

The narratives, images, and terms, including geographic terms, used in this publication represent the views of the authors only and do not necessarily fit to the opinions of IKV PAX CHRISTI.



This publication was prepared in the framework of the Safe Soldiers for a Safe Armenia project of Peace Dialogue NGO. The project Safe Soldiers for a Safe Armenia is supported by IKV Pax Christi.



# MILITOCRACY



Author: Edgar Khachatryan  
Editor: Vahagn Antonyan

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## Introduction

*“Do you consider Armenia a militarized state?”*

If you ask this of an average citizen in Armenia you will probably not receive a definite “yes” or “no” answer. Those who are somewhat aware of this concept or understand its main essence will most likely give you an answer like, *“not more than neighboring Azerbaijan or Turkey or the USA or Russia.”* They may also answer, *“yes, but what is the alternative, considering Armenia's geopolitical situation?”*

If you live in Armenia or have ever visited it you probably did not pay attention, during the confusion of everyday life, to the men or women in military uniforms that have become an inseparable part of the Armenian daily routine. If in many countries it is almost impossible to see such things on daily basis, except for at parades or national displays, in Armenia it is not extraordinary at all. During everyday turmoil citizens do not even notice these people in military uniforms. You will hardly find a single Armenian who will be concerned about this phenomenon or will consider such things something significant to worry about, especially given the increasing number of social, economic, or political issues in the background. To say the least, most Armenians are not interested in criticizing the phenomenon of uniformed people on the streets. Nor will they try to contrast images of smiling families delighting at the sight of their children in military uniforms with images of the problems of militarization in the country.

*Should present-day Armenia ultimately be considered a militarized country?*

If so, then on what criteria is this conclusion based? If so, then is the influence of the socially, culturally, and politically militarized system on an average citizen or on the formation of his/her outlook? If so, then what does the country or its citizens gain or lose with the existence of this phenomenon? The following analysis is aimed at finding logical answers to all these questions.



## What is militarization?

First of all, let us try to make clear what we actually understand by the concept “*militarization*<sup>1</sup>.” In today’s world, the term militarization illustrates the ideology that supports militarism in the country and creates public demand towards it.

In fact, this is an ideology that mobilizes and prepares society to organize itself to withstand war situations—real or fake—or possible cases of violence. In a larger sense, within it lies the desire of the authorities or society to have a country with strong military abilities, ready to use them aggressively for the sake of national interest.

In many cases, this ideology contains the heroization and idealization of the military class and the dominance and decisive role of armed forces in public administration and policy-making processes.

It may seem as though there is nothing wrong with a militarized country. However, it is worth mentioning that militarization has multiple negative effects at several levels of the state’s social and political structures.

*Militarization puts rulers and their supporters above the law. Once there is a certain group of people for whom the law does not apply, the law slowly loses its authority and sacredness. In turn, this increases the number of people for whom the law does not apply -- more instances where the law is ignored. The regulations and norms by which a system of rule of law functions are all ignored or perverted. In many instances, existing laws are misinterpreted to the advantage of those in power while harsh laws are enacted to punish and suppress dissent. The law can therefore no longer be used to protect individual rights<sup>2</sup>.*

As Einstein noted, the great armies, accumulated to provide security and preserve the peace, carry the nations to war by their own weight. *This is*

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1. See [http://www.watsoninstitute.org/pub/Militarization\\_Demilitarization\\_Bibliography.pdf](http://www.watsoninstitute.org/pub/Militarization_Demilitarization_Bibliography.pdf)

2. See <http://www.hrschool.org/doc/mainfile.php/Lesson60/211/>

*because there is no nation that is able to pay both for war and for civilization. We have to choose, we cannot have both.*

This analysis will touch upon only a few fields related to social and political life in Armenia in order to determine the presence or absence of militarization. The purpose of this analysis is not a thorough study of these fields. Instead, it aims at arousing interest and motivation among more serious expert groups and centers so that they will carry out more comprehensive research on the following issues and will present their findings.

