

**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF ARMENIA**

**FOREIGN AND NATIONAL POLICY ISSUES IN PRE-ELECTION PROGRAMS OF  
ARMENIAN POLITICAL PARTIES**

**A MASTER'S ESSAY SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE  
SCHOOL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FOR  
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS**

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**2008**

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**American University of Armenia**

**January 2008**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my gratitude to the whole faculty of the School of Political Science and International Affairs of the American University of Armenia, who has done a tremendous work in bringing to the light the current political reality and the historical precedents, but also in showing a new and broader view to the world.

I would like to express my gratitude to my Faculty Advisor Dr. Armen Aivazian for the tolerance and for the assistance that he has provided throughout the whole period of writing my Master's Essay.

Also, I want to express my special thanks to the Dean of the School of Political Science and International Affairs Dr. Lucig Danielian for the support that she have provided during my study at AUA, for the invaluable knowledge and skills that I have learned from her.

Finally, I would like to express appreciation to my family and friends for the support they have provided during my study at AUA.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to observe and analyze positions of Armenian political parties towards important national and foreign policy issues as well as to find whether they support their program proposals by pertinent methods and mechanisms. The study utilizes content/comparative analysis. The sources for analysis are pre-election programs of 14 parties, which took part in 2007 parliamentary elections.

To describe a political party's pre-election program on national issues this study's starting point is the examination of the most important factors of national language, history, and culture. Moreover, the essay will discuss the ways of solving national security issues that parties bring in their pre-elections programs.

The study, then, will try to identify how the major issues of foreign policy are addressed in the Armenian parties' pre-election programs. In particular, the three directions of foreign policy would be analyzed: Armenian-Turkish relations, including the Genocide problematics and the opening of Armenian-Turkish border, Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, in particular the Karabakh conflict, Armenian-Georgian relations, including the problem of Javakhk, and Armenian-Diaspora relations.

## List of abbreviations

Republican Party of Armenia	RPA
Prosperous Party	PP
Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun	ARFD
Country of Law Party	CLP
Heritage Party	HP
National Democratic Party	NDP
National Unity Party	NUP
Dashink Party	DP
Democratic Way Party	DWP
Armenian Democratic Party	ADP
People's Party of Armenia	PPA
Communist Party	CP
New Times Party	NTP
United Liberal National Party	ULNP

## **Introduction**

It is almost seventeen years that Armenia has moved from a one party system to multiparty one. However, though almost one hundred parties were founded since independence, only about a dozen of them have registered an electoral success.

It is important to note that for Armenia the proper functioning of a multi-party political system is needed, because for a mature democracy this feature carries an extreme importance. Political parties serve multiple functions, as: organizing and mobilizing campaigns, connecting civil and political society, and finally, articulating and aggregating disparate interests. However, in post-communist Armenia, although many parties pretended to base their political actions and programs on certain ideological positions, the accomplishment of their declared tasks and promises has been very poor. This lack of strong ideology and policy development serves as one of the causes of how and why most political parties are constructed in Armenia—to advance the individual interests and parochial concerns of the party leadership and their small circle of supporters<sup>1</sup>.

The aim of this study is to observe pre-election programs of Armenian political parties, and to find out whether that parties have crafted such policy alternatives that include practical methods and mechanisms for those alternatives' implementation.

The observation of issues such as the importance of Armenian language, culture and history, will fall under the study of pre-election programs. With regards to the Armenian language, it was perhaps chronologically the earliest and the most crucial determinant in the process of Armenian identity and ethnic consciousness formation. The use of Armenian as

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the question of political ideology, it must be stressed that it is considered to be a collection of ideas, principles, doctrines of a social movement, institution, class, or large group that explains how society should work, and offers some political and cultural proposal for a certain social order. A political ideology largely concerns itself with how to allocate power and to what ends it should be used.

mother tongue determined – and still determines, some would say – who an Armenian is (Aivazian 2003).

The factor of national security, probably, represents one of the other most essential issues on national policy level. The construction of a militarily and economically viable Armenian state is still the major objective for the national security of Armenia. According to the newly-adopted National Security Strategy, there are five fundamental values for Armenia's national security: Independence, Safety of state and the people, Peace and international cooperation, Protection of Armenian identity and Well-being. Protection of Armenian identity is the job of the Armenian state both in Armenia and in the Armenian Diaspora, the latter having at least twice as numerous as the population of the Republic of Armenia. The document divides the threats to national security into two categories: the external and the internal realm (2003).

It is widely known that Armenia's relations with Georgia and Iran seem to be normal, in contrary to the relations either with Turkey or Azerbaijan, which are unfriendly and hostile. Although Georgia is an important link between Armenia to the outside world, Georgia's ability to serve as a dependable transport route is severely limited by domestic instability and the revival of ethnic conflicts in Georgia's regions of South-Ossetia and Abkhazia. Turkey and Iran are sizeable countries with activist regional policies and conflicting interests and values. Turkey is a pro-Western country and the West's proxy security guarantor in the region, while Iran is an international pariah, standing for Islamic fundamentalism and "everything anti-Western. The regional security picture for Armenia is even more complicated in light of Russian and U.S. engagement in the region. These challenges and the complexity of the regional geopolitics make the security a number one priority for Armenia. Therefore, as relations with these countries are seen to form problematic issues for our country, and as long as political parties are the ones who



shape public policies, the study will try to observe the issues mentioned above in the political parties' pre-election programs.

The bases for Armenia-Diaspora efficient cooperation are also tied with the Armenian national security. These relationships are not fully developed and there still remains a gap.

Consequently, all these issues will be observed in the following study, within the framework of political parties' pre-election programs.

## **Literature Review**

According to Diamond (1997) political parties are fundamental for the functioning of a strong democratic political order, as if they are a requisite for modern liberal democracy (Lewis 2003). They make a critical contribution to the political life of emerging or consolidating democracies. In many pluralist systems, parties help to define and express competing political interests. They also serve to integrate those interests within the institutions that represent entire community and legislate for the country as a whole (2003).

Diamond has also pointed out that “political parties remain important if not essential instruments for presenting political constituencies and interests, aggregating demands and preferences, recruiting and socializing new candidates for office, organizing the electoral competition for power, crafting policy alternatives, setting the policy-making agenda, forming effective governments, and integrating groups and individuals into the democratic process (1997, xxv)”.

In other words, parties aggregate and represent social interests and provide a structure for political participation. They train political leaders who will assume a role in governing society. In addition, parties contest and win elections, and seek a measure of control within governmental institutions (Kuo 2005).

To that extent, most of Armenian political parties are still to a large degree disconnected from a shifting electoral base, are still rather ideologically amorphous, and, relatively underdeveloped organizations. They are, in other words, primarily personalistic organizations (Dudwick 1997). This is important simply because most of the understanding about how political parties contribute to the functioning of democracy assumes that parties have a certain

independence, consistency, and continuity, both of which are less likely if the party is simply a vehicle for a charismatic leader (Baumgartner 2002).

Party competition in elections has been studied extensively. Numerous studies (e.g. Robertson 1976, Heath et al. 1985, and Klingemann et al. 1994) have attempted to explain how parties compete with each other, and how they attract voters.

Downs' book (1957) is often viewed as belonging to the theory of voting, but it is equally pertinent to the theory of parties. Downs assumed that “not only that parties seek to win office but that they seek to maximize votes” (1957, 31). Author has argued that parties formulate policies to win elections, rather than win elections to formulate policies. Riker (1962) also assumed that parties seek to win office by the smallest possible margin, called the “minimum winning coalition (1962, 32-33)”.

In the past two decades political parties and their roles in democratic development have changed significantly, both in industrialized western democracies and in newly developing democratic nations. While the changes have resulted in a weakening of the connections between citizens and the state, there remains widespread consensus that political parties are essential elements in democratic societies (USAID Political Party Development Assistance 1999).

