

Rediscovering the Long Forgotten Democracy and Republic: Towards Pure and Sacred Republic, or Second-order Change in State Rule

Plamen Panayotov, MD

Mob. +359 878 435014 plamenpan@mail.bg <http://en.solutions-centre-rousse-bulgaria.org/>

'We have to replace the present despotic-tyrannical system with a democratic republic.'

Deacon Ignatius (Vasil Levski)

Pre-Introduction.

The qualities of a system are decided by the way its building elements and parts *are ordered*. It is exactly the same carbon, C, atomic N 6, with only four electrons available to form covalent chemical bonds, that makes up many and very different substances, compounds, and structures, like diamond, graphite, coal, petroleum and natural gases, marble and limestone, synthetics, as well as absolutely all life forms. It is not the element as such, but the ways its atoms are ordered, that make up the sometimes extremely vast differences in the qualities among these compounds. This being the case in chemistry and physics of the main element we are all made of, it is much more so in social systems. It is no wonder, as all social systems are in fact ultimately made of carbon.

Introduction: What is a Democratic Republic?

A republic (Latin: *res publica*) is a form of governance in which the administration of the state is defined as "public," rather than "private affairs" like taking care of one's own property, for instance. The latter activity is termed *res privata* and, along with *res publica*, constitutes the two main, complementary, yet radically different domains of human activity. The fundamental principle of this division is the impossibility for an individual to engage in public work by himself – such work is always done in interaction with other individual(s).

Linguistically, the primary distinction between these two types of human activity is: In *res privata*, the subject "I" dominates (I decided, sold, bought, rented... My vineyard, family, property, home, children, etc.), while in *res publica*, "We" is mandatory (We decided, say, want, do, evaluate... Our standpoint, opinion, decision, argument, etc.).

It can be said that the primary task of the republic as a form of representative democracy is to limit the power of the individual and, through the work of elected governing groups, to fulfill the needs of the principal—the people.

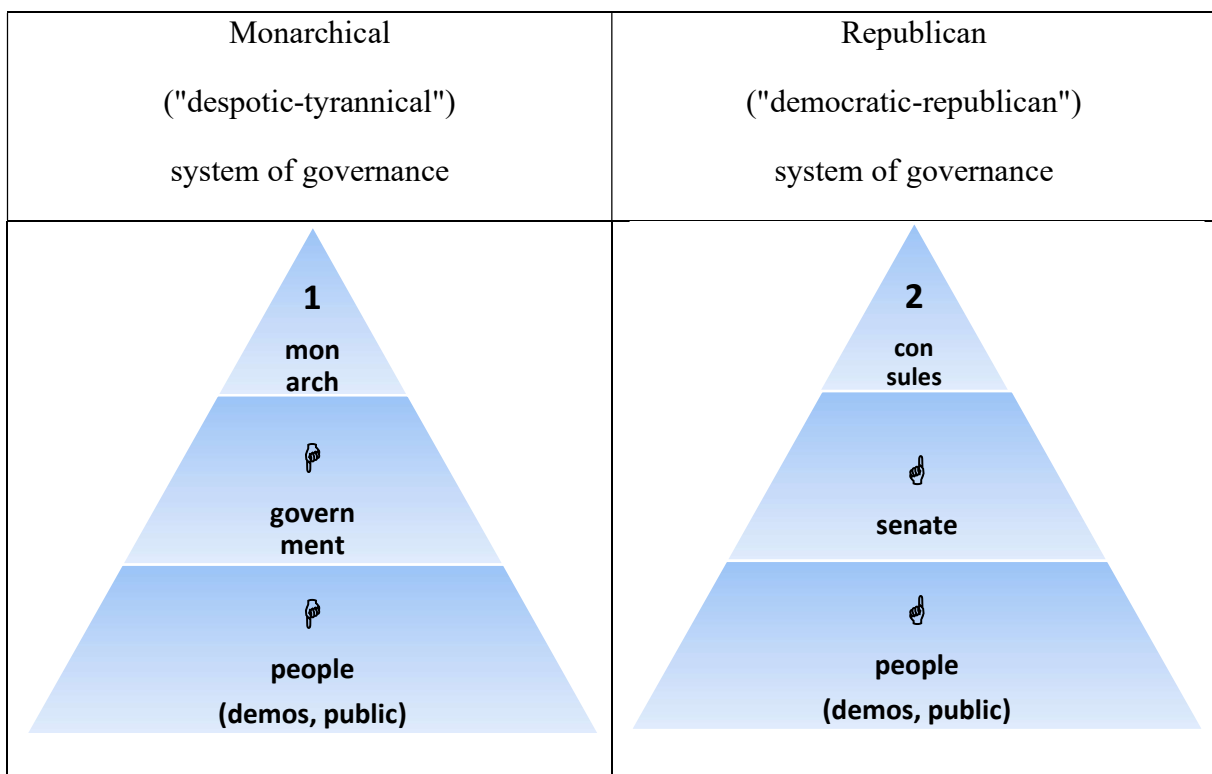
This sets the first and fundamental difference between monarchical regimes and the republic: while monarchies are ruled by ONE individual who INHERITS power, republics are governed by TWO ELECTED (or appointed by the collective governing body) leaders – known as *consuls* in ancient Rome – con-sules, "acting-together; who consult, do something together."

