



AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA

**A Study of Armenian National Ideology.
Yesterday, Today and...**

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Table of Contents

	Page
Introduction.....	6
Review of Literature	8
Methodology	9
Chapter one	
National Ideology.....	9
Chapter two	
1.Armenian National Ideology.	13
2.Armenian National Ideology: Soviet times.....	15
Chapter three	
Armenian national ideology: “Yesterday”.....	20
Chapter four	
Armenian national ideology: “Today”.....	27
Conclusion	51
Recommendations	53
List of References	54

List of Abbreviations

ARF- Armenian Revolutionary Federation

ANM- Armenian National Movement

CPSU_ Communist Party of the Soviet Union

NI- National Ideology

SU- Soviet Union

USSR- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

USAID_ United States Agency of International Development

Abstract

Every viable nation, preceding from its own world perception, defines the system of its values, aims and objectives, as well as the strategy of its survival, the unity of which is evinced as the national ideology of that very nation. For a nation, it becomes something like a Bible by which it is being led during its existence. Without this ideology no nation is viable in the struggle of its survival.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the state of national ideology in Armenia, to find out if there is an official national ideology, what was and is the attitude of authorities in this regard.

The essay has the following chapters:

Introduction

First chapter will dwell on historical background of the concept of national or just ideology; it will also explore its origin and significance in the preservation of national identity. In addition it will analyze the essence and the necessity of the national ideology.

Second chapter will explore the state of the Armenian national ideology in pre-Soviet era as well as will analyze communist period

Third chapter will analyze the state of Armenian national ideology in post-independent period (From independence up to 1998).

Fourth chapter will elaborate the current state of national ideology. (From 1998 up to now) The nature of it is to find out if we have well defined once and for all the direction through which our political, economic, and cultural destinations are supposed to be achieved and whether we have national ideology at all. In addition the chapter will dwell on the main determinants of national ideology such as: language, historical memory, geopolitical peculiarities, national character mainly puts the emphases on the educational system, and culture.

Conclusion.

Introduction

Every viable nation, preceding from its own world perception, defines the system of its values, aims and objectives, as well as the strategy of its survival, the unity of which is evinced as the national ideology of that very nation. For a nation, it becomes something like a Bible by which it is being led during its existence. Without this ideology no nation is viable in the struggle of its survival, moreover, a nation becomes unprincipled in its way of acting and doing, and often, as a “toy” of events, it is left out of historical arena. This is true and for our history: many of bloody and tearful pages of history are the consequence of lack of its own national ideology as well the influence of foreign values and dogmas.

So far a question arises: why an Armenian has to remain an Armenian, live in Armenia, die for it, sacrifice in sake of generations if she or he is not taught about it or what is to say good citizen and good Armenian? So far if for a person, as an Armenian and a citizen of this country, a system of moral values and behavioral norms is not defined and if those values and norms are not understandable to peoples hearts and minds, then they will constantly complain about the imperfection of laws, economic wrong policies, judicial system...geographic location and destiny.

Constant changes of ministers, prime-ministers, even presidents and National Assemblies will be meaningless unless their aspired values, rules of game are uprooted and national ideology becomes a guideline for the preservation of nation and establishment of statehood.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the state of national ideology in Armenia, to find out if there is an official national ideology, what was and is the attitude of authorities in this regard.

The study looks into the following research questions:

- ❖ What is National Ideology (its essence, necessity)
- ❖ What kind of consequences can be entailed in the case of the lack of national ideology?
- ❖ Whether Armenia has an official national ideology by which it is led?
- ❖ What was the significance of national ideology in previous centuries and years (including ancient times, pre Soviet times, Soviet times and post Soviet times?)
- ❖ What is the essence of the Armenian national ideology from 1998 up to now?
- ❖ What is the attitude of political parties in regard of the Armenian national ideology? (Whether we have or need it)

The essay will investigate the origin of the national ideology, its essence, nature, and necessity. It also will explore the state of Armenian national ideology during pre Soviet period, Soviet times, and post-independent period. The post-independent period in its turn will be divided into two stages: 1.From independence up to 1998. 2.From 1998 up to now.

In addition the essay will mainly dwell on such kind of components as language, historical memory, national character, national agreement, however, it will put more emphasize on the educational system and national culture.

Literature Review

National consciousness is national, political, and cultural category. There is no country or state w/out national consciousness. And this isn't a fake category as many try to convince. The elements of national consciousness are all the possible means for securing our existence in the

future. We must be able to use them to express our image, features, originality, traditions, will, and morality. The most important element is spiritual-cultural upbringing. **Roland Sharoyan.** (<http://www.aua.am/extence/lectures/39htm>). **Musheg Lalayan** (Lalayan, 1996) in his article about the principles of national ideology states: "National Ideology has to represent the family as the necessary circle of the continuation of a "sort " and the upbringing of the generation. It has to define the moral criteria of a nation as well as it has to fix once and for all that the only guarantee of the nations existence and survival is that very nation its collective will and unity. So the vital necessity of the national ideology is becoming obvious" In the beginning of 20th century the ideologist of "Great Russia" Stolipin in the State Duma pointing out the necessity and importance of national ideology stated:

"Yes gentlemen people sometimes forget about their national problems but they (nations) are disappearing turning into the soil and fertilizers on which stronger peoples are growing and strengthening" (quoted in **Khurshudyan, 1999** pg 16).

Later on in 1930 the Spanish philosopher Khose Ortega-in-Gassete the famous western thinker of 20th century in his research named "The revolt of masses" about the viability of national ideology wrote: "For the existence of a nation it is enough to have its own program of preservation" (quoted in **Khurshudyan, 1999** pg 9).

Employed Methodology

The ***methodology*** of this master essay is historical comparative analyses, secondary source analyses as well as interviews.

The historical comparative analysis is for exploring the origin and the then state of Armenian ideology. The content analysis is for investigating the articles, books and other materials relevant to my study. The interviews have been with the leaders of the major and sustained political parties both, whose which are represented, in the National Assembly and outside of it. In order to accomplish the one of the tasks of third chapter that is to dwell on the importance and necessity of the education the personal interview has been conducted with the chairperson of the Center of educational reforms of the Republic of Armenia Victor Martirosyan.

Chapter one: National Ideology

People appeared in the stage of the history millenniums ago. During history some of them disappeared others still exist. The latter exist mainly due to their fixed national ideologies: the aim of which is to define how the nation must live, and what kind of ideas it should follow in order to achieve complete self-realization. All nations who have had their ideologies, which have explicitly expressed their national aims, and objectives, have overcome all obstacles destined for them. Meanwhile others who have not been guided by the imperatives of the national ideology (hereinafter N.I) on contrary have failed and disappeared. That is why the only and primary guarantor of the nation's preservation is N.I. It is of the highest necessity and the being or having N.I is out of the any question.

N.I has been created in the depth of centuries. Every ethos beginning from its "revelation" in the stage of the history as the primary issue was preoccupied by the formation of the system of self-preservation, which is called now as N.I. Many political thinkers as far back as the ancient Greece had discussed the role of beliefs and attitudes in politics, although the French philosopher Antoine Destuth de Tracy coined the term in the late 18 century (Salmon, 1994).

One of the formal definitions of the N.I according to Vahram Vahradian (1999) is the following:

National Ideology is a comparatively steady system of ideas and principles that, as any other ideology, is accepted by its followers.

However the simple definition is the following: For every nation who wants to exist, one of the preconditions and primary factors is the N.I. It involves the nation's objectives, the lessons learnt from the past experiences and preceding from those lessons the formation of the nation's future aims. It is oriented towards the future.

Our earth during its existence has witnessed the emergence, development and extinction of various ethnic groups. So far a question may arise. Why some of them emerged and sooner extincted while the others remained and moreover strengthened. According to Khurshudyan (1999) human races at the outset are endowed by the self-preserving instinct. All types of animals in the world are also endowed by the same instinct and without the mechanism of self-preservation no biological type in the nature cannot and is not able to exist and no one has existed up to present. This is the law of the nature about which English philosopher Thomas Hobbes has written:

"The foremost and primary law of the nature says that it is necessary everywhere and every time where and when it is possible to strive by all means for peace however if it is impossible the means have to be looked for conducting war"

Developing his ideas he goes on stating:

"The foremost base for natural right is that each person in the boundaries of her/his opportunities has to preserve his life and body. Everybody preceding from his/her rights of self-

preservation has a right to use all means and execute the activities without which s/he can't maintain existence" (quoted in Khurshudyan, 1999. pg.11).

Thus the demand of the nature's primary and first law is self-preservation of individual, ethos, peoples and nations: in other words the creation of N.I. At the dawn of human race the N.I self-preservation system was extremely plain little by little it was developed and finally became a perfect one. Those nations whose instinct of self-preservation, which is given by nature, is not transformed into N.I are disappearing giving up their places to more organized and viable ones. The same is true and in animal world. (Khurshudyan, 1999). So all nations perfectly understanding the necessity of a mechanism of self-preservation during their existence by this or that way were and are trying to create a national program which can at best articulate the aims, wishes of the very nation.