However, Schmitter (2001) provided the most critical assessment that political parties have become different from the ones they were. They no longer structure electoral choices as clearly and decisively, command citizen attachments as passionately and persistently, form governments with as much discipline and distinctiveness, or aggregate interests as widely and explicitly as they once did (2001). Clearly, political parties everywhere, both in the industrialized countries and in the developing world, are becoming less and less able to perform these core

functions. In short, they no longer serve as an indispensable element for the consolidation and perpetuation of democracy (USAID Political Party Development Assistance 1999).

Summing up, it must be underlined that political parties can play a variety of important roles in the democratic solidification. Firstly, it is the expression and choice: this means that party systems present citizens choices in elections. As each democratic political party fields candidates for elective offices, they seek to stand for and express the collective interests of their constituents. This results from the competition between parties in a party system. As numerous parties attempt to represent the interests of their constituents, they provide voters with alternative policies and candidates that represent the essence of democratic choice and responsibility (USAID's Strategies for Sustainable Development 1994).

Then it comes the turn of electoral struggle and political dialogue. In contending for office and governing, political parties and their representatives play a critical role in framing public policy choices, structuring electoral competition, and determining political discussion among citizens. How parties carry out the roles of mobilizing public support, developing policy agendas, and debating and formulating public policies will determine the legality and sustainability of democratic rules and norms. In emerging democracies, political parties and their elected representatives are the major political actors responsible for legitimizing and sustaining the laws and norms that govern political involvement and struggle (USAID Political Party Development Assistance 1999).

Furthermore, political parties must attract voters with programmatic messages that distinguish one party from another. Representing a group, competing political parties produce and sustain viable party systems. The electoral feasibility of manifold political parties is an essential element in upholding democratic governance. In some parliamentary democracies,

political parties prepare electoral manifestos which set out both their strategic direction and outlines of prospective legislation should they win adequate support in an election to serve in government. Legislative proposals that are featured in the manifesto of a winning party are often regarded as having superior legitimacy to other measures that a governing party may introduce for consideration by the legislature (Manifesto 2007).

Budge, Robertson, and Hearl (1987) underline that few parties offer alternative election programs that cover a wide range of political positions and themes. Election programs are authoritative statements of party policies because the programs are usually ratified in party conventions. Moreover, election programs are representative statements for the whole party, not just statements of one faction or group within the party or of individual party members. To conclude, political parties' election programs can be seen as "a set of key central statements of party positions' choices to the voting public in regards to concrete policies (18)".

Thus, as long as political parties with their election programs, including their goals and activities represent an utmost importance, all the above mentioned serves as a basis for developing the following research questions:

**Research Question #1:** Do Armenian political parties observe issues of national and foreign policy in their pre-election programs?

**Research Question #2:** What are the positions of Armenian political parties towards the issues of national and foreign policy in their pre-election programs?

**Research Question #3:** Do in their pre-election programs Armenian political parties propose methods and mechanisms for their positions in national and foreign policy in their pre-election programs?

## **Methodology**

The purpose of this essay is to observe pre-election programs of the Armenian political parties. The focus of this research will fall on political parties, which have registered electoral participation in 2007 elections to National Assembly.

This study utilizes methodology of content/comparative analysis. The sources for the analysis were pre-election programs of fourteen Armenian political parties. Firstly, from the list of 74 political parties that were registered in the RA Ministry of Justice on 17.01.2007, 24 political parties, which have participated in 2007 elections to NA, were selected. Thus, the research sample was formed based on purposeful selection of all five parties that have got 5% threshold during the 2007 elections to National Assembly. In addition to that, in order to form a representative sample of all those parties that have participated in the electoral process, based on random selection, nine parties that have not passed the 5% barrier were included.

Under the topic of national policy the following issues were included:

National culture, including national language and history

National security

Armenia Diaspora relations

Under the topic of foreign policy the following issues were included:

Armenia Turkey relations; including Genocide recognition and blockade opening

Armenia Azerbaijan relations; including Karabakh conflict

Armenia Georgia relations; including Javakhk issue

Following is the list of the parties that were included in the sample of this essay.

Political parties that are currently represented in National Assembly:

1. Republican Party of Armenia
2. Prosperous Armenia
3. Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun
4. Country of Law Party
5. Heritage Party

Political parties that are not represented in National Assembly:

6. National Democratic Party
7. National Unity Party
8. Dashink Party
9. Democratic Way Party
10. Armenian Democratic Party
11. People's Party of Armenia
12. Communist Party of Armenia
13. New Times Party
14. United Liberal National Party

## **Findings**

Before going ahead to analysis of data, all key findings are essential to be presented in order to perceive sample characteristics.

From the list of parties that have been analyzed merely all parties have observed the issue of culture in their pre-election programs. When referring to statistical numbers 11 parties (78%) have observed issue of culture (see Table 1.1), and out of those 11 parties 10 have suggested methods and mechanisms (90%) (see Table 2.1).

Going further to issue of Armenian language the image of parties' pre-election programs becomes worse. Only 3 parties have leaned their attention to the importance of Armenian language, and 11 parties (78%) have not (see Table 1.2). In the list of parties that have not included issue of Armenian language in their pre-election program are four parties that were represented in National Assembly. Those parties are: the Republican Party of Armenia, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun, the Country of Law Party, and the Heritage Party. So, from represented parties only the Prosperous Party of Armenia has indicated the importance of Armenian language, however without proposing any method or mechanism for the support and development in the face of current problems. From those parties that were not represented in National Assembly only the National Democratic and United National Liberal parties (see Table 1) have devoted importance to Armenian language in their pre-election programs, suggesting several methods and mechanisms.

Another very important issue as national history was completely ignored in pre-election programs of all those parties that were observed (see Table 1).



Question of national security has been observed by eight parties that is -57 % (see Table 3.1). Among those who have observed only 50 % have proposed methods and mechanisms (see Table 4.1).

Furthermore, when referring to statistical numbers of the issue of Diaspora-Armenia relations, it becomes obvious that the majority (64%) of parties has observed it in their pre-election programs (see Table 5.1). Besides, from those parties who have observed issue of Armenia-Diaspora relations about 89% has proposed methods and mechanisms (see Table 6.1). Creation of a separate body which will deal with the affairs of Diaspora was suggested by 56% (see Table 6.2), and from those only three parties who were represented in NA- the the RPA, the CLP, and the HP proposed to create such a body (see Table 6).

50% of the Armenian political parties, that were analyzed, have observed the issue of Armenian-Turkish relations (see Table 7.1). From those 50% who have observed that issue, only four parties (57%) have proposed mechanisms (see Table 8.1).

With regards to Genocide recognition, from those fourteen political parties that were analyzed, only 43% have considered issues of Genocide recognition in their pre-election programs (see Table 7.2). Moreover, while 43% of parties have observed the topic of Genocide recognition, only two parties- the HP and the DWP have proposed methods and mechanisms (see Table 8.2).

Concerning the topic of blockade only the PP has observed issue of blockade opening in its pre-election program (see Table 7). Hence, it means that 93% of political parties analyzed have neglected this topic (see Table 7.3).

On the issue of Armenia-Azerbaijan relations statistical numbers reflect the following: from fourteen Armenian political parties' pre-election programs analyzed, five parties (36%)

have paid their attention towards that issue (see Table 9). Then from those five parties only two parties have proposed methods and mechanisms (see Table 10.1). In addition it must be noted that three parties – the RPA, the ARFD, the CLP, have completely ignored this issue in their pre-election programs (see Table 9).

Regarding the question of Karabakh conflict, from those pre-election programs analyzed about 93% political parties have observed that issue (see Table 9.2), and 92% have suggested methods and mechanisms (see Table 10.2). One party- the ARFD has not proposed any practical step.

Finally, from the fourteen political parties' pre-election programs analyzed only 3 parties (22%) have observed issues connected with Armenia-Georgia relations (see Table 11.1). It is significant to note also that twelve have not observed that issues and from those twelve three are- the RPA, the ARFD, and the CLP. The results for proposing methods and mechanisms are 100% negative: no party has proposed any practical step (see Table 12.1). Going further to the Javakhk Armenians problems five parties (36%) have paid their attention to that in their pre-election programs (see Table 11.2). What's more, only one party - the NDP has proposed mechanism (see Table 12.2).