Throughout history, gradually the second of these essential differences becomes more established – ELECTIVITY versus HEREDITARY rule, while the first and most important

difference is systematically neglected (to the extent of being completely forgotten): TWO (or more) individuals exercising power JOINTLY, in contrast to single-person rule. In the consciousness of nations, the perception is constantly reinforced that the important and essential difference between *Res Privata* and *Res Publica* is the presence or absence of electivity, while the other, even more crucial and essential difference, is forgotten and overlooked—the NUMBER of individuals exercising power. Thus, people in practically all contemporary "republics" are led to believe that the governance of their countries is "republican," when in fact it is SEMI-, QUASI-, or PSEUDO-REPUBLICAN!

In Our Case (Bulgaria): Despite the constant assertion that we live in a republic, the structure of governance is actually only PARTIALLY republican. The truth is that we (not only us, but the entire so-called "democratic world") live in MODELS of monarchically-structured states, whether at the top of the state pyramid there is an hereditary monarch or an elected leader (president, prime minister, great leader, or general secretary of the dominant party). The fact that he (or she) is ONE INDIVIDUAL and that this individual can empower others COMPLETELY NEGATES THE IDEA OF A REPUBLIC, as it should be evident that single-person rule is part of one's personal life, of *Res Privata*, and certainly not of his *Res Publica*.

In its simplest form, the two main systems of governance look like this:



Primary differences between these two systems are:

1. The direction of empowerment—under monarchy, it is from top to bottom and from individuals to individuals and to the people, whereas under republic, it is the opposite—bottom to top and from the people to individuals.
2. The number of heads of state—under monarchy, it is one, while under republic, it is necessarily two or more!

Few remember that Rome began its history as a KINGDOM, even though all five of its first kings were elected to this position. After two centuries, conceived as a republic, Rome remains in history as an empire simply because the Romans made the grave mistake of sacrificing the republic during times of war and replacing it with a monarchy-type state—an empire—with the sole aim of managing their armies more efficiently. What they missed was that not only would war change their form of governance, but also the ruling emperor could incite and perpetuate a state of war solely to retain power and not return it to the two consuls.

During the era of the Roman Empire, the real power was taken away from the consuls, and their role transformed from substantive to honorary, and from elective to appointed. This way, the direction of empowerment changed, and nothing of the republic remained; it regressed into an empire.