In the beginning of 20th century the ideologist of "Great Russia" Stolipin in the State Duma pointing out the necessity and importance of N.I stated:

"Yes gentlemen people sometimes forget about their national problems but they (nations) are disappearing turning into the soil and fertilizers on which stronger peoples are growing and strengthening" (quoted in Khurshudyan, 1999 pg. 16).

Later on, in 1930 the Spanish philosopher Khose Ortega-in-Gassete the famous western thinker of 20th century in his research named "The revolt of masses" about the viability of N.I wrote:

*"For the existence of a nation it is enough to have its own program of preservation"*¹

Modern Russian thinkers Aleksey Bokov and Bladimir Alekseev in this regard wrote:

*"... One of the main reasons of Russian constant social, political crises is the absence of deeply cultivated N.I."*²

Thus if the importance of national program is vital for powerful nations and they are also preoccupied about N.I formation, then small and vulnerable nations have to put it on the agenda, as an urgent issue. For preservation of national values and ideas N.I becomes a powerful weapon of counteraction against the enemy, who tries to destruct the given national values and ideals”.

N.I consists of the primary factors of nation’s preservation, these are, integrated motherland, independent statehood, national culture and religion. The ideas of nation, motherland, statehood, culture and religion are the very cornerstones, on which the whole system of N.I is formed. Simultaneously, the system of N.I of any people is conditioned by the peculiarities of its historical development and also has its unique problems. The formation of N.I consists of strategic program and tactics. The strategic program consists of the key issues of nation’s preservation: integrated motherland, statehood, culture and religion as well of the peculiarities, which stem from the unique historical conditions. For the N.I victory to have only well formed strategic program is not enough. In addition, for N.I’s success also needs detailed and scientifically proven tactics: that is a system, which looks for the ways and means of the solutions of issues for that particular strategic program.

The primary issues of the N.I are the preservation of the nation, its free, secure, stable and universal development. Nation is a living organism, of the historic-ethnic category. For the nation’s preservation the following factors are of primary necessity: language, culture, the historical memory, thinking, self-consciousness, traits, psychology, character, patriotism, nationalism, pride, spirit, religion, taste, and ethnic traditions.

¹ Quoted in Khurshudyan 1999 pg.9

² Ibid. pg. 9

During the centuries the universality of destinies based on the aforementioned national factors forms the national identity of each nation. They are “invading” into the nation’s ideals and comprising the N.I.

Conclusion of the first part.

Thus the National ideology is the national program of nation’s preservation, the system of national values and ideals. It turned out that the necessity of N.I is vital not only for small and vulnerable ones but also for powerful nations. The importance of N.I rises especially when there is a menace towards nation and national values either from outside (internal enemies) or from inside (external denationalized forces). The primary factors of N.I are motherland, culture, statehood, and religion. These are the components, which are common for all nations however there are also local peculiarities, which have to be taken into consideration while N.i formation. N.I consists of the strategic and tactics programs. Strategic is the ideals while the tactics are the means through which these ideals can be achieved.

Chapter two
Armenian National Ideology: "The Day before Yesterday"

Armenians!
All promises given to you
are false and unvalued,
if you yourself don’t have
National ideal and crucial will to achieve it
Simon Vratzyan

Armenian national ideology is as old as Armenian people. It came into life with the formation of the first Armenian ethnic groups as the origin of the self-preservation of the ethos and the national identity. During the centuries Armenian N.I simultaneously with the changes in

geopolitical factors was added and became one complete scientific system. In the formation of the Armenian N.I three famous national thinkers have played their pivotal roles:

Movses Khorenatzi. For the first time Armenian national ideology has found its expression in the book of "Armenian history" written by Khorenatzi. "He was the first Armenian ideologist and his book "Armenian history" was the first item of Armenian national ideology" (Nikogayos Adontz)³

In coming centuries after Khorenatzi Armenian national-political leaders, preceding from the preconditions of constant historical changes, the tactics of Armenian N.I have been confirmed by new factors. In these difficult affairs, as the great theorist and ideologist is presented Nikoghayos Adontz.

Nikoghayos Adontz: Adontz is known due to the valuable research studies dedicated to the Armenian cause, which as the primary factor of the independent fatherland and statehood plays a pivotal role in N.I. The Armenian cause and the key issues, concerning to it as the scientific agenda of a cumulative system has been worked out by Adontz.

Garegin Nzhdeh: Nzhdeh was the only ideologist who has given almost the complete composition to the almost all-primary issues, in his studies, of the Armenian national ideology. Along with the issues, which are general for all nations, he has defined, and worked out Armenian national peculiarities, based on the preconditions of its historical development, and geopolitical factors.

There is little written about the Armenian N.I before 19th century. However according to Lendrush Khurshudyan Armenians more than three millennia are carrying their "historical burden": Armenian cause as the strategic program. The Armenian traditional, geopolitical and historic-ethnic factors more than three millennia have not been changed. The necessity of the N.I

³ Famous Armenian historian quoted in Khurshudyan 1999, pg 62

rises when there is a menace or opposite occurrence both from external and internal camps. So we have to be careful in this regard: still there is an internal menace (as well as external one).

As it was told above there is almost no item about the state of Armenian N.I before 19th or 20th century. However it can deduced that during its existence, while being under the yoke of this or that empire the ideal of Armenians, was the liberation of Armenia and the restoration of Armenian statehood. However, while having the statehood, the ideal was to retain it,, and to provide the nations security. In the late 19th century the objective of Armenian N.I was the liberation of Armenia. In 1918 the declaration of Armenian first Republic, was the victory of Armenian N.I, and its new tactics. Thus Armenian first Republic backed the Armenian cause and put it on its official ideology. However the states of affairs were changed, and in 1920 November Armenia again lost its independence, and in consequence became a part of the Soviet Union (SU).

Armenian National Ideology during Soviet Times

After becoming a part of the Soviet Union, Armenia completely appeared in the state sphere of political life and equally carried all hardships and cruelties of Bolshevik dictatorship (ruling party of SU). N.I moved into underground, and was represented as a dissident. Multiethnic empire was trying to create a single Soviet nation, one Soviet motherland, and in perspective, one language speaking society: Russian. The powerful empire was trying to cut a nation from its national roots: traditions, language, history, and identity. So for accomplishing these objectives the following exercises were initiated.

Planned Russification: Armenia has been surrounded by the Russian schools; especially the children of the intelligentsia were attending these schools. The middle class did not fall

behind the former. The significant segment of intelligentsia was Russian speaking. The lectures in many higher educational institutions and the written language were also Russian.

The impact on the educational and scientific system. Thus, to struggle against the Armenian N.I Armenian Communist party paid much attention to the educational problems and upbringing of youth. The considerable operations were undertaken in the “deal” of cadre training, the cleansing of books, and public libraries from the items, which to some extent had or might have any implications to the national values.

Cultural Sovietization. Communist party and Soviet Union’s authorities, considering the culture as an important means for the influence on a nation, were trying to estrange the nations from their cultural roots and to subject culture to their ideology. The drastic revolution in the cultural sphere was claimed as a necessity. Thus the local peculiarities and the traditions of Armenian national culture were bypassed. Communist party put on its agenda the motto concerning to national culture “In the form national in the content socialistic”. Thus this had a transition meaning and had to be a route for non-Russian population of the USSR towards the amalgamation (Khurshudyan, 1999). Thus Bolsheviks had objectives to change gradually the content of national culture, and to estrange the nations from their origin and roots. So for achieving their objectives Bolsheviks had to cut a nation from its origins: traditions, language, history, identity, nationalism and in general from everything which is accumulated in the concept of N.I. So the basics without which a nation loses its identity and ceases to exist during Soviet times have been destructed.

Thus the struggle for N.I in Soviet Armenia was processing in extreme difficult conditions. In 1920's and 1930's in Armenia mainly the carriers of N.I. were killed, imprisoned, and exiled. The highest accusation in the SU was nationalism. The "crusade" began in order to

erase the historical memory of Armenian nation, the Armenian Cause, Genocide. Armenian national parties were remembered only when there was a necessity for political accusation, and nationalism. The peak of this hatred was in 1937: the period of political terror. Bolsheviks was not accepting any other alternative regarding to the struggle against its enemies: N.I and nationalism. During those times Armenian intelligentsia endangering its life was trying to look for ways in order to keep nation's historical memory and N.I. (Ibid.). Thus mainly due to national intelligentsia Armenians were able to preserve their national values and ideals.

Thus in that period the struggle for N.I had a defensive meaning. After Stalin's death and 20th session of Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) the political life of the country began to be liberated a little. Moreover after 20th session of CPSU the struggle for N.I in Armenia reverted from defensive into offensive meaning. The underground national organizations emerged, which were trying to transform their affairs from the theory into the practice. (Khurshudyan, 1999). Thus the N.I was reborn. The distance from the Stalin's death up to the beginning of the Kharabakh movement is 35 years. It is a new stage of Armenian history during which the national program has been born.

Khurshudyan (1999) differentiated the Armenian society during Soviet times into three segments.

❖ I segment consisted by those who honestly believed in the Marxist-Leninist ideology and refuted N.I. This segment in its turn is divided into two sub segments.