## **Does culture really matter?**

During many centuries, when Armenia was under the control of various nations, Armenian culture, including national language and awareness and knowledge of national history, has played a tremendous role in preserving Armenian identity. Today also, in a political situation, where Armenia faces multilateral obstacles in the process of state building and democratization, the importance of culture becomes more and more crucial. Overall, during those many centuries and decades, culture, including language and history served as a key element for unification of our nation. Thus, as much as these three factors are vitally essential for our country and political structures are responsible for their preservation, propagation and development, those issues fall under the following study.

It is widely known that political parties compose an integrative part of political system. They are the ones who propose and adopt programs for solution of country's key problems. Therefore, it is important to analyze Armenian political parties' pre-election programs in the framework of their positions and also suggested methods and mechanisms in the sphere of national culture, language and history.

During pre-election campaign many parties try to propagate their views concerning national culture, language and history. For instance, according to the pre-election program of the Republican Party of Armenia (RPA), it is important to promote fostering and educative functions of cultural centers, as well as promote public initiative towards preservation and development of the cultural heritage. Interestingly enough, the leading party of the Republic of Armenia does not observe issues of national language and history (Table 1). Along with the positions the RPA in has also suggested methods and mechanisms for implementation.

Thus, in the sphere of culture this party offers to realize a comprehensive inventory of the national cultural-historical heritage, fight against models of low quality culture, increase quantity of contests and nominations organized by state, and finally increase budget expenditures directed to the development of culture (Table 2). Though the RPA has suggested some mechanisms and methods, each of the listed is vague and seems incomplete.

The Prosperous Party (PP), which stands for cultural heritage preservation within the territories of other countries and Armenia, assurance of necessary conditions for preservation of spiritual-cultural heritage, national traditions, universal values and norms. Moreover, the PP pursues to realize creative activities by cultural organizations, and assist in developing Armenian educational and cultural life (Table 1). While in pre-election program of the PP there were suggested mechanisms and methods, as, for instance, implementation of programs for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments and creation of official registration book, amendment of museum system, also strengthening its educational function, prohibition of state museums privatization, and assistance to the newly formed museums, the PP does not propose clear and explicit methods and mechanisms (Table 2).

Even though being second leading party after the RPA, the PP on one hand has stressed the issue of national language, underlying that it is necessary to enhance growth for the role of proper usage of the Armenian language (Table 1). Nevertheless, on the other hand, the PP has not proposed any method or mechanism for the accomplishment of that goal (Table 2).

Another leading party the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakutyun (ARFD) in its pre-election program, similar to the PP underlines the necessity of promoting cultural life in and outside Armenia. Party also envisages development of a cultural base for systemic reform of Armenian society, but does not define explicitly what kind of base and what kind of reform. In

addition to that, the ARFD proposes preservation, democratization and spreading of Armenian cultural heritage, but again does not specify and define what democratization of cultural heritage means (Table 1). When referring to methods and mechanisms, it can be stated that the ARFD has also suggested implicit and unclear ones: for example, allocation of governmental subsidies in support of composing activities, formation of joint cultural territory for all Armenians, and creation of Armenian cultural identity and its presentation to the world (Table 2).

The fourth party after parliamentary elections is the Country of Law Party (CLP). This party in its pre-election program indicates the importance of assistance in preserving historical-cultural heritage (Table 1). Moreover, the CLP suggests some methods and mechanisms as assistance in developing modern, national and applied arts and motivation to the authors with significant cultural achievements. In addition the CLP emphasizes the necessity of deepening cultural cooperation with foreign countries and Diaspora, introducing Armenian culture with dignity in foreign countries, and lastly creating incentives for Armenia's membership to regional and international cultural programs (Table 2).

From the point of view of Heritage Party's (HP) pre-election program, it is necessary to develop national culture, develop proper cultural policy strategy, which will separate priorities and promotion programs and will implement them. Then the HP suggests starting cultural education from pre-school and school age, paying a special attention to museums and libraries as cultural values' preservation and new generation's education centers. Besides, party affirms that it is crucial to create conditions for musical arts development, support cultural public organizations. The HP emphasizes also the significance of keeping in focus the state's and public's attention on the preservation and rehabilitation of Armenia's historical-architectural monuments and other cultural values, not only in Armenia, but also abroad. Finally, the HP

stresses that it is crucial to form relevant legislative framework, and create favorable conditions for satisfaction of citizens' cultural needs (Table 1).

Along with that the HP focuses on what must be achieved, it also proposes some methods and mechanisms such as: creating conditions for culture's open development, freeing periodic press and book publishing from value-added tax, because of their small publishing quantity and low benefits, and for promoting cultural development of other nations residing in Armenia. In order to deepen cultural relations between Armenia and Diaspora, this party suggests creating a corresponding institution, which will simultaneously expand and establish Armenia's international cultural relations. Another practical step is the foundation of cultural attaché's institution in all Armenian embassies. Also, the HP suggests to rehabilitate and modernize cultural houses' system in communities and rural residences, converting them into centers that will satisfy modern requirements and provide their full-fledged activities, implement complex programs for national heritage preservation, development and propagation abroad (also through the internet). Another mechanism by thr HP is to stimulate expansion of state's concern towards cultural institutions, assure cultural, educational and scientific life decentralization in the centers outside the capital, meanwhile facilitating the establishment of new ones (Table 2). Overall, although pre-election program of the HP offers variety of alternatives for solving issues concerning culture, it does not observe issues of Armenian language and history.

As it has been mentioned, those parties that were not represented in parliament were also analyzed. Thus, for example, the National Democratic Party (NDP) proposed to realize complex programs directed to preservation, development and propagation of cultural heritage abroad (including via the internet sources), preserve cultural and educational centers, and finally decentralize cultural, scientific and educational life through creating new ones outside the capital

(Table 1). Simultaneously, the NDP intend to develop the Armenian studies, inferring the following methods and mechanisms: public relief upon a) Armenian language teaching and utilization as a state language, and b) location of Armenian language in the computer network. It must be noted that the party has not explained in its pre-election program what it meant under “utilization as a state language” phrase, since currently the Armenian language is the state language (Table 2).

The National Unity Party (NUP) in its pre-election program underlined only some important issues as the necessity of organizing revival of Armenian national culture, and establishment of state sponsorship for cultural development (Table 1). As a method, the NUP has envisaged material and moral assistance to cultural workers and writers. The Democratic Way Party (DWP) has also stated that as a method or mechanism for development and preservation of Armenian art’s peculiarities state should have a clear cultural policy. One of the most important points of that cultural policy should be the most extended communication with the world countries without sacrificing national culture’s features (Table 2).

The People’s Party of Armenia’s (PPA) pre-election program stressed that in order to multiply investment of the Armenian culture in the world treasury the state sponsorship is needed. So, the PPA also is for the state support to national culture development and cultural heritage preservation. Moreover party indicates the vitality for special heed and care towards scientific, educational and cultural units outside the capital (Table 1). Along with the positions listed above, the PPA has proposed several methods and mechanisms such as: the establishment of mutual relations with different countries cultures and values and objection in disseminating fake culture (Table 2). However, what is “fake culture” cannot be understood from party’s pre-election program.

The Communist Party of Armenia (CPA) also stands for state sponsorship towards culture development and protection of Armenian traditions, which were formed through many decades (Table 1).

Finally, in the pre-election program of the United Liberal National Party (ULNP), it is observable that party is for the development and realization of complex programs for the Armenian culture preservation and propagation at the international level, for realization of a comprehensive program for monuments' and other cultural values' preservation, and state sponsorship towards culture development (Table 1). In order to realize these objectives the ULNP has suggested restoring cultural values not only in Armenia, but also abroad, forming relevant framework and creating favorable conditions for national culture development through practical steps (Table 2). Furthermore, the ULNP has stood for the development of Armenian language usage through rooting it as a national language (though it is already a national language) and by the expansion of state language agency's functions and authority, for making effective its work in direction of RA law on language usage (Table 1, 2).

