

Unifying the Strategic Intent of All Armenians
To Ensure National Survival

Five Initiatives for the Government of the RoA

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July 1, 2022

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Introduction

This document is an attempt to propose an overarching vision based on the current critical juncture in history that our global nation is facing. Wrong actions, even if well-intended, can lead to a national catastrophe and probably accelerate our exit from history. The challenge is to identify the strengths that have led to our past successes and to contextualize them within our current times and the setting of recent global geopolitical movements that we are witnessing.

The policy alternatives of the RoA may be limited, but when taking into account the vast and hereto non-mobilized potential of Armenians living in the Diaspora, interesting options may emerge. This document presents the action plans that the RoA should take to be able to harness the strategic potential of all Armenians around the globe. This document is not about how Armenia should be governed internally. It only covers initiatives related to the specific issues that involve Armenia-Diaspora matters.

The document sets forth five major axes of action based on the conceptual framework of developing policies to implement the idea of “**one world, one nation**”. The focus is on proposing actionable steps rather than expanding on the theory. Time is of the essence. The document is designed to be taken and implemented immediately with concrete proposed steps.

This document can also be used as a general strategic report to top leaders in the RoA (President, PM, PM Advisor, Deputy PM, Speaker of Parliament etc.) to plan national level actions. As an alternative, it can set the agenda for serious and actionable items for global pan-Armenian discussions.

Proposed Actions

The proposed actions in this document stem from the urgent need of the Republic of Armenia to initiate the following:

- Mobilize all Armenians worldwide around a single national vision
- Engage the diasporic Armenians positively and immediately around actionable items of the national vision
- Demonstrate with serious actions that Armenia is the homeland of all Armenians with all the rights and privileges that would flow from such actions.
- Establish a true long-term culture of meritocracy in Armenia, based on the elements of the proposed national vision
- Focus on projects that support existential needs and work towards the strengthening of national unity and the preservation of the state.
- Focus on projects that will reinforce the national identity of all Armenians.
- Focus on finding the proven best in their fields of expertise who want to contribute to Armenia.

The general proposed theme of the actions is “**one world, one nation**”. All actions MUST DEMONSTRATE how they relate to this theme.

I. Unifying Armenians through Legislative Representation

Rationale

Most Armenians living outside Armenia do not consider Armenia their homeland. There are two main reasons for this.

The first is generational, as many Armenians have been born for generations already outside of Armenia and they have little or no connection to traditional diasporic institutions. The majority of Armenians have nothing to do with the church, they do not frequent Armenian clubs, and have not attended Armenian schools. They may or may not even know or acknowledge that they are Armenian.

The second reason is one of principle. Most Armenians who live in liberal democracies (Europe, North or South America, Australia) are used to representational rights. They cannot imagine calling a place their homeland whose citizenship they may have the right to acquire but where the only way there would be a mutual relationship of obligations established is for them to move to live in Armenia. In other words, Armenia is telling them that it needs their service, but is not ready to give them any representational rights in exchange. The world has already demonstrated successful diasporic representational models (e.g. Italy) and even countries like Lebanon are experimenting with them. Armenians of the Diaspora expect no less.

It is therefore proposed that a diasporic representation model be established within the RoA Parliament with the proper checks and balances in place to ensure that the interests of the citizens of the RoA living there actually have the priority on the most important decisions.

It should be noted that representation of diasporic political parties is strictly forbidden in this process. Individuals can run as candidates, but only as private citizens, not as members of any political establishment. Diasporic political parties may or may not decide to support a candidate, but they are forbidden from running candidates or their campaigns. The RoA should reserve the right to immediately disqualify any candidate who is assessed as violating this condition.

