Study**

The recognized risks underpinning this study include not measurable or non quantifiable forms of diplomatic activity, such as work of relationship building when time is crucial in producing the result (Hocking et.al. 2012). As Nalbandian stated in an answer session after presenting the 2013 activities of the MFA: “diplomacy is like an iceberg and only the top of the iceberg is seen” (Nalbandian 2014).

The second impediment relates to the accessibility and reliability of the data on the MFA system. Bureaucratic analysis requires detailed, accurate data about standard operating procedures, which agencies have actual responsibility for which issues or activities inside government (Neack et al. 1995, p. 23), while data on the RA government bodies is either not available for the public or just does not exist.



## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2.1. The Concepts and Definitions**

Prior to presenting the literature review on foreign policy institutions there is a need to clarify the meaning of the concepts used in the research. MFA is the one of the several departmental portfolios in a government, responsible for a separate area of competence<sup>2</sup>. Since the research focuses on the MFA as an institution, we apply the definition of an institution as “men and women who serve in the country’s foreign service”, with its established norms and procedures (Kopp and Gillespie 2008, p. 5). Particularly those concepts which may be categorized as contested ones need more thorough elaboration.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the definition of success as applied to foreign policy by D. Baldwin is utilized, according to which success is a favorable, cost effective outcome in respect to the goals set and in comparison with other policy instruments (Baldwin 2000, p. 171).

Moreover, the terminological distinction between foreign policy and diplomacy should be clarified: “diplomacy is best seen as a process or method, by which envoys carry out foreign policy, while foreign policy is what heads of state and their advisers decide should be done to serve the country’s interests” (Olson 1991, p. 59). In other words, diplomacy constitutes only one element of foreign policy: it implements the foreign policy through negotiation, making policy understood and if possible accepted by other nations. (Olson 1991, p. 66) Thus, policy is formation and direction; diplomacy is communication and implementation (Olson 1991, p. 61)

### **2.2. Theoretical framework**

*Foreign policy is a tool for achieving national goals and defending national interests. What sets nations apart is not so much their understanding and definition of their national interest, as it is the strategy, tactics and methods they choose to pursue and defend those interests.*

*(Oskanian 2008, P. 17)*

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<sup>2</sup> Moses and Knutsen, 2001. Inside out. Globalization and the Reorganization of Foreign Ministries.

<sup>3</sup> Contested concepts are acknowledged to be so value-laden that no single version can be used as the correct or standard (Baldwin 1997, P. 10).

The research generally falls into the foreign policy analysis (FPA) field constituting part of the more generalist IR studies, as it aims to explain the foreign policy-making process of Armenia. The theoretical framework of FPA assumes the major role in decision-making belongs to individuals which vary from small groups to bureaucracies and organizations and account for change in both the domestic and international systems (Hudson and Vore 1995). More specifically, this study adopts second level approach to the study of foreign policy, which focuses on the impact of bureaucratic structures, decision-making and interaction of government players on the eventual foreign policy choices made, as the MFA constitutes a stable and permanent bureaucracy which functions regardless of political attitudes. (Olson 1991, p. 76)

One of the key issues of the approach is the extent to which bureaucracies either enhance or jeopardize prospects for rational decision-making (Neack 1995, p. 23). The theories of organizational behavior and bureaucracies, while investigating the impact of organizations on foreign policy course, concentrate on groups' aspirations to enhance and sustain their influence by seeking to increase the budget, personnel and functions of their agencies (Kegley and Wittkopf 1991). Additionally, such factors as attitudinal conformity and ideological coherence in groups may undermine the weighting of the decisions, while the inclination to the shared perception of reality results in discouraging the innovative thinking, preference for prevailing attitudes and policy inconsistencies (Kegley and Wittkopf 1991, p.470).

### **2.3. MFAs: New Diplomacy and Old Diplomatic Practice**

*There have been, nevertheless, certain decades when the perception of movement is heightened, when revolutions and wars, technological innovations, and new international groupings sharply illuminate the need for modernization. The period between 1890 and 1920 was one such era; our own time is another. In such periods, the gap between the institutions and the environment widens and attracts attention from the body politic.*

*(Steiner 1982, P.351)*

Since the MFAs are the primary fortress of state's diplomacy, both the studies targeting specifically MFA as an institution and those studies which concentrate on the new modalities of

diplomacy should be equally addressed in the literature review. Furthermore, the scholarship focused on performance measurements in foreign policy making will be analyzed. To sum up, the literature review focuses on the following questions: In what ways has the globalization affected diplomatic practices? What is the role of the MFAs in this new diplomatic environment? Who are the major actors engaged in diplomacy and what forms and practices should be adopted in dealing with the current foreign policy challenges? Finally, how to measure whether the foreign policy is successful or not?

The diplomatic environment of the 21st century is marked by change and volatility (Bukovskis 2010), (Hocking et.al. 2012) (Steiner 1982) (Rana 2005), (Rana 2011). New diplomatic order in the face of increased interdependence is characterized by: 1) an extended scope and pace of international events affecting states; 2) an expansion in the number and variety of international actors (civil society organizations (CSOs) and transnational corporations (TNCs)); 3) growing involvement of regional organizations; 4) shift from a preoccupation with primarily traditional issues of high politics to a wide range of pressing low politics (economic, cultural, environmental concerns, pandemic disease) as well as interconnection between foreign and domestic policy; 5) renaissance of geopolitics as states compete for resources and influence; 6) fragmentation of the rules and norms governing international political and trade relations as more confident emerging states increasingly assert their own values and rules (Hocking et.al. 2012) (Moses and Knutsen 2001) (Rana 2011) (Steiner 1982).

K. Bukovskis (2010) identifies as the key determinants of the shifts in the formulation of foreign affairs to be increasing multilateralism, growth of international corporations, networks and non-governmental organizations. According to K. S. Rana (2005, p. 3), the reform environment of diplomatic institutions is a result of broader public administration reforms currently underway, as well as increased involvement and expectations of citizens in foreign agenda formulation, advancements in communications and technology with subsequent changes in the responsibilities of diplomats. Among other factors of changes identified are: 1)

bewildering variety of issues; 2) tighter time-bound; 3) public diplomacy - interactions with civil society; 4) intensive economic diplomacy; 5) and multiplication of encounters: bilateral, regional, multilateral (Rana 2004).

What has brought about the change, of course, is the entry of nearly every element of government into the foreign affairs field. In contrast with earlier times, the modern diplomat now finds that emanating from across the entire spectrum of government – not just from each executive department or ministry, but from almost each of their subdivisions – is an extraordinary range of foreign interests and, in a great many instances, foreign activities as well. And these interests and activities fall in chaotic disarray on the embassies abroad, presenting for ambassadors and their staffs a management problem of the first order (Olson 1991, p. 79)

It is extensively argued that as a result of above mentioned shifts in the international environment, the modes of diplomatic practice also transformed during the last decades (Bukovskis 2010), (Hocking et.al. 2012), (Kopp and Gillespie 2008), (Steiner 1982), (Rana 2005), (Rana 2011). Thus, Rana (2011, p. 13) presumes the 21<sup>st</sup> century to be a century of a globalized diplomacy due to undergoing paradigmatic changes in the way the international relations are conducted. Specifically, the shift toward globalized diplomacy is determined by growing significance of public diplomacy with prioritization of culture, science, technology and consular work in diplomacy as well as growing significance of regional diplomacy and multiplicity of groupings many of which are based on the geographic principle. Overall, diplomacy became multifaceted, multilateral, unstable, and demanding (Rana 2011, p. 14).

A group of other scholars and practitioners support public diplomacy to be a key feature of the modern diplomacy (Hocking et.al. 2012). Kopp and Gillespie (2008, p.71) referred to changes in the American official foreign policy course toward transformational diplomacy propagated by the Secretary of State under G. W. Bush administration Condoleezza Rice. The notion implies shift from political and governmental relationship between the foreign services to an emphasis on “public diplomacy”, i.e. greater engagement with civil society and internal

affairs of the state, including the promotion of values such as democracy, human rights, the fight against terror and poverty, along with sharing the experience and financial assistance to the targeted countries exercised by the US and the European Union (EU). In other words, the exercise of “soft power” as defined by J. Nye<sup>4</sup> (1990) became the dominant way of influencing the world politics.

Communication technology and multilateral diplomacy have radically altered the nature of diplomacy, particularly the speed with which interchange can and must take place. Public diplomacy is defined as attempts, either public or private, to influence public opinion abroad. More strictly defined, public diplomacy can be viewed as the efforts of a government to influence public opinion in other countries – to establish channels of communication with specific audiences or with the general public. As Clifford Malone wrote in the *Washington Quarterly*, the core idea for public diplomacy is “one of direct communication with foreign peoples, with the aim of affecting their thinking and, ultimately, that of their governments. (Olson 1991, p. 90)

On the contrary, Olson (1991) posits continuity and evolution, rather than revolution in the development of diplomacy. While routines, procedures and settings have been modified, the basic principles of diplomacy as the basis for negotiations between nation-states have an enduring validity. (Olson 1991, p. 65)

Moreover, in the light of changing diplomatic environment the need for the elaboration of new concepts and practical recommendations of how the foreign service should deal with the changed diplomatic context has been revisited (Rana, 2005) (Stringer 2011) (Hocking et.al. 2012). Notably, the scholarship examines the areas in which foreign ministries are undergoing reforms. K. S. Rana (2005) and K. Stringer (2011) highlight the following transformations within the foreign service and new forms of diplomatic representation: 1) integration between the ministries and diplomatic missions abroad, which acquired more power because of the plurality

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<sup>4</sup> Ability to attract and get others to perform the way you want through cultural, economic or trade sources rather than means of coercion (Nye 1990).

of international issues needed to be tackled; 2) restructuring of the traditional departmental organization to cope with new priority countries and regions as well as concentrating on different policy domains; 3) change in the location and strategy of the diplomatic missions abroad, such as replacement of the embassies adjusting to growing priority regions and usage of the different modes of diplomatic accreditation, specifically, coverage by the same ambassador of several countries within the region and shared “co-location”<sup>5</sup> or “joint-ambassadorship”<sup>6</sup> with the friendly state; 4) the openness of the foreign affairs to public engagement (Rana 2005, p. 6-7); 5) unilateral presence<sup>7</sup>; 6) simultaneous multiple representation: concurrent or cross-accreditation (accreditation of a single embassy or an ambassador to two or more countries); 9) non-resident ambassador (from the home country) (Stringer 2011, 10); 10) virtual embassies, combining on-line monitoring of countries and periodic visits (Hocking et.al. 2012, p. 6).

Rana (2011) believes that valuable lessons can be learnt through the case studies of foreign service experiences of individual countries. Thus, international experience illustrates that Botswana and Thailand have successfully utilized innovative corporate techniques and performance measurement criteria in the delineation of strategic plans and strategic reviews of relations with the selected countries respectively. Moreover, foreign services of Canada and India developed effective cooperation with the provinces and non-state partners to promote the domestic businesses in the world markets (Rana 2011, p.6).

Apart from organizational innovations Hocking et.al. (2012, p. 5) developed the framework of integrative diplomacy, which posits need to integrate change and continuity, different agendas and arenas, different diplomatic processes and structures and machinery of diplomacy. The authors stress the importance of collaboration between professional diplomats and the representatives of a variety of international actors as a consequence of the growth of

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<sup>5</sup> Shared arrangement of the mission’s inventory and costs with another country (Rana 2005, p. 7).

<sup>6</sup> An ambassador of one country is accredited with the right to represent another country (Rana 2005, p. 7).

<sup>7</sup> One country maintains a resident mission in another, but the latter does not reciprocate (Stringer 2011, p. 10).

international policy networks. Additionally, the fuzziness of the distinction between domestic and international affairs implies that the national interests are now pursued in the international arena through the coordination and involvement of other ministries as well (Hocking et.al. 2012, p. 5). Last but not least, the need for the creation of effective public diplomacy strategies and the full usage of the social media should not be underestimated (Hocking et.al. 2012, p. 6).

The aforementioned findings are supported by the research project “Embassy of the Future” aimed to explore the avenues of more effective US diplomatic performance (Argyros et.al. 2007, p. VI). Notably, in order to modernize and reform the US foreign service, the project outlines the following recommendations: 1) invest in people (hire more diplomats and enhance professional development programs); 2) integrate strategies for the promotion of technology and corporate techniques; 3) share knowledge and experience through the use of virtual opportunities; 4) utilize new communications tools (Internet-based media); 5) engage beyond the embassy walls; 6) enhance presence variants (broader and deeper engagement with governments and global public in accordance with the requirements of each concerned country); 7) strengthen the country team (interagency cooperation and coordination); 8) move from risk avoidance to risk management; 9) promote open but secure borders; 10) consolidate administrative functions (more efficient and cost effective) (Argyros et.al. 2007, p. VI-VIII).

Another group of authors focused on the necessity of the developing and small countries to adopt new ideological tools in the conduct of foreign policy as a response to domestic and international reforms. In particular, Vartan Oskanian, former Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs (1998-2008), along with the official speeches recorded in his memoirs, presents the ideas adherent to Armenia’s foreign service during his tenure. Particularly, V. Oskanian (2013, p. 254) highlights the significance of having multilateral foreign policy for small countries like Armenia, implying active engagement in international organizations with geographical diversity of cooperation and involvement in the issue areas not directly linked to the state priorities. Former Minister argues (2013, p. 255) that active participation of the small developing states in

the actual challenges facing the globe provides reciprocity and attention on the part of the developed countries to the questions advocated by your state. In essence, multilateral diplomacy means that the country pursues its interests abroad not unilaterally but in cooperation and alliances with other countries (Oskanian 2013).

Corgan M. (2008) argues that though small states are particularly vulnerable to global challenges and certainly cannot have the same impact that the great powers do, nevertheless they can do more than solely survive (Corgan 2008). He illustrates that small states have managed to join regional and global institutions and maneuver to foster their interests within frameworks established through the examples of 1951 Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries Case, when Iceland taking advantage of as its geo-strategic value to NATO and progressive involvement in international organizations managed to extend its fisheries' limits and 1993 reorganization within the NATO, when only Denmark accomplished to gain more security responsibilities for the Baltic sea area in spite of being the smallest military force in comparison to the United Kingdom (UK), Germany and Norway (Corgan 2008). Corgan (2008) concludes that successes of small states against the agendas of larger states depends upon consolidation of limited resources in the priority sectors, the ability to focus on critical goals, use proper knowledge and act early in the day.

At the same time, Steiner Z. (1982, p. 355) records the necessity for small states to expand economically by providing the examples of Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, where the economic approach to international relations prevailed political considerations. Additionally, the case study of the MFA of the Republic of Latvia conducted by K. Bukovskis (2010) demonstrates shift from the preoccupation of the foreign service with political subjects toward economic issues, notably, trade liberalization and market openings. The primary tasks remained under the supervision of the Latvian MFA's and diplomatic missions' abroad include the advancement of domestic businesses, attraction of foreign investment, consular assistance to citizens, and preservation of the country's image (Bukovskis 2010). According to J. Stopford and S.Strange an increased economic integration has radically changed the nature of traditional



diplomatic relations in favor of new relations between states, relations between firms and relations between firms and states (Moses and Knutsen 2001, p.14). Among innovative approaches utilized by the small states foreign service to adopt to the changing realities of diplomatic practice K. Stringer (2011, p.11) identifies: 1) virtual embassies and consulates for the bilateral relations; 2) small trade and tourism offices; 3) outsourcing of diplomatic and consular requirements to other states (larger state or former colonial power); 4) honorary consuls.

However, though the small states are more restricted in their ability to influence events on a global scale, as Steiner indicated, all the states, regardless of size, are constrained in their behavior by external forces, treaties or alliances, membership in organizations, which impact the choice of diplomatic options (Steiner 1982, p. 350). Furthermore, Steiner argues that the role and influence of foreign services is dependent upon the personalities of the political elites and the nature of decisions they take, independently from the form of state. She proceeds to claim that there is little new about summit diplomacy except the regularity with which today's diplomats meet (Steiner 1982, p. 350). Nevertheless, this approach to the practice of diplomacy presented by Steiner illustrates not only formally different perspective, but also implies that political and historical context are decisive factors, as the article was written in early 1980s, when yet bipolar international structure was dominant and just the first steps were made toward universal interdependence and all-around communication technologies.