Presentation: “Two Heads Think Better Than One” – a Bulgarian proverb

In the heraldry of many past and present states, the two-headed eagle is present:



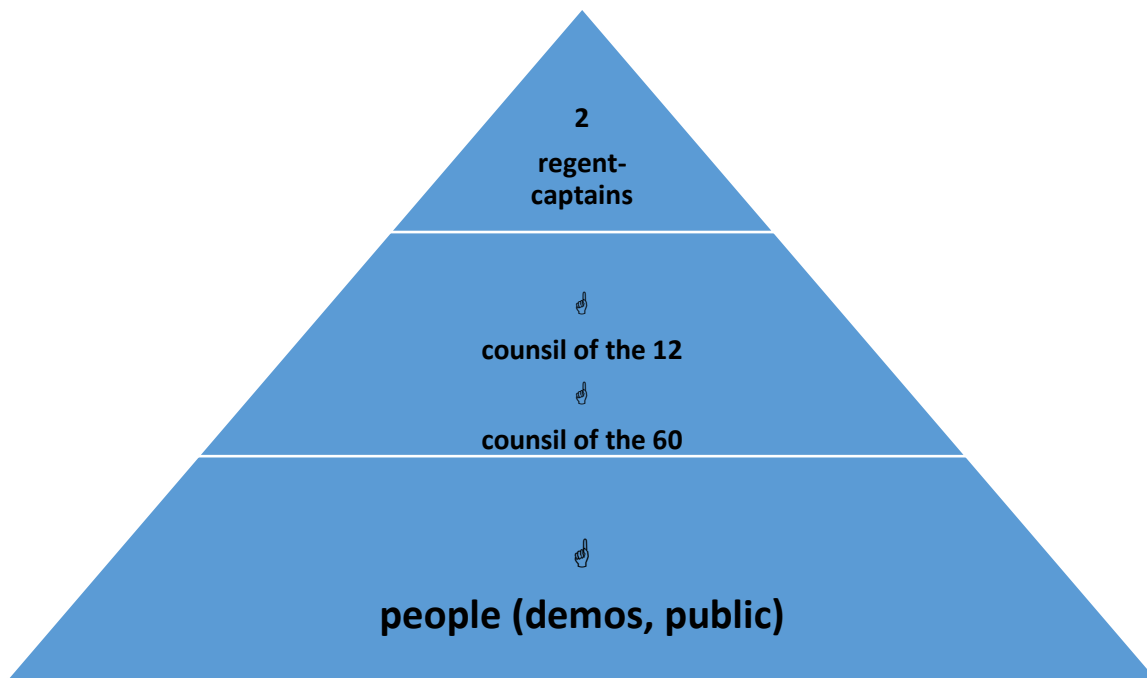
However, in reality, there is today only one true bicephalous and purely "democratic republic"—San Marino, governed by two coequal regent-captains, with equal rights and responsibilities, and an absolute impossibility to make individual governing decisions that are not consulted with the other regent-captain.

In Latin, "consules" means "those who walk/sit together." If one consul is absent—for instance, deceased or ill during their mandate (often consuls have been on the frontlines of battles)—another would be elected in their place.

It is absolutely unthinkable for a republic to be governed by a single person! NO decisions can be made without the agreement of both. The election of the consuls is the first of the control mechanisms over them—they are accountable not to someone, but to the electors. The principle of governance is not "WHO" (party, individual, clique, group, or family) governs, but "WHAT" governs—and this "what" is the mutual understanding and agreement between the consuls. If they don't agree, there's no decision!

The term "emperor" comes from the Latin "imperator" (literally, "preparing against" or more generally, "commanding"). Initially, it was the highest military position in Ancient Rome, roughly equivalent to a commander-in-chief, but gradually started to be used for the rulers of the Roman Empire. The emperor appoints all positions of power beneath him, and they, in turn, appoint those beneath them, which is the root of all corruption: when you are appointed to a position by someone, you owe loyalty to them, not to the people who didn't elect you. The model of governance becomes "WHO," and this "who" could be either the emperor or some hidden figure with influence over him. The state once again transitions from *res publica* to *res privata*.

The Solution? State Structure of the Republic of San Marino:



As seen here, this state is a "pure and holy republic," and not by chance has existed for 17 centuries with an unchanged structure of governance. ALL state positions there are elective, and every administrator is accountable to the people who elected them.

An interesting point is that the supreme rulers of the state are called REGENT-captains, meaning they are not the true "heads" (capita), but mere DEPUTIES of the true head, which is the people. And it's important to remember that.

Equally important is that regent-captains are elected for short terms and cannot have two consecutive mandates. After serving their country once, they must rest for two consecutive terms. However, they can be ministers in the council of twelve.