Specific Actions

1. Declare a “**one nation, one parliament**” slogan and work to implement that vision.
2. Create elected diasporic representation in the Parliament of the RoA
3. Ensure that countries from where the diasporic MP would originate allow dual citizenship and there is no conflict between the specific country and Armenia.
4. Implement a weighted voting system, e.g. the weight of the diasporic MP’s vote is only 1/4 of the weight the MP elected from the RoA. This means, for example, that the proposed 50 representatives (see proposed table) would never have more than the equivalent vote of 13 RoA MPs (and the total voting capacity of about 10% of all the votes of the Parliament of the RoA).
5. Alternatively, determine categories of issues on which diasporic MPs cannot vote, for example issues of defense and national security, election of the PM. A mix of weighted voting and issue-specific voting is also a viable option to limit excessive influence of the diasporic MPs.
6. Implement a mix of video/in person participation system in the parliament of the RoA for the diasporic representatives.
7. Since the constitution unequivocally and clearly says that the language of the RoA is Armenian, allow, with a specific house rule of order, the use of Western Armenian in Parliament.
8. Implement the constitutional and legislative changes to enable the above.

Time Horizons

The implementation of the proposed system is the action to clearly signal to all Armenians that their participation in the advancement of our nation is taken seriously by the RoA and it is being recognized by official participation in the legislative process.

1. Develop a concrete proposal and review it with selected stakeholders from the Diasporas (3-6 months)
2. Develop a final proposal for a broader consultation (within 9 months)
3. Complete the proposal and begin implementation (within 1 year)
4. Implement the legislative changes to enable the proposal (within 1.5 years)
5. Implement the necessary mechanisms and components (within 1-2 years)
6. Start the global campaign and registration process (after 2 years)
7. Hold the next parliamentary elections with the new structure (after 3 years)

Organizational Components

1. Create a proposed representational structure for Armenians living outside of Armenia.

An original representational mapping of the diasporic communities, based both on their historical importance as well as weighted against currently identified relative sizes is in the following table (these numbers are not cast in concrete and may be adjusted, they are an approximation and are provided for illustrative purposes).

Index	Country/ <i>Region</i>	No. of Representatives
	Middle East	
1	Lebanon	2
2	Syria	1
3	Iraq	1
4	Iran	2
5	Turkey	1
6	Palestinian Authority/Jerusalem	1
7	Rest of Middle East (e.g. UAE)	1
	Asia	
8	Rest of Asia (e.g. India, Singapore, China)	1
	Africa	
9	Egypt	1
10	Rest of Africa (e.g. Ethiopia/Sudan/S.Africa)	1
	Europe	
11	Russia	10
12	France	4
13	Germany	2
14	United Kingdom	1
15	Italy/Greece/Cyprus	1
16	Bulgaria/Romania	1
17	Poland	1
18	Rest of Europe (e.g. Spain/Benelux/Portugal)	2
	Oceania	

18	Australia	2
19	New Zealand	1
	South America	
20	Argentina	2
21	Uruguay/Brazil	1
22	Rest of South America	1
	North America	
23	United States of America	6
24	Canada	2
25	Mexico/Central America/Caribbean	1
	GRAND TOTAL	50

2. Create a voter registration and vote casting mechanism. Suggestions include the following:
 - a. Registration based on ability to demonstrate verifiable ancestry (e.g. birth/immigration/marriage/baptismal records)
 - b. Registration based on marriage to persons of Armenian ancestry.
 - c. A one-time initial registration nominal fee structure (e.g. \$25 per person)
 - d. Create a voter list update mechanism to verify moves, births, deaths etc.
 - e. Create a vote casting system at RoA diplomatic missions for registered voters and an online system for voters not living near diplomatic missions.
3. Create a special electoral office for diasporic representation which will have the following tasks and authorities:
 - a. Greenlighting of candidates
 - b. Monitoring campaign activities
 - c. Ensuring fair and legal elections
 - d. Running the electoral database and ensuring its updates
 - e. Implementing process improvements as necessary

High Level Budgetary Amounts and Sources of Funds

The proposed activities to enable this action all fall within the regular legislative and electoral duties of existing state institutions of the RoA. The only additional resource proposed is the special electoral office for diasporic representation. It is expected that such an office will have a staff of about 10 employees. The cost of setting up that office and setting up the electoral system and process can amply be covered by the amounts raised through the nominal registration fee of the voters. As with a minimal amount of 1 million voters (less than 25% of Armenians living in the Diaspora) \$25M can be raised.