On the contrary, another body of literature provides critical overview of the current deficiencies inherent within the functioning of the MFAs, particularly through the case studies of the foreign service in different parts of the globe. The objective of the article written by Moses and Knutsen (2001) is to foster discussion on the ineffectiveness and redundancies associated with institutional arrangements for conduct of foreign affairs. According to the authors, modern diplomatic institutions are remnants of a different time, when national sovereignty was relatively distinct, where international interactions were mostly addressed through official and diplomatic

networks, and where security (or so-called high politics) issues prevail the foreign policy agenda (Moses and Knutsen, 2001, p. 1). Moses and Knutsen (2001) propose a radical alternative for reforming the MFAs, specifically, a model of much more coordinating body directly accountable to the concerned executive branch.

Another study of the institutions responsible for the oversight of foreign affairs in the small underdeveloped states conducted by Boyce (1974) focused on inherent differences in the foreign policy formulation process of the developed and developing countries. In particular, usually the president or prime-minister (head of the executive) is the one who shapes the foreign policy agenda in the developing countries, while the ministers are prescribed clerical or consultative roles (Boyce 1974). Furthermore, Boyce (1974) identifies the attributes ingrained in the foreign policy system of weak small states, particularly, politicized bureaucracy, limited professional staff, weak collaboration between the ministry and foreign missions, as well as budgetary and recruitment challenges (Boyce 1974).

Another group of authors focused on the case studies of the foreign service institutions around different regions of the world also points out the deficiencies inherent within current state diplomatic systems. Thus, Moses and Knutsen (2001) suggest the structure of Norwegian MFA to be an institutional nightmare because of lacking straight organizational hierarchy, being the most overcrowded ministry in terms of employees and having an obsolete structure founded in the postwar era with a significant degree of overlap between other ministerial competencies and the separate issue-area competencies (Moses and Knutsen, 2001, p. 10). Sarkessian et.al. (2007, p. 93) cited an assessment of the US Department of State implemented by United States Commission on National Security/21<sup>st</sup>, which concludes the Department of State to be a *“crippled institution that is starved for resources by Congress because of its inadequacies and is thereby weakened further. The department suffers in particular from an ineffective organizational structure in which regional and functional goals compete, and in which sound management, accountability and leadership are lacking”*. Moreover, on another occasion the

State Department has been criticized by the same Commission because of “*bureaucratic inertia and burdensome procedures that allow little room for initiative and innovation*” (Sarkessian et.al. 2007, p. 95).

Based on the experience G. Jones acquired while in government service, the author wrote down the principles that every diplomat should know prior to presenting the country abroad. Among them, Jones mentions the principle of hierarchy of needs with some modifications, according to which, besides of acknowledged three basic levels of interest each sovereign country pursue in international arena (survival, vital and general interest), the unspoken interest of government to remain in power trumps all the other long-term national interests<sup>8</sup> (Jones 2007). The author also denotes that the longer the government and political administration has been in power, the greater the level of corruption and incompetence among the people in charge (Jones 2007).

Another subject crucial to the functioning of any institution and particularly the diplomatic service is its personnel. Authors present different perspectives and argumentation on the role and characteristics of Foreign Service personnel, but broadly concentrate on the issues of the recruitment (appropriate methods and required skills) (Kopp and Gillespie 2008) (McCormick 1998) and buildup (need for periodic trainings) (Hocking et.al) (Rana 2005). Kopp and Gillespie (2008, p. 7) define that anyone certified by the sending and receiving country is a diplomat “with rights and obligations under international law”. Hocking et.al. (2012, p.7) prescribe two stages necessary for the advancement of the personnel, the first being the identification of personnel with the proper profile and then trainings concentrated on building both capabilities and knowledge. The authors argue that on the first stage necessary skills include traditional (knowledge in linguistics and history) as well as new (networking and social media) skills (Hocking et.al. 2012, p.7). Finally, the foreign service personnel needs to advance its knowledge in strategic planning and geopolitical analysis (Hocking et.al. 2012, p.7).

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<sup>8</sup> A national interest is “that which is deemed by a particular state (actor) to be a desirable goal” (Stolberg 2012, p.9)

Experienced Armenian ambassador Arman Navasardyan<sup>9</sup> (2013) argued in one of his recent articles, that professionalism is an absolute value for a diplomat, and one needs to go through all the stages prescribed by the diplomatic career and continue the trainings after that period as well, in order to become a true diplomat with knowledge of the foreign affairs, foreign languages and diplomatic ethics, though remarkable exceptions also exist.

On the contrary, some authors argue that although the diplomats should be skilled in persuasion, analysis, and languages, nevertheless it does not necessarily imply experience in the diplomatic service, as non-career diplomats can bring other important contributions, such as innovations and connections with the country's political elite (Kopp and Gillespie 2008, p.51). Some studies also quantify the optimal amount or ratio of the career diplomats to political appointments. Kopp and Gillespie (2008) articulate that during J. Kennedy's tenure the ratio of career diplomats to non-career diplomats comprised two to one, which subsequently became the prevailing norm. Another research conducted by J. M. McCormick (1998, p. 391) and built on the data from American Foreign Service Association illustrates that appointments of non-career ambassadors since the Kennedy's administration until the Clinton ranged from 33% to 24 %.

The literature review also identified the different research methods and instruments applied by the studies of diplomatic institutions. The review demonstrates that the designs of the majority of studies are qualitative, based on the interviews with the ministerial officials directly involved in the day-to-day activities of the Ministry (Dickie 1992) (Rana 2005). Rana's study (2005) also provides some recommendations for the quantitative measurement of the foreign ministries effectiveness through gauging the retrospective dynamics in the correlation between the allocation of funds and the performance outcomes. Quantitative techniques proposed by G. R. Winham (1969) include elite-surveys which allow for more in-depth insights because of elites' specialization in the field in spite of a smaller sample size. Winham (1969) also stands for

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<sup>9</sup> In 1993 served as an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the RA to Austria and Hungary and at the same time the RA permanent representative to the OSCE and UN organizations in Vienna. From August 1998 was an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Lebanon.

the application of a quantitative content analysis instrument to the official statements made by the high-ranking diplomats as they depict the perceptions of the policy-makers (Winham 1969).

In contrast, the study of foreign ministries in different regions of the world conducted by Christopher Clapham (1978) opposes the universal application of foreign policy analysis instruments designed by western industrial countries to the developing countries. He argues that the models of foreign decision making are not only unsuitable for the political realities of those countries, but also misleading in the sense of not reflecting constraints imposed by the domestic context and the dependence on external influence of more powerful states (Clapham 1978).

The literature review revealed that in spite of the transformations currently undergoing in international relations due to various dynamics and whilst diplomatic services currently strive to overcome the many intrinsic deficiencies of policy planning and management, nevertheless the foreign ministries persist to play the central role in the protection of states' interests overseas, and promotion of international peace and security (Hocking et.al. 2012, p. 5).

#### **2.4. Receipt of Successful Foreign Policy**

*Effective diplomacy is not more expensive when compared with its deprived cousin, what one may call routine or 'business as usual' diplomacy; it is just better organized.*

*K. S. Rana (2011, p. 4)*

K. S. Rana (2011) claims the international policy goal of any country to be twofold. Firstly, it requires working out the best foreign policy options that are available to the nation, and, secondly, establishment of the delivery mechanism and insurance of optimal operation. Rana (2011) argues that though the first objective varies from country to country and depends on different characteristics, such as history, resources and capabilities; the second is relatively the same for all diplomatic corps. Therefore, the successful experience of the countries should be investigated and shared so that MFAs learn from the good exemplars (Rana 2011).

While the scholarship is primarily preoccupied with the process of foreign policy making David Baldwin (2000) is among the first to address with scientific rigor the necessity of

delineating the boundary of success and failure in foreign policy making as it is a purposive behavior therefore requiring the measurement of effectiveness of its outcomes. In particular, Baldwin aims to develop a comprehensive framework for evaluation of foreign policy success through raising the following questions: “How effective is a policy instrument likely to be, with respect to which goals and targets, at what cost, and in comparison with what other policy instruments?” (Baldwin 2000, p. 167). Thus, Baldwin maintains that due scarcity of resources in coping with all the challenges faced by the country, alternative courses of action should be compared with the use of policy relevant knowledge to pursuit the given end efficiently (Baldwin 2000).

Another article which referred to the measurements of success and failure of decisions made in the foreign policy domain was written by S. Walt (2014). Walt highlights the need to address the following question: “What criteria can help us determine when the government officials are performing poorly or skillfully in their dealing with the rest of the world?” (Walt 2014). He proposes the following set of determinants of a foreign policy outcome: 1) perceptions and actions of the other actors; 2) fortune; 3) degree of difficulty faced by the country; 4) timing (short-term versus long-term dichotomy).

Furthermore, Walt (2014) proceeds to emphasize the importance of the policy process itself as much as of its outcomes. Specifically, the author considers the policy-making process to be an optimal one if the following conditions are met: 1) policies are build upon solid evidence and careful reasoning; 2) alternative courses of action are thoroughly explored, and the merits of different options are openly debated; 3) people in charge have a "Plan B" to turn to when their initial efforts went astray; 4) policy choices are based on clear-eyed analysis of the best available information; 5) people in charge do not initiate self-inflicting steps; 6) decisions made are carried out as intended by bureaucracy; 7) ability to adapt over time the previously occurred failures (Walt 2014). Walt also concludes with practical suggestions of how to judge foreign policy. He assess a foreign policy to be successful when it helps to secure the nation against external threats,

contributes directly or indirectly to national prosperity, and last but not least, is consistent with the county's accepted values and moral assumptions (Walt 2014).

For the policy making process to have its greatest success, A. George posits that it should be able to: 1) ensure sufficient information is available and analyzed adequately; 2) facilitate the identification of the policy making actors' major values and interests, and ensure that the objectives are guided by those values and interests; 3) assure that a wide range of options along with their inherent risks are considered prior to determining the ultimate course of the action; 4) provide careful consideration of each course of action option; 5) be willing to accept that the policy is not succeeding and learn from that experience (Stolberg 2012, p. 3).

Another important component of the efficiently functioning foreign policy system outlined in the scholarship is planning. Robert Rothstein (1974) accentuated the significance of planning and prediction in the functioning of the foreign policy institutions. The author proposes a high-level planning organization staffed with academicians with an objective of systematic research and planning to be applied by the policy-makers (Rothstein 1974). Furthermore, Greenstein and Immerman (2000) argue that among all American presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961) had the strongest commitment to the effective organization of policy making process. The famous quotation from Eisenhower reads: "*Plan is nothing, Planning is everything*". The president believed that there is a special need to have well-equipped staff organization in order to cope with the sphere of national security and international affairs in general which are "full of situations with actual or possible" conflict (Greenstein and Immerman 2000, p. 338). Notably, Eisenhower established Planning Board within the National Security Council to be responsible for setting the agenda and preparing the documents for the debates on major national security issues (Greenstein and Immerman 2000, p. 339-340)

Z. Brzezinski also accentuates the success or failure of planning to depend upon the interrelated mechanism of organizing and staffing of the planning and its implementation/actual exercise of power. He argues that the policy could be at risk if the connection between planning

and implementation is not established and maintained (Brzezinski 1969, p. 56). Brzezinski also posits that priorities need constant evaluation as being attached to a set of permanent issues can leave a negative impact on institutional management and inability to explore new paths of no less important emerging policy problems (Brzezinski 1969, p. 56). H. Kopp and Ch. Gillespie (2008, p. 4) categorized three functions of the foreign services, namely representation, operations and policy, each of which are equally important as without active participation in the policy formulation the Foreign Service will “wait for instructions which may not come at all” (Kopp and Gillespie 2008, p. 4).

Rana K.S. (2011) in the recent monograph also raised the question of determinants of performing better in external relations. The proposed receipt is clarity and prioritization of objectives and mobilization of all available resources to attain them. Rana (2004) also outlined the applied corporate techniques used in the measurement of the foreign ministries’ (FM) performance. Specifically performance management techniques applicable to FMs include: 1) operational work of FM; 2) human resource management (HRM); 3) and measurement of output and outcomes. The aforementioned instruments can be applied to all the three levels of diplomatic service, namely embassies abroad (inspection systems<sup>10</sup> and systems of annual plan or activity program for diplomatic missions), the human resources of diplomatic service (assessment reports on officials in the form of annual reports) and the MFA’s public diplomacy (publication of documents which specify the objectives, targets and annual set of outcomes<sup>11</sup>) (Rana 2004, p. 3-12). Another criterion of government’s performance is considered to be satisfaction of citizens (Rana 2004, p. 2).

Some similarities between the aforementioned frameworks can be observed, while comparing them for the purpose of application to the analysis of foreign policy making of the

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<sup>10</sup> Full time or specifically assigned “foreign service inspectors”, who visit representations abroad in rotation (Rana 2004, p. 3).

<sup>11</sup> The more the respective country is adherent to the principles of public diplomacy as to inform and mobilize support from its domestic constituency, the more transparent is the content of its annual reports (Rana 2004, p. 3).



RA. All authors highlight the value of scientific knowledge and policy planning in designing the best possible policy through careful cost and benefit analysis based on the available evidence and after weighting all the alternatives. The authors also accentuate the importance of both the process and outcomes in foreign policy formulation process, specifically Baldwin (2000) points out to both material costs and political stakes incurred by both the target and the stakeholder of the influence, while Walt gives different naming to the same notions, such as attitudes of the other actors involved as well as the degree of significance they attach to the issue. Furthermore, Walt (2014) complements the policy implementation process by important aspects, specifically managerial issues and timing. In other words, all the stages of the foreign policy making cycle should be carefully considered and constantly reevaluated based on adaptation to the lessons learnt from previous faults. The following questions should be answered: What is the policy intended to accomplish? What is the context in which the policy is operationalized? What are the major outcomes of the policy? (Process vs. results) 5) How are the outcomes measured?

### **Chapter 3. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RA: Institutional Efficiency and Management**

*This ministry has a reputation now for being the cleanest, the most professional, the best regulated, and not corrupt. The diplomats, and all staff, are accepted solely on professional merit and not for any other reason. (...) I'm proud of that and believe that that tradition, once begun, cannot be easily undone. On the contrary, it becomes contagious”*

(Oskanian 2008, p. 50)

#### **3.1. Historical Background and Legal Framework**

The chapter proceeds with the brief on the formation of the MFA of the RA, as the past experience is decisive in shaping the current modes of the MFA's functioning and capabilities, then outlines the current institutional practices of the RA MFA. As the topic of the research is underdeveloped in Armenia, we mostly rely for the review of history of the MFA of the RA on the data taken from the website of the MFA. According to the official records, during the short period between 1918-1920ss, when Armenia restored its independent statehood, the country acquired recognition and established diplomatic relations with other states<sup>12</sup>. The institutionalization of the external relations took place alongside with the installation of the Soviet rule in the Republic, and in late 1920ss the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (PCFA) of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (Armenian SSR) was established. The foundation of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (TSFSR) in July 1922 (till 1936) eliminated the need for a separate body charged with the conduct of the foreign policy, as the general course of the member-states was implemented by the TSFSR Council. Later on the same year, after the formation of the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), TSFSR authorities in external relations were also delegated to functions of the USSR. (MFA, Historical Review of the MFA 2014)

However, the Supreme Council of the USSR adopted a law in 1944 to designate more powers to republics, which resulted in the reestablishment of the PCFA of the Armenian SSR

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<sup>12</sup>Armenia established diplomatic relations with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Iran and other countries. Consuls were appointed to the USA, Bulgaria, Finland, Switzerland, Japan and other countries, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Iran opened diplomatic representations in Yerevan. (MFA 2014)

(MFA since 1946). Thereafter, the MFA of the Armenian SSR operated as a part of the Government of the Armenian SSR and the Soviet diplomatic service. (MFA, Historical Review of the MFA 2014)

The activities of the MFA of the Republic completely transformed with the proclamation of its independence in 1991. There was severe shortage of skilled foreign policy personnel and diplomats at the initial stages of the independence of Armenia. In that context, Diaspora Armenians took part in the formation of the MFA and delineation of the FP course. Gerard Libaridian, a senior presidential adviser of Ter-Petrosyan and key negotiator for the Nagorno- Karabakh (NK) conflict, was born in Beirut and is a US citizen, foreign ministers (FM) Rafii Hovanissian (1991-1992) and Vartan Oskanian (1998-2008) were also Diasporans. (Kasim 2005) In his memoirs (2013) V. Oskanian also highlighted the role of the Soviet diplomats who arrived to Yerevan from Moscow, particularly, Deputy Ministers Arman Navasardyan, Gevorg Khazinyan, Ambassador Melik-Shahnazaryan etc.

