

## PROBLEMS OF CIVILIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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### **Abstract**

In order to discover the patterns of development of nature and society and to apply them in practice, as well as to meet the needs of people and to provide a secure environment, there was an objective necessity for the development of human civilization with the components of culture, science, production, political science and state management.

Logically and based on historical experience, the security of the statehood of each country (people) and the efficiency of public administration are conditioned by the ratio of the degree of development of political and state administrative thought to the level of civilization achieved. If the former is inferior to the latter, the efficiency of public administration significantly decreases; the statehood and the destiny of the people and the possibility of them living safely in their homeland are endangered under the influence of that factor. Therefore, it is necessary to prioritize the increase of public administration efficiency, in particular, to introduce scientific principles in the system of state and local self-government, to develop the political culture of the society and the level of analytical thinking, to attach essential importance to the training of personnel in the fields of political science, diplomacy and international law and to conducting scientific research in those areas with the aim of using the results obtained while making strategic management decisions, to strictly clarify the distribution of power between the branches of government, enshrining in the constitution the necessary counterbalances and checks.

In conditions of globalization the so-called deep state is a guarantee of the security of statehood and effective governance, a factor guiding and counterbalancing the activities of civil society. In the Republic of Armenia this role can be claimed by the Armenian Apostolic Church, the intellectual and mature business elite, the high-ranking officers of the army and the National Security Service which must undertake their patriotic mission as a tradition.

**Keywords:** human civilization, political science, public administration, statehood, security, deep state, democracy, political culture

## INTRODUCTION

From its inception to the present day the history of public administration has demonstrated certain tendencies of establishment and development. On its way from collective activity to production, i.e. the creation of material goods and security measures, humanity needed a legitimate institution that would guarantee its rights, property, security of the borders of the emerging countries: this became known as a state with important state bodies (king, ministers, police, army, security service, etc.) performing its functions.

Initially, state power was assumed by the leaders of the most powerful tribes, and as it was customary in ancient times, it was passed on to the heirs, thus beginning the tradition of hereditary transfer of power. This tradition continued until the complete establishment of the public administration system (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup>centuries). It is noteworthy that partially, though, in fact, mainly as a manifestation of a deep state it was preserved in the 20<sup>th</sup>century, and it operates in the 21<sup>st</sup>century as well. The hereditary monarch considers their most important task to be the preservation of the state power and territorial integrity of the country; in terms of the latter, especially in the Middle Ages, the expansion and conquest of new territories as well. New territories are new resources, a means of enrichment and strengthening the country, which is tempting at all times. In the Middle Ages the main means of occupying territories were the power structures, today they are replaced or supplemented by the influence of the so-called "soft power".

Under the public administration system, which is predominant today, state authorities are formed through civil society institutions, electoral technologies, as a result of which the winning political force forms public administration bodies. If under hereditary monarchy the factor of civilization was important for the quality of the country's development, which is essential for economic, social, cultural and security development, under public administration the components of political perception of the country's interests, understanding of the need for statehood, state organization are added as the most important preconditions for the strength of the public administration system, which are materialized through political institutions - socio-political organizations, and then through the public administration bodies formed by them.

The country benefits if the political institutions are at a high level of perception and realization of statehood and national interests, and on the contrary, the state weakens if they emphasize personal and party interests, demonstrating an inadequate level of political science and state organization.

For the strengthening of the state and prosperity of the country, the level of civilization of the people in comparison with the world average is important, as it is the key resource for the further socio-economic and cultural development, as well as for the solution of security problems.

At the same time, the correlation between the level of civilization of the people and the degree of maturity of the political institutions of the country is extremely important, which, as real life shows, is not always proportional. Moreover, the latter can be

significantly inferior to the former, which will have a negative impact on the solution of the most important problems of the statehood and state and the implementation of its functions.