It is expected that the reader will grasp the examples included in the article, make comparisons, add their own examples, compare them with those underlined above (*with the definition of militarization*), and to come to a preliminary conclusion regarding the presence or absence of militarization in Armenia.



# Geopolitical Arena

While exploring this arena, the main focus of the analysis will be put on the issue of security. To notice the tendency toward militarization, it is necessary to clarify how much military potential society requests from the country according to its perception of the issues facing Armenia. Basically, how much military force does the country need to provide a sufficient level of security?

The South Caucasus has been one of the most troubled areas of the world for the last 20 years. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, this relatively small region has constantly been challenged by a variety of ethno-political conflicts. The situation in the region is now so unstable that there is always a threat of further violence. The most explosive conflict of the present-day South Caucasus is considered to be the Nagorno Karabakh conflict raised in the end of last century<sup>3</sup>.

Without even mentioning the difficulty of resolving those conflicts, it is enough to say that the geopolitical factors for these conflicts are so complex that there are many different opinions regarding who constitutes the direct and indirect parties to the conflicts.

Armenia's relations with Azerbaijan, its eastern neighbor, became tense in the late 1980s as a result of the armed conflict in Nagorno Karabakh and the recognition of that territory's independence by Armenia. It has already been 20 years since the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan but the issue remains unsolved, leading to numerous other political, civil, social-economic consequences. Armenia's relations with its western neighbor, Turkey, are a result of long-lasting hostility mainly relating to Armenian attempts to persuade the international community to recognize the ethnic cleansing of Armenians arranged in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century as genocide. What's more, Azerbaijan and Turkey—in fraternal solidarity—maintain an economic blockade against Armenia, mainly because of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

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3. Under the following reference one may find rather comprehensive and detailed information about the history of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict and its political and ethnic causes and consequences. However, there are some gaps in the article. For example, Shushi is described as a native Azerbaijani residence, although Armenians are strongly convinced in the opposite; and the article brings out data officially published by Azerbaijan on the number of refugees as the result of war, however it does not present the Armenian perspective regarding the Armenian refugees who left Azerbaijan.

[http://www.coe.int/t/e/com/files/events/2003-04-Youth-conflicts/Nagorno\\_conflict.asp#P31\\_1554](http://www.coe.int/t/e/com/files/events/2003-04-Youth-conflicts/Nagorno_conflict.asp#P31_1554)

In addition, according to the perception of both societies involved in the conflict, the possibility of a peaceful resolution of a decade-long conflict is almost impossible. Despite the ceasefire agreement signed in 1994, there have been many ceasefire violations, which lead to more loss of life and a new wave of hatred and hostility between each country.

We think that an increased demand for safety by the average citizen in a country that is in the center of such geopolitical events should not seem unjustified to anyone.

The existing situation certainly leaves a deep mark on the perceptions and actions of the country's legislative and executive bodies, and those of defense ministry officials. Seasoning our analysis with some statistical facts, it should be noted that the funds allocated for defense purposes from the state budget of the RA are as follows<sup>4</sup>

- In 2011, approximately 350.465 million USD [ 146.2 billion AMD ]
- In 2012, approximately 370.361 million USD [ 154.5 billion AMD ]
- In 2013, approximately 438.000 million USD [ 182.7 billion AMD ]

At the same time, the total budget of the country was

- In 2011, approximately 2.39 billion USD [ 1.001 trillion AMD ]
- In 2012, approximately 2.50 billion USD [ 1.044 trillion AMD ]
- In 2013, approximately 2.76 billion USD [ 1.152 trillion AMD ]

The following chart shows the comparison of the funds allocated to the defense ministry with those allocated to education, science and health sectors.