1. *It consisted by ideal free and careerist people, who were led only by personal interests.*

2. *It consisted by those who honestly believed in socialistic ideals. Moreover, they indeed believed that these ideas would bring freedom for Armenia.*

- ❖ II segment consisted by those who did not believe in any credo or dogma as well as Bolshevism. They could at any time change their camps either going left or right.
- ❖ III segment was the carriers of N.I who were struggling against the anti-national and denationalized forces in sake of motherland and for restoration of the Armenian statehood. In addition, this very segment during political terror had been exiled, executed, and imprisoned.

However, it is worth to mention that the Communist ideology did not find as much support in Armenia as it did in Russia. Historical circumstances have taught Armenians to survive, to adapt to changing conditions, to preserve national values and culture, relying on the people's capacities and diligence, and to seek the necessary support of powerful allies, of which Russia is the most important. It is through this prism that communism was generally perceived in Armenia. The Soviet regime was regarded as an inevitable and necessary condition for comprehensive development and for preservation of national identity. Over the course of decades, the perception of a "Big Motherland" and the mentality of a citizen of a super-state evolved. At an individual and family level, the state ideology was replaced by a mixture of socialist norms and national traditions.

Meanwhile, when Soviet Armenia in this or that way was trying to reject or suppress any national feelings or expression, in 1932 in Sofia was published an article "Tzekhakronutyun (Racism) as the power of victory" written by Nzdeh. There was in particularly written, "If up to day our nation has got blows and tragically was unable to counteract the attacks, the reason was that it has not lived racially" (cited in Lalayan, 1995 pg. 1). Later on in 1933 in the USA Nzdeh initiated the Tzekhakron (Racial) movement. In the platform-program of the organization the objective of movement was explained in such way: "To create the Tzekhakron (Racial)

generation that has to live as a subject and soldier of a race, despite the position it occupies."⁴ It was a period when within colonial Armenians "reigned" the defeated spirit, disgusting egoism, and in internal front there was split off among political parties (Ibid.)

In addition, all these above-mentioned occurrences pushed Armenians in diasporas to be adjusted to their humiliated state. Moreover, this could bring about to the "evaporation" of one million Armenians abroad. The necessity of the Tzekhakron movement was also dictated by the anti Armenian propaganda conducted in Turkey. In addition to all these, the importance of the movement, was that traditional parties were beginning to leave Armenian cause and adjust to the idea that Armenians had to refute from their territories left in Turkey. Therefore, it was of highest importance to ignite the ideal of "hayrenatirutyun" (that is to be the master of your country) among Armenians in diasporas (Ibid.) Thus due to the propaganda and organizational talent of Nzdeh "multi thousands Armenian boys and girls began not only not be ashamed to be Armenians but also they began to be proud of being Armenians "⁵ So the mission of Nzdeh was a hard but valuable one.

The ideology of Tzekhakronutyun of course, was not created on the vacuum. It was preceded by the ideals of Alishan, Raffi, Patkanyan, Varuzhan and others. However, they have given the ideals, but not ideology (Ibid.) Nzdeh had to accumulate, condense, systematize and complete these ideals into one ideology: Tzekhakronutyun. In addition the primary request and demand of Nzdeh was "*First be an Armenian, because Armenians during their history were more human than Armenians That is why their tragedy was unprecedented one*" (Lalayan, 1995 pg. 3). So by this principle has to be guided every Armenian.

Conclusion of the part two.

⁴ Quoted in Tzekhakronutyun (analyses) Ed. By Lalayan Hayastani Hantapetakan Kusaktzytyun Yerevan 1994 pg. 1

⁵ Avo is Armenian national hero (Monte Melkonyan quoted in Lalayan pg 3)

Thus it turned out that the ideal for Armenian for many centuries was Armenian cause. Despite there is little written about the Armenian N.I for that period it is not difficult to consider that Armenian ideals when we had statehood was to retain it and secure the people's lives and while when we did not have the independence the ideal was to achieve it. Up to the 20th century our ideal has not been changed, moreover on the course of two and half year it has been backed by the Armenian statehood.

During soviet times the Armenian N.I (however it is more correct to say ideals) went underground and the planned Russification and Sovietization took up the highest positions. Up to the Stalin's death the struggle for the N.I had a defensive meaning while after his death and CPSU 20th session it turned into offensive one. Meanwhile in the USA was created Tzekhakronutyun movement in order to save diaspora's Armenians from immoral and valueless principles.

Chapter three

Armenian National Ideology: Yesterday

After the collapse of Soviet Union (SU) in Armenia like in other socialist countries not only emerged a necessity of drastic changes in economic sphere but also created an ideological vacuum. No longer old values and old world perception were fitting to the new conditions. Thus the immediate steps had to be initiated in order not become once more a prey for powerful "beasts". However, due to the struggle and efforts for Artzakh liberation it was possible to prevent. (Tigran Yorosyan, 1996) Therefore, for that period Artzakh liberation became a national ideal.

Nevertheless, if during the war period the weakness of political thought might not have a primary significance, replacing it by the loyalty and heroism, then during post war period it could

entail the negative consequences. However, after the collapse of SU in Armenia like elsewhere in post Soviet camp one or two years the debates about N.I were in circulation. However in Armenia as well in Russia they remained fruitless. So as the result the ideology of the ruling forces became Liberal Democracy. (Torosyan, 1995) Nevertheless today to go by this way means no more than to accept the rules of game, which are confirmed in all over the world long ago.

Today Liberal Democracy of course is one of the world's prevailed political directions. However nobody in the "world's developed countries" thinks to absolute "ize" it. In addition the conservative-traditional approaches are the indispensable parts of the policies of the powerful states. They both fulfill each other and if Liberal democracy is only the way to resolve the problems, the second one is the essence. (Ibid)

Thus, every country accepting or refuting Liberal democracy simultaneously has to define its near and future objectives, values and world perception. The countries, which succeeded in "harmonizing" these two approaches, overcame all difficulties. Meanwhile others,, who overestimated the role of liberalism not only didn't establish the civil society, which provides the natural process of the political life, but also refuted the necessity of national ideal and N.I. (Torosyan, 1996) In this case "ours was different" as well. Political forces, who were in power just after the independence, and not less importantly,, who came to power due to national ideals, announced as the principle and necessity to get rid of N.I in the process of stable development of the country. O key such kind of approach may be explained by the recent liberation from Marxist-Leninist ideology and at least it can be understandable in the case of an individual, but *sorry* never in the case of politicians, organizations, and moreover ruling party.

Thus, unfortunately in our history the struggle against the N.I was not only from external enemies but also internal ones. So in last decade of the 20th century we witnessed the

fact that not only an individual or a group of people came out as denationalized stances, but also the whole ruling party. Thus, the first president of the last Armenian statehood Levon Ter-Petrosyan declared, "*National Ideology is a false political category because during democracy it is impossible to unite the whole nation around one national ideology*"⁶. Continuing his speech he characterized national ideology as fascism meanwhile aforementioned newspaper that part of president's speech did not published. (Khurshudyan, 1999). The array of false categories was long one. In this list of false categories appeared Armenian cause claiming that the ideal of Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) was anachronism. But at least they have to know one thing that Armenian cause was not only ARF "property", but the carrier of that ideal was Armenian nation. History was proclaimed as false science as well. "Don't forget that I am an historian and I know that I am telling"⁷ National agreement was also called false concept because as they stated the existence of a nation is already an expression of national agreement.

As a consequence, all these claims didn't remain fruitless. First they found their reflection in an educational system: it was equal as to uproot the tree not to cut the branches. Thus the target was properly chosen. The outcome of these as Khurshudyan stated was.

- ❖ The class hours of Armenian history were cut.
- ❖ From the textbooks, the important segments of Armenian history were cleaned.
- ❖ The items, dedicated to the genocide as well as Armenian cause were taken out.

Meanwhile at the same time the Turkish Prime Minister during the ceremony dedicated to the beginning of 1996-7 academic year in a University stated.

⁶ Hayastani Hanrapetutyun , April, 26 1996

⁷ However, in this case he made a mistake may be he himself forgot but he was a philologist. Ibid pg 77

“To create Great Turkey, (Turan)⁸ and in perspective to make Turkey a leading country in the world, is highly depends on the Universities efforts, and from the successes of their future activities” (cited in Khurshudyan, 1999 pg. 70).

Therefore, for this aim Turkey by its own expenses and means in many Universities of the world established Turkeology departments. The objectives of which were the propaganda of their N.I and the introduction of Armenian cause and Genocide from its perspective. (Ibid) Therefore, both Armenia and Turkey at that time were operating in favor of latter. However in this “deal” the role of Armenia was much more valuable than that of Turkey.

Thus in Armenia the attacks on the Armenian history, historical memory, national values, were state run policies. High ranked officials, “Hayastani Hanrapetutyun” and “Hayk” newspapers were praising the anti Armenian, state conceptions of Turkey. For accomplishing of their anti national spirits they closed the carrier of the N.I ARF, and imprisoned its members. (Khurshudian, 1999).