It is a well-known fact that people and the organizations consisting of them are mostly guided by their own interests which are more manifested in organizational relations at all levels and also influence the behavior of political institutions. And if the level of people's awareness of and protection of statehood and politics, including national values, is not high and yields to individual interests, such a situation proves the gap between the civilizational and political-organizational levels of the society, which must be overcome, otherwise it can be tragic for the fate of that society or people. It should be noted that in literature on public administration and in modern economic and political literature<sup>1</sup> the issue of its effectiveness has not been properly considered in terms of the ratio of the country's civilizational, political and state-organizational level, and since it has a significant scientific and practical importance, it is undoubtedly a topical issue from the research point of view. From a practical and political point of view, the issue of the ratio between the civilizational and political development is essential for underdeveloped or even newly developing statehoods, as they are more vulnerable to the impact of geopolitical risks. From this viewpoint, the situation of the Republic of Armenia is special, because, unfortunately, the Armenian people lost their statehood four times - in 428, 1045, 1375 and 1920; and at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and during the 20<sup>th</sup> century they were regularly killed during genocide, lost their homeland, their cultural values were desecrated by savage neighbors, their material values and territories were appropriated, and today efforts are being taken to falsify history with the aim of eliminating the Armenian trace in the South Caucasus. It is obvious that the way to overcome the mentioned calamities is to strengthen the Armenian statehood in the ancient lands of the Armenian people.

The importance of factors of civilization, political science, political institutions and state-management in the system of state-building and public administration and the priorities of their purposeful use will be considered in detail below.

### **THE COMPONENT OF CIVILIZATION IN THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM**

The ideas of the state and then of public administration are among the achievements of human civilization, just like the well-known scientific ideas, the objects of everyday use created based on them (telephone, TV set, other radio-electronic values, cars, airplanes, etc.), well-known spiritual and material values bringing artistic pleasure. The content of public, including state administration is the embodiment of

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. Pal 2005; Weimer, Vining 2010; Denhard 2006; Linz, Stephan 2011; Suvaryan, Mirzoyan 2013, Suvaryan, Sargsyan, Suvaryan 2019, Acemoglu, Robinson 2016; Ferguson 2020; Sharma 2018; Stieglitz 2020; Mukhaev 2009; Pigachev, Soloviev 2005; Soloviev 2008.

certain scientific ideas through the basic law - the constitution; other sectoral laws, organizational structures of government, security services, structures for solving territorial and strategic problems. A significant part of the scientific ideas concern the political-administrative sphere, which means that the general level of civilization, especially in terms of achievements in the fields of science and culture, is not sufficient for effective state or public administration. Historical experience shows that state administration and state-building activities are possible if the level of civilization is low, but if there is certain aspiration for statehood and state organization. If the mentioned two components are present, it is possible to have a developing and effective statehood, and if the level of civilization is not high, and the level of state-building organization is active and sufficient, a state unit can be created, which will be inferior to the previous one. However, if the aspiration for statehood and the level of organization of the society are significantly lower than the level of civilization, such peoples are often not able to build a strong, developing state. If the mentioned two components are present, it is possible to have a developing and effective statehood, and if the level of civilization is not high, and the level of state-building organization is active and sufficient, a state unit can be created, which will be inferior to the previous one with its effectiveness. However, if the aspiration for statehood and the level of organization of the society are significantly lower than the level of civilization, such peoples are often not able to build a strong and developing state.

Thus, a state is an achievement of civilization and at the same time, the development of statehood is conditioned by the civilizational rise of the country - the constant growth of science, production, culture, as well as the degree of political and administrative maturity. The latter, as mentioned, is also a component of civilization, but parts of the whole, as evidenced by historical facts, do not always develop proportionally, in terms of combination of content, region and human societies, the main author of civilization.

Culture can develop faster than science, or vice versa; their development is unique and is expressed according to peoples and countries. Some landmark discoveries of human civilization, whose geography and authors' nationality and country belonging confirm this thesis, can serve as an example.<sup>2</sup> In terms of the effectiveness of public administration, of great practical significance is the issue of the correlation between the degree of civilization of separate peoples and one of its components – political and state management thought. It is difficult to quantify these two complex phenomena; however, they can be measurable and comparable in relative indicators. Particularly, to assess the level of civilization the number of scientific achievements, works of art and literature created by each nation and accepted in the world, can be used. The level of political and state management thought can be expressed by the period of statehood of the given nation (society of the country) and the indicators of effectiveness of public administration. Mathematically, the above-mentioned ratio can be expressed as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> See 100 great scientific discoveries 2018.

$$\frac{x}{y} \geq \frac{x_i}{y_i}, \text{ or } \frac{x}{y} \geq 1, \text{ where}$$

$x$  – is the aggregate indicator of achievements of civilization,

$x_i$  – the same for an individual country or people (community),

$y_i$  – the generalized indicator of the political and state management thought of an individual country or people (community).

If the inequality goes in the opposite direction, or the value of the fraction is less than one, it leads to inefficient public administration, even the risk of losing statehood.