II. Unifying Armenians through Executive State Roles

Rationale

Throughout the past year, the RoA has declared several initiatives to bring in experts or recent graduates, from the Diaspora to work in various government positions, mostly at a junior level or even at internship levels for recent graduates.

What the RoA needs is a radical focus on meritocracy and strategic impactful action to steer the country in the right direction in key ministries. There are many high level technocrats in the Diaspora who have worked or are now working in various key government positions at very senior levels (deputy and assistant ministers, strategic advisors to politicians, planning and operational management within government departments etc.). These are career level bureaucrats with an impressive level of seniority who can do wonders for the RoA, but they are not targeted. In fact, the RoA is not even aware of their existence or their capabilities as many of them are not even known to the Diaspora organizations. They may or may not even want to get involved.

It is this category of individuals that need to be targeted. However, appealing to their identity and desire to help Armenia is insufficient. The RoA must create the proper conditions to seek them out, to recruit them and to allow them to accomplish their tasks.

Specific Actions

The following are the specific steps that need to be taken:

1. Adopt the slogan “**one nation, one government**” along the same already established theme.
2. Establish a list of 10 critical ministries where the contribution of experts from the Diaspora will need to have a radically positive effect: Suggested ministries include finance and economy, education, foreign policy and diplomacy, science and technology, agriculture and food sciences, environment, culture and heritage, communications and civic engagement, health/family and social welfare, international trade.
3. For each of the ministries, establish an organization where the minister is from Armenia but will be closely assisted by two top technocrats from the Diaspora. The first would be a strategic policy advisor, the second would be a director of operations who will execute the recommended policy. Each ministry will be run at the top by this trio.
4. Establish recruitment criteria for the two expert positions from the Diaspora, this includes education, career expertise, sample accomplishments etc.
5. Establish the position goals which should include clear measurable objectives within a period of 3-4 years, organizational transition objectives within the ministry, and knowledge transfer objectives.
6. Establish details of recruitment steps for candidate selection.
7. Positions to be announced to be temporary for a period of 3 years and to be extended for an additional 2 years in yearly increments. This is to allow the recruitment of top talent who would look at this initiative as finite projects in time and/or allow them to take lengthy sabbaticals from their current positions to give a lending hand to the RoA.
8. Establish compensation criteria for the recruited. A suggested amount is \$200k per person annually plus lodging expenses for families.

9. Advise key diplomatic missions to seek the available expertise in the targeted countries (e.g. Canada, USA, Australia, UK, France, Germany, Sweden etc.) to establish initial contacts and to entice the potential talent.
10. Establish processes and structures to assist the recruited with internal ministry teams enthusiastic to create the radical improvements and who can champion all initiatives.

Time Horizons

The first 9 steps in the previous paragraph can be accomplished within 3 months. The recruitment process itself can last between 6 months to a year.

Step 10 in the specific action list can be initiated as the individuals come on board and they can also contribute to the local team selections themselves.

Organizational Components

There are no specific additional organizational requirements, apart from creating these two new positions per ministry.

It should be noted that there is no intention to replace anyone. Instead, the purpose is to establish a culture of meritocracy which would be the primary goal of all selected experts. The intention is to raise the quality level of the decision makers who will all learn by doing and observing the two new leaders in action and will be contributing jointly to the success and the achievements of the targeted objectives.

From a policy perspective, the strategic advisor is also expected to implement a policy-based critical thinking culture within their respective ministries that can also be an interesting career track for young talented Armenians who can learn and develop the new structures themselves.

High Level Budgetary Amounts and Sources of Funds

The two individuals of each of the ten key ministries are expected to cost about \$5M / year, to be handled by the state budget.

Additional sources of funds may include international aid programs that are targeted to improve state governance mechanisms; such aid being available from Canada, the EU, the USA or other international bodies such as the World Bank, the Francophonie etc.

III. Unifying Armenians through Global Intellectual Networks (Think-Tanks)/Professional Associations

Rationale

Armenian trader networks have been instrumental in our history and have helped our nation tremendously. In modern times, Armenian professional associations have been in the forefront of providing organized assistance to the RoA. Such associations include global associations of Armenian physicians, lawyers, engineers, jewelers, businessmen, IT specialists and so on. These groups operate outside the traditional organizations of various diasporic communities. The intent is to harness this expertise at a newer level and organize it around critical think-tanks that will address all the weaknesses that were exposed during the last military conflict of 2020.