Today, in 2023 AD, there are only three states whose power structure is purely democratic-republican, in the words of Deacon Ignatius—Switzerland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and San Marino. Only they are not governed by a single individual but by some form of collective governing body. While Switzerland is a direct democracy, it is only San Marino that is a representative democracy constructed as a true classical and bicephalous *Res Publica*.

Pseudo-republican quasi-democracy: state structure of “democratic” countries today

What do we see here and in many other places around the world? It's evident that the current model of state governance is of a mixed type - republican-monarchical, as the Prime Minister plays the role of a temporary monarch. It's not accidental at all that he refers to his ministers as "my ministers" - they are truly his, as he appoints and dismisses them. They are accountable to him, not to the people who haven't elected them at all.

The initial direction of empowerment from the people to the individual is reversed, and the individual empowers everyone else in state governance - just like a monarch! Thus, the initial pseudo-democratic-republican structure transforms into a despotic-tyrannical one (in the words of Deacon Ignatius).

Is this state structure possible to exist without corruption? Obviously not, because everyone appointed to a certain position is personally obligated to the one who appointed them, not to the people.

Is this state structure possible to exist without war and aggression? Also obviously not, as the main task of any ruler is to eliminate (including physically) any candidate for their own position. The history of ALL despotic-tyrannical states is full of acts of assassinations of any potential ruler by the acting one:

- The entire political history of numerous empires, kingdoms, and other despotic-tyrannical systems throughout the centuries abounds in palace plots, coups, and fratricidal wars, which most often end in bloodshed and murders of every possible contender for the throne, as well as many other people with real or imagined involvement in challenging the singular authority.
- To better understand the idea of Deacon Ignatius for a pure and holy republic, it's good to relate it to the situation in which he lived: In the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed II issued the monstrous law in 1478 according to which the sitting sultan has the right to kill all his brothers to prevent any other contender for the throne. Thus, all boys, sons of the harem wives aged between 8 and 12, who were not chosen to become sultans, were systematically slaughtered. The goal? To preserve the UNIHEADEDNESS of governance. However, the law of fratricide further intensifies the struggle for the throne among the sultan's sons. For this reason, in 1617, a new rule for inheriting the sultan's throne from the oldest living member of the Ottoman Dynasty was introduced. To prevent potential plots for premature removal and replacement of the ruling sultan, he keeps all his relatives entitled to the throne locked in a special part of the palace called "kafez." There, in seclusion and isolation for many years, the future heirs to the throne indulge in carnal pleasures, degrade physically, morally, and spiritually. This explains the undeniable fact that the sultan's throne is occupied by weak personalities who are often puppets in the hands of the feudal elite, the Janissaries, and the palace camarilla. (Useful and interesting articles, 2017)
- When Napoleon was warring with the Papal States in northern Italy, he not only didn't conquer San Marino, which he could have done very easily and quickly, but also issued an order to free its citizens from all taxes and gifted them with grain and flour, as well as four cannons (which never arrived for unclear reasons). He understands that this state structure must be preserved as an example and model for future generations, but naturally, he doesn't introduce it in his own France, as that would mean giving up his power.
- Hitler's first task was not the extermination of the mentally ill, Jews, Gypsies, and Communists (all of whom become his victims later), but his internal-party rivals and the potential "second head" in his party, Ernst Röhm. In the "Night of the Long Knives," more than a thousand people from his own ranks were killed. Eliminating potential power rivals (second head of governance) may not always involve physical liquidation, but it remains a primary goal for Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Boyko Borisov, Kornelia Ninova, Putin, every next Kim, Erdogan, Ahmed Dogan, and every other ruler or candidate for power in any despotic-tyrannical system.