Without delving into that complex mathematics (by the way, it is the subject of a separate study), let us mention that during its more than 5 thousand years of existence the Armenian people have had a statehood of 1500 years, which, as already mentioned, was lost 4 times. Meanwhile, in the field of world civilization, they have significant achievements in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, physics, fine arts, music, literature, theater, cinema, etc., which are accepted as a reality in the world.\*

According to Nobel Prize winner J. Stieglitz, the wealth of the people rests on two pillars: the first is the increase in labor productivity, the main source of which is technical progress made by state-funded basic research, which enriches the state, raises the standard of living; and the second is the well-structured society that enables people to cooperate, trade and invest and which is characterized by the rule of law, democracy, necessary legal processes, system of checks and balances.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that the two well-known components of civilization - science and the political-and-administrative system –are important for a rich and secure state, and therefore, for effective public administration, but both must be at a high level of development and maturity. Furthermore, the practical provision of scientific and technical progress can also be a result of political and administrative decisions. By the way, the correlation between civilization and its other component, economics and economic policy, is also essential for economic growth and innovative development. In reply to a question about the Industrial Revolution in the 18<sup>th</sup> century England, two Western authors give differing answers.

According to A. Toynbee, this revolution took place in England because the stagnation of politics, religion and lifestyle accelerated the concentration of industry, which stimulated the pursuit of technical discoveries, which were promoted by the development of mathematics and the achievements of physical science.<sup>4</sup> According to D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, industrial revolution took place in England because there

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\*In terms of scientific achievements, world-famous names are M. Khorenatsi, A. Shirakatsi, M. Gosh, V. Hambardzumyan, S. Mergelyan, Abraham and Artem Alikhanyans, Yu. Hovhannisyanyan, H. Orbeli, H. Adamyan, I. Knunyants, B. Margaryan, A. Takhtajyan. A huge contribution in the fields of art and literature has been made by T. Roslin, H. Aivazovsky, M. Saryan, A. Khachatryan, Komitas, S. Parajanov, R. Mamulyan, V. Papazyan, Narekatsi, H. Tumanyan, A. Isahakyan, V. Saroyan. Certainly the list is not complete, it can be continued, which proves the significant contribution of the Armenian people in various spheres of human civilization.

<sup>3</sup> See Stieglitz 2020: 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> See Toynbee 1991: 25.

were unique inclusive economic institutions, which in their turn were the product of similar political institutions and ensured property rights, had ended the state monopoly on foreign trade and removed barriers to the development of industry.<sup>5</sup>

Both answers are in fact correct, but taken separately they are not complete; they complement each other. Toynbee's answer emphasizes the concentration of industry and the pursuit of innovative development. All this is possible in the conditions of the existence of a corresponding political and economic environment, which is expressed in D. Acemoglu's and J. Robinson's point of view. And the concentration of industry is a consequence of accumulation of capital, which is based on the development of economic thought, classical macroeconomics [A. Smith (1776), J. B. Sey (1803), J. S. Mill (1848)].<sup>6</sup> In both approaches this important provision is missing. In other words, the degree of maturity of economic and political institutions in England, being proportional to the level of civilization, contributed to the industrial revolution, the innovative development of economy.

### **UNDERSTANDING THE NEED FOR STATEHOOD AND STATE ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS**

In the modern world, in every advanced country, public authorities form civil society organizations through democratic principles. These organizations are to exercise the people's right to power through the formation of state and local self-government bodies and arrangement of their activities. Human society has come a long way to achieve this structure of public administration bodies.

In the ancient world, politics was considered to be a set of moral and ethical preconditions for the rational organization of society, and its essence is the unification of people to achieve the lofty goals of the state and people (Aristotle).<sup>7</sup> Political science, as a teaching about politics, has developed in four stages:<sup>8</sup>

- initial phase (V century BC - XVII century AD, during which political philosophy was formed, and then the political science of the Renaissance emerged);
- rationalization phase (XVII-XIX centuries), which includes the theories of political thinkers of the new age;
- classic phase (first quarter of the XIX century - beginning of the XX century), when political science was formed as an academic course in the USA, Germany, France and Great Britain;
- modern phase (XX-XXI centuries) - the period of formation of the main schools and directions of modern political science.

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<sup>5</sup> See Acemoglu, Robinson 2016: 284.