However it is another thing that the deideologized life of the society eases the life of ruling forces during transition. Because of the difficulties to follow the constant changes of mottos and political courses. Moreover indeed the idea of deideologized society is rather attractive. No expression of antagonism like a communist “paradise” world but without dogmas and classic hegemony. Nevertheless based on our historical development and experience and preceding from our geopolitical location participate in such a global plan will be a vital for us. Moreover, almost all countries in the world have their N.I. Some have confirmed their ideals in their Constitutions (like Germany) others have confirmed in other fundamental laws or they have strong traditions. (Torosyan, 1996)

⁸ Great Turan is the ideology of Turkey

Meanwhile claiming the unimportance of the N.I, along with the Liberalism ideology, many other “ideologies” with various forms also were imported. Thus it turned out that we were completely unready to confront the massive, total intervention. These ideologies began to flow under the disguise of films, TV programs, analytical articles, and cartoon forms. New ideologies were refuting old ones. They were requiring the total de-ideologization of the society. (Aramyan, 2000). Therefore now it becomes clear, why they were striving to clean any ideological disclosure? The reason was that in this way it would be very easy to inhale new ideas to the society and to orient them to their desired destination. Thus the objective was to claim the deideologized society as the secure one, and under this disguise “import” and “invest” the foreign ideals.

Nevertheless, turning to the "ideology" of the former regime it is important to point out that when somebody tries to destruct something first he needs to create another thing or at least to know what he wants to create. Thus in order to fill the ideological vacuum they (Armenian National Movement (ANM)) replaced the need of national ideology by the state ideology, and state’s official organ daily newspaper Hayastani Hanrapetutyun published an article *"It is requiring an ideology"* (Ibid.) So if they were so much concerned about the "menace" which could entail from the N.I to democracy, they had to know at least that in leading democratic countries the national and state ideologies are intertwined. Meanwhile if not so, the state ideology was and is based on the national one. So far, it is interesting from where as a source they have to fill their official ideology?

Therefore it turns out that the former regime in Armenia just wanted to create its own history. “From the mythological sphere we are converting to the practical, political sphere” (The program of ANM Yerevan, 1993 pg. 1). Moreover reaching to the higher destinations they

claimed: “*We are changing the way of thinking of our nation and we have changed that way of thinking*” (Arakzyan, 1998)⁹. Thus the old history of Armenian nation, the Armenian liberation movement and the way of thinking they labeled as the mythological thus unnecessary.

For the reason of these anti national stances Khurshudyan gives an explanation stating that it was the outcome of the weakened self-preservation instinct, in other words the victory of “**I**” over “**We**”.

Therefore those who claimed that the N.I was a false political category were preceding from the point of view that it was impossible to have one united and for all ideology. However as Lalayan mentions (Dardz, 2000) there cannot be one united ideology for all those who are called Armenians (e.g. for patriots, cosmopolites, for the workers, and robbers). However without any doubt there are general ideals and values for those Armenians who to some or to a great extent feel a liability towards their nation and motherland. The misunderstanding is in the following that in the notion of "Armenian nation" are involved, and are considered all those, who are called Armenians (Armenian people) while those who want to live like true Armenians is Armenian nation. This comes from the misusing of terms or concepts of nation and people.

Thus there is a necessity to clarify the difference between nation and people: the meaning of the word "people" as used in the context of N.I? Vahradyan¹⁰ gives the following definitions. "People" is one of the forms of "an ethnic formation." It is characterized by territorial, linguistic, cultural, traditional and genealogical integrity. What is the nation? People with sense of ethnic self-consciousness form a nation. In more detail the concept "nation" corresponds to the concept "people" as the concept person (as an individual) to the concept man (as a biological organism) The person as an individual is characterized first of all by his moral strength of character, strong-

⁹ see it in Armenian national ideology (Khurshudian, 1999 pg 78)

¹⁰ www.vaspnors.natideleon/basedefeng.html. The notions of people and nation

willed qualities, depth of world perception, by his actions and so on. In the same way the nation is characterized.

According to German philosopher Kanto man becomes a person due to self-consciousness, when he becomes able to distinguish himself from the other living beings that makes it possible for him to freely subordinate his own "ego" to the moral law. [Kanto, I., 1965].¹¹ So by the same way people become a nation due to their ethnic self-consciousness, when become able to distinguish themselves (as an ethnicity) from other human communities. The nations created from the racial genetic features of the given people. It is formed and become stronger along the centuries through continuous statehood and state legislation, developing and becomes wiser with ages. At the same time, voluntarily or involuntarily, the system of values and the unique outlook of every people-nation, or, in other words, its national ideology is being outlined [Vahradyan,V., 1995-7].

Of course the attitude of the former ruling forces in regard of the N.I and received its reply, thus sharply being criticized by the political parties. Some of them required the immediate resignation of the president. Later on he indeed resigned, however, the organizers of that classical revolution were not those very parties. Later on nevertheless, the revolution was characterized as the “victory of the N.I supporters against the pragmatics”. (Liparityan, 1999)¹² Thus “pragmatics” left the supporters of national ideology came.

Conclusion of the part three.

Thus sooner after the collapse of the Soviet Union it turned out that the struggle against N.I was not only from external forces but also from internal ones. The rulers of the Armenian statehood of the last decade of 20th century refuting all national values claimed that liberalism

¹¹ Ibid

was their ideology. The outcome of this approach was reflected in educational system: the denationalized steps towards educational system were undertaken. Turkey meanwhile was strengthening its educational system. Thus both were acting against Armenia Sooner it turned out that their inspired values and ideals were false and artificial and they (values and ideals) could not stand long.

Chapter Four: Armenian national ideology: Today

The attitude of former regime towards the N.I was not kindness one. So as their supporters claimed the resignation of the president and the leaving of ANM from political stage were "due" to the supporters of N.I. Thus they left. However it seems that new political elite of Armenia is not inspired much by national values and ideals as well.

Armenia does not have the N.I because the system of values is deteriorated and the national values as well. (Baghdasryan, 2001). The state, which has to be busy by the state structures and by the creation of the national structures or at least to support the creation of them, is not in its height. If up to now we do not know what we are growing in the school level, what kind of spirit, and what kind of Armenian, than naturally we do not have N.I which is much higher than just school problems. We do not have structures, which have to be preoccupied by these kinds of affairs (such as Hay Dat or Armenian Assembly, which are the directions, by their fixed traditions). Moreover still there is a need to work out the long term agenda concerning to the National security, Cultural security, Economic, and Social ones (Ibid.) As Baghdasryan points out now nobody thinks about these kind of items but only about nowadays and current problems. "However if we speak about the pan national ideology then we have to define what kind of Armenia we want to have ten or twenty years after now. But we do not know on the

¹² Zhirayr Liparityan 1999 The challenge of statehood Yerevan quoted in Dardz Aramyan 2000 The national ideology

school level what generation we are going to bring up or grow then it is meaningless to speak about high things such as N.I” (Bagdasaryan, 2001). Nevertheless some of the leaders of the Armenian political parties expressed their attitudes in other ways. “We don't have official ideology the official ideology is the "market relationship" however Armenians always had and still have N.I and it is expressed in our literature and way of living” (Kharatyan, 2001). Armenian national ideology exists but people do not see it (Agamalyan, 2001). It will be just tragedy if the state ideology is not anchored on the national one that is why it is not correct to claim that Armenia does not have national ideology (Avagyan, 2001). “It is impossible to have clear-cut N.I the key issues of N.I can be worked out finally but not N.I because it is not static but developing concept. In addition during one period some ideals can become the primary ones, others secondary (for that particular period of time). Moreover we cannot claim that we do not have N.I Nzdeh has given almost all key components and values as well as the behavioral norms for Armenians and after some changes it can be a perfect guideline for Armenian nation”. (Sahakyan, 2001). The state is national state, that is, for the nation the state is an instrument through which it is able to achieve its destination. Thus for European nation the national and official ideologies are interrelated and it is not reasonable to separate them (Sahakyan, 2001). The national ideals are partially expressed due to the state policy. However these policies have to stem not from an official's whim, but from our historical experience and from desire to prevent the negative occurrences of past for having better future. (Hayrikyan, 2001) The national ideology is also expressed in the national security, and defense spheres, but the primary preparators of the N.I are school and culture. (Ibid.). Armenia had a national ideology, but it no longer fits to the new conditions, there has to be some reconsideration and it is impossible

completely to form the N.I because it has to be in nation's minds and souls. It is possible to work out some points of N.I but not the whole concept. (Hovhanessyan, 2001)¹³

Thus to claim definitely that we do not have N.I is not so correct at least we have ideals and some of them are already on Armenian foreign policy. (e.g. Genocide recognition). So if we do not have structures which have to deal with Armenian problems it still does not mean that we are free of ideals. We have them, only they have to become visible at least for those who want to live as an Armenian. Some of ideals stem from our past and transform to us through the genetic codes. The others have to be recovered, and served to people especially the values, which have been deviated from their real prices.