All in all, it can be stated that merely all parties have observed the issue of culture in their pre-election programs (Table 1). As for the issue of Armenian language, the image of parties' pre-election programs becomes worse. Only the Prosperous Party of Armenia has indicated the importance of Armenian language, however without proposing any method or mechanism to back it. From those parties that were not represented in National Assembly only the National Democratic and the United National Liberal parties have devoted importance to Armenian language in their pre-election programs, suggesting several methods and mechanisms. In the list of parties that have not included issue of Armenian language in their pre-election program are four parties that were represented in National Assembly. Those parties are: the Republican Party



of Armenia, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnakcutyun), the Country of Law Party, and the Heritage Party (Table 1).

Another very important issue as national history and its proper promotion inside and outside Armenia was completely ignored in pre-election programs of all those parties that were observed (Table 1). As a consequence, it can be stated that among those parties that were observed only issue of culture was emphasized, leaving behind issues of national language and history, that are indissoluble components of the Armenian culture.

To conclude, it must be pointed out that the main positions among parties concerning the issue of culture were the following: that state's basic attention must be focused on the development, preservation and propagation of cultural heritage (some parties suggested at the national, the others at the international levels), decentralization of cultural life, and finally, the most important, the state sponsorship (support) for national culture development. In contrast to the fact that parties' positions or aims coincided, the proposed mechanisms and methods for realization differed or were absent.

## **Vitality of national security**

For a country like Armenia, that is geographically landlocked and subject to blockade and the threat of invasion, national security is the guarantee for its survival as an independent state. As it is known issue of national security is dominated by an external focus on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. However, despite a comparatively longer and more peaceful record of democracy, an outwardly stronger state, and a dominant but stable military, the gravest threat to Armenian national security is not an external one. It is rooted in the internal challenge of a surprising degree of insecurity in Armenia today. The roots of this Armenian insecurity can be traced to three specific trends, manifested in the military, political, and economic spheres. These trends are also interrelated, with a linkage that has only exacerbated the structural deficiencies in the process of Armenian state building (Giragosian 2006).

In that framework an outweighing responsibility bear political parties of Armenia. Their positions and opinions that are mostly reflected in their pre-election programs, serve as cornerstones in the state building process. For instance, according to the RPA's pre-election program, Armenia's defense potential must be ensured, for striking a reciprocal blow to any aggression, protecting sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the country. Then the RPA puts emphasis on ensuring efficiency of system reforms in the sphere of defense and security, continual improvement of social conditions of the military service, and at last, improvement of the efficiency in ideological activities (Table 3). Being the first party of the country, the RPA, in order to achieve strengthening of national security, has only proposed to realize permanent reinforcement of the army with high-qualified officer personnel (Table 4).

The PP's pre-election program main objectives of national security as the follows: the assurance of RA territorial integrity and sovereignty, implementation of operative and program

measures for prevention and formation of a regional security system, where Armenia will have a serious role and its security will be assured to the greatest extent (Table 3). In comparison with RPA, PP more extensively observes the issue of country's defense strengthening, adding to that intensification of prediction, disclosure, prevention, counteraction activities, and elimination of internal and external threats to national security (Table 4).

Furthermore, the PP suggests to establish favorable, balanced, legally equal and mutually beneficial cooperation of Armenia with other states and international organizations, developing country's economy and implementing economic policy with social direction in order to protect economic interests, reduce scientific-technical and technological dependence, and regulate demographic procedures. According to the PP's pre-election program, for strengthening country's national security it is necessary to ensure citizens' security, their Constitutional rights and freedoms within the territory of RA, improve governmental system at state and local levels, also strengthen legality and order, and finally assure socio-economic and political stability of society, meeting the legislative requirements of citizens, officials, state and local government bodies, political parties, public unions, religious and other organizations. Amazingly enough the PP indicates that in order to achieve realization of those objectives there is a need to handle and adopt a concept about main points of National security (Table 4), though the fact that Concept of National Security has already been adopted in February of 2007.

According to pre-election program of the ARFD, within the framework of national security strengthening, state's defensive capabilities and army's fighting abilities are indicated (Table 3). That's why it is essential to create satisfactory conditions for serving to Motherland, improve moral-psychological environment in armed forces, except non regulatory and extraordinary relations among soldiers. In addition to that the ARFD proposes to solve social

problems of soldiers, families of victims, and war veterans, authorize the existence of both obligatory and professional voluntary contractual military service, and lastly, train Armenian youth in military-patriotic and ideological direction (Table 4).

Similar to the above listed parties, the CLP party in its pre-election program is also for the expansion of fighting ability of armed forces and elimination of non regulatory relations among soldiers, adding that reforms must be realized for those aims (Table 3). Party suggests creating mechanisms that will reduce the serving period. Along with the reduction of serving period, the CLP indicates the need for increasing the number of professional soldiers. Party also puts the emphasis on removal of all military courses from all universities of RA, and establishment of civic and parliamentary control over the sphere of security (Table 4).

In its turn, the HP states to create effective and flexible security system. According to its pre-election program RA national security includes the objective of ensuring safe life for Armenians all over the world, given the fact that outside the state territory of Armenia there is also the Armenian Diaspora. For that reason to protect its security Armenia must rely on itself (Table 3). HP states to urgently revise national security strategy in its all components, including military, foreign political, economic, information, food, energy, social, and environmental security.

From point of view of the PPA's pre-election program, issues of national security must be in the framework of ensuring country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Party stresses the importance of maintaining democratization process and democratic security, and strengthening armed forces (Table 3). To realize that it is vital to increase the fighting capacity of armed forces, and provide it with modern military equipment. Pre-election program

of the PPA also has affirmed that to ensure national security of Armenian nation it is crucial to create necessary conditions (Table 4).

At last, the ULNP in its pre-election program states that it is essential to ensure transparency of methods and goals of national security system and create effective structure for its control (Table 3). Then party suggests providing counter-balancing and refraining mechanisms in the institutional system and reform system of national security. Despite that it is basic to form workable and flexible security system. In the end, the ULNP states that issues of national security must be in line with the principle of “full sovereignty to state, society and citizen” to provide highest level of freedom and rights (Table 4).

All in all, among the pre-election programs of observed parties, only eight parties have observed issue of national security. From those parties who have observed the issue, half have proposed methods and mechanisms, which seem to be vague and not relevant to their positions.

It must be stated that parties that observe issue of national security in their pre-election programs, aim at strengthening and expansion of fighting ability of armed forces, some suggest making reforms and eliminating non regulatory and extraordinary relations among soldiers.

To conclude, it is important to learn that the redefinition of Armenian national security reveals three underlying trends. Each of these trends is an internal threat that, if not averted, only threatens to exacerbate Armenia's underlying national insecurity. The need is not only for a clear redefinition and coherent readjustment of Armenian national security, but for a new recognition of national security as a dynamic, not static, process, as well as policy. But the imperative for overcoming Armenia's national insecurity is to first address the underlying military, political, and economic trends. The overwhelming need, therefore, is to institute a process of national security and defense that elevates Armenia's true national interest over more parochial partisan

interest. Only by admitting that the core challenges to national security come from within true security and stability in Armenia can be achieved (Giragosian 2006).

However, Giragosian (2006) does underestimate the external threat, posed by Turkey and Azerbaijan. As if now, Azerbaijan, together with Turkey, is engaged in full-fledged ideological and psychological war against Armenia, which does not receive adequate responses either from the Armenian state, or from the Diaspora structures. The lack of resistance culture to external and internal threats of the national existence (or the prevalence of non-resistance culture) among Armenians effectively exacerbates this situation (Aivazian 2005).