These think-tanks will be creating important intellectual output, studies, research documents, policy papers, white papers etc. which can serve the global interests of our nation and assist the RoA in achieving its policy goals and objectives. These institutions, in collaboration with existing ones, such as universities and research centers, will provide the continuity of thought and grey matter to the government of the RoA. They can also act as a source of recruitment for the technocrats who will be necessary in key government positions.

The advantage of these think-tanks is that they can be location independent. Many can be affiliated with existing structures such as universities, or they can be virtual with no physical location. This will facilitate diasporic participation.

Specific Actions

The following are the specific steps that need to be taken:

1. Adopt the slogan “**one nation, one mind**” as the appropriate variation of the initial idea.
2. Review and implement think-tank seed groups in the following fields:
 - a. Strategic and regional military studies
 - b. Regional linguistic and historic/cultural studies
 - c. Economic and political science policy studies
 - d. Education and cultural evolution policy studies
 - e. Institutional and governance studies
 - f. Government strategic policy studies
 - g. Diaspora studies
3. Design a program to become a world opinion leader in these fields.
4. Design the evolution path of the think-tank, its operational model and its participation structure.
5. Design strategies for the continuous shaping of world public opinion both in times of peace and in times of war (which are separate from each other).

Time Horizons

It would be relatively easy to put together the structure of the first two steps mentioned above. As many of the component pieces already exist in Armenia and within the diasporic communities. An expected timeline is about 3 months.

Steps 3-5 are actually the tasks to be performed by the seed groups created in step 2. The timeline in this case is organic. It is expected to be a medium to long term process (3 – 5 years).

The government of the RoA can set the overall parameters of excellence, objectives for partnerships created, interest in the produced output etc.

Organizational Components

The organizational components are fluid in this case, as the structure of the think-tank itself is such.

Existing diasporic professional and trade associations can be an excellent source of specialist knowledge contribution to the expertise and the output of these new structures (e.g. in the economic, technology, medical, socio-cultural and other fields).

The primary pre-conditions to the establishment of these institutions are the following:

- Apolitical and non-ideological
- Focus on critical thinking and rational analysis
- High quality output measured at the world class level.
- Excellent communication strategy for all classical and social media to influence global public opinion.

High Level Budgetary Amounts and Sources of Funds

The expected annual budget for each think-tank is between \$5M - \$7M. The source of funds can be any or all of the following:

- Divert some funds from the All Armenia Fund to build these institutions, or expand its mandate to collect funds for it.
- Start a global campaign of targeted fundraising by both the RoA and all Armenian organizations to rally around this vision.
- Use existing funding of existing think-tanks (if any are deemed appropriate).
- For some think-tanks, such as government policy/governance institution building, obtain funding from international aid.
- To reduce costs and for increased efficiency, the government of the RoA can provide common administration assistance to the think-tanks, e.g. IT services, common administrative staff, common list management services etc.

IV. Unifying Armenians through a National Repatriation Project

Rationale

This project adopts the slogan “**one nation, one homeland**”, along the same universal theme.

Its details were presented in an online interview at

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h8hoWvm-C1A>

Specific Actions

See attached PowerPoint presentation

ՀԱՅ ԺՈՂՈՎՈՒՐԴԻ ԱՊԱԳԱՆ – ՀԱՅՐԵՆԱԴԱՐՁՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԾՐԱԳԻՐ

Time Horizons

See attached PowerPoint presentation

ՀԱՅ ԺՈՂՈՎՈՒՐԴԻ ԱՊԱԳԱՆ – ՀԱՅՐԵՆԱԴԱՐՁՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԾՐԱԳԻՐ

Organizational Components

See attached PowerPoint presentation

ՀԱՅ ԺՈՂՈՎՈՒՐԴԻ ԱՊԱԳԱՆ – ՀԱՅՐԵՆԱԴԱՐՁՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԾՐԱԳԻՐ

High Level Budgetary Amounts and Sources of Funds

See attached PowerPoint presentation

ՀԱՅ ԺՈՂՈՎՈՒՐԴԻ ԱՊԱԳԱՆ – ՀԱՅՐԵՆԱԴԱՐՁՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԾՐԱԳԻՐ

V. Unifying Armenians through Linguistic Culture

Rationale

Մենք ֆիքսելու ենք բիզնեսի հայտի դետալները: As spoken in Armenia, even in its Parliament.