	Education and Science [billion AMD]	Health [billion AMD]	Defense [billion AMD]
2011	108.4	62.5	146.2
2012	105.5	65.1	154.5
2013	108.3	72.0	182.7

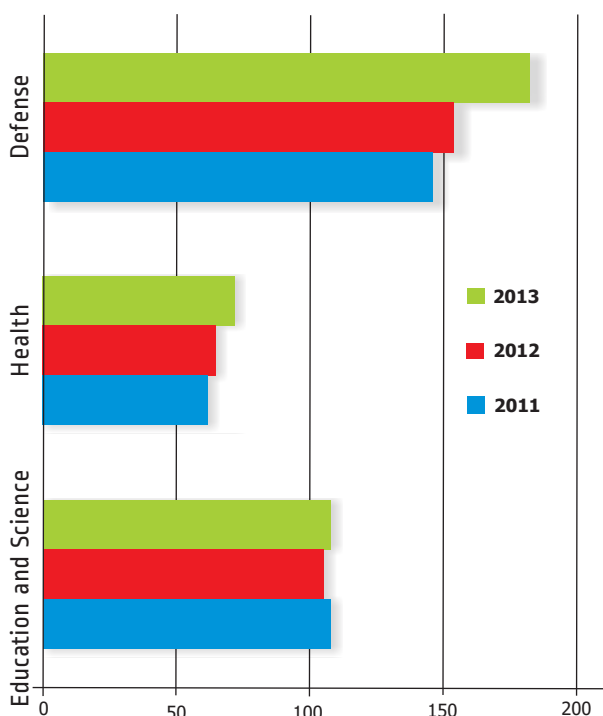
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4. The article includes data published by the RA Ministry of Finance. The equivalent amounts in dollars are provided according to the fixed dollar exchange rate for 2013 May 25th.[[www.oanda.com](http://www.oanda.com)].



In comparison with 2011, the 2013 state budget has increased by 1.15 times, the part allocated to the sector of education and science 0.99 times [which means, in fact, it decreased], the health sector 1.15 times, and the defense sector 1.24 times.

Are there guidelines regarding what percentage of the budget should be allocated for defense; or is there any practice from other countries? Also, how is it decided how much money is being allocated, according to which state department's needs is it allocated? In deficit conditions, on what basis is it decided that spending for the Ministry of Defense should be increased while others should be cut or remain the same? To find answers to these questions we turned to former prime minister, economist Hrant Bagratyan.



The new building of RA Ministry of Defense

*“There is no certain norm. There is the practice of other countries. There is also an international pressure stating that it should not exceed 4% of the GDP. The structure of the budget is established by the government. Obviously, this is determined by the country's top leadership. Analysis is sometimes done on how spending in certain spheres can impact the GDP. This is the most professional approach. I am not aware of such analysis done by the current government,”* said Hrant Bagratyan.

Only a small group of people raised the issue of transparency in the military budget<sup>5</sup>, however it still remains unsolved. Yet, almost nobody discusses a very simple question: Which sphere is deprived of funds so that the military might have them? Moreover, many people might consider this a positive development since the funds are basically allocated for our own security.

We will add to these facts a very vivid example: Try to compare the newly-built, gigantic Ministry of Defense building with the neighboring modest departments of other Armenian agencies. There is nothing more to say!

Returning to the geopolitical processes, we may conclude that, willingly or not, Armenia has emerged into an arms race with neighboring Azerbaijan.

While observing the issue on this level, the counterarguments brought by the public are presented mainly in the following manner.

## Counterarguments:

- Azerbaijan's military budget was 1.76 billion dollars in 2012. Do you consider the growth of the funds for RA defense unjustified? What do you suggest? Should we reduce from the budget the portion addressed to our defense?
- The triumphant army deserves to have a comfortable building, doesn't it? Let everyone see what a powerful army we have. Let everyone know who they will deal with if anyone dares to put an eye on our achievements or tries to weaken the grounds of our security.
- To all the pleas by small civil groups that the MD should be accountable to society for all the budget expenses and that, in general, the defense sector should be transparent both in MD and in wider social arenas the most frequently heard answer is the following: we are a country at war and the issue of transparency is not relevant.

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5. See Armenia: Flying Blind with \$400 Million Defense Budget: <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/64489>

## Political Arena

Here we will try to view the impact of the militaristic ideology on the political process in the country.

To provide more justification for the issue, it is important first of all to mention that S. Sargsyan, who was reelected as RA President in 2013, previously was the head of the Committee of Nagorno Karabakh's self-defense forces. Later, he was the head of RA Ministry of Defense, RA Department of Public Safety, the Ministry of National Security, and now he is the Commander-in-Chief of the RA armed forces.