<sup>6</sup> See in detail Samuelson, Nordhaus 2000: 638-642.

<sup>7</sup> See Mukhaev 2009: 38-39.

<sup>8</sup> See Mukhaev 2009: 60-61.

The founder of political science is considered to be N. Machiavelli, Italian philosopher, diplomat, writer who believed that power in all its manifestations was the subject of political science.<sup>9</sup> In his famous work “The Prince”, N. Machiavelli describes the types of the state, the methods of governing and maintaining power, the principles of conducting military affairs, the purposeful relations between society and state.<sup>10</sup>

It is noteworthy that Armenian thinkers have created well-known intellectual and material monuments of history, literature, culture, as well as valuable philosophical, constitutional (legal) works, but until the end of the XIX century (creation of the first political parties) the purely political thought seems poor, and later it gained momentum after the proclamation of the Third Republic of Armenia.

Armenian social and political organizations began to form at the end of the XIX century, when there was no independent Armenian state and the Armenian people with its ancestral territories, were part of the Russian and Ottoman empires. One of the first parties was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), founded in 1890 with the initial aim of organizing the national liberation movement and solving the Armenian question. The Social Democratic Hunchakian Party (SDHP) was founded for the same purpose in 1887. The next political force was the Ramkavar Party (Armenian Democratic Liberal Party), which was founded in 1921, also with the aim of solving the Armenian question. The first two of these parties, especially the ARF, participated in the establishment of the First Republic of Armenia (1918-1920) and in the important work of state building.<sup>11</sup> After the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia (1920-1991), one party ruled, the Communist Party of Armenia, which was a subsidiary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and the above-mentioned Armenian traditional parties began to operate abroad, mainly addressing national preservation and cultural issues. After the establishment of the Third Republic of Armenia in 1991, a multi-party, democratic system of public administration was legally formed in the country, and the authority bodies were formed by civil society institutions.<sup>12</sup> As a result of the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia (1995) adopted after 1991 and its reforms, and the establishment of a corresponding liberal legal field, the traditional national parties were given an opportunity to operate in the homeland. Besides, new social and political formations were established, the number of which as of 01.01.2020 reached 109. The institution of expertise was gradually formed. However, the inadequate quality of public administration and the political developments that have taken place especially after April 2018, prove that the level of political maturity of the civil society, the understanding of the need for statehood and state organization are not in line with the current geopolitical challenges. It can be assumed that this phenomenon is the result of not having a

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<sup>9</sup> See Mukhaev 2009: 69-70.

<sup>10</sup> See Machiavelli 2010: 6-87.

<sup>11</sup> See in detail Suvaryan, Sargsyan, Hayrapetyan, Asatryants, Kocharyan 2018: 20-36.

<sup>12</sup> The process of establishment of civil society in Armenia, the role of mass media in the public administration system and the issues of their development were covered in the work Suvaryan, Sargsyan, Asatryants, Kocharyan 2021.

statehood for centuries, lack of experience in state administration, immaturity of political and expert thought or being in the process of establishment. However, unfortunately, the analysis of the historical course of the Armenian statehood suggests that there are other reasons as well, which are not overcome over time, but continue. Some of those reasons are:<sup>13</sup>

- internal instability between the branches of power, as well as disagreement with the church, disunity;

- inefficiency of the leader, often lack of the necessary qualities;

- the low political culture of the society - the near absence of universally accepted values, orientations, development priorities;

- unfavorable public environment, i.e. indifferent attitude of members of society, state officials to patriotic events;

- the disintegration of the political system because of not understanding the importance of unity and integration of political forces in case of necessity. In the past this phenomenon was manifested in the form of internal struggle between the royal power and feudal lords, as well as between each other. The constant presence of centrifugal forces is a sad fact;

- the insidious policy of foreign states, to which our resistance potential is weak for the above-mentioned reasons.

These are often supplemented by decision making in management without accurate calculation of geopolitical risks, without forecast calculations, which has catastrophic consequences for the country and the people. Unfortunately, our history is rich in such examples.

This proves that the efficiency of public administration needs to be significantly improved, and the most important factors for that are:

- raising the level of state organization and discipline with mandatory fulfillment of the rule of law and authority attached;

- introducing scientific principles in the system of public administration, especially in the process of making the most important strategic decisions, which can be achieved through the right selection of management staff, involvement of experts;

- attaching essential importance to the training of personnel in the fields of political science, diplomacy and international law, conducting scientific research in those areas, raising the level of political culture and mindset of the society;

- strictly clarifying the distribution of power between the branches of government, enshrining in the constitution the necessary counterbalances and checks, which was partially overshadowed by the recent constitutional reforms (2015);

- returning to the semi-presidential system of public administration, as the transition to the principles of parliamentary governance was untimely for the current level of maturity of civil society.