In addition Aivazian (2005) stresses that the correct strategy of national self-defense begins not from actual warring on the battlefield, but from their deterrence or victorious predetermination through preemptive operations on the organizational, ideological, psychological and other fronts. Author also underlines that contemporary strategic thought has cemented this truth in the doctrines of “total war” and “preventive strikes”. Thus he raises the following question: “Will this generation be able to show proper resistance to the enemy on the battleground, if necessary, by sacrificing life for the Homeland? (2005)”.

## **Diaspora Armenians and Armenia: much issues to solve**

From ideological, organizational and financial aspects yet standpoints have not been created for Armenia-Diaspora efficient cooperation. In the ideological sense, Armenia has stopped to be viewed by Diaspora as the last shelter and the only homeland of the Armenians all over the world. As a consequence Armenia is mostly viewed as a "disaster zone" that should be pitied and financially assisted. However, this perception and sense of homeland is also due to Soviet era, when Diaspora was not considering the idea of returning to homeland seriously. Definitely, the existence of a large and prosperous Diaspora contributes to emigration. Thus, Diaspora not only provides the Armenians living in homeland with a good example of how one can prosper outside Armenia, but also makes easier for them who emigrate to find a job and get used to new conditions abroad (Aivazian 2006).

Meanwhile Diaspora Armenians “stimulate” migration, in Armenia, political parties, in their pre-election programs, offer alternatives for creating favorable conditions for Diaspora Armenians emigration to homeland. From the RPA’s pre-election program’s perspective it is vital to develop relations with Diaspora, calculate its potential in scientific, educational, cultural, economic and other aspects and utilize that potential for Armenia’s strengthening (Table 5).

Thus, for developing relations with Diaspora the RPA considered important formation of a separate body on affairs of Diaspora. According to its pre-election program that body should be an executive body, which will serve for organizing and effective planning of Armenia-Diaspora conferences’ works. Then, the RPA offers to effectively implicate Diaspora in various activities in Armenia, elaborate and implement programs within the scope of international Pan Armenian

youth organization. In the end the RPA indicates the necessity of elaborating and implementing programs motivating Diaspora Armenians return to the Motherland (Table 6).

Another ruling party, as the PP, in its pre-election program stresses that it is indispensable to coordinate and deepen relations between Armenia and Diaspora in accordance with international norms. Similar to the RPA, the PP also underlines that political, mutual, spiritual, investment power and professional capabilities of Diaspora must be used to strengthen Armenia, which in its turn will stimulate RA and Artsakh development, Armenia's integration to worldwide and regional economic collective programs implementation, solution of nationwide problems, gathering Diaspora Armenians around motherland, and preservation of spiritual-cultural values. In addition to that, the PP has proposed to implement Diaspora educational-cultural, spiritual, sporting and other programs. Party also indicates that the protection of Diaspora Armenians' rights and interests should be considered one of the supremacies of Armenia's foreign policy. Consequently, in the direction of developing Armenia-Diaspora relations RA must realize practical steps, such as juxtaposing relations with Diaspora Armenian lobby organizations, promoting Diaspora national life, creating possibilities for Diaspora Armenians participation in motherland political, socio-economic, educational, spiritual-cultural, sport and public life (Table 5).

The PP has underlined the significance of facilitating activities of professionals from Armenia in educational, cultural, spiritual and sporting structures of Armenian migration centers. Another essential mechanism is the preservation and teaching of Armenian language and history, supporting Diaspora educational-cultural institutions with necessary books and materials, implementing a structured process for trainings of Diaspora Armenian teachers and professionals, and finally expanding the capabilities of Diaspora-Armenians for getting



education in motherland universities. To that list the PP also has added collection of finances for “Armenia” Pan-Armenian fund functioning, and allocation of corresponding means for gradual solution of Diaspora Armenians problems. In the end party points out that in the process of Armenians’ unification around motherland Armenia should be a leader guarantor of national preservation (Table 6). Though the PP has tried to offer methods and mechanisms for developing Armenia-Diaspora relations, it has not proposed clear and explicit ones. Those methods and mechanisms still need more detailed explanations.

The ARFD party in its pre-election program, is insists on creating Pan Armenian informative zone. Party then states to strengthen the Armenian political, cultural and economic lobbying, for the sake of RA consolidation, fair regulation of Artsakh issue, and for the international recognition of Armenian Genocide and defense of Javakhk Armenians rights (Table 5). Alike the PP, the ARFD also in its pre-election program indicates to implement Diaspora educational-cultural, spiritual, sporting and other programs (Table 5).

In this framework the ARFD proposes the following methods and mechanisms: for example develop and execute a complex program of Diaspora migration to Armenia, encourage cooperation between catholicates of All Armenians and Cilician Grand House, which can become a base for creating unified Armenian Apostolic Church institution, and promote multilateral cooperation of Armenian and Diaspora informative media. In the field of Armenology the ARFD suggests enabling development of its teaching program, which will be applicable in all Armenian educational institutions and schools. Party also suggests taking care of studies in Western Armenian, creating incentives for bringing together Eastern and Western Armenian languages, and unifying Armenian language spelling. Again similarly to the PP, the

ARFD seeks to expand the amount of Diaspora-Armenian teachers' trainings and Diaspora Armenians admittance to the motherland's educational institutions (Table 6).

Going further to the pre-election program of the CLP, it can be stated that this party, too, is for the development of relations with Diaspora, and implementation of Diaspora educational-cultural, spiritual, sporting and other programs (Table 5). To achieve these goals, the CLP identically to several parties' pre-election programs covered above, suggests creating a special body dealing with Diaspora. Then party proposes to realize practical steps towards publishing of high-quality Armenian copy-books and importing them to Diaspora migration centers. Party also emphasizes the significance of creating favorable conditions for Diaspora Armenian investors, implementing "your house in Motherland" migration program, for bringing back people who left Armenia (Table 6).

According to the CLP's pre-election program, RA must support Diaspora Armenians in the process of Armenian language preservation and teaching, train Diaspora Armenian language and history specialists, and finally, again similarly to other parties the CLP states that it is necessary to add Diaspora students in Armenian Universities (Table 6).

As was stated by the HP in its pre-election program, RA should assist to the preservation of Armenians in Diaspora, should promote straightforward relations between Armenians in Diaspora, and Diaspora should serve as a paramount bridge of cultural, economic, political relations and cooperation between Armenia and the rest of the world (Table 5). These goals can be realized if Armenia becomes a link between Diaspora communities, and will serve as a focal point of communication. Surely, this party also states that to deal with the affairs of Diaspora a special governing body should be created within the Government of the Republic of Armenia (Table 6).

The NDP states that, first of all it is crucial to preserve Armenians and rehabilitate ideal historical Motherland (Table 5). This can become possible only through the independent state and national institutions and by high level of self organization. Party also indicates that Armenia and NKR must cooperate with Diaspora economic, cultural, religious, charitable, professional, publishing and other institutions, and must stimulate cooperation among all that institutions and Motherland (Table 6).

Interestingly enough, the NDP considers that Diaspora can help Armenia with: democratization and international integration, Karabakh's consolidation and international recognition, formation of reliable attitude towards investment activities in Armenia and Karabakh, and arrangement and encouragement of immigration to Armenia and Karabakh.

According to the NUP's pre-election program it is vital to stimulate cooperation processes between Armenia and Diaspora in cultural, musical, and other spheres, enhance education opportunities of Diaspora Armenians in higher educational institutions of Armenia, and create mechanisms for Diaspora-Armenians participation in solution of country's essential questions (Table 5).

Besides, party emphasizes the inevitability of creating favorable conditions for Diaspora economic integration. Moreover, alike other parties, the NUP also states that Armenian nation needs a centralized body of national propaganda that will coordinate and direct activities of Diaspora political and public organizations (Table 6). Somewhat different from the PP, the CLP and the NDP that have suggested to create favorable conditions for Diaspora Armenians investment opportunities, the NUP underlines the essence of adopting laws that will promote investment opportunities for Diaspora Armenians. Furthermore, the NUP states to ensure Diaspora Armenians ownership rights (for the ground also), expand Diaspora Armenian students

possibilities for studying in Armenian universities, and start new stage for Diaspora teachers' trainings (Table 6).