Basically, the Republic of Armenia is lead by a military person who participated in the Nagorno Kharabakh war and who currently is the leader of the ruling Republican Party. He is also the president of the RA Chess Federation; but this fact does not have much to do with our issue.



Serzh Sargsyan: "If anyone oppresses us our attack will be devastating and final."

In general, military personnel have had a major contribution to the formation and development of this newly independent state. They also earned great esteem, which they still have for the majority of society. To this day, the officers who took part in the war are the heads of the structures and infrastructures under the Ministry of Defense, leading the army corps and units.

Even many of the oligarchs had indirect connections with the military and army life. They insist that they were directly involved in war operations or at least supplied arms and food to the defense units from their private resources.

The issues related to security that have been mentioned in the previous chapter are frequently used to convince the public that the existing regime is the only guarantee for the country's security. It is literary said: *"The Republican Party will stay in power as long as Armenia is in danger. All the other political parties, except the Republicans, will give away Nagorno Karabakh. Only ARF [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] will not do so because it lacks recourses."*<sup>6</sup>

*"Toward a Secure Armenia"* was the slogan of Serzh Sargsyan's campaign on the ruling party's ticket for President in 2013. Even the campaign materials [videos and posters] were constantly reminding society about the close relations between the presidential candidate and the army.

Just as in the case of increasing the level of financial accountability of the Armed forces, only a small number of civil groups in Armenia demand limitations on the entry and involvement of the armed forces in the civil sector.

The civil groups that seek to establish civilian control over the armed forces or carry out activities to promote respect towards human rights in the army are very few. They usually receive cold or hostile treatment from the majority of society or from the authorities.

The same civil groups have frequently expressed concern about the new law regarding the use of the army in a state of emergency [*The Legal Regime of the State of Emergency*]<sup>7</sup>. Other concerns exist regarding the risk of having the armed forces used for political purposes while the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces is also the leader of the Republican Party or about ongoing violence and mortality cases in the armed forces.

*A number of international organizations also try to contribute to the resolution of these problems in Armenia.*

OSCE had an active role in the creation of favorable conditions for the implementation of reforms in the armed forces. The OSCE Office in Yerevan has been supporting security sector reform in Armenia within the framework of a memorandum on co-operation signed between the Office and the Armenian National Assembly<sup>8</sup> and a co-operation plan agreed with

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6. See [http://www.galatv.am/news/view/item\\_565489.html](http://www.galatv.am/news/view/item_565489.html)

7. See <http://parliament.am/legislation.php?sel=show&ID=4514&lang=arm>

8. See <http://armenpress.am/arm/news/711640/>

the Armenian Defense Ministry in 2011<sup>9</sup>. NATO does the same within the framework of The Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP)<sup>10</sup>. NATO and Armenia cooperate on democratic, institutional, and defense reforms.

However, some further examples may give an opportunity to understand to what extent the RA armed forces are now intertwined with political or, in many cases, civil processes.



Involvement and participation of army in post-election processes and in the events of March 1-2

On March 1, 2008 during the demonstrations following the presidential elections, the use of force from police and military forces<sup>11</sup> resulted in clashes between the police and the demonstrators which led to mass arrests and detentions. Ten people (2 policeman and 8 civilians) were killed in the clashes and 200 people suffered injuries of different degrees.

The relatives of Lyuks Stepanyan, the soldier who died as a result of an incident on May 15, 2013, decided as an act of protest to take their murdered son to Yerevan. On the Yerevan-Sevan highway their walk was impeded by the RA police, military police, and military Special Forces. Even RA Military Prosecutor Gevorg Kostanyan, RA Minister of Defense Seyran Ohanyan and the Head of RA police Vladimir Gasparyan were there to prevent this extreme manner of protest<sup>13</sup>.