Մենք պիտի հաստատենք առեւտրական դիմումնագրի մանրամասնութիւնները: As spoken in the Diaspora (in both Eastern and Western Armenian).

As can be seen, the Armenian spoken and used in Armenia is now practically incomprehensible to the vast majority of Armenians living on the planet. Today, the majority of Armenians under 25 in RoA cannot send electronic communications using Armenian script. This pace of loss of the Armenian language was particularly accelerated after independence in 1991 with a loss of many intellectuals and writers and any serious output related to the Armenian language.

The main culprit of this situation is the Stalinist crime against the Armenian language perpetrated by the so-called “modern” orthography which had the following actual objectives:

1. To create an intellectual and linguistic barrier and iron curtain between Soviet Armenia and the diasporic communities. It succeeded.
2. To cut off the Armenian language from its millennial evolutionary path from *grapar* to modern Armenian. It succeeded.
3. To cut off Soviet Armenian literary culture from the rest of the Armenians. It succeeded.
4. To identify those against such “reforms” as enemies of the state and KGB targets. It succeeded. They included Vahan Totovents (murdered by Stalin), Zabel Yessaian (murdered by Stalin), Hratchya Adjarian (persecuted, tortured and jailed by Stalin), Apraham Alikian (persecuted, jailed and exiled by Stalin) and many others.
5. To cut off Armenian culture from its strong attachment with the church (by eliminating the significance of the letter Է which is on the top of all altars). It succeeded.
6. To change the thinking mindset of children by supposedly teaching them “easier” Armenian. It succeeded. Armenians in Armenia have no knowledge of the meaning of the origin of words and they cannot do a basic word root analysis (ստուգաբանութիւն) to decipher meaning – a necessary tool to enhance literacy. They cannot even recite the Armenian alphabet with the names of the letters.

There is no wonder that some of the greatest Armenian thinkers of the time were completely opposed to this crime against our culture. These included the most famous author Hovhannes Toumanian (who died just at that time), Vahan Terian the great poet, Stepanos Malkhasyants, the great academician and linguist and the author of monumental dictionaries of the Armenian language and numerous others.

Every day, this poison is being fed to Armenian children in the schools of Armenia. Every day, the education system in Armenia continuously serves the above purposes of Stalin’s henchmen.

The most important thing that the RoA can do is to immediately reverse the Stalinist crime against our culture by reversing all the so-called language “reforms” and returning the language to its true orthography prior to 1920. By doing so it would follow its own constitution which says:

1. In article 15.2 - Հայոց լեզուն և մշակութային ժառանգությունը պետության հոգածության և պաշտպանության ներքո են:
2. In article 20 - Հայաստանի Հանրապետության պետական լեզուն հայերենն է:

Which are currently not being fulfilled and the government of the RoA is legally liable for their negligence.

By making this change to introduce a single common written language of Armenians around the world the following objectives will be realized:

1. The RoA will acknowledge and correct a century old mistake. If they could reinstate a flag which is that old, then they can certainly reinstate the Armenian language, the raison d'être of our identity. A flag does not make or break the Armenian identity, the language DOES.
2. The RoA will extend a hand of intellectual unity to all the Diaspora, including those who write in true Eastern Armenian in Iran.
3. The RoA will be the last of the former USSR nations who have to date all reversed the Stalinist crimes against their languages; all have done so except Armenia.
4. The RoA will take a serious step towards assisting the preservation of Western Armenian and thus of the Diasporic Armenian identity, since common educational material can be created for all Armenians, regardless of where they may live.
5. Electronic modern tools and platforms of teaching Armenian can be implemented because a source of conflict can be removed (e.g. on Duolingo), allowing for the flourishing of the language. Another example is the use of a universal Armenian spellchecker and thesaurus which are sorely needed.
6. A single global Armenian language authority can be implemented which governs the use of the language and can create common terminology in all modern spheres of science, technology and business.
7. An important educational mission can be created for global cooperation between Armenian education experts.
8. Historical research of archival material and manuscripts will be vastly facilitated.
9. The repatriation of Armenians from the Diaspora is facilitated, both for children and adults because of the increased commonality of the used language.
10. Armenian communities within the EU will be able to mobilize to receive EU financial support to preserve officially recognized minority language status (e.g. Cyprus, Romania, Bulgaria etc.) through the support of local Armenian institutions and institutions in Armenia which can be funded through this effort.

Specific Immediate and Medium Term Actions (0 to 2 years)

1. Immediately declare a "**one nation, one language**" slogan and mobilize all Armenians around the concept.
2. Prepare a global Armenian language adoption working agenda (within 2-3 months)
3. Call a global conference among Armenian academics and education experts (within 4 months).
4. Develop a transition curriculum for Armenia (within 6-12 months).
5. Start implementing the transition in the education system of the RoA (within 1 year)
6. Start implementing the transition in the government of the RoA (within 1-2 years).
7. Develop cooperative projects with the various Diasporic bodies (1-2 years).
8. Develop two key institutions, a) an Armenian Language High Authority for the world (within 2 years) and b) a global technology platform initiative for the preservation and flourishing of Armenian (also within 2 years).

Long Term Time Horizons (3+ years)

All specific actions listed above must have very specific established goals and be measured against them for success, deviation or failure and corrective actions need to be taken in a timely manner. Specifically, the following also needs to be established in the longer term:

- All teachers are trained to teach the above within 3 years.
- All school curricula, at the three levels (primary, secondary and university) to be converted within 5 years.
- Armenian language proficiency testing is established at all levels and are compulsory to advance further as well as to apply for any government position or to run for office at any level (within 3 years).
- For those who run for public office, systems are put in place so that their Armenian language proficiency results are made available to the public with proper access to information requests (within 3 years).
- An Office of the Protection of Language is established in the RoA with both prescriptive and punitive jurisdiction that has the role to ensure that Armenian language is the prominent language of business, in public institutions, location naming and on commercial signs (within 5 years).

Organizational Components

As described, the following organizations and institutions need to be built with their proper budgets and appropriately staffed for their operations. As a main operating principle, all publication or any material that is produced will be online only.

1. A language transition team made of language and education experts (in Armenia, supported by diasporic consultants).
2. The Global Armenian Language Official Authority (staffed equally by Armenia and the Diaspora)
3. The Global Armenian Language technology platform team (staffed equally by Armenia and the Diaspora)
4. Office of the Protection of the Armenian Language (within Armenia).

High Level Budgetary Elements and Sources

1. The language transition team from Armenia can be funded from the existing institutions where these professionals are working today (universities, education ministry) so there should be no additional staff budgetary impact. Diasporic consultants can be funded with targeted funds from diasporic institutions, international foundations or EU funds.
2. The Global Language Authority can be funded partially with EU funds and partially through the state budget of Armenia. Costs are administrative and online publication related.
3. The Global Technology Platform team can be a joint research effort between existing universities around the world, language platform creators such as Duolingo, Google, Microsoft, and Armenian IT sector experts who can be recruited for the initiative in exchange for tax incentives.
4. The Office of Language Protection is a separate government body who will need to have their own allocated budget. It is estimated that a central office of 20-30 personnel with 2-3 satellite offices of 5-10 employees each will be sufficient to serve the whole country (a maximum staff of 60).

Acknowledgement

Many of the ideas in this document were originally presented as a series of online video interviews with me, conducted by Arto Manoukian of the Tekeyan Cultural Association of Montreal, to whom I am thankful for the opportunity. I am also grateful to Pierre Akkelian of the Armenian Jewelry Foundation for pursuing this initiative with me by providing me with several conceptual perspectives on the topic and advising me on the urgent need for finalizing a complete, self-contained proposal document.