For the current state Armenian ideals according to political parties leaders are to retain our national traditions our culture, history, and way of living. (Baghdasaryan, 2001). According to Kharatyan the most important ideal for current state is to stop the immigration and to improve the social economic conditions of the Republic. From the Hanrapetakan party's point of view the most important ideal for Armenia was and still remains the Armenian Highland (Sahakyan, 2001). Hayrikyan (2001) mentions that the ideals have to be human rights the establishment of the legal state and reevaluation of the Christian values from there the concept of equality stem.

N.I has its confirmed components and one of the primary means for preservation and development of a nation is culture. A nation cannot exist without national culture. For the formation and development of the all factors of N.I, it is of primary necessity to have an adequate cultural environment: national culture. (Khurshudyan, 1999). That is why culture along with the education and science has to be in its essence national and constantly be in the center of the state's attention. Thus in order to deprive a nation from the self-preservation instinct the main means is to denationalize the educational system and the national culture.

¹³ Haylur news program Armenian Public Television December 1, 2001

The preservation, reborn and development of national culture are the necessary preconditions for the successful achievements in all spheres of life as well the most important means for a nation's unification. During these current difficult conditions in our way to the Armenian statehood only sustained culture is able to preserve the national face of Armenian people and provide the sustainability of social, moral and psychological character of the country and society.¹⁴ No nation can live in isolation and the national culture is a part of human culture. “We currently need a culture that will have an international shape and will be able to overcome national limitations and comply with the world's culture, while preserving its national content.” (Sharoyan, 2000). This is because no national culture can be satisfied forever in the "aquarium" it needs ocean.

In Armenia today neither the minister nor the corresponding bodies are preoccupied to retain culture "clean" and to get rid of "rabbis" which has become a dominant. (Kharatyan, 2001). In no spheres of life and in culture in particular we do not know that we want to have or to create. First we have to fix on what stage we are now and that very stage (that is the current) can be estimated as the tragedy. In order to have sustained national culture with our peculiarities first we have to work out a long-term agenda: the conception of development. But here there is only a vacuum. (Baghdasaryan, 2001). However the minister of that corresponding field has a different attitude "one cannot say that we have not had a policy in the area of culture. Many bitter words have been said in this respect. Having some hope in the democratization of cultural life, we now count on publicity, because we see it as the guarantee of the expression of thoughts, freedom of creation, and accessibility of cultural values. But publicity has another meaning: this word contains one's position on real problems, the solution to which brings about self-determination, gives birth to ideas, and words that express those ideas. This fundamental role of

¹⁴ (Iravunk ev Miabanutyun program 1999

publicity is more significant in the area of culture than in any other area. All of its objectives (goods, images, creations, and monuments) deal primarily with ideal and spiritual values, and secondly, with material ones. This is why a cultural policy is carried out by means of treating culture as a whole." (Sharoyan, 2000). The active operations of the national culture are obvious in other three years and it means that people begin to evaluate the true national values and realize its real cost. Moreover in their turn the artists are "applying" to the valuable and incredible items. In addition we can say that national culture makes its first steps towards the flourishing. (Sahakyan, 2001).

The culture has always been one of the fighters for freedom when Armenians lacked the statehood, now we have to give it the freedom. (Avagyan, 2001) The importance of national culture from the N.I angle is explained by Hayrikyan (2001) in this way *"N.I is mainly expressed through the Foreign policy, National Security and Defense however the main preparators of N.I have to be the state's educational system as well as the national culture. State here as well has many problems, and it has to back the national values, which sooner or later are becoming panhuman values. Translate Narekatsi (the famous Armenian medieval poet) into the other languages still it sounds perfect"*.

The importance of national culture here you are how is explained by Turkish experts.

"To be still an independent, to throw out English and French from Dardanelle after the armistice occupation with English weapons and money, to defeat Armenians and Greece, to win English morally, all these we have achieved due to the powerful national culture and N.I which is developing and empowering due to the National intelligentsia. So in the creation of the N.I the primary role is given to the national intelligentsia. " (quoted in Khurshudyan, 1999 pg. 64).

The vital importance of the national culture from Armenian perspective is as follows.

"During Kharabakh movement when Armenians were labeled as extremist and when our national ideals and desires were presented in dark colors due to Armenian children chorus I was

able to change the public opinion in the vast territory of former USSR. While presenting this or that number I used the perfect opportunity to present my nation's history, national ideals, and our objectives. Thus sooner we achieved to the fact what at least we were able to alter the public opinion."(Hekhekyan, 2001)¹⁵.

So far Armenians have to serve their culture in all its vivid colors, preserve and develop it. Armenians are very invisible in politics and have weak economy however they have unique and perfect cultural values and traditions and here we can change a climate in the cases when politics is unable. Nevertheless the social-economic crisis with no doubt also has its negative impact on the development of the culture and the priority is always given to the material needs of people. However it has to be recalled that Armenians are not only people but also a nation which requires spiritual food. Thus the importance of the national culture is out of any question: it is the face of each nation.

Another primary factor of the preservation of the nation's features and key component of the N.I is of having true national school. An English pedagogue has said the minister Gizo who has visited to an English school: *"I am trying to charge the souls of the children with the iron"*. Along with the ideal of fatherland, English national school gives to children the readiness to defend their fatherland, which is considered as one of the main problems of English teachers (Ibid. pg39). Thus the powerful nations and states have been created in such ways because they had and have strong national educational system where it is tempered (hardened) the strong national will, strength, and love. Japanese preceding from the factor that the formation of Japanese nation depends on the personal traits of a teacher in Japan a great attention is dedicated to the cadre training of pedagogues. Moreover, they consider the pedagogical schools vital not

¹⁵ September 21 2001 Tomar TV program AR TV company

only for the flourishing or for declining of the educational system, but also as the basics of the power and welfare of the nation.

To go a little bit in detail about the qualities of the Japanese schools it is worth to mention that the lion portion of the class hours in Japan is given to the "formation of the will" of the school children, which is considered as the pivotal quality of a person. Preceding from the N.I in Japan the educational system is considered as the pivotal issue of the conception of the national security.

Armenia has been and is a country of education and for Armenians the education has always been the issue of priority. In Armenia according to Sahakyan (2001) has always been a tendency regarding to the fact that if the schools have empowered so consequently the state has empowered as well. So the educational system has to be and it is one of the pillars of N.I. Moreover, for Armenia it is the issue of priority because the following:

Armenian's overall natural resource endowment is poor. The country does possess some mineral wealth, such as gold, iron, copper, and building stone, but these are insufficient to support growth.... Armenia's agricultural potential is limited. Finally, Armenia's energy resources are poor. Armenia's greatest resource is its *human capital* (particularly in natural science and engineering, but also in the arts as well as wide variety of other fields), but this advantage is eroding under current circumstances.¹⁶ Thus by all means the educational system has to be on the highest level: it is the most precious value for Armenians, that is, our wealth.

As Sahakyan states in Armenia in regard to the loyalty towards to educational system is much than enough. Armenians have always settled where, there was a school. The role of school is inestimable. Even during Soviet times at least during literature classes it was possible to make the whole society participant to our history. Thus due to this as Sahakyan states during Artzakh

war our schoolchildren, inspired by the creations of our greatest fathers and acknowledged some parts of Armenian history threw themselves into the battlefield. The most important weapon for Armenians is our school and to retain it on par with the defense ministry the outcome will be the powerful state, which in its turn will be resulted in strong economy. (Sahakyan, 2001). Thus it has the strategic importance and by all means Armenians have to retain it in its height.

Educational system has to accumulate the entire positive which Armenians had in past and make it the dominant. However our educational system does not correspond to our national experiences, high values. The national liberation struggle, which brought about the restoration of the statehood and the ideal of independence are not served as values to our generations. In the textbooks the real values and ideals, which for many centuries have not lost their real prices, are not served properly to our schoolchildren (Hayrikyan, 2001). In addition it is here in school the loyalty towards ones nation emerges and the patriotism is or has to be charged. The educational system as the transformer system of the knowledge, master ness and traditions today predicts the nation's destiny and its historical success. Armenia can look forward to the worthy future only due to the high level of preservation and developing its educational system. The educational system has a priority significance (Baghdasaryan, 2001) because in order to become a competitive nation in the world's stage first a nation needs to have a high-level educational system. However what we have today is that the educated people do not have their proper place in the society. Moreover if we speak about the national ideology so naturally the ideology has to be worked out by the educated and intellectual generation. One more concern: Armenians have always striven to get education and have had loyalty toward education and if no longer we are able to preserve these feelings then we can appear in dangerous situation. (Avagyan, 2001)

¹⁶ (USAID Armenian strategic plans For Year 2000-2003)

So what do we have today in regard to educational system? Thus according to the chairman of the center of educational reforms Martirosyan some positive reforms have been undertaken in regard to the creation of true national school.

- ❖ For the students of humanitarian departments currently it is taught as the subject "Armenian Cause".
- ❖ It is going to be taught as a subject "Armenian Statehoods"

Thus if the first one is more about our losses the second one will suggest about our achievements and will assist to get rid of inferiority complex and of no confidence towards own nation's abilities.

If earlier the subjects Armenian History and General History were taught separately, in addition the subject "Armenian history", in contrast to the reality, was too poor this year a new method concerning to Armenian History has been implemented. Thus Armenian History is taught in the context of the General History. According to Martirosyan it has been done in order to give children a chance to see Armenia and Armenians within humanity. Moreover it is done not to blame or praise ourselves but to evaluate our failures and achievements.