Activities of the MFA and the RA diplomatic service are regulated by the RA Constitution, legislation<sup>13</sup>, presidential decrees<sup>14</sup>, governmental decisions, international agreements as well as foreign policy guidelines of the president. Since September 1991 Armenia established diplomatic relations with around 170 countries (as of April 2013)<sup>15</sup> and became a member of a number of international organizations (UN, OSCE, CIS, CSTO, CoE, BSEC etc). The RA is represented in 119 countries through network of its embassies, consulates and honorary consuls<sup>16</sup>, as well as has permanent missions in 18 international organizations<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, the foreign diplomatic missions are represented in Armenia through 31 embassies, 24

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<sup>13</sup>Laws of the Republic of Armenia “On Diplomatic Ranks” (5.5.1992), “On Diplomatic Service” (24.10.2001, with further amendments), “On Consular Service” (29.5.1996)

<sup>14</sup>According to of the Constitution of the RA (1995), the president of the Republic shall (...) appoint to and recall from office diplomatic representatives of the RA in foreign countries and international organizations (Article 55.8); promote to highest diplomatic and other ranks (Article 55.16)

<sup>15</sup> The statistic represents an aggregation of the data from the MFA official website (last modified in 2010) and the MFA annual reports till 2013

<sup>16</sup>Including 81 embassies, 9 consulates, 29 honorary consulates and 18 international organizations with both resident and non-resident representation

<sup>17</sup>Four of them are UN based organizations (UN Offices at Geneva , Food and Agriculture Organization, UN Offices at Vienna, UN Industrial Development Organization)

representations of international organizations with a diplomatic status, 30 honorary consuls and 69 non-resident ambassadors (Diplomatic Directory Diplomatic Missions of the RA 2013)

The MFA of the RA is a state executive body, which elaborates and implements the RA policy in the area of foreign affairs under the general leadership of the president of the RA, as well as organizes and manages diplomatic service within the framework of its authority (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA, 2001, Article 7, amended 11.06.04). The MFA of the RA is also a leading coordinative body of the executive branch in the sphere of the relations with the foreign states and international organizations, with the responsibility to reconcile activities of other executive agencies in the international arena and exercise the general control over the implementation of the RA's international obligations (The Decree of the President of the RA on the coordination of the common foreign policy of the RA executive bodies, 1 clause, 2000) (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA, Article 7, paragraph 2, 3, Amended 11.06.04). Lastly, diplomatic service is an integral part of the civil service (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA, 2001, Article 3).

### **3.2. Structure of the Ministry**

The system of the MFA incorporates the staff of the MFA of the RA, special subdivisions of the MFA and the structural units of the MFA in foreign countries, i.e.: 1) embassies of the RA; 2) permanent representations of the RA in international organizations; 3) consulates and honorary consuls of the RA (The RA Government decision № 1245-N, 2002, Article 6). As the system of MFA is comprised from both diplomatic service agencies operating in the territory of the Republic of Armenia and those missions represented in foreign countries and international organizations (Law on Diplomatic Service, 2001, Article 5, paragraph 2), both dimensions of Armenia's diplomatic service would be addressed in a holistic way.

The structural subdivisions of the RA MFA are organized along two broad lines: functional and geographic (The RA Government decision № 1245-N<sup>18</sup>, 2002, Article 31). Geographic desks are responsible for the coordination and development of the relations with the countries of a particular region, while functional areas cut across geographic boundaries and specialize on activities, such as legal, financial, policy planning or internal audit. The Table 1 illustrates the organizational structure of the MFA.

In 2002, an Executive Secretariat for Relations with Diaspora was created as a separate body inside the MFA designated to coordination of the cooperation with the Armenian Diaspora at the state level, which in June of the 2008 was transformed to the State Committee for Relations with Diaspora and in October of the same year served as the basis for the creation of the Ministry of Diaspora (MFA, Historical Review of the MFA 2014). Meanwhile, it should be noted, that though a separate executive body of the Ministry of Diaspora was established with the objective to formulate the policy concerned with Diaspora issues and coordinate the activities of other state bodies (Ministry of Diaspora of the RA 2014), nevertheless the MFA preserved a Diaspora Division within its structure as well, which induces the question of the possible or actual overlap in the responsibilities and activities of the two institutions.

Another process of reorganization within the structure of the MFA was sustained by the State Protocol of Armenia. First established in 1991 as a department of the MFA, it was transformed in 1998 into the RA State Protocol Service within the MFA, and subsequently with the 2002 decree of the RA president, acquired the status of a separate subdivision of the MFA, namely “State Protocol Service” Agency (MFA, Historical Review of the MFA 2014) (The RA Government decision № 1245-N, 2002, Addendum N 2, Article 2)<sup>19</sup>. The State Protocol in the RA administers the procedures for the implementation of state events with the participation of the president and legislative branch and is regulated by the “Basic Provisions of the State

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<sup>18</sup>On "The Creation of the RA MFA Staff as a State Government Body and an approval of the MFA Charter and the Structure of the Staff"

<sup>19</sup>Addendum amended on 24.12.03 N 1771-N, 12.07.07 N 791-N, 22.05.08 N 567-N, and 26.04.12 N 508-N

Protocol of the Republic of Armenia”<sup>20</sup>(MFA, State Protocol of the RA 2014). Besides, the Diplomatic school of the RA became operational since 2010 (Law on Diplomatic service, amendment in 22.12.10, Article 51.1.)

MFA of the RA is headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Minister/FM), who is appointed and dismissed from the position by the president of the RA (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA, Article 1, 2001)<sup>21</sup>. The Minister leads the ongoing activities of the MFA and is responsible for the implementation of its goals<sup>22</sup> (The RA Government decision № 1245-N 2002). The Ministerial positions were held by Raffi Hovhannisian (1991-1992), Arman Kirakossian<sup>23</sup> (1992-1993), Vahan Papazian (1993-1996), Alexander Arzoumanian (1996-1998), Vartan Oskanian (1998-2008) and Edward Nalbandian (2008-incumbent). The MFA Staff is managed by the Secretary General (highest diplomatic service position<sup>24</sup>), who coordinates the MFA's daily administrative activities and bears the responsibility for the failure to comply with or improper implementation of the laws, other legal acts, and governmental or ministerial decisions <sup>25</sup> (The RA Government decision № 1245-N, 2002, Article 45,).

Some of the explanations provided by interviewees, who had/has the highest diplomatic ranks (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary) and extensive experience in diplomacy, also contribute to deeper understanding of the questions posed by this study. The majority of the interviewees did not identify deficiencies with the Ministry’s structure. However, one of the interviewees pinpointed that even though the NK conflict settlement process is the backbone of

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<sup>20</sup>Sustained by presidential decree No.1067 of March 16, 2002

<sup>21</sup>Unofficial translation by author from original in Armenian. The same procedure will apply to any quote from any non-English (Armenian, Russian) texts.

<sup>22</sup> The full list of the Minister’s functions is specified in The RA Government decision N 1245-N, Article 13, 2002

<sup>23</sup> Acting Minister

<sup>24</sup> The Article 17 of the Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA provides the classification of the diplomatic positions according to two categories of discretionary diplomatic positions and diplomatic service positions following with the list of those positions (See Table 2, Appendix). Also, Article 18 of the Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA (2001) specifies diplomatic ranks of the RA according to highest diplomatic ranks and diplomatic ranks (2001, Amended on 19.11.02 № 445-N, 11.06.04 № 106-N, and 22.12.10 № 28-N) (See Table 3, Appendix)

<sup>25</sup> The full list of the Secretary General’s functions can be found in The RA Government decision N 1245-N, Article 46, 2002

Armenia's foreign policy, nevertheless there is no special unit assigned to the issue, as the MFA primarily deals with protocol issues<sup>26</sup> and serves as a transmitting unit for the work with Armenian communities abroad.<sup>27</sup>

### **3.3. Foreign Policy Priorities and Functions of the MFA**

*Diplomacy is exactly for the very implementation of the objectives, which need for greater efforts, more active work.*

(Nalbandian 2014)

The goals and tasks of the MFA prescribed by the governmental decision № 1245-N have a proactive component or a policy making pretension rather than purely coordinative prerogatives, such as: a) development of the RA foreign policy concept, proposition of the corresponding policies to the president and the government of the RA and implementation of the RA foreign policy course; b) submission of the recommendations to the president and the government of the RA based on study of the international political and economic situation, foreign and domestic policies of the countries and functioning of the international organizations; c) the strengthening of the RA role in solving global and regional challenges. However, coordinative and administrative functions assigned to the MFA do outweigh in scope and include: 1) representation of the interests and rights of the Republic in international arena; 2) protection of the rights and legitimate interests of citizens and legal entities of the RA; 3) conduct of diplomatic and consular relations with the foreign countries and international organizations; 4) coordination of the relations with Diaspora jointly with the authorized state body; 5) maintenance of the RA state protocol service; 6) provision of the necessary information to the state agencies for the oversight of the foreign and domestic policy. (The RA Government decision № 1245-N, Addendum N 1, Article 7, 2004)

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<sup>26</sup> Interviewee №1

<sup>27</sup> Interviewee №2

The major reference sources for the analysis of Armenian foreign policy are outlined in the Table 4. Although the importance of these documents should not be overemphasized as they are the result of bureaucratic work often time deliberately left vague (Mankoff 2011, p. 16), nevertheless the texts does provide insight into the MFA activities. In particular, the Government decision of January 9 2014<sup>28</sup>, laid down the key foreign policy objectives of the RA executive in 2014 (See Table 5).

**Table 4. The sources outlining the RA foreign policy course as of 2014**

<b>Source</b>
The 2 <sup>nd</sup> chapter of S.Sargsyan's 2008 electoral program (external relations and security)
The 3 <sup>rd</sup> chapter of S.Sargsyan's 2008 electoral program (competitive, innovative economy)
Chapter towards a secure Armenia: foreign policy of S.Sargsyan's 2013 electoral program
RA President Order on Instituting the Planning, Evaluation and Monitoring System of the RA Diplomatic Missions and Consulates,2010, NK-107-N
Programs and Instructions of the President and the Government of the RA
President's speeches and press releases
Appendix № 2 to the RA government decision of January 9 2014, № 10 - N, the Priorities of the RA Government in 2014
Annual Reports of the MFA
The National Security Strategy of the RA

**Table 5. Foreign Policy Priorities of S. Sargsyan administration**

**Source.** Appendix № 2 to the RA government decision of January 9 2014, № 10 - N, the Priorities of the RA Government in 2014

1. Peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict
2. Strengthening of the external military security component
3. International recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide
4. Deepening and widening of the allied and strategic cooperation with Russia
5. Strengthening of the friendly partnership with the USA
6. Development and strengthening of the bilateral relations with the European countries. Continuous development of the relations with the EU, formulation of a new legal framework
7. Continuous expansion of the cooperation within CSTO
8. Accession to the Customs Union (CU) and participation in the formation of the Eurasian Economic Union
9. Deepening of the mutually beneficial relationship with the CIS member states, active participation in the activities within the framework of CIS
10. Further development of the relationship with neighboring Georgia and Iran
11. Implementation of NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan
12. Development of relations with China, India, Japan, other Asian and African countries
13. Development of cooperation with traditional partner countries in the Middle East

<sup>28</sup> № 10 - N, the Priorities of the RA Government in 2014



14. Development of the cooperation with Canada and South American countries
15. Settlement of Armenian-Turkish relations without preconditions
16. Active involvement and protection of interests in international organizations
17. Development and diversification of the communication routes
18. Promotion of cultural cooperation, preservation of Armenian cultural heritage
19. Strengthening of the RA prestige and positive reputation, making the foreign policy position of the RA more recognizable
20. Protection of the rights and interests of the RA citizens and legal entities

According to the RA Constitution (1995), the foreign policy is the president's prerogative. Article 55.7 of the RA Constitution (1995) designates the president to represent Armenia in international relations, carry out general guidance of foreign policy, conclude or suspend international agreements or forward them to the National Assembly for ratification. Moreover, the presidential order (2010, NK-107-N, addendum 1.2) provides for the greater supervision of the presidential administration in the foreign policy formulation. Particularly, it stipulates, that:

- 1) the representatives of the RA presidential administration are invited to the discussions of the diplomatic mission's work plans held by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and the respective departments of the MFA;
- 2) the representatives of the presidential administration participate at the discussions on the preliminary conclusions of the annual reports;
- 3) the NSC Secretary briefs the monitoring results to the president of the RA, and, if necessary, to the representatives of the MFA and the Office of the President.

(The RA President Order on Instituting the Planning, Evaluation and Monitoring System of the RA Diplomatic Missions and Consulates, 2010, NK-107-N, addendum 1.6; 2.4; 3.16)

In this regard, Vahan Papazian, the former FM of the RA (1993-1996), in the lecture series given to the “the Fourth Republic” party, asserted that the foreign policy is first and foremostly implemented by the MFA. However, occasionally, depending on the political system, the presidential administration may play more decisive role, which is, according to V. Papazian, a negative trend, as it downplays the competence and subsequently the image of the MFA as a foreign service establishment. Particularly, the leadership of the post-Soviet and small states prefer to personify the foreign policy of the country thus underpinning the Ministry’s capacities.

Papazian proceeds to maintain that during his term, the MFA was the principal institution in shaping the foreign policy of the RA, while after 1998 it was gradually taken up by the Office of the president. (Papazian 2012) On the contrary, the interviewee №1 argues that the presidential administration was stronger institution in the early and mid-1990s when J. Libaridian was then the President L. Ter-Petrosian's national security and foreign policy adviser as well as the top Karabakh negotiator, while after it the role of the president's office declined. Meanwhile, Vartan Oskanian, the FM of the RA from 1998 till 2008, ascertains in his recent monograph (2013), that after clarification of the argumentative aspects of the foreign policy positions with the president R. Kocharian at an initial stage of his appointment, he then worked quite independently and unrestrained. Besides, V. Oskanian accentuates the easy access he sustained to the president in the form of weekly meetings and direct contact on the most urgent daily issues. (Oskanian 2013)

Meantime, a clear differentiation between the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy should be made once again: the diplomacy is implemented by the MFA, while the foreign policy is in the hands of the presidential administration<sup>29</sup>. Notably, all the interviewees posit that the presidential administration plays more critical role in the conduct of foreign policy than the MFA. The interviewees also highlight the contribution of the well educated and experienced diplomats, with which the president's office is equipped<sup>30</sup>. Nevertheless, having more power in shaping the foreign policy course of the country also results in attributing the misconduct<sup>31</sup> identified in the foreign policy domain to the president's administration.