In many cases, these very forces are being used to disperse the participants of peaceful civil or political marches and demonstrations. During the National Assembly elections in 2012 and Presidential elections in 2013,

9. See <http://www.panarmenian.net/arm/news/87629/>

10. See [http://www.mfa.am/u\\_files/file/IPAP-2011-2013-ENG-Declassified.pdf](http://www.mfa.am/u_files/file/IPAP-2011-2013-ENG-Declassified.pdf)

11. See <http://www.armtimes.com/9103>

12. See [http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/activity\\_more.php?SID=2&AID=588&TopicId=7&Language=Eng](http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/activity_more.php?SID=2&AID=588&TopicId=7&Language=Eng)

13. See <http://www.galatv.am/news/view/sevan-erevan-lyuqs-stepanyan.html>

many examples were recorded of votes cast under the order or direction of military personnel.

We have also heard from many people about a very interesting thing: Many citizens of Armenia who are not yet 58 years old are told in the military commissariat that they cannot be absent from their places of residence, even for a few days, without informing the relevant officials (military commissariat).

In order to obtain the authorization to leave, they are obliged to present to the military commissariat a copy of their departure ticket. Moreover, if conscripts do not show up at the recruitment office after being called one or two times, the military officials send their documents to the police, which then searches for the absent “offenders” and, after finding them, brings them before the military commissariat.

Human rights defender Avetik Ishkhanyan, the president of the Helsinki Committee in Armenia, whom we asked to clarify the situation, thinks that this is merely an informal, impromptu act carried out based on an internal order that does not have any legal power. The human rights defender was also certain that the military commissariat is obliged to send a notification in any case. According to A. Ishkhanyan the phone calls are not a practice for a country with rule of law. The military commissariat should send a notification in case it calls someone for a military recruitment or exercise. If there is no notification, then everything else has no legal basis and that kind of practice is simply an expression of self-will<sup>14</sup> :

*Basically, there are numerous examples of cases when military bodies make some kind of excuses to try to intervene and control civil processes. The political trend of dictating behavior and conduct has already penetrated into the civil sector long ago.*

In addition, the main opponents to a recent Azeri film festival entitled STOP<sup>15</sup> that was organized by the Caucasus Center of Peace-Making Initiatives in Vanadzor and Gyumri were the same people who took part in the war and the members of the Homeland Defenders (Erkrpah) volunteer units. They thought that the presentation of Azerbaijani films was an act of

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14. More details in the article “We are Soldiers”

[http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/activity\\_more.php?SID=2&AID=403&TopicId=7&Language=Eng](http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/activity_more.php?SID=2&AID=403&TopicId=7&Language=Eng)

15. See [http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/news\\_more.php?SID=1&AID=487&TopicId=1&Language=Eng](http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/news_more.php?SID=1&AID=487&TopicId=1&Language=Eng)



disrespect towards those who shed blood for Armenia and for the liberation of Nagorno Karabakh. The event was prevented and the demonstration turned into an attack with eggs and stones on Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Vanadzor Office where the movie was supposed to be screened.

At this time, nobody has been charged for carrying out such an illegal act.

*In contrast to the examples brought in this chapter, here is what is circulating in society.*

## Counterarguments:

- The involvement of the army in the elimination of disorder on March 1st and the prevention of the atrocious actions of the Panarmenian National Movement was absolutely the right thing to do. It should have been done long ago.
- We are a country at war. Do you want to make others happier or help them by voicing the problems in the RA army?
- It is because of those who took part in the Nagorno Karabakh war and it is because of the Armenian army that we have a state. They know better what our country needs and we trust them in carrying the heavy burden of our security.
- We do not need disturbances; the loss of unity within the country is dangerous because our enemies can use the situation at any time to serve their goals.
- What's the point of making a commotion when the military commissariat obligates you to inform them about your every step? Do you have anything to hide? Are you afraid of order? It is so not only in our country, but in other countries too [e.g. in Russia].



## Economic Arena

The economic collapse and uncontrolled scale of corruption in the country following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the war, and the blockade resulted in an economic decline in the country in the beginning of this century. All this, certainly, leaves its mark on any political and social development in the country.

Referring back to the problem of our analysis, it is important to point out in which direction influence proceeds—the decline of the economy on militarization or militarization on the economic situation?