Thus it may seem that the intention, which will lead the educational system to the national one, is developing, only all these have to be accumulated and systematized in order to become an educational philosophy. The details have to be gathered and built the temple, which is called national school.

However our school system can't be considered as sustained. If during Soviet times it was clear-cut direction what they were bringing up (pioneer etc.) now the situation regarding to this is based on vacuum. According to Martirosyan during Soviet times the family was estranged from the upbringing "headache" currently the state of affairs is completely opposite. In this sphere we

don't have united and general N.I instead we have family ideology which even in united form cannot become N.I. This is good or bad is another question but the fact that Armenian families are strong is obvious and it is perfect. Moreover it is one of the priorities of N.I to have strong family but to some extent it weakens the role of school and it seems that nowadays schools are not hapless about this fact. The teacher training is also a problem in Armenia. During the 1996-2000 only three percent of the teachers, have been trained. (Martirosyan, 2001). Moreover the other problem exists in this system. Preceding from the fact that the upbringing of a child is heavily hinged on the personal traits of an instructor it is necessary to know how much an instructor's own problems, his or her attitudes, world perception have their influence on a child. Unfortunately there is no mechanism regarding to this. According to Martirosyan (2001) this problem is up to the school affairs and not a system and thus it is impossible to avoid this kind of situation.

The problems exist and in higher educational institutions. Here the national and state problems are pushed back to the second plan, and the primary issues are personal ones. Here also there is much work to do (Ibid.)

As far Armenia has been and is a country of education this means that we have to create our own educational system and there is no need of replication. However we don't refute to take the good panhuman and implant explicitly it in our system, of course, with proper calculation of our peculiarities. Thus no total intervention is allowed and our problem is not to "invent bicycle" which is invented long ago but to match it to our objectives and desires. So the correct calculation of all these things will bring about not only to the desirable national education, but also to the development of the science, culture, art and democratic system. *In addition one thing*

has to be taken account as well: the destiny of a nation is not decided as much in battlefield as in schools.

The other primary components of the N.I are patriotism and nationalism. The ideals of which enrich century by century and transform through the historical memory. The difference between the nationalism and the patriotism according to the Aleksander Kovalevsky (quoted in Khurshudyan, 1999) is that the nationalism is the infinite love and indulgence toward ones nation,, while the patriotism is the infinite love and indulgence toward ones motherland. Thus first is the psycho-anthropological concept the second one is historical-geographical concept. Moreover nationalism is the expressed means of the nation's self-preservation instinct. It is a defensive weapon not the offensive. The opposite of which is cosmopolitanism, which tries to destruct by all means the national values and to estrange a nation from its national and historical roots. It is also necessary to emphases that these feelings are ignited in national schools.

Homeland, national culture, language, history these nurture the real patriotism. They are the foremost conditions for a nation's preservation. That is why the propaganda of patriotism, the upbringing of people by patriotic spirits, is one of the cornerstones of the N.I. It may be sounds unpleasant but peoples grow but motherlands never (Ibid). That is why the propaganda of the motherland's ideal has to be permanently in the center of attention and custody.

Human race for the normal life and for preservation as a precondition first has to have free, independent motherland. Adonts writes:

“For a nation and a population, the fatherland is not merely a land mass. The consciousness of a people or a country is raised to the idea of fatherland with the help of all things that tie it with and bring it close to the people. Under the conditions of any given place, its links to the nature, myths, tales, traditions, habits, linguistic particularities, and features of the internal world are developed.”

Motherland is the historical place of living of a nation yet every place of living is not a Motherland. ... People and land belong to each other, yet not every land or area is Motherland. It is the "historic" land; it is a "natural home". Over several centuries land and Motherland may mutually influence each other and land may thus turn into Motherland. This is the reason why communicating with land is what determines ethnic identity, rather than living there.¹⁷

Motherland has to be free and independent thus the character of a nation will be healthy and far away from any deterioration. One of the key conditions for nation's preservation is the existence of independent motherland. That is why in the base of all nations ' N.I along with the ideal of nation is the ideal of united motherland. Thus if historically (due to some historical events) the motherland is divided into two parts (e.g. Germany, Korea, Vietnam or Armenia) it does not mean that the Motherland is two. So the eastern Armenia is not the only Motherland for Armenians. If we'll claim so it means that we alter the ideal of motherland and refuse from Armenian claims toward our neighbor country. This kind of approach had emerged during the Soviet times thus, declaring that Armenian Cause was resolved. (Khurshudyan, 2001).

However, to claim that eastern Armenia is not the only motherland for Armenians, does not mean that we just today will demand or will put on our foreign policy agenda the issue of unification of this or that part of Armenian historical territories. We all perfectly understand the seriousness of an issue but it as does not mean that the ideal of motherland is solved once and for all. Our N.I has to state clearly our ideals regarding to our motherland. Today the united Armenia can seem nonsense for some people, for others just dream. However we should believe in the future. In 1917 who did believe that Russian empire would collapse and its subjected people would acquire independence, or whether the ideal of the fragmentation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) 15 years ago did not seem the most impossible occurrence in the

¹⁷ N.Adontz *Armenian Cause* Yerevan 1996 pg. 113-4

world. In addition whether the more impossible thing, that is, the return of Jews to their country did not come true after 2000 years of roaming of that nation. (Ibid.) Jews retained their national identity and struggled for the liberation of the motherland and restoration of the statehood. Who after all could believe in that and whether that was not a miracle? However Jews people and their ideologist believed in that. Moreover they created their N.I, added, cumulated and later on it were called Zionism. The key ideal of which was: "Jews are nation, who can and has to reborn only in Palestine" (Khurshudian, 1999 pg. 162). So far does Armenian cause seem impossible? In addition it is worthy to remember that the creation of the Great Turan which is the ideology of Turks is much more complicated issue and objective that the ideal of free, independent and united Armenia. For creation of Great Turan for implementation of Panturkism ideology they have to knee Russia, Iran, Greece, Armenia, and Kurds (Ibid.) Therefore Armenian people should never lose its hope and ideal for the restoration of free, independent and united Armenia.

The ideal of motherland and the motherland itself is saint value and there has to be no concession concerning to the Motherland. It does not belong only to the current generation it is our ancestors' and moreover it is for our future generation and we have to hand them as free, independent and united one. Every nation has one Motherland and for Armenians that is Armenian Highland. However as Sahakyan (2001) mentions as the preconditions for achieving this ideal Armenia has to be the powerful state and has to have strong economy. Thus for achieving motherland's ideal we have to make the powerful country and strong economy ideals primary ones.

Nevertheless if one of the three components of the motherland these are, free, independent and united, the latter is still an ideal and moreover a dream when the rest two we have to preserve and hold because peoples' struggle for the motherland's independence is an

eternal process. But the reality is that we cannot or do not want to realize the true meaning of the free and independent motherland. Why? May be the reason is that in this time Armenians acquired the independence easily? Or might be we used to be under this or that empires' yoke? Or may be the loss of it more than 500 years made us forget the "taste" of independence? God prevents. It is so dangerous to realize that we are adjusting to live without ideals and only for today or may be even are sacrificing our tomorrow for our today. What we'll do further if we lose our values and ideals for a piece of bread, thus completely losing our national character. Thus another primary ideal for current state has to be the urgent formation of Armenian N.I.

Every nation for its stable development and preservation has to have an independent national state. State brings into life the N.I. and without national state no people can exist long. N.I is a theory for preservation of a nation, and for accomplishing this aim during centuries the different forms of statehood as well as ruling types have been created. Thus it may seem meaningless to oppose the national and state ideologies. Nations create the states in order to realize their national ideologies and if the system of statehood or the rulers do not implement them nations either change the direction of statehood or force the rulers to leave. Every nation gives life to the very system of statehood which, best expresses and implements its N.I. State ideology has to precede from the highest interest of a nation. Thus N.I is a strategy while statehood is tactic. Thus the state and national ideologies have to be the same and if it is not so, at least the state ideology has to "lean" on national one. The primary preoccupation of any national state has to be the implementation of strategic and tactical programs: that is national program. Thus between national and state ideologies cannot be opposing tendencies. National state, preceding from the N.I's primary issues, works out the concept of national state the cornerstones of which are, national economy, the doctrines of foreign and military policies, the

development issues of national culture, and educational system. National and state ideologies fulfill each other and ease the struggle of nation's preservation and eternity.

The role of national character has always been one of the pivotal parts of N.I. Thus, perfectly understanding the role of national character let me bring an example of Japan: a country, which is trying to retain everything, which is national. The role of national character in Japan is considered as the highest necessity and their N.I is based on the traditions of people, the national peculiarities and uniqueness. The "Japanese spirit" which has been shaped during centuries lies on the base of Japanese "ness. Moreover in Japan it is established *"The committee for the investigation of national character"*. The objective of which is to investigate every five years the changes in the national character and if the deviations are found to initiate corresponding means in order to prevent them. (Khurshudyan, 1999). Therefore, in Japan it is pan-national issue. Due to N.I Japanese were able to preserve their national character, psychology, and all-important national traditions and peculiarities.