As it is underlined in pre-election program of the PPA, it is crucial to mutually strengthen and enhance links with Diaspora (Table 5). Adopting the principle of dual citizenship, the PPA gives much importance to working out legal procedures for its realization. At last party indicates the value of forming a corresponding state institution for deepening relations with Diaspora (Table 6).

According to the ULNP's pre-election program, the vital goal is to change the approach of viewing Diaspora as a financial source, as long as Diaspora is not a capital for Armenia, but a source of knowledge. Besides, party proposes to involve Diaspora in solving Armenia's educational problems, and assure Diaspora Armenians inclusion in public administration (Table 5). The only practical step suggested by the ULNP in this sphere is the involvement of Diaspora Armenians in higher educational institutions of Armenia (Table 6).

Hence, it becomes obvious that the majority of parties (64%) have observed issue of Diaspora-Armenia relations in their pre-election programs (Table 5.1). Nevertheless, this number is not sufficient; as long as such an issue must have had coverage by the absolute majority of parties. Besides, from those parties who have observed issue of Armenia-Diaspora relations about 90% has proposed methods and mechanisms (Table 6.1). Yet, this result is also not satisfactory, as such an important factor as creation of a separate body which will deal with the affairs of Diaspora was suggested only by 55% (Table 6.1). This number is also not satisfactory, turning to the fact that only three parties who were represented in NA- the RPA, the CLP, and HP has proposed to create such a body.

All in all it is obvious that parties in their pre-election programs mostly propose to develop relations with Diaspora, then calculate Diaspora potential in scientific, educational, cultural, economic and other aspects and the use that potential so as to strengthen Armenia. In addition to that, most parties has stated to elaborate and implement programs aimed at Diaspora migration to the Motherland, consider one of the supremacies of foreign policy of Armenia Diaspora Armenians rights and interests protection, and finally according to some parties RA must realize practical steps in juxtaposing relations with Diaspora Armenian lobby organizations.

According to Aivazian (2006) in order to have progress in the development of Armenia-Diaspora relations, Armenians need to enhance their self-organization in homeland and in the Diaspora, as well as between them. Armenia with its failures and difficulties but also its achievements is the most realistic axis, in many respects - even the only one, around which the Diaspora Armenian life and identity can be built. In the author's opinion, it would be useful to consider establishing abroad structures, whose only task will be providing possible assistance to those who return to homeland. These newly established structures should be independent from the other Diaspora structures and the Armenian state. To summarize, the correct organization of Armenia-Diaspora cooperation envisages serious changes in the ideological and organizational life of the Armenian world (including Armenia's legislative field) based on the idea of the Armenians' unification in Armenia sooner or later (Aivazian 2006).

## **Armenia-Turkey relations: from preconditions to EU integration**

It is widely known that Turkey conducts obvious anti Armenian policy during recent twenty years. Firstly, that policy is manifested through its international anti-Armenian campaign in diplomatic, academic and public sectors. Secondly, Turkey officially refuses to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia. Next, Turkey refuses to open the blockade of Armenia Turkey borders. What's more, Turkey not only cooperates with Azerbaijan in different areas, but they uphold each other in the activities opposed to Armenia. Last, but not the least fact is that Turkey denies recognizing Armenian Genocide.

Contrary to this gloomy reality, Armenian authorities not only pursue to establish relations with Turkey in various spheres, but also do not resist the process of Turkey's potential integration into EU. In addition to that, those positions are predominated in pre-election programs of Armenian political parties as well.

It is significant to point out that the leading party of the RA- the RPA in its pre-election program has not observed either the issue of Armenia-Turkey relations or Genocide recognition and blockade opening. Hence, the RPA has ignored or even neglected the vitality of those issues (Table 7).

Contrary to the RPA, the PP, in its pre-election program, has observed not only the issue of Armenian-Turkish relations, but also Genocide recognition and blockade opening (Table 7). First of all party has stressed the necessity of coordinating Armenian-Turkish inter-state relations and establishing diplomatic relations between the countries without preconditions. The PP also has put forward that Armenia must not oppose Turkey's membership to EU, because that does not contradict Armenia's national and state interests. Hence, in case of becoming EU member, Turkey may take predictable and controllable steps as: the establishment of real democracy and

thus, human rights protection, cooperation with Armenia, elimination of blockade, and Genocide recognition.

According to pre-election program of the PP, in establishing bilateral relationships between Turkey and Armenia, the following issues must be discussed: regional security and cooperation, Turkey's balanced, constructive and non-ideological standpoint in the processes of peaceful settlement of Artsakh issue, then Armenian-Turkish border opening, communication ways, including the re-exploitation of Gyumri-Kars railway, and in the end preservation of Armenian cultural values in Turkey (Table 8).

Discussing the issue of Genocide recognition the PP has not given an explicit explanation for the expression: 'punishment for the Armenian Genocide as well as its recognition is unavoidable', do not specifying exactly what kind of punishment, and who must bear that punishment (Table 8).

From the point of view of the ARFD's pre-election program, Armenia must not accept Turkey's hostile policy and preconditions for establishing diplomatic relations and for Armenian-Turkish border opening. In addition to that party states that Armenian Genocide must be internationally recognized. What's more, the ARFD assumes that Genocide by Turkey against Armenian people has not been compensated yet (Table 7). As long as nowadays Diaspora Armenians face the danger of being assimilated, hence, in accordance with the ARFD's pre-election program, settlement of the Armenian cause is not only a practical expression of justice, conviction and punishment of genocide, but is an issue of international law as well, based on an unalienable principle of national self-determination. Still, even though this party has set fourth such positions; it has not suggested any method or mechanism for that implementation (Table 8).

The HP, in its pre-election program, has pointed out that Armenia-Turkey relations presuppose an open, honest dialogue through cultural and social cooperation. Party adds that all separating disputes and relations must be regulated in a comprehensive and complex manner (Table 7). Moving forward to the achievement of those objectives, the HP states that two nations should gradually amend the archetypes governing over them. In the process of Genocide recognition party considers that Turkey must recognize its own history and resolve the Genocide and its consequent heritage issues (Table 8).

Similarly to the PP, the NDP in its pre-election program, has also indicated that Armenia must be ready both for dialogue with Turkey and establishment of diplomatic relations without any preconditions (Table 7). Besides, Armenia must not oppose Turkey's democratization and conformity with European values, and subsequently, to its membership to the EU. As the NDP has stated, that will facilitate improvement of relations with Armenia as well.

In addition, according to the NDP's pre-election program, as long as Turkey is still far from being the carrier of European values (which is grounded by its unwillingness to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide, Armenia's blockade and overt prejudiced policy towards Karabakh issue), Armenia must not show the West that Turkey does not meet the European standards but must compete Turkey in satisfying those standards faster. In this framework, the NDP does not go into details how Armenia can and must compete with Turkey (Table 8).

Regarding the issue of Genocide recognition, the NDP has stated that it attaches major importance to the Genocide recognition and will consistently pursue that process (Table 7).

One more party, as the NUP, has once more underlined the need for establishing friendly relationships with Turkey, Armenian-Turkish border opening, and hence, establishing diplomatic relations as well (Table 7). Like the PP, the ARFD, the NDP, the NUP also considers that



dialogue between Armenia and Turkey should be started without any precondition. Along with that, the NUP stresses that fair resolution of Armenian Cause should be reached in peaceful circumstances, based on historical facts, international norms and principles (Table 8).

The DWP, even though has laid down in its pre-election program that it is important to combat against those foreign and domestic forces, which use the idea of Armenian Cause for their own interests; has not indicated and specified what those foreign and domestic forces are, and how they take advantage of the Armenian Cause. Another idea that has proposed the DWP is- the solution of the Armenian Cause in a way which will be more realistic and will not hurt the growth of Armenia's statehood (Table 7). Yet here again party has not given precise definition of what more realistic solution is.