Among the speeches made by the president S. Sargsyan of particular significance for the research are those given at the annual gathering of the entire embodiment of the MFA<sup>32</sup>, held three times since he came to power, in 2008, 2009 and 2011, as they illustrate the president's

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<sup>29</sup> Interviewee №1

<sup>30</sup> Interviewee №1, 3

<sup>31</sup> Particularly, the interviews enumerate the following endeavors of the RA foreign policy as the failures: the Turkish-Armenian relations, stalemate of the NK conflict settlement process, Safarov's case, supply of the advanced modern weapons with the worth of up to one billion USD to Azerbaijan, September 3<sup>rd</sup> presidential decision to join the CU while preparing to sign the Association Agreement (AA) for three years, termination of the European integration, Armenia's voting against UN General Assembly resolution on Ukraine, non-participation at Geneva II talks (Interviewee №1, 3, 4)

<sup>32</sup> Including the senior executive staff and the heads of the Armenian diplomatic missions abroad

vision of the tasks the progressive diplomats should perform. Particularly, S. Sargsyan buttressed the diplomatic corps of Armenia: *“It is great honor to be called Armenian diplomat. One must be deserving of that honor every day and every minute and that honor must be carried with the greatest responsibility. (...) always remember that you are soldiers too, standing at the front line. The Armenian nation awaits for your success...”* (Sargsyan 2009) Furthermore, the president emphasized the importance he attaches to the professionalism and quality of diplomatic work. To that end, Sargsyan called the diplomatic missions to take more accountable actions in both political and economic dimensions, which would provide for assessment through concrete indicators within the reasonable time frames. Besides of accentuating the need for constant evaluation, in the 2009 speech the president also argued in favor of policy planning and analysis and proceeded to call the diplomats *“the highest level of planning in the area of foreign relations”* (Sargsyan 2009), while urging to rely on evidence-based and informed policy - *“you should be equipped with maps, statistical data and argumentations”*<sup>33</sup>. Mainly, the president voiced the deficiencies in the management and performance the RA foreign service with the objective to instigate more efficient, initiative and hard work: double the efforts, work diligently, do our best, use all the opportunities provided, utilize the opportunity expediently, open up that opportunity, endless opportunities. (Sargsyan 2008; 2009; 2011)

In regard to foreign policy course, the discourse focused on both continuity of the policy of complementarity and the need invigorate the efforts in external domain, expressed by the president through the following wording: proactive/active (5<sup>34</sup>), intensive (3), vigorous (2), initiative (2), principled (2), dynamic, resolute, multifaceted, wide ranging, insisting, aggressive, considerate, consistent, persistent, invigorative, audible, stirring, enterprising, purposeful and efficient<sup>35</sup> (Sargsyan 2008; 2009; 2011). Yet in a position of a prime-minister, Serzh Sargsyan met with the RA foreign service and accentuated the paramountcy of activating the work of the

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Frequency of occurrence

<sup>35</sup> Also, the foreign minister E. Nalbandian proceeded to characterize the new foreign policy course through the following epithets: active, balanced, multi-directional and multi-vector<sup>35</sup>.

diplomatic establishment, specifically in protecting the interests of Armenia's citizens, presenting factual programs and new initiatives by the embassies (ARKA 2007). In the 2008 pre-electoral program<sup>36</sup>, Serzh Sargsyan presumed: *“our country's foreign policy should become more active and innovative by ensuring Armenia's active participation in international and particularly regional processes...”*

Moreover, Sargsyan clearly prioritized the need for the diplomats to target economic sector and attract new investments, particularly: *“One of the important conditions of Armenia's economic development is the introduction of world big companies to the country's economy, that bring their wide experience to various sectors, open new vacancies and can contribute to the growth of interest towards Armenia in their countries”* (Sargsyan 2008). The same has been pinpointed in the address to the diplomatic establishment in 2008 and written down in the 2013 pre-electoral program of Serzh Sargsyan: *“We will remain focused on (...) the creation of a favorable environment for foreign trade, the search for and engagement in new export markets for domestic products, the attraction of foreign investments, and the implementation of new technologies and skills. We will maximize the involvement of our embassies and other diplomatic missions in the solution of these problems.”* (Sargsyan 2013) Moreover, The RA President Order (2010, NK-107-N, addendum 1.1.1) details the responsibilities of the RA diplomatic missions in the field of trade and economic relations<sup>37</sup>.

However, Armenia's external economic activity since 2008 depicts rather controversial results (See Table 6). Thus, foreign direct investments<sup>38</sup> (FDI) inflow to Armenia demonstrates that the diplomatic body has not succeeded in economic domain. Specifically, even though the

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<sup>36</sup> Part on International Relations and Security

<sup>37</sup> Including: the establishment and assistance to the business relations between the economic entities of the host country and the RA; to that end, the creation and implementation of the necessary legal framework; gathering and provision of the necessary data on the host country's economic and trade regulatory framework as well as foreign trade and the market demand to the RA state bodies; encouraging the investment in Armenia's economy etc.

<sup>38</sup> FDI is a category of investment that reflects the objective of establishing a lasting interest (the direct or indirect ownership of 10% or more of the voting power of an enterprise resident in one economy by an investor resident in another economy) by a resident enterprise in one economy (direct investor) in an enterprise (direct investment enterprise) that is resident in an economy other than that of the direct investor (OECD Library, 2014)

decline of FDIs in 2009 and 2010 can be attributed to the 2008 global financial crisis, however, in 2012 the inflow of FDI went on to decrease by 15% in comparison to that of 2011. In contrast, both the amount of export and import gradually grew after the 2009 recession, and constituted approximately 3 % increase in 2012.

**Table 6. External Economic Activity of the RA (in thousands USD)**

**Source:** Armenian Statistical Service of Republic of Armenia, Yearbook, 2013

Year	FDI		Export		Import	
2008	1 118 445.1		1057161.4		4426129.3	
2009	828 739.1	-26% <sup>39</sup>	710157.5	-33%	3321133.9	-25%
2010	535 737.8	-35%	1 041 056.6	47%	3 748 953.5	13%
2011	703 231.0	31%	1 334 338.8	28%	4 145 332.0	11%
2012	598 449.6	-15%	1 380 199.2	3%	4 261 232.7	3%

Noteworthy, the president also emphasized the importance of public engagement and the public diplomacy as a new approach to the foreign policy of Armenia. In particular, S. Sargsyan illustrated the application of the principle of publicity in regard to two central elements of the RA foreign policy: the NK conflict negotiation process and the normalization of the Armenian-Turkish relations. The president argued that the publication of the basic Madrid principles demonstrates that the public has not been misinformed on any single issue. Moreover, the Armenian-Turkish protocols<sup>40</sup> signified the first precedent when the public debates both in Armenia and in Armenian communities abroad preceded the signing of an international document. Whether those discussions had a formal nature or any substantial implication for the policy course is out of the scope of this research objective. In general, the president contend for the improvement of the MFA's effectiveness based on thoughtful actions, sound calculations of risks and optimization of the potential that lies within the foreign service (Rana 2011, p. 16).

The activities instituted by the MFA as well as the foreign policy course of the RA are recorded in the institution's Annual reports (reports), which are available online in Armenian on

<sup>39</sup> All the percentage numbers demonstrate the difference with the previous year's number

<sup>40</sup> Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the two countries and Protocol on the Development of Bilateral Relations

the official website of the ministry<sup>41</sup>. The Annual reports of the MFA as well as the minister E. Nalbandian's annual statements on the Ministry's activities back the argument of the active diplomacy via an event data. Event data are nominal or ordinal codes recording the interactions between international actors or, in other words, summary measures of foreign policy exchanges (Neack et al. 1995, p. 21). Thus, as it is depicted in the Table 7, the amount of foreign visits made by the president gradually decrease (from 22 in 2009 to 15 in 2013), while the FM Nalbandian demonstrates steadily extending involvement (from 29 foreign visits paid in 2009 to 48 in 2013). Similarly, less foreign counterparts of the Armenian president arrive to Armenia on an annual basis (from 8 to 3), whereas foreign ministers of overseas countries visit the RA more often (from 16 to 22). Though amount of international agreements signed by the RA shrank in 2013, nevertheless there is no clear pattern within the successive years.

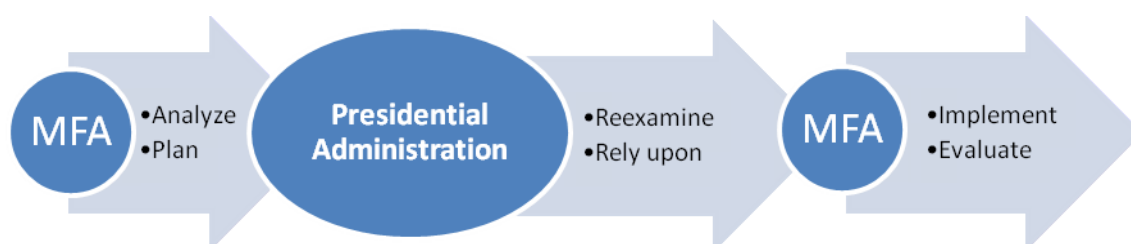
Furthermore, on the occasion of the Day of the RA diplomats, the foreign minister Nalbandian differentiated two approaches to the measurement of the MFA's performance, particularly quantitative and qualitative. He proceeded to call the aforementioned statistics quantitative, while among the qualitative indicators noted that *"(...) today Armenia's stance on the important issues to its foreign policy agenda is more audible at different international arenas, and the country is perceived to be a reliable partner, which pursues balanced foreign policy on both bilateral and multilateral forums"* (Nalbandian 2014). However, the minister never described what makes the achievement of the enumerated qualitative indicators real, or, in other words, how do Armenian foreign policy elite gauge the country's reliability? To sum up, the report substantiates all the arguments based on quantitative indicators of visits and agreements signed. Though the quantity matters, nevertheless it does not necessary guarantee the quality. In particular, the argument about Armenia persisting to be a reliable partner and increasing its international prestige cannot sustain the criticism in light of the recent events<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> <http://mfa.am/hy/annualreport/>

<sup>42</sup> In particular, the fact that the country have been negotiating the AA with the Union for more than three years and the DCFTA for about two years, while the alternative of signing a different document or

In regard to functional capacity of the ministry, all the interviewees suggested that the MFA though has a policy planning department, but does not have a policy planning and agenda-setting capacity. The interviewees went on that the institution has weak analytical component, and reacts/repulses to external challenges, instead of proposing and participating in the formulation of the alternative scenarios.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, though the staff does not have the capacity to conduct research and implement policy at the same time, nevertheless the MFA does not cooperate with other educational and research institutions in the explication of the foreign policy issues that arise which is a widespread practice in other countries.<sup>44</sup> Interviewer №3 proposed that the mechanism of foreign policy formulation should have the following form: start from the analysis and planning performed by the Ministry and diplomatic missions, then move-up to the presidential level where the proposals would be reconsidered and relied upon it while making the decisions and sending the decrees for the MFA's implementation.<sup>45</sup>



### 3.4. Financial Management

Some of the issues raised by interviewees, each of whom had an extensive experience in diplomacy and high diplomatic ranks, also contribute to deeper understanding of the questions posed by this study. Particularly, the interviewees identified two problems related to the financial management of the MFA. Firstly, insufficient level of the money is allocated to the MFA as an institution, which is particularly straightforward when compared with the Azerbaijani MFA's

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integration with another regional grouping had neither been placed on the political agenda or nor conveyed to international partners (Vasilyan 2014) before the September 3<sup>rd</sup> presidential announcement does not directly or indirectly imply reliability on which Western allies can count.

<sup>43</sup> Interviewee №2

<sup>44</sup> Interviewee №1

<sup>45</sup> Interviewee №3

budget<sup>46</sup>. The underfinancing restrains the competitiveness of the Armenian MFA's in outreach activities. The correlation between finances and diplomacy was also apparent during the official receptions and organization of national holidays, when the diplomats exchange gifts and benevolence<sup>47</sup>.

The second challenge associated with the financial resources is the inefficient allotment of money available to the MFA. With the objective to assess the efficiency of the RA MFA's annual budgetary activities, the analysis proceeds to scrutiny the RA Laws on State Budget adopted since the 2009<sup>48</sup> budgetary year. Thus, the money allocated to external relations demonstrate annual incremental growth with variation from 8% in 2010 budgetary law in comparison to the preceding 2009 year, and up to 19 % increase in the 2013 years' expenditure, reaching to 11.5 billion AMD<sup>49</sup>. Although the distribution of the state budget allocations by functional classification is not available for the 2014 year, nevertheless the amount of appropriations is indicated in the 2014 RA Law on State Budget and constitutes 5% increase. The only exception occurred in 2011, when the budgetary allocations for external relations decreased in comparison to the previous year by 0.4 %<sup>50</sup> (See Table 9). (RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013)

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<sup>46</sup> The Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the State Budget for 2014 specifies the expenditures directed to international activities and costs for membership fees to amount to 205,413,677 AZN which is equal to 108,445,221,342 AMD, i.e. approximately 9 times larger than Armenia withhold for the external relations (Table 9) (The Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 2014). Moreover, in addition to the Heydar Aliyev Foundation which provides various humanitarian and social programs, Azerbaijan established under its MFA an Azerbaijan International Development Agency (AIDA) in September 2011 with the purpose to assist various development and humanitarian programs in Africa, Asia and Latin America (AIDA 2014). Moreover, the interviewee argued that Azerbaijan's abundant resources are also directed to international publications and media, with the objective to advance the pro-Azerbaijani propaganda/stance.

<sup>47</sup> Interviewee №1

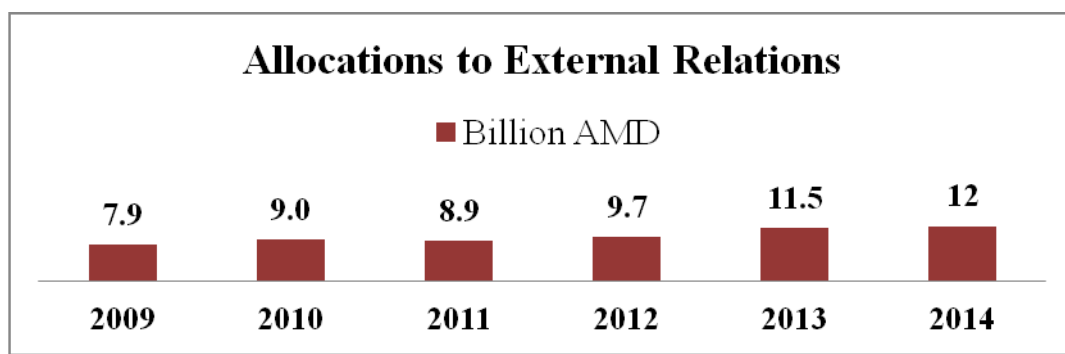
<sup>48</sup> The annual budgetary laws are approved during the previous fiscal year in Armenia, which implies the 2008 Laws on State Budget was accepted by the parliament yet during Kocharian's administration.

<sup>49</sup> Armenian Dram

<sup>50</sup> However, according to the annual report on RA state budget execution (2011), due to the extra-budgetary sources the expenses on the external relations in 2011 also increased by 7.7% and were used to fund the maintenance of the embassies and representations abroad, the acquisition of the building for the Consulate General of Los Angeles, as well the growing expenses for foreign trips. (The annual report on RA state budget execution 2011, p.93)<sup>50</sup>



**Table 9. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2014**



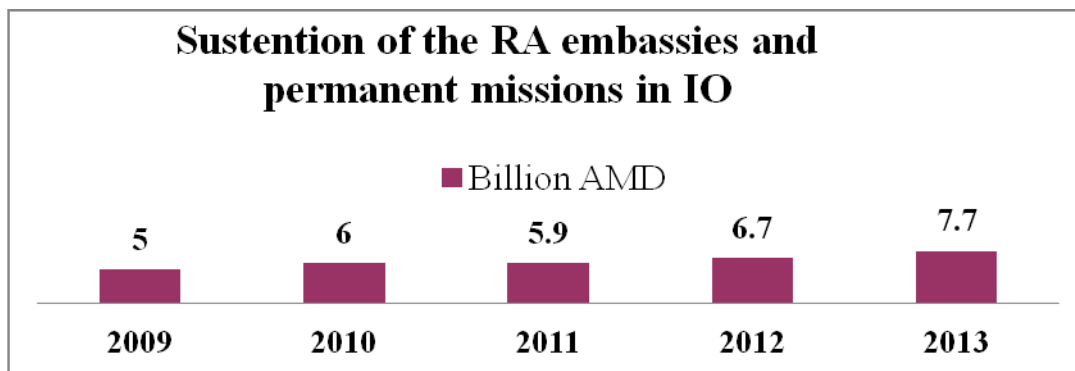
Furthermore, the relationship was identified between the expenditures available to the institution and the amount of staff it is capable to sustain. In particular, some of the structural subdivisions and diplomatic missions of RA MFA lack the commensurate number of diplomats, while at the same time the personnel persist to have difficulties with solving everyday issues abroad<sup>51</sup>. Another important financial factor for the performance of the MFA personnel is the incentive in the form of salaries. In particular, the interviewees argued that the low salaries within the Ministry prompt the expectance of the diplomats for the rotation period, so that to go for abroad, where they would get higher salaries than at the Ministry<sup>52</sup>. In contrast, the interviewee №2 presumed that even though the financial incentives are very important, but people (diplomats) pursue other objectives as well, which not only have not monetary nature, like self-realization, prestige etc.