So that do Armenians have in this regard? Looking at the historical process a fact is vividly expressed that a nation in one period of time or epoch displays brave will and heroic performances, meanwhile during another time are visible the complete "evaporation" of that kind of traits. Consequently a nation begins to experience failures, defeats, and loss of independence and even sometimes, they disappeared. However, if the last point does not relate to Armenia the others are matching. The exam of past has displayed that during unfavourable historical developments of the nations, especially than they lose their independence and were for a long time under the yoke of another nation began to lose by different extent and depth the important features of their national character, traditional traits. Moreover if that conquer nation was on lower level of civilization the nations finally lost their national nature.

Thus after all a nation “acquires” the inferiority complex, which is characterized as the “historical evil”. The features of the latter are: the deterioration of the traditional features, sometimes complete “evaporation”, the inferiority complex, the complex of victim, no confidence regarding to the collective power of ones own nation (Khurshudyan, 1999). Thus it brings about the victory of “I” over the “We”, the loss of nation’s proud, the emergence of the slave psychology. After all with the aforementioned characters no one nation can achieve the independence and even the possibility of its preservation is undergone to the *question*. In order to avoid this kind of outcome first it is necessary to get rid of the “historical evil”. The roots of the inferiority complex have to be found and uprooted. Only those, who have lost the ideals of independence, statehood, and fatherland, leave their country without struggle and blood. Armenians according to the historical sources have been proud, powerful, strong and patriotic. First the invaded Turks then Kurds into Armenia tried to belittle the heroic spirit of Armenians and “inject” the slave’s psychology. These efforts sooner or later gave their fruits and little by little Armenians began to lose their traditional features of character, the national pride, militant features, and began to obtain the complex of inferiority (Khurshudyan, 1999)

The N.I has to clarify and exam the influence of the ancestors on generations. The current generation of a nation is not completely free of its acts and unwillingly is led by the moral norms left by the ancestors: positive or negative affairs. The generation as the genetic legacy carries in its psychology, nature, traditions and customs.

*“The psychological nature of a race is presenting not only the synthesis of the alive individuals who are composing it but also the synthesis of all ancestors” Le Bonn.*¹⁸

Ancestors are the moral creators of a nation and unconscious creators of a nation’s behavior... the previous generation transforms us not only its physical organizations but also

inspires its ideas. They are the only masters of those who live. (Khurshudyan, 1999) We carry the burden of their mistakes and are awarded for their virtues. Thus if one separates the ashes of his ancestors from his motherland he will have the land for exploration but not a motherland.

On the base of the nation's psychology the experts as the primary problem put the myths, traditions, and language. Thus for investigating the national psychology and deepen into the N.I components it is necessary to examine the issues of myths, traditions, customs, and language.

Mystical legendary materials have been the life, the way of thinking, the way of identification of the mystically created nations. Myth tells about the sources and in extreme cases about what had been in pre historical period. That is why legends have the viable significance; they are the way of life of the primitive race. Moreover if the nation loses its mystical legacy sooner it splits off and disappears. (Khurshudian, 1999). The myth of a race is the lively religion, the loss of which everywhere and always even with civilized people is moral catastrophe. Legends express the past ideals of a race, requirements and feelings.

One of the important factors of nation's self-preservation is its historical memory. If a nation "decides" to get rid of historical memory, that is, to be freed from the historical burden, sooner or later it will "collide" with great difficulties. Moreover according to Khurshudyan without historical memory there is no nation in the world. The peaceful process of a nation's disappearance begins from the destruction of its historical memory. Thus the historical memory is one of the primary factors of the nation's preservation and development.

The carrier of N.I is the history. During the centuries the experience of the nation's struggle of preservation, and the ideals of the nation is being transformed from generation to generation due to the historical memory. The loss of which brings about the loss of national ideal. Frequently in the nations history after the drastic changes every newcomer leader or the

¹⁸ (see it in Armenian national ideology. Khurshudian, 1999)

ruler considering that the history begins from him tries to conform the history to his policies. It begins the high time to give to the history a new meaning. So it was the case in Armenia after the independence. The political leaders, as we saw above, were trying by all means to erase everything, which had national features, values. However the times passed, new generations came and history threw out the foam and passed again by the historically smoothen paths (so this happens always). So and was that time. The history has already proved its formulas and not to take them into consideration is the same as to go against the nature.

Summarizing the attitudes of the Armenian political parties in regard of what N.I has to refute or support the following can be deduced: Armenian National Ideology has to keep high Armenian national dignity and refute all racial preferences from all other nation. The characters of Armenian nation which have to be rejected are; self-praise simultaneously self-blaming, condemn of own nation's power, the violation of our self-dignity and cosmopolitanism. Armenian N.I has to stem from whose interests who want to live and develop in Armenia not as an individual but as a nation. N.I is the only criteria for evaluation and reevaluation of values not only for present generation but also for future one. In addition N.I has to exam the historical events, and discover the mistakes for the prevention of their repetitions.

The necessity of N.I is keenly felt especially during crises. For Armenians it is necessary for organizing their defense as the ideological counterbalance of Panturkism, which has always created critical conditions for Armenian nation. The basis for N.I has to be the unity of nation, which requires constant struggle against any, kind of separatism. This is the most important stance, which currently requires because Armenians history has proven that the only way out of crucial situations is nation's unity.¹⁹ In addition, any kind of interest has to be subordinated to

¹⁹ Iravunk ev Miabanutyun political fraction in National Assembly (program 1999)

the pan-national interest. Therefore, N.I has to be above and higher from any classical and party's hegemony.

Every concept, which is pretended to be a national, has to be anchored on the self-recognition of that very nation. Whereas it is not a pleasant thing to confess but Armenians do not recognize themselves well. They lack the national self-recognition. Despite the fundamental changes in the society in transition period they still carry the national self-forget "ness" as a tradition. The racial character of an Armenian has been deteriorated. Up to present their way of thinking is suppressed by the Soviet-Russian cultural and propaganda frames. (Mirsoyan, 1995) Thus national self-forget ness is in our blood and flesh and the voice of self-preservation instinct has deafened. Therefore it is very easy to accept the foreign values, customs and ideals. Moreover without any resistance they easily adjust to that new conditions. Thus exactly by this way have been shaped Armenians especially those who have been born and nurtured in Armenia and who call themselves as the "Russian speaking population" This is one of the examples and the outcomes of language suicide. So far how can we call this when a nation voluntarily gives itself to the foreign tides if not the effects of national self-forget ness?

That is why it has become an ordinary thing when during every period of our development an "instructor" appears to teach us to something and we always willingly and like a clever student hear. So will be and further until we realize and arm by the national self-recognition and estimation. We do not know ourselves; ask an Armenian to define "Armenian" and never will listen the same definition meanwhile he can precisely describe a "German" or an "Iranian". (Mirsoyan, 1995). In addition the outcome of the less acknowledgment about you or your nation is that we either suffer by the self-praised or self-blaming. Sometimes we get angry

while listening unpleasant expressions about our nation however prefer to be satisfied by the emotions.

Armenian language is one of the decisive historical factors (if not the most important one), which has had influential role on the formation of the self-identity of the Armenian nation. According to Armen Ayvazyan (2001) most probably Armenian language had been the initial impetus of the emergence of Armenian national identity. Post independent period is famous as the strengthening period of Armenian language. The education in Armenia became Armenian. However, in other years there is a tendency again to smoothen the path for foreign education in Armenia. Regardless of the law about language there are the subjects in some schools, which are taught by foreign languages. There is a segment in our society who tries by all means to restore the positions of the Russian language. (Yaztzyan, 2000) The violations come across every day on television, in newspapers, not speaking about the every day's communication language. Moreover the ambassador of Armenia in Belarus not infamous Souren Harutyunyan on behalf of Armenia signs a draft of CIS interstate agreement by which Russian language actually becomes the second official language. Thus trying to enforce the positions of that language (Ibid.) The teaching of foreign languages have to be conducted professionally and on high level but on par with Armenian not on its account as it was before. As regards to other foreign languages they have to have equal class hours. However considering the importance of Russian language we can understand if it becomes the first foreign language but never the second official. Thus considering the highest importance of the Armenian language and taking into account it as the main determinant in the "deal" of Armenian nation's preservation in language sphere it has to be initiated strict measures and conducted national policies.

Another “unvalued” component of the N.I as the rulers of former regime have labeled is national agreement. Armenian political parties while having the same primary objectives and before and now, nevertheless could not and still cannot overcome their disagreement and to achieve national agreement. In this regard Nzdeh has written:

“There is no greater evil, huge catastrophe for a nation-especially for small ones than the blind party mania. For this intolerant spirit there is no perfect truth. For it everything, which does not carry a party's stamp, is strange, and everything, which is not party's birth, is unacceptable and intolerant. They applaud only those things, which stems from their parties. For those hapless persons two multiple two equals everything but not four (quoted in Khurshudyan, 1999). Thus to achieve the national agreement has to be the preoccupation of each political party: putting aside all their disagreements they have to work for their nation's welfare. However still is obvious that in Armenian political-social life there is not a struggle of ideas, the principle conflict of world view, instead there are only self-interest, ideal free internal cleavages, which resulted even to the facelessness of people.