From the point of the ADP's pre-election program, relations with Turkey cannot be developed at the expense of the Armenian Cause (Table 7). The CP, in its pre-election program, indicates that the world should recognize Armenian genocide (Table 7). Finally, the ULNP, in its pre-election program has set fourth that official and unofficial contacts with Turkey, should be intensified, particularly hinging on diplomatic channels (Table 8).

All in all it can be summed up that about half of the Armenian political parties, that were analyzed, have observed the issue of Armenian-Turkish relations. Despite the fact that from seven parties four parties have suggested practical steps, those steps lacked detailed explanations and definitions. Another significant reality is that two political parties- the RPA and the CLP, which have been represented in NA, have ignored the essence of setting fourth their positions towards Armenian-Turkish relations (Table 7).

With regards to Genocide recognition the image of Armenian political parties converts into a more unconstructive one. From those fourteen political parties that were analyzed, only

43% (Table 7.2) have considered essential to take notice of the Genocide recognition in their pre-election programs. At this point, it must be emphasized, that from those parties which have ignored the issue of Genocide recognition, two are once more the RPA and the CLP (Table 7). And finally, practical methods for achievement of Genocide recognition have proposed only two parties- the HP and the DWP (Table 8).

Going further to the topic of blockade the picture of Armenian political parties goes worse. The reason is that only one party- the PP has considered vital to discuss issue of blockade opening in its pre-election program (Table 7). Hence, merely all political parties analyzed have neglected the significance of this topic.

To conclude, it must be stressed that Armenian political parties mainly lay down the following positions towards the problems in Armenian-Turkish relations: the coordination of Armenian-Turkish inter-state relations and establishment of diplomatic relations between the countries should be realized without preconditions, and Armenia shall not object Turkey's membership to EU, because this will increase democracy in that country, change priorities of its foreign policy and make it more predictable and easy to control.

Finally, finishing up with the issue of Genocide recognition, among Armenian political parties the following positions were predominant: achieve Genocide recognition, punishment for Armenian Genocide, and receive compensation for Genocide.

## **Armenia- Azerbaijan relations: Willingness to start cooperation**

Being a reliable Muslim brother of Turkey, Azerbaijan acts for realization of pan Turkish dreams. This country, upholding Turkey in its policy, has also conducted anti-Armenian activities since late 1980s. Moreover, Armenia-Azerbaijan relations are associated in the light of the Nagorno Karabakh issue. In the core of this issue is the Karabakh's nation right to self-determination, which is opposed by Azerbaijan authorities with the factor of breaking its territorial integrity. Within this framework unquestionably raises issue of liberated territories, which serve as guarantee for ensuring Armenia's national security. Therefore, it is vital to maintain these territories, leaving the political implications towards that issue on Armenian political parties.

Based on this reality, Armenian political parties, while formulating their pre-election programs, must propose objectives towards assurance of Armenia's and NKR's security. For instance, the RPA, in order to achieve Karabakh issue's solution, has stated in its pre-election program that the right of Karabakh to self-determination should be internationally recognized, Karabakh should not be in subordination of Azerbaijan, and security of Karabakh population and its borders should be ensured. In addition, RA and Karabakh should have a common border. And in the end, RPA proposes that regulation of Karabakh issue should not take place at the expense of borders of the RA, and Karabakh should figure as a negotiating party in the process of peaceful regulation of the issue (Table 9).

The PP, suggests establishing relations with Azerbaijan. For that reason it is necessary to take constructive steps aimed at development of relations with Azerbaijan. Party stresses out that the existing problems between Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations may not

resolved based on hate, but on indulgence, founded by historical facts, realities, norms and principles of international law (Table 10).

Regarding the issue of Nagorno Karabakh, the PP, has assumed in its pre-election program that, within the framework of comprehensive negotiations with OSCE Minsk Group, it is necessary to assist Artsakh security guarantees, democratization, socio-economic development and regional integration. Therefore it is essential to achieve international recognition of Artsakh population's right of self-determination, based on concessions by both parties of the conflict (Artsakh and Azerbaijan), recognition of international guarantees for security and peaceful settlement of Artsakh issue. Resembling the RPA, the PP, in its pre-election program as well, has underlined that in negotiations Artsakh must be a party with all rights, adding that any decision concerning Artsakh status will be excluded without Artsakh nation's agreement (Table 10).

The ARFD, in its pre-election program has observed just the issue of Nagorno Karabakh, stating that Artsakh issue must be fairly regulated (Table 9). This party has not even proposed any method or mechanism, and what's more has not specified what fairly means.

According to the CLP's pre-election program, the only way of peaceful regulation of the conflict is negotiation, and it is necessary to reach the involvement of NKR into the negotiations process as a negotiating party. Party states that Karabakh issue is connected with Armenian national security and regional stabilization. What's more, the CLP is against the policy of preservation of existing status quo and regulation of conflict by all means. Party has indicated that it is necessary to reach the international recognition of NKR nation's right to self-determination (Table 10).

According to the HP's pre-election program, the axis of relations with Azerbaijan is Karabakh issue (Table 9). In contrast to the ARFD, this party has suggested to conclude a trilateral agreement with Azerbaijan after the peaceful regulation of Artsakh conflict, where the third party should be the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh.

As a result, the HP has indicated, that Karabakh conflict should be resolved in a peaceful and publicly acceptable manner. Moreover, negotiation process must be carried out in the framework of OSCE Minsk group, with the exclusion of subjective country participation. In achieving that, firstly, Karabakh should become a complete party in negotiations, before determination of its international status, and negotiations must be conducted without preconditions. Lastly, the HP assumes that it is necessary to prohibit Karabakh's return to Azerbaijan, and protect Armenia's sovereignty over its own territories (Table 10).

The NDP, in its pre-election program, has pointed out, that Armenia should be willing to cooperate with Azerbaijan in various spheres (economic, humanitarian, information, sport) and at different levels (state entities', enterprises', NGOs', journalists', scientists') without conditioning them to the regulation of Karabakh issue. Party has indicated that Armenia should use democracy and complete Euro integration to oppose the Azerbaijan oil factor, which presupposes qualitative growth of economy, while the latter is possible only with rapid establishment of democratic, legitimate state. At the end, the NDP, within the context of Armenia-Azerbaijan relations has emphasized, that Armenia must strengthen its security system (Table 9).

Similarly to the RPA, the PP, the CLP and the HP, the NDP too, in its pre-election program, has stated that Karabakh conflict should be regulated through negotiations. Firstly, in order to regulate Karabakh issue, NKR should be included as a negotiating party. Secondly, its right to self-determination should be internationally recognized, and it should be integrated into

international structures. Besides, the NDP has underlined that between Karabakh and Armenia reliable regional link must be ensured, in NKR democratic principles must be established. Then it is necessary to consolidate NKR's sovereignty and political independence. And finally, the NDP has proposed that adequate compensation must be received for violated rights of Armenians who were forced to migrate from the Soviet Azerbaijan (including loss of motherland) (Table 10).

According to the NDP's pre-election program, Republic of Armenia is both the guarantor of NKR and its nation's security; of NKR independence and its international recognition. Taking into consideration that NKR is still not recognized by the international community, party has stated that it is RA's duty to motivate to that process, but not to replace NKR in the negotiating processes (Table 10).

The NUP, in its pre-election program, has proposed to establish friendly relationships with Azerbaijan. With regards to Artsakh issue, the NUP has stressed out, that it is a matter of nations' self-determination and human rights (Table 9). Like the PP and the HP, the NUP also, in its pre-election program has underlined that regulation of negotiations' processes of NK conflict ought to be continued in the framework of OSCE MG. Besides, party has affirmed, that no agreement concerning the status of Nagorno Karabakh can be achieved without full participation of Karabakh in negotiation processes. In the end, the NUP has added that Karabakh and Azerbaijan powers must agree upon concessions, and Armenia and Azerbaijan must not put forward territorial requirements (Table 10).