Nevertheless, the expenses directed to the preservation of the RA diplomatic missions abroad increased by 15% in 2013 (Table 10), which can be explicated by the amount of newly opened embassies and consulates during the year. Thus, as it is illustrated in the Table 12, only in 2013 eight representations of the RA have been established overseas, which is equal to the overall number of diplomatic missions opened since the beginning of S. Sargsyan's presidency.

<sup>51</sup> In Azerbaijani embassies staff comprises at least 7 employees, while Armenian missions consist of 3-4 persons (except Moscow and Washington) (Interviewee №1)

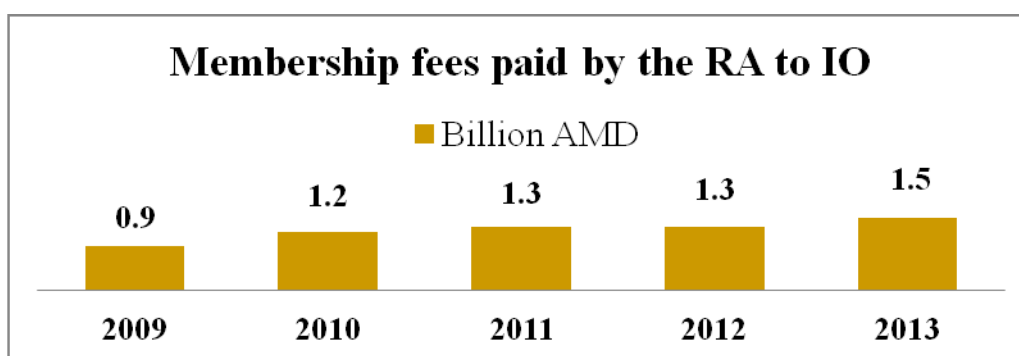
<sup>52</sup> Interviewee №1

**Table 10. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013<sup>53</sup>.**



Furthermore, the amount allocated to membership fees in IO has equally augmented by 15% as compared to 2012 (Table 11), which can be explained by the fact, that Armenia joint new international or regional organizations in 2013, among them Customs Union and Organization of the Francophonie.

**Table 11. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013<sup>54</sup>**

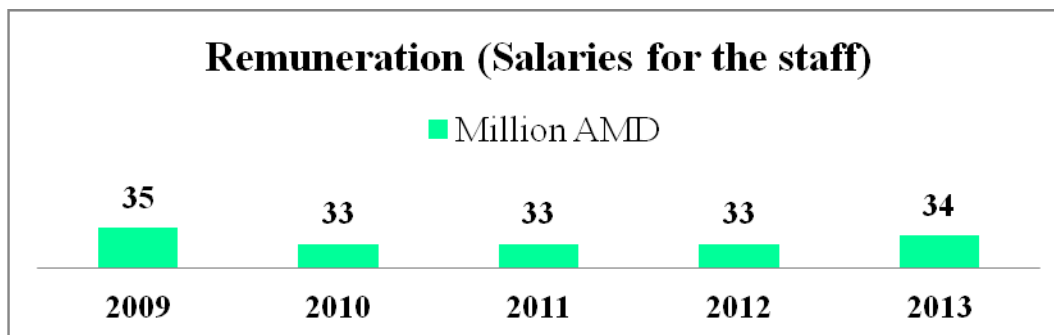


The two above mentioned points directly contribute to the expansion of the diplomatic personnel required for filling the new positions after Armenia established more representations in foreign countries and international organizations (IO) (Table 11). Thus, growth of the MFA's staff implies the need to allocate more money for remuneration of salaries (3%) (see Table 13). The same logic applies to the growth of spending on the official trips made by the diplomatic service (27.5%) (Table 14) and overall sustention of the Ministry (30%) (Table 15).

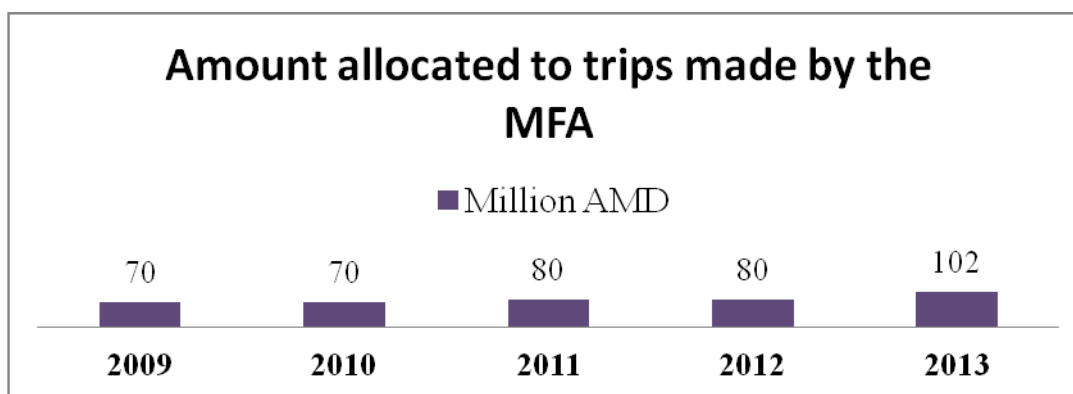
<sup>53</sup>Appendix 1, Table 1: distribution of state budget allocations by functional classification of the budget expenditures, groups, classes, financial projects and by implementing agencies

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

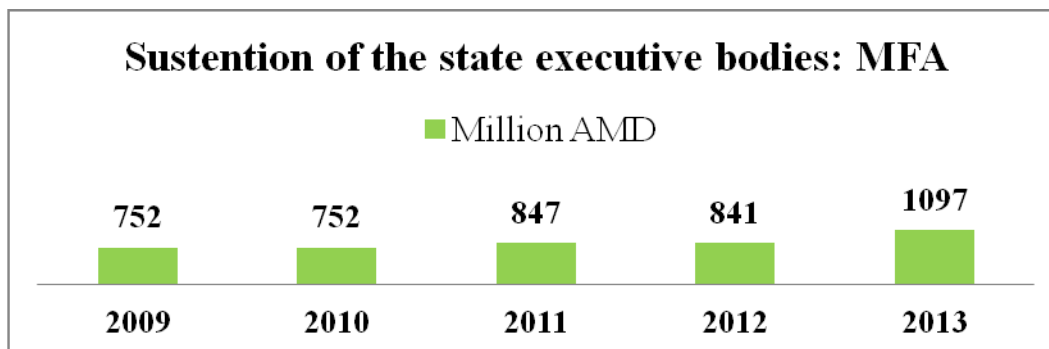
**Table 13. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013<sup>55</sup>**



**Table 14. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013<sup>56</sup>**



**Table 15. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013**



Meanwhile, the MFA demonstrates significant inconsistency in making the decisions to open diplomatic missions abroad. The MFA annual reports stipulate, that during the 2008, 2009, 2011 no embassy or representation have been established abroad and only one in 2012, while in 2010 and 2013 – seven and eight missions respectively became operationalized. It exhibits that insufficient planning resources are directed to smoothen the impact of the unbalanced opening of

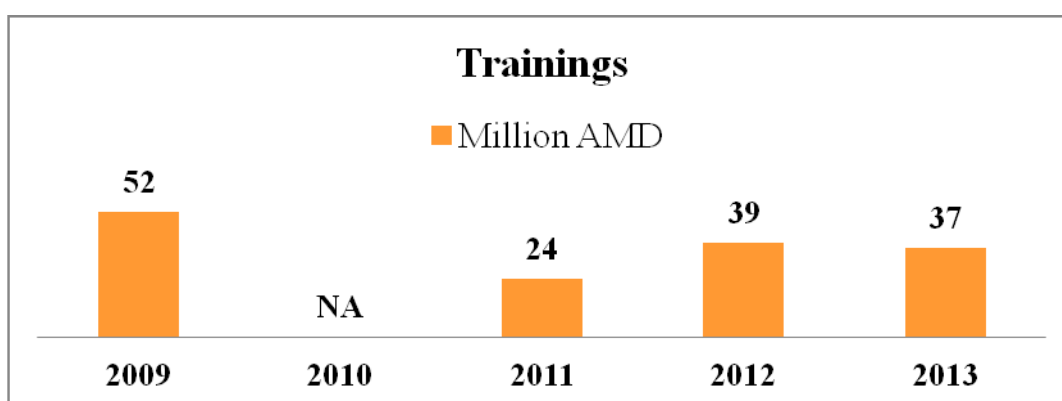
<sup>55</sup>Appendix 1, Table 01-01-01: distribution of state budget allocations by functional classification of the budget expenditures, groups, classes, financial projects and by implementing agencies

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

the diplomatic missions on the budget of the institution. E. Nalbandian clarified during the interview to the program "Realpolitik" of the Public TV, that *“not everything can be measured by finances. Our neighboring countries have had embassies in Spain for a long time. Spain is not only an important European country with a big role in the international relations. There are also almost one billion people around the world speaking in Spanish. Do we need an embassy in Spain? I think that the answer is evident.”* (Bekarian 2010) Meanwhile, though it should reasonably also imply allotment of more finances for purchasing the buildings for the new embassies and permanent missions, it was not the case as the number remained unchanged (Table 16).

What is more, the allocations aimed to increase the qualifications of the RA diplomatic personnel through trainings decreased since 2009 to 2013 by 5% (Table 17), even though the amount allocated in 2009 did not include the expenditures (45 mln. AMD) the legislative designated for the establishment of the Diplomatic School. The aforementioned suggest, that even in the context of expanding the country’s representation, the corresponding education of the personnel is far from being the priority of the RA MFA’s. (For other functional distribution of the Ministries’ budgetary appropriations see Table 19)

**Table 17. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013<sup>57</sup>**



<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

Another issue related to the budgetary spending of the institution asserted by the interviewee<sup>58</sup> refers to rental of the apartments for the majority of diplomatic missions instead of taking a housing mortgage for already more than 20 years, which will cost the same amount of money, but instead the country will have a real estate in the long run. Besides of the interviewee, the same argument was pinpointed in the article by T. Kzhzmalyan (2010) discussed above. However, we do not possess enough data to validate the strong arguments made for the inefficient financial management by the interviewee. Meanwhile, lack of institutional transparency expressed by another interviewee<sup>59</sup> is on the surface. The problem with transparency was demonstrated by the MFA Finance Department's failure to provide information<sup>60</sup> requested within the designated time frame<sup>61</sup>, though it is considered to be public data.

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<sup>58</sup> Interviewee №1

<sup>59</sup> Interviewee №3

<sup>60</sup> Information on the salaries of the MFA staff

<sup>61</sup> According to the 9th article of RA law on "Freedom of Information", an answer to a written information inquiry should be given within 5 days after its receipt if it does not require additional work

## **4. Diplomatic Missions of the Republic of Armenia**

### **4.1. The Assessment of Diplomatic Missions**

Diplomatic Mission of the RA is an embassy or permanent representation of the RA in a foreign country/international organization (IO)<sup>62</sup> accredited in accordance with the procedure established by this Law and international treaties of the RA. The diplomatic mission is a separate structural unit of the MFA of the RA, which activities are subordinate and accountable to it<sup>63</sup>. Upon the agreement reached with the host state, the positions of the heads of diplomatic missions can be assigned to the following diplomatic ranks: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Charge d'Affaires and the Permanent Representative. (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA 2001, amended on 11.06.04 № 106-N, 22.12.10 № 28-N, article 9.1, 9.1.1, 12)

In correspondence with the international treaties of Armenia, the diplomatic missions of the RA can simultaneously be accredited to two or more foreign states and IOs. Moreover, the diplomatic missions of the RA can represent the interests of a foreign state in any other foreign country or IOs. Similarly, upon the RA's appeal, the diplomatic missions of a foreign state can represent the interests of the RA in another foreign country or another IO with the prior agreement of the host state/IO. (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA 2001, amended on 11.06.04 № 106-N, 22.12.10 № 28-N, article 10.4, 10.5)

The Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA (2001, article 11) also identifies the objectives of the diplomatic representations. The content analysis of the corresponding article demonstrates that the law prescribes the diplomatic missions a compliant fulfillment of the service or policy implementation tasks, rather than active engagement in the policy planning and contribution to policy formulation. In particular, the text relies on such wording as representation (2), insurance,

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<sup>62</sup> The permanent representations of the RA can be created both in those international organizations of which Armenia is a member, as well as in those international organizations where Armenia does not have a membership (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA 2001, article 9.1)

<sup>63</sup> Embassy and permanent representation of the of the RA in foreign states/international organizations are created and revoked by the presidential decree on the basis of prior agreement between the RA and the corresponding foreign state or constituent documents adopted by the international organization (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA 2001, article 10).

promotion, strengthening, assistance (4), protection (2), explanation (2), introduction (2), collection (2), processing (2) and implementation.

Consulates are also subordinate structural units of the MFA of the RA, which function under the general political leadership of the diplomatic mission of the RA in the host country. From prior accord with the host country, the head of a consulate can conduct the diplomatic duties in those states where the RA does not have diplomatic representations. (The RA Law on Consular Service, 1996, article 12, 6) (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA 2001, amended on 11.06.04 № 106-N, 22.12.10 № 28-N, article 15.1, 15.2)

The RA established diplomatic relations with five states (Vanuatu, Myanmar, Swaziland, Uganda, and Mauritius) during the 2013 year (MFA of the RA 2013) and continued to open embassies and consulates in geographical diversity of countries, independently of existence of Armenian communities in place (See Table 12). Thus, the comparison of the locations of the newly opened embassies since 2008 with the approximate statistics available on the Armenian worldwide Diaspora demonstrate that all of them have been established in the countries where the number of Armenian population constitutes less than 40 000<sup>64</sup>. Though this is not the case with the consulates opened in Odessa, Marseille and Lyon - the Ukrainian and two French cities respectively, which are densely populated by Armenians, nevertheless it goes right with the logic of the main function of consulates, i.e. protection of rights and interests of the citizens of the RA abroad.

In response to the question at a press-conference raised by the Gala TV representative about the minister's visits to Panama, Peru and Cuba instead of considering the participation at Geneva talks on the Syrian conflict, the president postulated that the countries of Latin America are very important which is illustrated by the statements adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh in these three states<sup>65</sup>. Moreover, Armenia intends to activate the relations with other countries of

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<sup>64</sup>Data from ArmeniaDiaspora.com (accessed March 15, 2014)

<sup>65</sup> Indeed, the Peruvian government referred to the events that took place in Khojaly in 1992 during the Nagorno-Karabakh war as a "genocide", <http://russellpollard.wordpress.com/category/khojaly-2/>

of Latin America and enlarge the geography of relations with those states where the country has not been yet. According to the RA foreign minister: “(...) *There are no important and unimportant countries in the world. (...) We must try to develop our relations with all the states, and that is the aim of our diplomacy. One cannot limit its vision only to the regional issues in the 21st century; we conduct multi-vector, initiative and active policy.*” (Nalbandian 2014) (Jebejyan 2012)

**Table 12. Diplomatic Missions of the RA opened since 2008.**

**Source: Presidential Decrees and the Annual Reports of the MFA**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Opening Date</b>	<b>Diplomatic mission</b>	<b>Residency</b>
1. France	2013	Consulate	Marseille
2. France	2013	Consulate	Lyon
3. United Mexican States	2013	Embassy	Mexico City
4. Sweden	2013	Embassy	Stockholm
5. Indonesia	2013	Embassy	Jakarta
6. Holy See (Vatican City State)	2013	Embassy	Rome
7. Vietnam	2013	Embassy	Hanoi
8. International Organization of the Francophonie	2013	Permanent Mission	NA
9. Ukraine	2012	Consulate	Odessa
10. Netherlands	2010	Embassy	The Hague
11. Japan	2010	Embassy	Tokyo
12. Iraq	2010	Embassy	Baghdad
13. Brazil	2010	Embassy	Brazil City
14. Spain	2010	Embassy	Madrid
15. Czech Republic	2010	Embassy	Prague
16. Kuwait	2010	Embassy	Al Kuwait

The presidential order (2010, NK-107-N) established the planning, evaluation and monitoring system of the RA diplomatic missions abroad. Accordingly, with the operations **planning purpose**, every year each overseas representation of Armenia should submit a proposal to the MFA of the RA till November 15 with the suggested activities in the foreign policy domain within the jurisdiction of the corresponding mission for the coming year. **The evaluation**

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the National Assembly of Panama has adopted resolution on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict supporting the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, <http://imagineneutralzone.com/news-digest-of-azerbaijani-media-for-august-15-30/>



of the diplomatic missions is conducted based upon the annual reports<sup>66</sup> of the work performed which is submitted till the February 15 of the year following, as well as upon the study of the reporting results from the monitoring of the representations (The RA President Order on Instituting the Planning, Evaluation and Monitoring System of the RA Diplomatic Missions and Consulates, 2010, NK-107-N, point 3; addendum 2. 2).