This makes it clear that the quasi-republican but actually tyrannical-despotic system inevitably and continuously gives birth to corruption and aggression due to its own nature, regardless of who is at the top of the governing pyramid. The situation is further complicated by the fact that this structure often stimulates psychopathic, narcissistic, and sociopathic personalities to seek

power and participate in governance. Their personality traits fit perfectly into the despotic-tyrannical pyramid, and they reproduce, maintain, and develop it over and over again. This is one of the reasons why the existing parties and their leaders are completely incapable and unwilling to even discuss the democratic-republican system described here as a possible alternative to the status quo. Instead, absurd ideas like the majority vote, which in any form not only can't change the current system but will likely deepen its flaws by emphasizing the role of the individual against others, are pushed onto the people.

In today's "parliamentary republics," the apparent "second head" of the state - the president - is not equal to the prime minister, doesn't have equal rights, and can't influence his decisions. Therefore, this institution only exists to create the ILLUSION of dual leadership. Instead of SHARING power (as between the co-consuls and regent-captains), we have the SEGREGATION of power functions, which directly results in rivalry and confrontation between the president and the prime minister. Regardless of who these two are, our recent history is full of examples of this inherent rivalry.

The governance structure of most modern "democratic" states is essentially of a mixed type – up to a point in the electoral process, they function as republics (as described by Deacon Ignatius as "democratic-republican" structures), but from there onward, they function as monarchies (or "despotic-tyrannical" systems). Thus, all of them end up as pseudo- or quasi-republics, having long lost their purity and sanctity.

To be faithful to the Apostle's covenant, we must build:

- A pure republican state structure, i.e., WITHOUT elements of monarchy, and
- A holy one, i.e., unchangeable and independent of any circumstances.

Other lessons in democracy from the Republic of San Marino: EVERY governance ends with a three-day TRIAL of the governors. At the end of each term, this court convenes, regardless of whether there have been prior claims against the governors. Every citizen of the republic can bring charges against them for EVERYTHING THEY HAVE DONE OR NOT DONE during their governance.

Why?

- For all people who live their private lives and manage their property (practicing *res privata*), the principle of innocence until proven guilty, naturally applies.
- Because EVERY state governance is essentially the management of OTHER PEOPLE'S property, for EVERYONE wishing to participate in governance, we must naturally adhere to the principle of INCREASED CRIMINAL POSSIBILITY. It's inherent in human nature that when you are the steward of someone else's property (in the words of Todor Zhivkov), you might be tempted to become its owner. Of course, anyone dealing with public resources will try to divert as much as possible for personal use. The question is whether there are enough systemic mechanisms to limit and minimize this natural tendency of every ruler, and the democratic-republican system provides these real tools.
- The above necessitates the society to develop and implement preventive and repressive mechanisms that prevent criminal readiness from becoming actual crime. One such mechanism is the genuine People's Court over every ruler. It's needless to mention the obvious – judges and prosecutors in this court are not to be appointed but elected by the

people – for instance, one judge and one prosecutor elected from each region of the country. Due to the presumption of higher criminal risk and readiness, complex procedures and financial intelligence units for uncovering property crimes are not necessary – it's enough to establish significant differences between the ruler's property before and after their term. However, the main criterion is the usefulness or harm of the ruler's actions. Decisions of this truly People's Court are final, not subject to appeal, and take effect immediately.

Preventing abuse of power. Every co-consul (regent-captain) prevents the abuse of power by their colleague by imposing a VETO on their joint decisions when necessary. Just as the founder of San Marino, a stonemason from the Adriatic islands, Marin, said to the people before his death, *"I leave you free from both of them!"* Thus, neither of the two con-suls cannot dictate anything, and simply CANNOT act against the other, only with the other.

The second mechanism limiting abuse of power is the guaranteed, secure, and inevitable holding of the People's Court, which convenes at the end of each governing term. In a pure and holy republic, every citizen must have the right to bring any claim they see fit against the just-governed.

The third limit on con-sular power is the short term – maybe one year (in San Marino, it's six months, but this is probably too short).

The fourth mechanism is the prior determination by the Senate (parliament, Council of Sixty) of the duties, tasks, and responsibilities of the co-consuls. These change according to the situation and circumstances, so it's good to renew them with each term. This way, the co-consuls are fully aware of what they are obliged to do during their term.

Fifth – the con-suls cannot be elected for a second consecutive term. They must take at least two terms off governance after their term before being eligible to be re-elected as con-suls (in ancient Rome, this interval was ten years).