Based on the geopolitical and domestic political processes mentioned previously, the defense sector of present-day Armenia is considered to be economically the most stable and fast-developing sphere. Starting from the scholarships<sup>16</sup> which are uncommon in other non-military higher education institutions, and ending with different opportunities to solve social problems, the new generation is constantly attracted to the military by the Ministry of Defense.

Here is a new initiative of this kind<sup>17</sup>. The Ministry of Defense offers a new alternative of compulsory military service to all senior baccalaureate and masters students. The students may study one year just like all the other students and then join the army to obtain leadership skills for the future.

Colonel Poghos Abrahamyan, the first Deputy Head of the Vazgen Sargsyan Military Institute, said the following: *“With this initiative we also solve several social problems. If after completing the compulsory military service you would like to continue serving in the armed forces, you can be included in the list of people who need a house and obtain a house from Ministry of Defense.”*

In such conditions of large scale unemployment, the defense sector is one of few that is hiring, especially males.

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16. See <http://www.armtown.com/news/am/ays/20120123/2012012348/>

17. See <http://armenpress.am/arm/news/715300/>



During the last 5-6 years, the number of applicants<sup>18</sup> to the military institutions has rapidly grown. According to the applicants, the reason is that the education in such institutions is a guarantee for stable and well-paid jobs in the future, something that many Armenian families in difficult conditions need right now. Taking into consideration perceptions<sup>19</sup> on gender roles in Armenian society, the issue of the wellbeing and security of the family is considered to be the responsibility of men. Therefore, to make our point clear, we can say that it is in the men's interest to seek jobs in the defense sector.



Vazgen Sargsyan Military Institute

On this level, the public security and the demand for economic stability coincides interestingly with the offer from the government (having no other alternative for objective and subjective reasons) to constantly develop the defense sector.

*In contrast to the examples brought above here is what circulates in society:*

- What is wrong with the fact that people find employment in the army?
- What is wrong with having the army equipped with qualified personnel who received higher education? Especially when there is more and more uproar about the officers who are not competent enough and do not treat the soldiers well.
- It is the defenders of our homeland that should be well off, not those who sit in cozy offices!

18. See <http://www.armtown.com/news/am/azg/20080801/2008080117/>

19. See <http://www.girlfuture.com/greatideas/powerwords/traditional%20gender%20roles/>



# Militarization and Society

Our strength and unity is our weapon...<sup>20</sup>

The worship of the image of the military is the next level of the militarization of society.

*What kind of movies, cartoons, toys, advertisements are being created for Armenian children and adults? What is their goal and what is their influence on society and on the upbringing of the next generation?*

If you ask the representatives of the middle and older generations in Armenia what they consider to be the best examples of today's Armenian movie industry, the answers will probably include the TV shows *General's Daughter*, *The Sister*, *Don't Be Afraid*, *In the Army*, and *Anna*.

These are mainly cheap soap operas. Almost all of them somehow touch upon the topics of military people or their families, the problems of Armenia with its neighboring countries, the infinite and selfless love towards the homeland, and the ever growing threat from the enemies.

The movies broadcasted through central channels are rather popular among many people.

Even the TV show *In the Army* that was initially produced as a comedy movie that tells about funny stories from military life, at the suggestion of the Ministry of Defense, transformed into a somewhat humorous but highly patriotic device. Many people consider this a very good method to bring up a generation that loves its homeland and an opportunity to keep society alert to resist any possible aggression from the enemies at any time. Some others think this is an opportunity to develop relationships between the armed forces and the citizens and reinforce trust in the army.

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20. See <http://www.hayzinvor.am/20675.html>

But in reality, not everything is so certain.

For the majority in society, the constant presence of people in military uniforms in their lives has become completely normal. It is normal and even pleasant to the extent that people are often filled with joy when seeing their children in military uniforms.

*Basically, the military uniform is in no way linked to war or death but, instead, it has become a symbol of heroism and courage.*



Jogu-Mogu strawberry yogurt with an image of a soldier.