The president Sargsyan also assigned the National Security Council (NSC) Secretary to arrange an inter-agency working group for the purpose of **monitoring** each RA diplomatic mission and a consulate, which would include the representatives of: 1) Office of the President of Armenia; 2) the National Security Council staff; 3) the MFA; 4) other agencies, as appropriate. The starting points of the monitoring are the main targets of the missions' activities and approved work plans. The monitoring of the missions' activities is categorized as planned and unplanned. The planned monitoring is carried out in two representations abroad annually, which are set by the NSC annual program, while the unplanned monitoring is conducted according to the presidential decision. (The RA President Order on Instituting the Planning, Evaluation and Monitoring System of the RA Diplomatic Missions and Consulates, 2010, NK-107-N, point 4) (Ibid, addendum 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5)

Meanwhile, according to the Diplomatic Directory (2013), Armenia has 119 diplomatic missions<sup>67</sup>, which means that if only planned inspections are conducted twice per year and the president does not assign a range of unplanned ones, then it would take almost 60 years to observe each of the RA representations only once. This mechanism does not provide adequate attainment of the evaluation's purpose, instead creates a framework for the veiling its necessity. In other words, as the literature review suggested the policy planning is best addressed through careful reevaluation of the available evidence, constant investigation of the alternatives and adaptation to the lessons learnt, rather than one-off review and monotonous reporting.

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<sup>66</sup> The head of the Internal Audit Department of the MFA informed that the annual reports are only for the personnel use and cannot be provided to the third parties, after consulting with "the lawyers and other chargeable staff members".

<sup>67</sup> Network of resident and non-resident embassies, consulates and honorary consuls

## **4.2. Personnel Recruitment and Diplomatic Careers**

*Diplomacy was not only my education and job but also passion and dedication.*

*(Oskanian 2013)*

Human resource management (HRM) is essentially about getting, retaining and developing the personnel with skills that are required by organization to enable them to achieve their objectives (Horton 2009, p.121). The core characteristic of both the HRM emerged in the 1970s and the preceding paradigm of the traditional personnel management (TPM) is competency management, focused on identifying and developing the skills necessary for the organizational goals as well as performance-based rank promotions (Horton 2009, p.121). The literature review demonstrated that highly selective recruitment process and recurrent trainings are vital for the efficient diplomatic service of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. With that in mind, the section pinpoints the major requirements for the recruitment and intensity of the trainings within the RA diplomatic service as defined by the law and actual practices in place.

Thus, the Article 24 of the Law on diplomatic service of the RA (2001) defines the terms of appointment to the diplomatic service positions. Accordingly, only the RA citizens with the higher education corresponding to the requirements of the position have the right to be assigned to diplomatic service position and with knowledge of the Armenian and no less than two foreign languages. Meanwhile, the extended list of the specializations for the admittance to the diplomatic service consists of 31 professions, varying from political science to theology (RA Government Decision № 811-N, Addendum № 1, 2013).

Though no document prescribes the minimal education and experience needed for the appointment to discretionary positions, however, Article 18.1 of the Law on diplomatic service (2001) indicates that diplomatic ranks reflect qualification concordant to professional knowledge and work experience. Since the law proceeds to define Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary as well as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary as the highest diplomatic ranks, it by definition implies the highest requirement to their knowledge and skills as well. An examination of the profiles of the RA ambassadors, ascribed or reappointed (including

extensions to represent in other regional countries) to the positions by the president S. Sargsyan's decree<sup>68</sup> since April 2008 till April 2014, demonstrated, that all of the appointees do have a higher education, but straightly half of the Ambassadors appointed (24 out of 49), do not have any educational background in Diplomacy, International Relations (IR) or related subjects. Moreover, out of the president's 49 (re-) appointments **38 were career diplomats<sup>69</sup> and two more had experience in parliamentary diplomacy or representing another country in the RA** (Vahan Hovhannesian and Mikael Minasyan respectively), **while 9 (=20%) had no prior experience in diplomacy** (See Table 7)<sup>70</sup>, and come from such different fields as legislature (2), judiciary, presidential administration (2) and government, science and research, and more remarkably entrepreneurship and a prominent musician (See Table 20).

These appointments have been criticized by the interviewees of this research. Particularly, one of the interviewees, who was also assigned to the ambassadorial position as a political appointee, asserts that though non-career diplomats can be useful for the promotion of the country's foreign policy objectives at some stage, but, as a matter of course, it is very important for a diplomat to possess the skills/techniques of a diplomatic work. Specifically, he/she must be able to write diplomatic letters, make correct reports, know the diplomatic demeanor and ethics, culture and traditions of the host country etc<sup>71</sup>. Furthermore, the interviewee №4 postulates that "diplomacy is piecemeal<sup>72</sup> and has its own rules, tricks, that cannot be acquired in a short time period, but rather require gradual promotion through all diplomatic ranks. Moreover, the interviewee №1 proceeded to claim that up to 2008 there was no diplomat-businessman in Armenian foreign service.

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<sup>68</sup> Ambassadors and permanent representatives are appointed and dismissed by the President of the RA (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA 2001, amended on 11.06.04 № 106-N, 22.12.10 № 28-N, article 12)

<sup>69</sup> Including not only those who went through all the diplomatic ranks in the MFA, but also those who had been political appointees of Kocharian's tenure and acquired diplomatic experience prior to reappointment by S. Sargsyan (for example, Oleg Yesaian)

<sup>70</sup> For the profiles of all appointments see Table 8, appendix

<sup>71</sup> Interviewee №2

<sup>72</sup> In Russian "штучная работа"

The interviewee provided another explanation for the increased presence of businessmen in diplomatic service. Accordingly, having a high-ranking diplomatic position became a matter of prestige for Armenian oligarchy<sup>73</sup>. Meanwhile, the diplomat does not have the right to perform other paid work except scientific. Moreover, if the diplomat has a stake in the authorized capital of commercial organizations in the amount of 10% or more, he/she is obliged to pass it in trust management within a month after the appointment to foreign service in accordance with the procedure established by the legislation of the RA. However, the diplomat has the right to receive income from the property transferred in trust. (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA 2001, amended on 11.06.04 № 106-N, 22.12.10 № 28-N, article 44.1 (a), 44.3)

The correlation between capital and diplomacy is very well illustrated by the declared ownership and the dividends the ambassadors receive from the trust (loan). Thus, as the Table 21 exhibits, the richest diplomats are represented by business sphere (Andranik Manoukian, Murad Muradyan), presidential administration (Mikael Minasyan, Arsen Shoyan), parliament (Vladimir Badalian, Vahan Hovhannesian), and some had prior experience in diplomacy (Vahagn Melikian (career diplomat), Armen Khachatrian (ambassador since 2003, was a political appointee during Kocharian's administration), Hrant Poghosyan (distinguished academician, was an adviser on Japanese Affairs at MFA since 2004)). Another pattern reveals that straightforward political appointees tend to clearly declare their ownership and register at an own account, while the only career diplomat from the list (V. Melikian) avoids giving publicity to the ownership and declares it as his household member's (wife, children). The same did A. Shoyan and V. Badalian.

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<sup>73</sup> Interviewee №4

**Table 20. Non-career appointments by the president Sargsyan since 2008**

Source. MFA: Profiles of the Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

Name	Country/International Organization	Appointment Date	Prior Work Experience/ Profession
1. Ara Sahakyan	Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan	August 2013	Members of the RA National Assembly (MP at the NA) in 1995-1999, since 2007 Lecturer at the Academy of Television and Radio
2. Vladimir Badalyan	Tajikistan, Turkmenistan	August 2008 and December 2009 respectively	MP at the NA
3. Hovhannes Manoukian	Georgia	February 2011	The President of the RA Court of Cassation
4. Arsen Shoyan	Bulgaria	January 2011	Analytical Research Department Office of the President of the RA
5. Andranik Manoukian	Ukraine	April 2012	The Minister of Transport and Communication, then Advisor to the president, construction businessman
6. Sargis Ghazaryan	Italy	January 2013	Senior Research Fellow in European Friends of Armenia NGO
7. Hrachia Aghajanyan	Denmark and Norway	August 2011 and March 2012 respectively	Advisor to Deputy Prime Minister in 2007 and the president of "The National Ecological Industrial Alliance"
8. Murad Muradyan	Iraq	September 2010	Founder and chairman of "BAMO" construction company
9. Charles Aznavour	Ambassador to Switzerland and permanent representative to the UN Offices and other international organizations in Geneva	May 2009	Prominent singer

The president S. Sargsyan highlighted during his speech at the annual gathering of the senior executive staff and the heads of the Armenian embassies and consulates abroad in 2009, that he approaches the diplomatic service as a professional activity, therefore at that point of time he assigned “only two political nominees out of more than ten appointments” (Sargsyan 2009).

However, the appointment of two political nominees out of ten already implies that the 20% of the Armenian Ambassadors assigned to the highest diplomatic position by the president during his first year in office were never before employed in diplomatic service.

Moreover, the interviewees<sup>74</sup> contend that it is a matter of national security that only citizens of Armenia serve in the MFA of the RA. The argument was substantiated by the concerns of loyalty to the country and even more the awareness and understanding of internal military-political, social and economic problems of the country the diplomat represents: *“If a person does not have the understanding of home, he can never be a good diplomat for his country abroad and a vivid example is Charles Aznavour”*<sup>75</sup>. In response to the question raised by the one of the journalists at the presentation of the MFA’s activities in the 2013 year, the minister Nalbandian stated that *“all the expressions that Charles Aznavour made during our meetings, our conversations, he certainly has very correct, (...) Charles Aznavour is a great patriot, he greatly and totally stands by Armenia’s side and supports the policy of the RA”* (Nalbandian 2013).

Furthermore, another issue needed to be addressed is the appointment to diplomatic positions for either political purposes (reconciliation with the opposition) or those who resigned/retired from high-level political positions. Thus, after appointment as an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Germany, Vahan Hovhannesyanyan, a Deputy at the National Assembly (proportional electoral system) from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF-Dashnaktsutyun)<sup>76</sup> party, stated that the proposal was made to him personally, and not for a purpose of cooperating with the party or creating a coalition. V. Hovhannesyanyan, who prior to the appointment had an experience in parliamentary diplomacy<sup>77</sup> proceeded to argue that *“the*

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<sup>74</sup> Interviewee №2 and Interviewee №4

<sup>75</sup> Interviewee №4

<sup>76</sup> ARF left the government coalition it had in 2007 with the Republican Party and Prosperous Armenia Party, and became an opposition party once again in 2009 (Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun (Armenian Socialist Party), 2014)

<sup>77</sup> 2002-2003 Head of the first Armenian delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly; 2003-2008 Head of the Armenian delegation to the OSCE PA; 2010-2012 Head of the first Armenian delegation to

*diplomatic work of the one of the Dashnaktutyun leaders, which of course, assumes certain ethical obligations, does not in any way bind the party” (Yerkir. am 2013).*

In regard to V. Hovhannesian’s appointment, Raffi Hovhannsiyan, the first FM (1991-1992) of the independent RA and currently the leader of the opposition “Heritage” party, maintains that *“accepting the offer means accepting domestic and foreign policy conducted by the incumbent authorities, while the ARF party has criticized most of them (Armenia-Turkish protocols, Madrid Principles of the NK conflict settlement)”* (Barseghyan 2013). Another precedent was the recent resignation of the RA Prime-minister T. Sargsyan on April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2014, who was decided to continue his career in diplomatic service (Radio Liberty 2014). This has been the case also with the NK leadership Oleg Yesaian ( former Prime Minister of NK, speaker of the NK National Assembly, currently the RA ambassador to Russia) and Arkadi Ghukassian (first FM of the NK, the third President of the NK (1997-2007), currently Special Envoy of the RA). The mentioned cases prompt to wonder what are the underlying reasons and the recruitment strategies of the Armenian diplomatic service. Is being well-educated and having experience (not necessarily a successful one) in politics enough for the highest diplomatic positions?

The analysis of the profiles of those MFA high ranking diplomats, who have been dismissed from their prior positions since the beginning of S. Sargsyan presidency demonstrate that only one person<sup>78</sup> was removed from diplomatic service, while the others either have been reappointed as ambassadors of the RA to other countries or assigned to high-ranking positions within the MFA structure, such as deputy ministers (S. Manassarian, A. Hovakimian, A. Smbatyan), heads of the departments (S. Mkrtchian<sup>79</sup>, Y. Sargsyan<sup>80</sup>, V. Kazhoyan<sup>81</sup>) and the Director of the Diplomatic school (Vahe Gabrielyan).

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the Euronest PA; 2010-2013 Vice-President of the Euronest PA (MFA, Embassy of the RA to Germany, 2014)

<sup>78</sup> Armen Smbatyan was dismissed in January 2011 and currently serves as an executive director of the Intergovernmental Fund for Humanitarian cooperation of the CIS member countries

<sup>79</sup> Head of Arms Control and International Security Department

<sup>80</sup> Department of Culture and Humanitarian Cooperation

<sup>81</sup> International Organizations Department

**Table 21. Revenues and Ownership of the RA Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (in USD <sup>82</sup>)**

Source: the RA Ethics Committee of High-ranking Officials, Declaration of revenue and estate of diplomatic service high-ranking officials as of 2013

Name	Country	Since	Income	Ownership	Income of spouse/children	Ownership of spouse/children
1. Andranik Manukyan	Ukraine	2010	326,479 <sup>83</sup>	8,121,532 <sup>84</sup>	-	138,243
2. Mikael Minasyan	The Holy See	2013	503,389 <sup>85</sup>	2,494,329	2,817	10,196
3. Murad Muradian	Iraq	2010	520,555 <sup>86</sup>	1,273,429	-	-
4. Armen Khachatryan	Belarus	2010	35,148	736,302	-	-
5. Hrant Poghosyan	Japan	2012	84,841 <sup>87</sup>	435,260	5,988	34,109
6. Vahagn Melikian	Argentina	2012	40,724	121,208	80,860 <sup>88</sup>	447,419
7. Vahan Hovhannesy an <sup>89</sup>	Germany	2010	8,586	370,126	-	5,144
8. Vladimir Badalian	Turkmenistan	2008	24,000	127,242	-	261,984
9. Arsen Shoyan	Bulgaria	2011	32,529	39,644	85,133 <sup>90</sup>	125,405

Meantime, the president stated in his 2008 address to diplomatic corps, that the establishment of a Diplomatic School would improve the situation. The Diplomatic School of the RA MFA (Diplomatic School of Armenia) was founded by Government Decree<sup>91</sup> in September 2009 with the objective to: 1) to train junior diplomats (the citizens of Armenia with university education in certain qualifications who passed the entrance examination) by offering specialized

<sup>82</sup> For the matter of comparability the declarations in other currencies were converted to USD according to the rates of April 21, 2014

<sup>83</sup> Salary from diplomatic work constitutes 35,086 USD and the other 291,393 USD is the interest from a loan and other compensations

<sup>84</sup> Plus a car which costs 163,247 USD

<sup>85</sup> Salary constitutes only 4,443 USD, while the rest stems from dividends and interests on loan. Additionally, M. Minasyan declared movable property in the amount of 120,41 USD. Last but not least, Minasyan spent 507,849 USD from personal means for buying and repairing furniture of the Holy See embassy and the Ambassador's residency

<sup>86</sup> Dividends

<sup>87</sup> Out of which 20,465 USD comprises pension

<sup>88</sup> Income of Vahagn Melikian's daughter, Melikian Daniella, out of which 72,413 USD constitutes a donation

<sup>89</sup> 2012 data

<sup>90</sup> Two salaries in the amount of 3,479 and 40,325 USD plus 41,329 as dividends 60404.81

<sup>91</sup> №-1111N



knowledge in “International Relations and Diplomacy”; 2) to provide mid-career training to serving diplomats and to employees of government agencies that deal with external relations. With the assistance of international donors, the Diplomatic School was opened on February 15, 2010 and since then enrolls 25-27 students each year for the junior diplomats program after a competitive two-phase admittance exam and serves as the main gateway to the diplomatic service in Armenia. (Diplomatic School of Armenia, Our Mission; Structure and by-laws, 2014)

At the opening ceremony of the Diplomatic School E. Nalbandian highlighted that “(...) *the work of diplomat is heavy and tense duty, which can be compared with military service with the difference that diplomat’s arm is his knowledge. And for this very knowledge this diplomatic school has been established. First of all diplomacy should be in the blood, but it is also a profession, and as any profession it needs a good education*” (MFA, Press Releases, 2010). As usual, the FM corroborated the progress recorded by the educational institution through the quantification of outputs: “*more than 40 graduates of the Diplomatic School already work at the MFA, 15 of them have already been posted to our diplomatic missions abroad. During these four years 200-300 lecturers from 40 countries have taught at the School.*”

Meanwhile, the endeavor to develop the School into “the main educational institution for preparation of Armenian diplomats”<sup>92</sup> met sharp critique of the one of the interviewees, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, who said this approach discredits other universities which have a long tradition of preparing international relations specialists and diplomats. Additionally, the fact that Diplomatic School became the only path to the MFA provides excessive powers to the institution and downgrades the opportunities of the external candidates.