Summary:

- PURITY of the Republic includes the following mandatory elements:
 - Dual leadership – not a model of "Who?" is in governance, but a model of "What?" governs, and that being the AGREEMENT between two individuals;
 - Unidirectionality of the authorization process - from the people to the individuals in governance;
 - Mandate limit – mandatory rest after each governing mandate and shortness of the mandate;
 - Judicial accountability – applying the principle of higher criminal risk to anyone tempted to govern others' property;
- SANCTITY of the Republic means:
 - Immutability of the model of state governance;
 - Strategic independence of the model of state governance from tactical tasks and specific situations.

It should be evident that this state structure stimulates consensus-oriented, communicative, psychologically and socially mature personalities to participate in power, individuals capable

of patient consideration of situations, inclined towards dialogue and compromise, as opposed to psychopathic personalities – the usual candidates for power in tyrannical-despotic systems.

Conclusion: Is that all? Of course, the pure and holy democratic republic could have other essential elements. The important thing is:

- they must have proven their effectiveness in the practice of a real state, rather than being the result of utopian ideas like "*September will be May*" (Geo Milev),
- they should be simple and understandable by everyone,
- they should be accepted by consensus of all citizens,
- they should have the potential to exercise REAL CONTROL over governance.

All this can become a reality if an existing or new political formation (or a group of political entities) sets it as a goal for the nation. Due to the existing absolute unawareness, not only among almost all citizens but also among the participating political entities, regarding the essence and characteristics of the pure and holy republic, the first step should be an enlightening campaign on this topic.

A Grand National Assembly can change the form of state governance towards a pure and holy republic, so that we can become faithful to Deacon Ignatius' covenant, which we currently obviously are not. An analytical look at the current situation in which we live clearly reveals that today's Bulgarian state has a structure much closer to that of the Ottoman Empire, for example (as well as all other empires and monarchies), than to the democratic-republican state dreamed of by him.

Afterthought 1: Why "Second Order Change"?

First order changes involve changes like "who" and "what". However, the structure of the system remains unchanged. For instance: "Who will be the next prime minister?" or "What type of military equipment do we need?" are questions that imply first order changes. They do not change the inherently monarchical structure of state governance and thus cannot lead to qualitative changes in public life. The second order change pertains to "how" state governance is structured. No first order changes can make our state a true republic. The pure and holy Republic is different from the monarchical STRUCTURE of state governance and therefore constitutes a second order change. To make the difference between first and second order changes clearer and more understandable, let's use a chemistry analogy: a first order change is like moving carbon from one place to another. However, burning carbon in coal and turning it into carbon dioxide is a second order change, as carbon atoms are arranged differently. The same carbon, arranged in a different crystal lattice, has properties not of coal but of diamond; and the exact same carbon, as already stated above, arranged in chains of atoms, makes up all living organisms – a second order change. In social structures, as in chemistry, the arrangement and structure are more important than individual elements.

Afterthought 2: What are the Expected Difficulties?

- Current politicians, both in power and in opposition, will vehemently oppose the above ideas in every possible way: from negligence and lack of response to open denial. The case of Napoleon and San Marino is indicative: realizing the importance and significance of its state structure, instead of conquering this miniature and completely incapable of military defending itself state, he gave it preferences and support, but DID

NOT INTRODUCE ITS REPUBLICAN STRUCTURE in France, as this would mean losing his sole power. ALL current leaders, as well as their opponents, are afraid of the exact same thing.

- Existing habits. People all around the world are so accustomed to the primitive model of one animal leading the herd, flock, or pride, that they may consider any other alternative impossible, and perceive the ideas presented above as absurd.
- Lack of information. The first task is to organize an enlightening campaign.
- Second order changes are much more difficult than those of the first order. It's far easier to change one prime minister to another than to change the GOVERNANCE MODEL. When mothers of children with disabilities said, "*The system is killing us,*" they were absolutely right, but kept in complete ignorance about the essence and structure of the pure and holy republic, they kept wandering between institutions and individuals in search of a solution. Perhaps after reading this text, they will have a more concrete idea about the necessary change for all of us.