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<sup>13</sup> See in detail Suvaryan, Sargsyan, Suvaryan 2019: 149-171.

In the context of the above, let us consider another problem which needs to be solved. At the end of the XIX century and during the XX century a modern classical democratic theory of the so-called political elite was formed, according to which the world should be ruled by a select minority - the elite, people endowed with special qualities (natural endowment, education, upbringing).<sup>14</sup> Moreover, according to this theory, being an elite or having an elite is a condition of effective activity of the society, it is based on the natural division between managerial and executive work, and the formation of the elite is a consequence of the natural selection of the society when the most deserving are singled out. The selection structures are different, among them are quality university education, work (including socio-political), elections, sociological polls, press reactions, etc.<sup>15</sup> By the way, the privileged (charismatic) individuals who exercise the power (leadership) of example are usually distinguished from the elite.<sup>16</sup> According to modern researchers, the problem of the modern democratic state is not the struggle against the elite, but the formation of useful, effective elite for the society, its timely qualitative renewal, the prevention of oligarchy and tendency of becoming a closed, privileged ruling class.<sup>17</sup>

### **DEEP STATE: ITS ESSENCE, NEED AND FORMS OF MANIFESTATION**

In the pages of publicistic or encyclopedic literature (“Regnum”, “Wikipedia” encyclopedia, etc.) the phrase “deep state” is often found in connection with several elite families (for example, “General Motors”, “General Electric” owners), a party, religious (Islamic Republic of Iran) or state politician, army (Turkey, Egypt), etc. It is noteworthy that the idea of a deep state is not covered in the scientific literature. At first glance, the perception of the phenomenon is negative, because, especially nowadays, there are democratically elected state and local self-government bodies, and it raises the question of what dictates the idea of a deep state. However, real life, military-and-political developments, vigorous economic competition and the struggle for spheres of influence lead to the conclusion that, as noted by the theorists of the “social alliance” of the origin of the state (T. Hobbes<sup>18</sup>, J. Locke<sup>19</sup>), the danger of “the war of all against all” is characteristic of people, if there is no state power, and in our opinion, nowadays the same phenomenon refers to interstate relations. And although the understanding of that danger led to the establishment of supranational structures (League of Nations, then the UN, various allied military-and-political associations), nevertheless, each state, by objective necessity, is obliged to strengthen its internal and external security. The army,

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<sup>14</sup> See Pugachev, Soloviev 2005: 132-152.

<sup>15</sup> See Pugachev, Soloviev 2005: 139-149.

<sup>16</sup> See Mescon, Albert, Hedouri 2000: 468, 475.

<sup>17</sup> See Pugachev, Soloviev 2005: 147.

<sup>18</sup> See Hobbs 1991.

<sup>19</sup> Locke 1988.

national security and internal affairs structures are created with these considerations. Studies show that the deep state is one of the important parts in this system. It is especially necessary in the context of color revolutions carried out under the influence of soft power, when the state is threatened by domestic political institutions acting under the influence of external forces, in the interests of other countries. This can occur even under one of the most important rules of democracy, the rule of law. Especially, according to Western experts, civil society is experiencing a setback not so much because of technology (TV, Internet, Facebook, etc.) as because of excessive state harassment.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, “civil society seems to be an abandoned zone between corporate interests and all-consuming state” and “the rule of law, which is so important for democracy and capitalism, threatens to become the rule of lawyers”.<sup>21</sup> There is even a tendency for the United States to become a country where the economy and democracy are for one percent of the population and at the wish of that one percent.<sup>22</sup> Such a situation of inequality of people is dangerous not only for the given country, but also for others, since the rich elite seeks to extend its political and economic influence to different regions, continuing the medieval traditions of colonization under the influence of “soft power”, as described in Yu. N. Harari’s work.<sup>23</sup> Under a hereditary monarchy, the need for a deep state was minimal, as the monarch and his family ruled the country and its riches, and were interested in expanding and developing the existing wealth. In the current conditions of public administration, the phenomenon of heredity is ruled out, political institutions are relatively temporary rulers and their connection with the fate of the country is their devotion to national values and patriotism. In the current conditions of globalization, the latter are variable in relation to hereditary property, subject to interested influence. It is this circumstance that makes the deep state necessary, as security forces are largely under the subordination of elected state bodies, especially if the counterbalances between the branches of power are constitutionally structured incorrectly, a phenomenon typical of young and underdeveloped countries.\* Thus, the

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<sup>20</sup> See Ferguson 2020: 130-161.