Another thought-provoking challenge of the recruitment process identified by the interviewee<sup>93</sup> stems from the conservative approach to family and the mentality of Armenians, who for the most part perceive the self-realization and career development of Armenian women

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<sup>92</sup> MFA, Press Releases, 2010

<sup>93</sup> Interviewee №3

as subordinate to that of the men. In other words, the interviewee argued that as a result of open, transparent and competitive entrance examination organized by V. Oskanian in 2007, ten women joined the Armenian diplomatic service, which subsequently created serious challenges for the development of the institution, which cannot be solved within law. In particular, because of private/family reasons, women-diplomats have/had obstacles with leaving the country for rotation or training purposes.<sup>94</sup>

Article 12 of the Law on Diplomatic service (2001, amended 22.12.2010) stipulates that the position of an Ambassador and a Permanent Representative of the RA could be assigned for up-to 4-year period, while after the expiration of the term, ambassadors could be directly appointed to another country or international organization for up to three years. Notwithstanding, the same amendment incorporated in 2010 provide loopholes for its misconduct, particularly stipulating that in case of necessity, those terms can be prolonged or shortened, without explicating what is considered to be "the case of necessity". Janna Sargsyan (2013), an analyst of an Armenian online media, illustrates how this provision of the law is regularly violated by the RA diplomatic service (See Table 22). Moreover, the author argues that even though there is not enough publicly available data on the diplomatic service positions<sup>95</sup>, nevertheless, the Article 31.2 of the corresponding law is also consistently infringed, as it defines the maximum term of the service abroad for the diplomatic service positions to constitute two years, which might be extended for a year, while many diplomats instead of the prescribed 3 years, hold the office for 4-6 years. J. Sargsyan (2013) substantiates her argument based on the examples of Ararat Gomtsyan who is the RA Consul General to Southern Federal District of Russia (Rostov-on-Don) since 2003. Moreover, recently, one of the richest Armenians in Russian Federation, Chairman of the Board of Directors of IJSC ‘RESO-Garantia,’ one of Russia’s top five insurance companies, Sergei Sarkisov has been appointed Armenia’s Consul to Los Angeles (Asbarez staff 2013).

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<sup>94</sup> Interviewee №3

<sup>95</sup>See what positions are considered to be of diplomatic service in the Table 2.

**Table 22. Violations of the Ambassadorial term abroad**

Source: J. Sargsyan (2013)

<b>Name</b>	<b>Country (currently)</b>	<b>Years abroad</b>
<b>1. Vigen Chitechian</b>	France	16
<b>2. Arshak Poladian</b>	Syria	12
<b>3. Armen Martirosyan</b>	Germany	11
<b>4. Armen Khachatryan</b>	Ambassador to Belarus and the Permanent Representative to CIS	10
<b>5. Garen Nazarian</b>	Permanent representative to the UN office at New-York	9 (dismissed on April 22, 2014)
<b>6. Ashot Kocharian</b>	Lebanon	9
<b>7. Tatoul Margarian</b>	USA	8
<b>8. Oleg Yesaian</b>	Russia	7
<b>9. Ashot Galoyan</b>	Brazil	7
<b>10. Vahagn Melikian</b>	Argentina	7
<b>11. Vladimir Badalyan</b>	Tajikistan, Turkmenistan	7

Another issue relevant to the Human Resources (HR) management of the MFA, particularly the question of the dozen diplomats who did not return from foreign countries was raised by Tigran Khzmalyan<sup>96</sup> (2010) at one of the meetings of the "Sardarapat movement" initiative group. T. Kzmalyan highlighted that during the 19 years of independence, 10 high ranking diplomats, including ambassadors and consuls, settled abroad. According to the author, this was the case with the former ambassadors to Russian Federation Gagik Shahbazyan and Suren Sahakyan, former ambassador to Germany Felix Mamikonyan, former ambassador to Canada Garnik Nanagulyan, former head of the MFA's Department Armen Kharazyan, as well as 11 diplomats (See Table 23) who have been dismissed from their positions and stripped of their diplomatic ranks after they signed a petition regarding the voting process in 2008 elections, roughly half of whom also left the country<sup>97</sup>. The author proceeds to raise a concern as to what extent a diplomat, whose family or personal business interests are established abroad, is independent from the corresponding countries' influence and to what extent the RA national

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<sup>96</sup> Armenian filmmaker, screenwriter and producer

<sup>97</sup> Interviewee №1

security interests are protected under these conditions. (Khzmalyan 2010) Other interviewees agreed that those who worked in the diplomatic service, and then permanently migrated commit a state treason. Meanwhile, not everyone who left the country is a betrayer as there are cases when the state itself forces to leave for abroad<sup>98</sup>. One of the interviewees of this study is among the persons listed by Khzmalyan. The interviewee<sup>99</sup> postulated that after quitting the diplomatic duties an ambassador does not have the right to work in another state's structures or take another nationality, but other than that he/she is free to do whatever finds pertinent, for example, doing business in another country is commonplace.

**Table 23. The list of the dismissed ambassadors after the 2008 post-election events**

**Source.** "Two Announcements of the Ambassadors." Levon Ter-Petrossian.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Former Diplomatic position</b>
<b>Razmik Khumaryan</b>	Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Ukraine and Moldova
<b>Levon Khachatryan</b>	Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan
<b>Armen Baybourdyan</b>	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
<b>Vladimir Karapetyan</b>	Head of the MFA Press and Information Department
<b>Elen Peteyan</b>	Third Secretary of the MFA International Organizations Department
<b>Karine Afrikyan</b>	Head of the MFA Department of America and Canada
<b>Varsenik Baghdasaryan</b>	Head of the UN Division of the MFA International Organizations Department
<b>Ruben Shugaryan</b>	Deputy Foreign Minister, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador to Italy, Spain and Portugal
<b>Marta Aivazyan</b>	Head of the MFA NATO Division
<b>Arakel Semirjian</b>	Advisor at the MFA European Department

Meantime, a diplomat may not participate in the party activities or use its diplomatic service position or financial means to propagate or conduct any political, public or religious activity (Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA, 2001, amended on 11.06.04 № 106-N, 22.12.10 № 28-N, article 44.1 (c)). The diplomats dismissed after 2008 election protests appealed to the Administrative Court of Armenia and thereafter to the European Court of Human Rights, but

<sup>98</sup> Interviewee №1

<sup>99</sup> Interviewee № 2

the contemporary minister V. Oskanian explained the dismissal and removal of diplomatic status by the violation of law during the diplomatic service: engagement in political activity at the country level (Brutyan 2012). Oskanian maintains: *“How can you imagine an ambassador who acts on behalf of the president, is appointed by the latter, joining a movement, a political force that considers and names this state a gangster state and considers its head to be the president?”* (Grigoryan 2008). The mandate of ambassadors is to be president’s personal representatives and carry out the instructions they have been given but seldom, if ever, to act upon their own initiative. The primary task of a diplomat is to respond responsively and quickly to what they have been asked to do, while any foreign servicemen who cannot in conscience carry out the leaders wishes must resign. (Olson 1991, p. 60-61) Whereas, the mentioned RA diplomats signed two declarations which, in particular, stated: *“(…) convinced that only the president elected through fair and free elections can best address the challenges facing our country in the international arena and significantly enhance the international image of Armenia, we express our support to freedom, protection of the right to fair elections and to our compatriots who fight for the establishment of true democracy in Armenia. (...) We call all our partners working both in Armenia and abroad to join our declaration”*. In other words, those diplomats who claim their prospective president to be elected through unfair and undemocratic ways and their support to the opposition definitely cannot implement the policies of the so-called “illegitimate president”. At the same time, the interviewee №2 deliberated that *“a diplomat does not have the right to engage in foreign policy, but he/she is not a “slave” and if a diplomat does not agree with the “vision” of the president – he/she must resign, which did not happened after Armenia made a U-turn from the European integration process”*<sup>100</sup>.

At the same time, one of the former Armenian diplomats explains, that the country does not create the mechanisms so that the diplomatic corps remain in Armenia after quitting the diplomatic service. The establishment of some mechanism, which would not restrict the rights of

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<sup>100</sup> Interviewee №1

diplomatic corps, but at the same time provide for the recompense of the state resources spent has a strategic importance, as the country wastes the vast amount of resources spent on the preparation of the career diplomats via so not burdensome removal and even more the diplomats are supposed to possess confidential information<sup>101</sup>.

Besides, the interviewee<sup>102</sup> identified the inefficient administration of the career promotion mechanisms by the Ministry, as it discourages the diplomats to have and express their personal critical approaches, assessments of the relations with the foreign countries which would contribute to the formulation of the RA foreign policy doctrine within the institution. The problem of passivity is also demonstrated by the fact that the Heads of the MFA Departments<sup>103</sup> either refused or did not respond to the request for allotting short time for the first study which aims to evaluate the working paradigm of the institution.<sup>104</sup>

To sum up, the interviewees supported that the educational level of the MFA employees was always high and those who did not have an appropriate education recurrently underwent trainings in leading international institutions<sup>105</sup>. However, though at a point in time the Armenian diplomacy moderately yielded at an ambassadorial level, now the gap is more apparent as a result of political appointments when instead of those 12<sup>106</sup> high-ranking diplomats who left the Ministry after 2008 post-election events and the new people were appointed who did not have any diplomatic experience.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Interviewee №1

<sup>102</sup> Interviewee № 2

<sup>103</sup> Policy Planning Department, Human Resources Department, Department of Culture and Humanitarian Cooperation, CIS Department, Department of the Americas, International Organizations Department

<sup>104</sup> Interviewee № 2

<sup>105</sup> Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (Tufts University), Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, The Diplomatic Academy of the MFA of the Russian Federation etc.

<sup>106</sup> 11 resigned and later on Ruben Shugaryan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the RA in the US (1993-1999), the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the RA (2001-2005), Ambassador to Italy (2005 - 2008), was released from the diplomatic service

<sup>107</sup> Interviewee №1

## Chapter 5. Conclusion

### 5.1. Summary of Findings

The findings of the research identified no clear-cut pattern of the inefficiency in the structure of the MFA. Only one of the interviewees pinpointed that there is no special unit designated to the key foreign policy priority of the RA, i.e., settlement of the NK conflict, nevertheless it is not enough evidence to validate the disorganization of the institution.

In regard to the functional capacity of the MFA, the analysis of secondary sources, interviews and the targeted statements reveal that the presidential administration of the RA has both *de jure and de facto* a unilateral decision-making power in shaping the country's foreign policy vector. According to Armenian legislature and actual practice, the MFA is an executor and coordinator of the foreign policy priorities outlined by the president, rather than active contributor to foreign policy planning and agenda-setting at early stages of the policy-making cycle. Nevertheless, the RA MFA plays focal role within the diplomatic jurisdiction ascribed, particularly in protocol issues and bridging the country with the Armenian communities abroad. Moreover, the opening of the new diplomatic missions in the world financial and technological centers, aims to invigorate the diplomatic potency of the country. Meantime, the capacity of Armenian foreign service to promote external economic activity is also limited (the inflow of FDI decrease within the 2008-2013 time period, while foreign trade though registers some growth (3% in 2012) but remains imbalanced).

The financial mismanagement is attributed not only to the lack of omnipotent resources<sup>108</sup>, which results in weaker comparative capacity of outreach and propaganda activities, but rather the inefficient tactics adopted in regard to the utilization of the resources available, namely unbalanced opening of the diplomatic missions (in 2010 and 2013 – seven and eight missions have been opened respectively, while previously only one in 2012), the low salaries of the staff serving within the Ministry's subdivisions in contrast to the personnel of the

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<sup>108</sup> Which is attributed to geoeconomic situation (small landlocked country with a limited natural resources), transitional period and closed borders with the neighboring countries

diplomatic missions abroad, which discourages the diplomats from active analytical contribution to the foreign policy formation, as well as accumulating inattention to the training of diplomats reflected in the decrease of allocations devoted to the field.

The strongest misconduct is revealed in the human resource management (recruitment and career promotion) of Armenian diplomatic corps, specifically in the appointments of the high-ranking diplomats. The analysis exhibits the growing trend to assign the political appointees from business and political circles to manage the diplomatic missions of the RA: 9 (=20%) out of the president's 49 (re-) appointments had no prior experience in diplomacy and the two other with an experience parliamentary diplomacy or representing another country in the RA came to diplomatic service from parliament and presidential administration respectively. Moreover, the violation of the rotational principles defined by the law were revealed, according to which Armenian ambassadors/permanent representatives stick to their positions abroad after the termination of the 7 years ascribed.

To sum up, besides the assumption on the structural inefficiency of the Ministry and with some reservations because of the quality of data accessible, the research **accepts** the following hypotheses:

***H1: The impact of the MFA on the foreign policy decision-making in Armenia is marginalized***

***H2: The Ministry has significant deficiencies in the recruitment and career promotion strategies of diplomats, particularly at an ambassadorial level***



## **5.2. Suggestions for Future Research**

The study focused only on institutional capacity of the MFA. As the main prerogative of the MFA is the foreign policy implementation, we suggest the future research to focus not only on the bureaucratic component but the achievements in the foreign policy domain as the main indicator of the capacities of the MFA. In other words, the institutional characteristics does matter, but the institution fully equipped with the professionals does not directly imply the achievement of foreign policy goals, and on the contrary, the political appointees may be even more successful in representing the interests of the country with foreign partners. Moreover, as the foreign policy of each country pursues very diverse objectives, we suggest concentrating on the most urgent priorities in external domain of the country, and conduct case study with the examination of both institution's capacity in the domain designated to deal with the selected foreign policy objective alongside the actual policies in place.

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## Appendix 1.