In the formation of Armenian N.I the following geopolitical factors, which have had and still have impact on Armenian N.I, have to be taken into account.

- *The factor of Turks emergence.* This factor undoubtedly has very significant influence on the formation of Armenian N.I. It is the most important one. Beginning from the mid 11 century occupying Asia Minor, Armenian motherland, then moving to the Europe and Africa Turks were able to occupy vast territories. Then later on they founded Ottoman Empire, which drastically altered the normal historical development of the occupied nations. Therefore the nations who had and still have to deal with the Turkey naturally while shaping the key issues of their N.I have to take into the consideration the Turkish factor moreover to precede from the Turkey N.I.

(Khurshudyan, 1999). The neighboring countries look for programs in order to resist the Turkish menace, while the occupied ones look for the ways to be freed from it. Thus after the emergence of this newcomer many countries around it had to review their N.I. In the new geopolitical and historical conditions the development of the Turkish N.I has had four stages.

- Ottomanism
- Panislamism
- Turkish
- Pan-Turkish

The Turkish N.I strategy from the outset up to present persuades one primary objective: to create ethnic and religious homogenous Turkish state, only the methods and tactics have been changed during that period.

- *Russian factor.* Both Russian and Turkey have been colonial states. Thus they both had and still have their own interest in this region. However the tactics through which they tried to achieve the occupations were drastically different. Turkey was occupying and privatizing the homelands of nations and physically destructing the populations. Russian on contrary was committing the traditionally colonial policies, with all its negative outcomes. The occupied nations in Russia were guaranteed physical existence, consolidation and the development of the national culture. Thus the Russian occupation in Armenian history is characterized as the “lesser evil” (Ibid). So the Russian N.I has had an extreme importance on the development of the Armenian N.I. The concept of Russian N.I in the Russian professional literature historically has been called as the Russian idea.

For the formation of Armenian N.I their influences have also the following geopolitical factors.

- *The Kurdish factor*

- *The Azeri factor*
- *The Georgian factor*
- *The Persian factor*
- *Religion*

In the formation of Armenian N.I Armenian Church has had a great influence. The main Christian values have become the base of Armenian N.I. Christianity and its inspired values have already “invaded” into Armenian nation’s mentality even through genetic codes (Aghamalyan, 2001). Religion, for many nations, was one of the pillars of their N.I, however for Armenians it had a complete different significance. Armenians were unique in the direction of the Christianity sharing with nobody their church direction. The church is the unifier of the nation around the N.I. It comes out as the ideologist of the national agreement and national friendship. For the Armenians it has been the unifier structure and as a rule for many centuries it has struggled for the national statehood, and independence. During the emergencies Armenian Church has always been in front line. The national liberation movement has been led by the church during the absence of statehood and moreover it has replaced the statehood for Armenians for many centuries. (Avagyan, 2001) Its role is extremely significant in the deal of the preservation, development and propaganda of the national culture. Church for Armenians has always been connected not only with religious values, and activities but also has been a leading structure in many spheres of life as well in the preservation of the Armenian nation. (Sahakyan, 2001). Moreover many years (during Soviet times) it has served as the only bridge connecting motherland with the diasporas.

However the Armenian Church today is not in its height. As Bagdasaryan (2001) points out the church suffers the immoral secular occurrences and frequently is deviated from religious

norms. It also has its fault regarding to the sects grown. In addition church lost its opportunity to restore its position after the 70 years of godless era while foreign dogmas were not late moreover enforced and settled.

So after all who decides the ideology? According to Lalayan (2000) some people declining towards the crowd "ness" claim that people through the elections have to decide it, that is, preferring this or that party's platform. However this cannot be a serious decision. N.I has to be worked out by national intelligentsia and for the rest part of the society it has to become a base of world perception and the life's orientor. So the national intelligentsia is not decided in the elections but by natural way. They appear especially during the historical crossroads and due to their moral ness and thinking abilities becomes the selected segment of a society. However there are some points that nowhere and nobody can work out, they just have to be in our minds, souls and familiar to our hearts. We just believe in them, know and retain as saint values.

In addition, ideologies are not born in cabinets and are not taken from the thick and clever books. The truth is in the life. The viable ideology can be built only on the values, which have been estimated by people within many centuries. The ideology has to stem from the people's way and style of life, character, and world perceptions. It has to grow in that particular soil, otherwise it becomes a dead word without blood, spirit, and roots. So for these entire one has to love and recognize his or her own nation, evaluate its innate wisdom. So it is the intelligentsia affairs to "take" from people all these values and norms and "give" them back to nation thousands times more.

Currently working out our N.I or some points and key issues of it is necessary to take into account the interest of the majority and even the interest of future generation. All kinds of calculations have to be long-term, in order not to sacrifice our tomorrow for our today. Therefore

we have to define explicitly all our ideals both for today and for future, and plus take into consideration all our yesterday's failures and achievements as a guideline for creating the perfect future. Moreover there is a necessity to conduct one nation, one motherland policy and in this policy motherland and diaspora have their pivotal role to play. Diaspora has an important place in the difficult struggle for Armenian cause and the Genocide issue.

Conclusion

Thus concluding it turned out that N.I is a national program by which every nation has to be guided. The importance and necessity of the N.I has been proven many times. Moreover nation have always “collided” to the difficulties when they have not had national program. In pre Soviet period Armenian State for the first time in the history backed the Armenian ideals officially. In Soviet era on contrary the N.I was in underground and had a defensive meaning, while after Stalin’s death it received a new meaning becoming an offensive one. Moreover due to that offensive struggle less than four decades after Stalin’s death Armenian could achieve:

- The restoration of Armenian statehood. Due to this one of the primary ideals of N.I the ideal of motherland came true.
- Karabakh independence.

Regardless of these achievements the post Soviet era was also a period of disappointments. National values and ideals as well as the N.I, in “sake” of Liberalism, were labeled and neglected. The state of affairs was changed after 1998. However that period also cannot be considered as the flourishing of N.I. From the N.I’s points of view still there are many shortcomings in educational, and cultural spheres. There are many values, which have been deteriorated as well. There is a tendency toward the deterioration of national character. In addition, still there are not preoccupied structures and institutions in order to cope with these

kind of occurrences. The emphasis was on these because of their leading role in the shaping of the N.I. The geopolitical factors of Armenia have to be taken into account, moreover some key points of Armenian national ideology have to precede from the other nations' N.I, particularly Russian and Turks. It also turned out that the attitude of Armenian political parties in almost all issues were different. Some of them claimed that Armenians have national ideology others reject the fact. However in one they were unanimous: Armenians need N.I without it no nation is viable moreover without the N.I the official ideology can be conducted by an official's whim. During the absence of national program in no sphere of life we can achieve the desirable ends, the desirable official ideology and the desirable country about which we have dreamed long. Now this is an historical moment that we live through and we have to pick and gather all necessary items towards which we have always striven.

Thus, the N.I components which almost everybody claims that we have (some of them sometimes are primary others secondary), has to be added, worked out and be taken into consideration the interest of the Armenia, diasporas, and Artzakh. Moreover it has to take into considerations all studies and research done before concerning to N.I. Thus based on the Tzegakronutyun and Taronakanytyun worked out by the Nzdeh and Hayk Asatryan (famous Armenian ideologist) some basic values are confirmed once and for all. Because the modernity of Nzdeh's movement still has not lost its urgency. We need shakes in our souls and have to accept the following ideals and values.

- On the bases of N.I has to be the eternal ideals of Nation and Motherland N.I has to define our Motherland. Armenians are in the 1/10 of their historical Motherland. So the issue of Armenian Highland has to be confirmed in our N.I. Otherwise the Diaspora is sentenced to the assimilation sooner or later.

- N.I has supposed a state which will bring into life our N.I. it has to be the source of the official ideology and they are not intertwined at least official ideology has to be based on the N.I
- N.I has to define the moral criteria of Armenian nation.
- Language has to be treated as a highest value and the spoken language for all Armenians both in Motherland and in Diaspora.
- A great attention: has to be given to the educational system and the serious programs have to be elaborated towards the national school.
- N.I has to combine national and human values: Unique national and exemplary human values have to be on the base of N.I
- It is necessary to emphases that N.I has to be anchored not on the hatred toward other nations but has to be based on the patriotism and nationalism here Hayrenasirytyun and Tzegapashtutyun towards ones motherland and nation

P.S. Thus, the generation, which was a witness of all these events, still is in constant quest of itself. The primary reason for these uncomfortable state of affairs is the absence of the true orientors and of course the consequence of which is that merely we do not look for them or at least we look them for not in proper places. Whereas the true system of values are national and panhuman ones with eternal truths and ideals. Moreover when we find that system, which essentially is here, then the fog will evaporate and disperse which had covered our history and future. In addition the zigzags of our paths will be understandable and saying good-bye to all our quests in historical crossroads we will able to find our existence, the meaning, and the logic of our mission.

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