In some European countries you will not see an officer going back home after work in military uniform or see advertisements or posters with military images in public places.

It might sound funny, but shops there may not even sell toy weapons for children in order to avoid promoting militarization. Even the water guns have little resemblance to real guns.

*In Armenia, the image of the soldier is strongly cultivated into the image of a “real man.”*

There is an opinion that a “*real man's*” gender role can be found in the criminal code between fellow soldiers.



The future defender of the homeland.



Seems like the girls do not want to fall behind the boys in their patriotism.

When there is an absence of discipline and control from the officers, anyone who does not meet the cultivated and actively propagated standards of a fearless, courageous, hasty image of a man is forced to take over "feminine" roles, which often results in suicides, violence, and murder.

This military-patriotic image is propagated in various ways on various platforms. For those young people who like to spend their time in the internet there is a very popular funny cartoon called Kill Dim<sup>21</sup>.

The plot of this cartoon does not differ much from the contexts of the issues described above. There is an Armenian soldier who is very brave, smart, kind, and fearless and who is constantly resisted by a very stupid, sloppy, and jealous Azerbaijani antagonist whose treacherous plans always fail because of his foolishness.

You may find few Armenians who will think that the authors of the cartoon are promoting ethnic hatred and that they should be charged for spreading hatred.

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21. See [http://killdim.com/eng\\_index.html](http://killdim.com/eng_index.html)



Kill Dim Cartoon



The image of a patriotic soldier who is a “real man” is seen everywhere: on TV, in games, in school textbooks, and at home.

The reason is that many people will say:

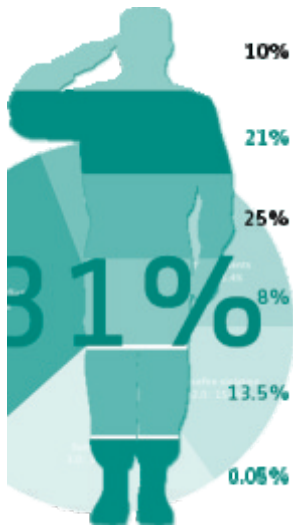
*“The hatred towards Armenians grows day by day in Azerbaijan. So what? Should we promote love?”*

*Some other counterarguments are the following:*

- What about the military people in uniforms walking in the street? It is not necessary to notice or separate the people who go to work or come home from work, including the officers in uniforms.
- In the case of conscripts, the soldiers who are on holiday or leave should wear a uniform and present in front of military commissariat in uniform.



## Conclusion



From everything mentioned above, we may conclude that a real self-serving mechanism has been developed today in Armenia that lays a fertile ground for the reproduction of a similar system with militarized political and civil structures. However, to the question “do you consider Armenia a militarized state?” many people will answer “NO! We only try to survive.” According to many people this is the only mechanism of self-preservation for small countries like Armenia and the departure from it is equal to self-destruction. However, militarization [see the first page of the article] on its own can also lead to destruction.

The foregoing analysis does not aim at proving by all means that Armenia has taken a path of destruction. It simply gives an opportunity to see the current state of events from another view point, to analyze the facts we are all aware of from a different perspective, and come to our own conclusion.

*One last remark: We would like to inform those who love to label various phenomena and people [unpleasant or disagreeable for them] that the preparation of this article is the initiative of Peace Dialogue NGO. It reflects only the opinions and concerns of the authors and is not ordered by any regional, local, or international organizations. Work is done on a voluntary basis.*

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22. See [http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/activity\\_more.php?SID=2&AID=511&TopicId=7&Language=Eng](http://www.peacedialogue.am/english/activity_more.php?SID=2&AID=511&TopicId=7&Language=Eng)







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Address: 40 ap. 12 Myasnikyan str., 2002,  
Vanadzor, Armenia;  
Tel: +374 [ 322 ] 21340;  
Mob: +374 [ 55 ] 820 632; [ 93 ] 820 632  
E-mail: [ekhachatryan@peacedialogue.am](mailto:ekhachatryan@peacedialogue.am);  
[mailbox@peacedialogue.am](mailto:mailbox@peacedialogue.am)