**Table 1. Structural Units of the RA MFA**

**Source:** The RA Government decision № 1245-N, Addendum N 2, Article 1, 2002<sup>109</sup>

1. Secretariat of the Staff
2. Department of the Americas
3. Human Resources Department
4. CIS Department
5. Asia-Pacific and Africa Department
6. Bilateral and Multilateral Economic Cooperation Department
7. Administrative Affairs Department
8. European Department
9. Legal Department
10. Consular Department
11. Department of Press, Information and Public Relations
12. Middle East Department
13. International Organizations Department
14. Department of Culture and Humanitarian Cooperation
15. Neighboring Countries Department
16. Arms Control and International Security Department
17. Diaspora Division
18. Policy Planning Department
19. Finance Department
20. Internal Audit Department

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<sup>109</sup>Amended by 06.11.08 N 1264-N, 18.02.10 N 144-N, and 26.04.12 N 508-N

**Table 2. Classification of the RA diplomatic positions****Source:** Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA (2001)

<b>Discretionary diplomatic positions</b>	<b>Diplomatic service positions</b>
a) Deputy Minister	a) Secretary General
b) Ambassador-at-Large	b) Head of the MFA Staff
c) Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary	c) Heads of the MFA structural departments
d) Permanent Representative in international organizations	d) Deputy Heads of the MFA structural departments
e) Charge d'Affaires	e) Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
f) Advisor to the Minister	f) Heads of the MFA Departmental Division
g) Consul General	g) Advisor
h) Foreign Minister's Spokesman	h) Consul
i) Assistant to the Minister	i) Vice Consul
	j) First Secretary
	k) Second Secretary
	l) Third Secretary
	m) Attaché

**Table 2. Classification of the RA diplomatic ranks****Source:** Law on Diplomatic Service of the RA (2001, Amended on 19.11.02 № 445-N, 11.06.04 № 106-N, and 22.12.10 № 28-N)

<b>Highest diplomatic ranks</b>	<b>Diplomatic ranks</b>
a) Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the RA	a) Counselor of the first class
b) Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister of the RA	b) Counselor of the second class
	c) First Secretary of the first class
	d) First Secretary of the second class
	e) Second Secretary of the first class
	f) Second Secretary of the second class
	g) Third Secretary
	h) Attaché

**Table 7. Quantitative data on RA MFA's annual foreign policy activities**

Year	№ of visits / Heads of states		№ of visits / Heads of Parliaments <sup>110</sup>		№ of visits / Prime Ministers		№ of visits / Ministers of Foreign Affairs		№ of International Agreements signed	№ of Embassies / Consulates opened	№ of Press releases given to International Media <sup>111</sup>
	By the RA	To the RA	By the RA	To the RA	By the RA	To the RA	By the RA	To the RA <sup>112</sup>			
2013	15	3	9	6	6	NA	48	22	64	8	NA
2012	17	5 <sup>113</sup>	5	3	5	2	44	27	82	1	70 <sup>114</sup>
2011	25	7	8		12		39	12	80	0	60
2010	22	6	9	NA	8	3	24	19	70	7	NA
2009	22	8	8	2	8	NA	29	16	100	0	100
2008	NA <sup>115</sup>	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	65	0	NA

**Source: MFA's Annual Reports**

<sup>110</sup> As the coordinator of the country's institutionalized relations with the foreign countries, the MFA annual reports reflect upon the external relations of not only executive branch but also touches upon the parliament's external activities

<sup>111</sup> The amount of press releases given by the President and the Minister according to the MFA Annual Reports is considered to be an indicator of constructing a positive image of the country in international arena

<sup>112</sup> Including visits made by the heads of the international organizations

<sup>113</sup> Including three visits made by the heads of states, as well as the president of the European Council and the President of the European Commission

<sup>114</sup> In 2012 report, the Prime Minister's press releases were also counted

<sup>115</sup> Data is not available

**Table 19: Distribution of the RA MFA budget allocations by functional classification (thousands AMD)**

**Source:** Appendix 1 to the State Budget Law: distribution of state budget allocations by functional classification of the budget expenditures, groups, classes, financial projects and by implementing agencies. Table 1. (2009-2013)

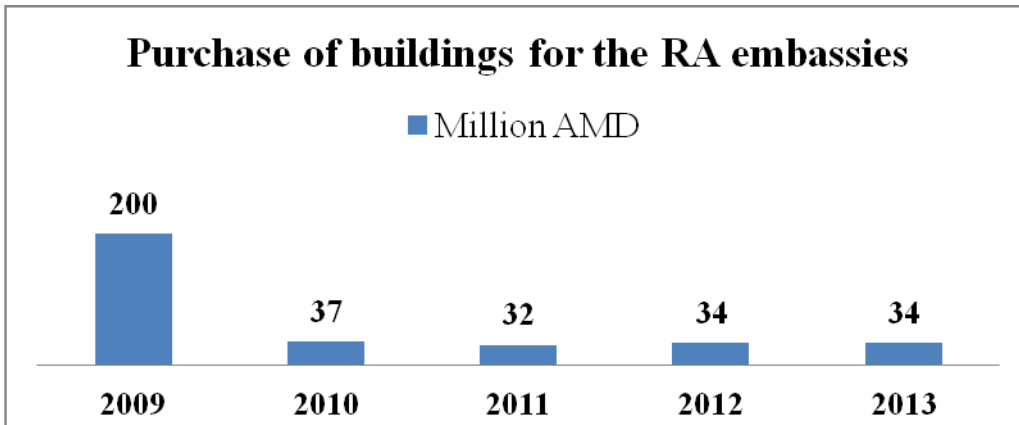
Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Maintenance of the Council of Europe's information office in Armenia	NA	5,760	5,760		
Sustension of the RA military attachés	162,052	162,938	216,473	227,436	NA <sup>116</sup>
External Military Assistance	115,806	137,162	138,435	143,380	9,600
Maintenance of trade representations abroad	85,059	92,010	80,605	86,934	NA
Assistance to the theatre performances in the Armenian language internationally	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
Assistance to the Armenian cultural centers internationally	22,145	28,537	25,000	25,959	26,219
Assistance to the maintenance of the Armenian writers pantheon in Tbilisi	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
Propaganda activities <sup>117</sup>	25,276.9	NA	NA	NA	NA
Propaganda of investments in the RA <sup>118</sup>	3,058	NA	NA	NA	NA
Publication, publishing and information services	35,305	31,774	71,774	11,774	83,774
Assistance to the Armenian language publications abroad	10,000	10,000	NA	NA	20,000
Assistance to the Georgia-Armenians' media	NA	NA	10,000	10,000	10,000

<sup>116</sup>The task is assigned to the Ministry of Defense (MoD) since 2013

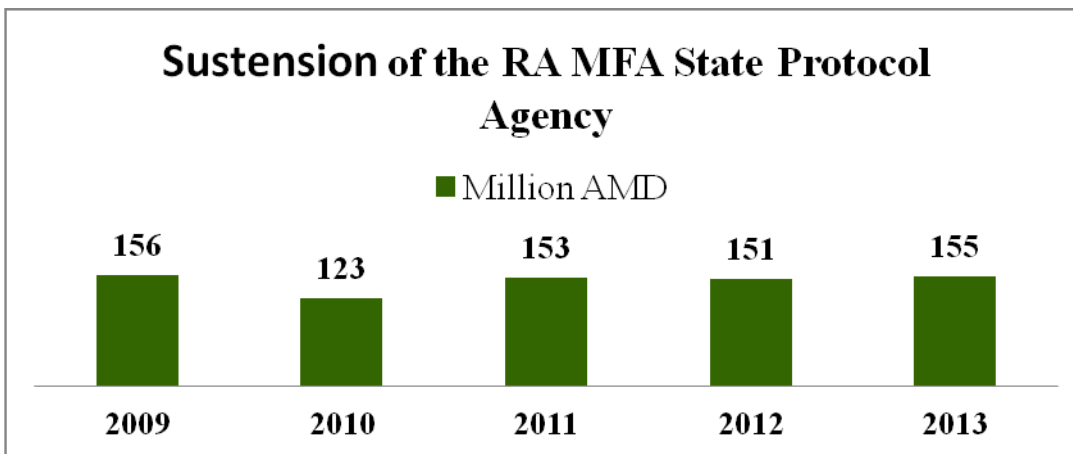
<sup>117</sup> Only in the 2009 RA Law on State Budget the formulation of the category was given as “propaganda” activities. Thereafter the activities were incorporated into other categories, particularly publication, publishing and information services

<sup>118</sup> Though discourse analysis demonstrated that the president and foreign minister of the RA articulate the need for the MFA to be more engaged in attraction of foreign investments in the country, nevertheless, the amount of money has been designated to that kind of activities only for the 2009 fiscal year

**Table 16. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013<sup>119</sup>**



**Table 18. Source: RA Laws on State Budget 2009-2013<sup>120</sup>**



<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

**Table 23. Full list of S. Sargsyan's (re)appointments to the highest diplomatic ranks**

**Source:** Presidential decrees (since April 2008 till April 15 2014)

Name	Country/International Organization	Date	Education <sup>121</sup>	Work experience in diplomacy
1. Hrant Poghosyan	Republic of Korea	January 21, 2014	No / Mathematics and Computer Science	Yes
2. Ashot Galoyan	Federative Republic of Brazil	January 25, 2014	Yes	Yes
3. Vahan Hovhannesyan	Federal Republic of Germany	December 28, 2013	No	Yes / Parliamentary diplomacy
4. Grigor Hovhannisyan	United Mexican States	December 27, 2013	NA	Yes
5. Anna Aghadjanian	Republic of Indonesia	December 11, 2013	NA	Yes
6. Artak Apitonyan	Kingdom of Sweden	November 26, 2013	Yes	Yes
7. Armen Sargsyan	People's Republic of China	December 26, 2013	No / Department of Theoretical Physics, YSU	Yes
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	September 27, 2013		
	Republic of Singapore	April 3, 2010		
	Republic of Korea	September 3, 2009		
	Socialist Republic of Vietnam	September 4, 2009		
8. Gagik Ghalatcian	Bosnia and Herzegovina	September 7, 2013	Yes	YES
	Republic of Serbia	September 23, 2010		
	Republic of Albania	April 26, 2010		
	Republic of Cyprus	December 26, 2009		
	Hellenic Republic	September 17, 2009		
9. Ara Sahakyan	Kyrgyzstan	February 4, 2014	No / YSU, philosophy	No / MP and lecturer
	Republic of Kazakhstan	August 21, 2013		
10. Vasili Ghazaryan	Kyrgyz Republic	July 27, 2009	No / engineer	Yes
	Republic of Kazakhstan	August 29, 2008		
	Republic of Afghanistan	December 21, 2009		
11. Raisa Vardanyan	Republic of Vietnam	July 16, 2013	Yes	Yes
12. Gegham	State of Qatar	May 16, 2013	Yes	Yes

<sup>121</sup> Whether the field is relevant to International Relations and Political Science or not

Gharibjanyan	United Arab Emirates	March 12, 2012		
13.Mikael Minasyan	Sovereign Military Order of Malta	December 10, 2013	Yes / Consul of San-Marino in Armenia	Yes
	Holy See (Vatican City State)	March 9, 2013		
14.Sargis Ghazaryan	Republic of San Marino	November 18, 2013	Yes	No / Researcher and Professor
	Republic of Malta	February 4, 2015		
	Italian Republic	January 29, 2013		
15.Vahagn Melikian	Oriental Republic of Uruguay and Republic of Paraguay	October 20, 2012	Yes	Yes
	Argentine Republic	April 10, 2012		
	State of Qatar	July 20, 2010		
16.Hrant Poghosyan	Japan	May 8, 2012	No / Academy of sciences of the USSR, PhD in theories of computer science	Yes
17.Tigran Seyranyan	Slovak Republic	May 8, 2012	No / YSU, Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology	Yes
	Czech Republic	June 30, 2011		
18.Ara Aivazian	Republic of Latvia and Republic of Estonia	March 23, 2012	Yes	Yes
	Republic of Lithuania	October 19, 2011		
19.Arman Kirakossian	Republic of Hungary	March 24, 2012	Yes	Yes
	Republic of Austria	October 11, 2011		
	UN Offices at Vienna	October 17, 2011		
	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)	October 12, 2011		
20.Karine Kazinyan	Ireland	March 12, 2012	No / YSU, Faculty of Philology	Yes
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	September 8, 2011		
21.Hrachia Aghajanyan	Kingdom of Norway	March 12, 2012	Yes	No / advisor to Deputy PM in 2007 and president of "The National Ecological Industrial Alliance"
	Kingdom of Denmark	August 17, 2011		
22.Fadey Charchoghlyan	Sultanate of Oman	February 23, 2012	No / Yerevan State Engineering University	Yes
	State of Kuwait	March 29, 2010		
23.Vigen Chitechian	Holy See (Vatican City)	February 20,	No / Doctor of	Yes

	State)	2012	technical sciences	
	Principality of Monaco	June 16, 2011		
	Principality of Andorra	June 14, 2011		
	French Republic	May 26, 2009		
	Portuguese Republic	June 20, 2011		
	Republic of Malta	June 14, 2011		
	Republic of Croatia	November 9, 2010		
	Republic of Slovenia	April 3, 2010		
	Italian Republic	July 22, 2009		
24. Ruben Karapetyan	League of Arab States	June 20, 2008	Yes	Yes
25. Arshak Poladian	Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	January 14, 2011	Yes	Yes
	Republic of Indonesia	March 10, 2011		
	Malaysia	January 24, 2011		
	Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	April 22, 2010		
26. Ara Hakobian	Republic of India	October 10, 2009	YES	Yes
27. Hovhannes Manoukian	Georgia	February 26, 2011	No / YSU, Faculty of Law	No / President of the Court of Cassation of the RA
28. Dzyunik Aghajanyan	Kingdom of Norway	February 8, 2011	Yes	Yes
29. Arsen Shoyan	Republic of Bulgaria	January 25, 2011	No / Economy and Law	No / Economics Department Office then Analytical Research Department Office of the President of RA
	Libya	October 30, 2010		
	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	October 30, 2010		
	Arab Republic of Egypt	July 22, 2009		
30. Armen Melkonian	League of Arab States	March 3, 2010	No / Oriental Studies and History	Yes
31. Murad Muradyan	Republic of Iraq	September 6, 2010	No / Doctor of economics	No / Founder and Chairman of "BAMO" company
32. Ashot Yeghiazaryan	Federative Republic of Brazil	June 15, 2010	Yes	Yes
	Republic of Belarus	April 26, 2010	No / Armenian State Pedagogical University, Faculty of Philology	
33. Armen Khachatrian	Commonwealth of Independent States	April 26, 2011		Yes
34. Andranik Manoukian	Ukraine	April 26, 2012	No / Armenian State University of Economics and St.	No / Minister of Transport and Communication then



			Petersburg Finance and Economics Institute.	Advisor to the president
35.Hamlet Gasparian	Romania	March 29, 2010	No / YSU, Faculty of Philology	Yes
36.Avet Adonts	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	February 20, 2010	Yes	Yes
	Kingdom of Belgium	May 26, 2009		
	Kingdom of Norway	November 7, 2009		
	European Union	May 27, 2009		
37.Oleg Yesaian	Russian Federation	January 21, 2010	No / PhD in Economics from Management Institute of Moscow	Yes
38.Vladimir Badalyan	Tajikistan	December 21, 2009	No / State Engineering University of Armenia, engineer	No / MP
	Turkmenistan	August 29, 2008		
39.Ashot Kocharian	Lebanese Republic	September 10, 2009	Yes	Yes
40.Armen Martirosyan	Republic of Germany	August 22, 2009	No / New York's Columbia University, MA in International Economics	Yes
41.Grigor Arakelian	Islamic Republic of Iran	July 7, 2009	Yes	Yes
42.Charles Aznavour	Swiss Confederation	May 5, 2009	No	No / Singer
	UN Offices at Geneva and other international organizations	May 4, 2009		
43.Armen Papikian	Council of Europe	September 22, 2011	Yes	Yes
44.Armen Yedigarian	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	November 30, 2010	YES	YES
45.Levon Sargsyan	Ambassador-at-large	March 9, 2010	Yes	Yes
46.Garen Nazarian	UN office at New-York, permanent representative	August 10, 2009	Yes	Yes
47.Arkadi Ghukasyan	Ambassador-at-large	March 16, 2009	No	Yes
48.Zohrab Mnatsakanian	Council of Europe	June 9, 2008	Yes	Yes
49.Ashot Hovakimyan	OSCE	June 9, 2008	No	Yes

## **Appendix 2**

### **Questionnaire for the in-depth interview**

1. How would you evaluate the efficiency of the MFA structure?
2. What can you say about the quality of the recruitment and training of diplomats? Does it correspond to selection of the most qualified professionals and systematic enhancement of diplomat's skills?
3. What do you think are the major achievements of Armenian diplomats? What are criteria for successful performance?
4. Is the functioning of the Ministry limited to the coordination of the RA's foreign policy execution or does it contribute to foreign policy agenda-setting as well?  
Does it have foreign policy planning mechanisms?
5. How would you assess the role of presidential administration in foreign policy making in comparison to that of the MFA? Does the strong personality prevail over the institutions in Armenia's foreign policy making?
6. How would you evaluate the cooperation of S. Sargsyan's administration with the MFA?
7. What do you think is (are) the foreign policy achievement(s) of the S. Sargsyan's administration? What went astray? What was the role of the MFA in both situations?

### **Interview Dates:**

Interview №1 – April 5, 2014

Interview №2 – April 9, 2014

Interview №3 – April 11, 2014

Interview №4 - April 12, 2014

Interview №5 – April 15, 2014