Afterthought 3: Additional Effects.

- People engaged in governance are not only rulers but also role models for imitation. When the state is governed by a single person (despotic-tyrannical system), multiple "copies" of that person emerge and develop in society. With the existing separation of powers, this multiplication leads to various divisions within society. As a result, conflicts, with or without cause, become inevitable. In a democratic-republican system governed by two individuals who generally make decisions only by mutual agreement, the role model becomes CONSENSUS. This way, understanding between people starts to dominate society, rather than someone's (usually narcissistic and sometimes psychopathic) behavior.
- Clearly distinguishing between the two governance systems also results in vastly different candidates for governance roles. The despotic-tyrannical system incentivizes ego-centered, often professionally unfulfilled, unbalanced, and non-communicative borderline "res-private" personalities to seek their fulfillment in politics and power, usually for personal gain and at the expense of society. In contrast, the democratic-republican system invites dialogical, self-critical, rational-motivated, and society-oriented "res-public" personalities into governance. This drastically changes the effectiveness and efficiency of governance.
- Effects on time and resource utilization. The despotic-tyrannical system is perpetually engaged in scandals, quarrels, dissatisfactions, protests, which redirect the time, attention, and thinking of rulers towards their prevention, suppression, and resolution. In a democratic-republican system, time, efforts, and resources are used to solve actual and pressing issues of society, rather than for scandals and quarrels.
- War and peace. The despotic-tyrannical system is vertically structured and carries all the characteristics of an army or military unit. Both internal contradictions and the need for an external enemy are constant and inevitable. The vaunted SEPARATION of powers in this system, by its nature, generates divisions within society (reference: the relationship between the president and the prime minister in our country throughout the "democracy" period). On the other hand, the democratic-republican structure emphasizes egalitarianism (as opposed to elitism) as the most important characteristic of the system. The horizontal relationships between the con-suls (regent-captains) are the only possible relationships between them. Thus, the system becomes internally peaceful and externally stable. PEACE is the main outcome. Besides the fact that San Marino has existed for 17 centuries (an amount of time unheard of in any other state),

even more important is the fact that its existence has ALWAYS BEEN PEACEFUL (with its quality consistently high).

Repetitorium – The expected Social Effects of the two systems of governance:

Effect on	System	
	Despotic-Tyrannical	Democratic-Republican
Corruption	Inevitable and widespread	Limited, controlled
Conflicts and Wars	Inevitable internally and externally	Internally impossible, externally unlikely
Systemic Stability	Lacks stability, constant rule changes	Stable and "eternal"
Individual Freedom	Absent or illusory	Real and inevitable
Public Responsibility	Absent or diluted	Real and inevitable
Abuse of Power	Inevitable, widespread	Limited and unlikely

Da Capo...

"Time is in us, and we are in time; it turns us and we turn it."

Deacon Ignatius (Vasil Levski)

It's an evident fact that our ancestors and his (the Apostol's) "contemporaries" were not contemporaries of his ideas, but only of his physical existence, as immediately after Liberation, they rushed to European cafes and bars to seek for a monarch, despite his categorical statement: *"If we are fighting the Turks only for a king, then we are fools. Now we have a sultan, too. We need not a master, but freedom and human equality."* (Ivan Vazov, in "Nemili-Nedragi") The question is: Have we still not outgrown the primitive social organization in which the dominant alpha male or dominant female does everything possible to eliminate all competition and SINGLE-HANDEDLY rule our country in a despotic-tyrannical system, or have we matured enough to live in a TWO-HEADED pure and holy republic? Who knows?

I'll conclude with: WHEN THE TIME COMES and we decide to put His ideas into practice (instead of just adorning our offices with His portraits), we will have to find names to the two rulers. It's unlikely that "con-suls" or "regent-captains" are suitable terms for us. A more Bulgarian term would be "voivodas," but it seems to me that *"The Two Contemporaries"* would be more accurate, as they will share a brief time in governance, and to remind them that *Sic Transit Gloria Mundi*.

References:

- [Wikipedia - Republic](#)
- [Useful and Curious Articles \(2017\)](#)