<sup>21</sup> See Ferguson 2020: 180.

<sup>22</sup> See Stieglitz 2020: 7 (By the way, this phenomenon is a proof of the inequality of people, the distortion of democracy, the existence of a deep state, the desire to spread the influence of small groups in different regions of the world).

<sup>23</sup> See Harari 2020: 512.

\* In conditions of globalization the formation of public administration bodies according to democratic principles carries risks that are difficult to manage for the following reasons:

- it is extremely difficult for an ordinary citizen today to orientate themselves to the proposed solutions of the most difficult problems of both domestic and foreign policy, which are presented by political forces;
- society is polarized according to the intellectual level and often the majority are people for whom it is almost impossible to understand geopolitical issues and deceptive demagogic promises concerning very pleasant personal interests, which increases the chances of populists to seize power;
- the institutions armed with the ideas of globalization of civil society, can quickly emphasize the universal values in the process of elections and further processes, instead of national values and interests.

phenomenon of the “deep state” is to complete the statehood of the country, not to allow the current political institutions to deviate from national values and the national vision of the development of the state and country. By its nature, it is an inapparent but stable and important component of national security. It should be emphasized that in terms of the formation of power, the content of state policy, the deep state can mean a crawling return to the concept of a noble state that existed until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which should be avoided by legislation.

Referring to the ways of manifestation of the deep state, which, as already mentioned, are diverse, it is noticeable that several European and Asian countries have preferred the institution of traditional hereditary monarchy (Great Britain, Spain, Japan, etc.). Russia will probably take that path, too (see Haldey 2020).

Among these options are the intellectual (also expert) or business elite, the religious ideology headed by the leader, various political organizations (parties), the army officers, etc. The historically well-established structure in Armenia, which can claim this role in the first place, is the Armenian Apostolic Church, which ensured the preservation of Armenian identity in the absence of statehood for centuries, even having a legal basis – the “Armenian Book of Canons”, in addition to its Christian ideology.

Furthermore, the responsibilities of strengthening the statehood must also be borne by the intellectuals and mature business elite, the high-ranking officers of the army and the National Security Service. By the way, the mentioned authorities are not enshrined in the legislative documents in any country. They are formed, established, accepted by the public over the years, becoming a tradition. The essential thing is that the above-mentioned entities should realize their mission, gain the public’s trust through their actions and become a strong bastion for the strengthening and development of Armenian statehood.

## CONCLUSIONS

For the efficiency of public administration and the security of statehood the level of human civilization in the country is crucial as a key resource for further socio-economic and cultural development and solving security issues, in addition to the high level of political science and state management thought, for making accurate forecast calculations taking into account the available resources and geopolitical risks and for making sound and purposeful management decisions.

Historical analysis shows that if the latter is significantly inferior to the former, which is observed in newly developing or still weak countries, it will have a negative impact on the process of solution of the most important problems of the statehood and state and its results. Considering the reasons leading to such a situation, in particular

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It is noteworthy that Plato pointed out the possible shortcomings of democracy, emphasizing that under those conditions “equals and inequals” are equated, as a result of which demagoguery rules, moral standards are distorted (see Plato 1971: 150, 374, 380).

for the Republic of Armenia, it is important to increase the scientific level of public administration, which can be achieved by choosing the right management staff, by taking into account the results of scientific research and conclusions of industry experts for making strategic decisions. The most important issue is the balanced distribution of power between the branches of government and its mandatory implementation by the rule of law, enshrining in the constitution the necessary counterbalances and checks.

Transition to the principles of parliamentary governance in the current level of maturity of civil society was untimely. Therefore, it is necessary to return to the semi-presidential system of public administration.

By examining the phenomenon of the so-called deep state, viewing it as a guarantee of the security of statehood, a complex of ways of its possible application has been proposed for the purpose of neutralizing the globalization and geopolitical risks.

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*Translated from the Armenian by Syuzanna Chraghyan*