In accordance with the DP's pre-election program, it is necessary to achieve Karabakh conflict regulation through the following steps as: propose compromises by the conflicting parties, resettle refugees and compulsory removed persons on voluntarily basis, create

preconditions for Artsakh's economic development and determine Artsakh status through a new referendum. Besides, the DP has added that in the negotiations process directed for settlement of Artsakh issue, regions of (Lachin) Qashatax and New Shahumanyan (Qelbajar) cannot be argued (Table 10).

As it was indicated in the ADP's pre-election program, the party relies on an undeniable fact and irreversible reality that through its national-liberation movement and in a legal and legitimate way, people of Artsakh has exited Azerbaijan's constitution and formed democratically developed Republic of Karabakh (Table 9). To achieve Artsakh issue's regulation the ADP has pointed out that liberated territories must be given to 500 thousand Armenians, who have been exiled from Azerbaijan. To regulate the aftermath effects of the war party has indicated that it will be appropriate to sign a "peace agreement" corresponding to international norms, thus resulting in separation of Artsakh issue's settlement from the aftereffects of war. Moreover, the ADP has added that an option for problem's solution can be based on a unique principle of mutual compromises, which will lead to final solution and which must be included in comprehensive package of General treaty. Besides, party has indicated that implementation of agreed upon provisions may be put into action according to a fixed timetable and diplomacy aimed at regulation of Karabakh issue must be directed in NKR's recognition as an international subject. Thus, according to the ADP, all kind of negotiations cannot be held without NKR participation. Finally, the ADP has set forth that the issue will be considered regulated, once Karabakh is united with Armenia in result of an all-nation referendum (Table 10).

Similarly to the RPA, the PP, the HP, the NDP, the NUP, and the ADP, the PPA as well, in its pre-election program has laid down that Karabakh conflict should be resolved fairly and in a peaceful way, through political negotiations and NK must figure as an equal party in these

negotiations. Besides, party has stated that the settlement of the Karabakh conflict must be based on international recognition of its right to self-determination (Table 10).

The CP, in its pre-election program, has pointed out that it is necessary to regulate Artsakh issue, through promoting continuation of peaceful negotiations for Karabakh issue's solution. This party also has indicated that the settlement of the conflict must be based on international recognition of Artsakh's right to self-determination. In addition the CP has proposed that the only and final solution to that conflict is the admission of NKR to newly formed Unity of Independent state as a legitimate member. Lastly, party has suggested developing and discussing legitimate programs for RA and NKR further economic integration (Table 10).

In accordance with the NTP's pre-election program, it is essential to regulate the NKR conflict, through making great efforts for its international recognition as an established state. Nevertheless, the fact that the NTP has proposed a practical step, party has not specified and explained what kind of great efforts were meant (Table 10).

Finally, the last party, the ULNP, in its pre-election program, has indicated that Armenia should try to intensify official and unofficial contacts with Azerbaijan through diplomatic channels. Within the framework of regulating NKR conflict, party has emphasized that it is necessary to resolve the problem of Artsakh in favor of Armenia based on principle of nations' right to self-determination, and Artsakh should be excluded from subordination to Azerbaijan, reliable land connection between Armenia and Artsakh must be assured. The ULNP has stressed the fact that the establishment of democracy in Armenia and Artsakh is one of the most important elements of Artsakh problem resolution in favor of Armenia (Table 10).



It is critical that the issue of Armenia-Azerbaijan relations was commented only by five parties. Then from these five parties only two parties have proposed some methods and mechanisms. In addition it must be noted that three parties –the RPA, the ARFD, the CLP, have completely ignored this issue in their pre-election programs (Table 9).

The majority of political parties have observed the issue of the Karabakh conflict, and almost all of them have suggested methods and mechanisms for its settlement. Only one party-the ARFD has not proposed any practical step (Table 10).

To sum up, it must be underlined that even though the fact that Azerbaijan is gearing up and threatening a new aggression at the highest level, the Armenian political parties, in their pre-election programs, mostly state that Armenia must cooperate with Azerbaijan establishing diplomatic, economic and communication relations. In addition, the NDP has stated that the settlement of the Karabakh conflict is not a precondition for the establishment of normal relationship with Azerbaijan. Furthermore, Azerbaijan does accept any compromise. The Armenian political parties, however, indicate that does not seem to face and adequately analyze this reality.

## **Armenia- Georgia cooperation versus rights and freedoms of Javakhk Armenians**

Within the framework of Armenia-Georgia relations lays down not only the establishment of cooperation in various spheres, but more importantly issue of Javakhk Armenians. The latter has a vital strategic importance for Armenia. Being the keeper of Armenia's northern border's security, Javakhk serves as a defensive mechanism from Turkey. Along with that Armenian-populated Javakhk with its natural loyalty to the interests of Armenia and attachment to their Armenian roots is a factor that seriously restrains Tbilisi from officially strengthening its strategic partnership with Turkey and Azerbaijan. In the absence of this factor, the Georgian policy would take on an openly anti-Armenian orientation, furthermore tightening relations with Azerbaijan and Turkey. And last but not least, the expulsion of Armenians from Javakhk will mean the further reduction of Armenian-populated territory in the historical homeland of Armenians – the Armenian Highland. In the context of Turkish-Azerbaijani designs aimed at elimination of Armenia such developments will become simply another logical step and the extension of genocidal policies (Aivazian 2005). For that reason the Armenian-Georgian relations, including Javakhk issue conform much importance to be observed by Armenian political parties in their pre-election programs.

The PP's pre-election program, stresses the necessity of developing traditional friendly relationships with Georgia in political, economic, energy, regional security, and communication ways, spiritual-cultural, humanitarian as well as other forms of cooperation. Besides, in Armenia-Georgian relations party considers important Georgian approach to security issues with regards to Javakhk Armenians, their security and self-determination rights. Nonetheless, PP has not specified what Georgian approach is. With Regards to Javakhk issue, the PP has stressed the need of resolving socio-economic and spiritual-cultural problems facing Javakhk. According to

party's pre-election program, Armenia, in an agreed way with Georgian authorities, must constantly assist Georgia in its steps directed to resolution of Javakhk problems (Table 11).

The ARFD, in its pre-election program, stressed the importance of protecting rights of Javakhk Armenians (Table 11).

The HP, has underlined in its pre-election program that friendly relations with Georgia should be established on the basis of mutual trust, through the solution of Javakhk problem, which is a factor of national security. Party also has added that the paces of economic cooperation should be transferred to political sphere as well (Table 11).

According to the NDP's pre-election program solution of Javakhk Armenians problems is possible through allocation to the Armenian language a status of regional language, real local governance of Armenians, preservation and development of cultural heritage, and exclusion of inter-state and political life discrimination against Georgian Armenians (Table 11).

In its pre-election program the ULNP has indicated that Armenia should try to establish allied relationships with Georgia which will enable to protect in a best way our national interests both in regional affairs and in protection of Armenians in Javakhk (Table 11).

All in all from the fourteen political parties' pre-election programs analyzed only three parties have observed issues connected with Armenia-Georgia relations. It is significant to note also that twelve have not observed those issues and from those twelve are- the RPA, the ARFD, and the CLP (Table 11). Finally, the results for proposing methods and mechanisms are more confusing, because the number is negative at all: no party has proposed any practical step, thus ignoring the existence of such an issue as Armenia-Georgia relations. Going further to the Javakhk Armenians problems only five parties have paid their attention to that in their pre-election programs. What's more only the NDP has proposed mechanism (Table 12).

In the end it can be concluded that even the number of those parties that have paid their attention to the issues of Armenian-Georgian relations and problems of Javakhk Armenians, their basic concerns were directed to the establishment of friendly relations with Georgia on the basis of mutual trust. That's why it is necessary to recognize the political problem of Javakhk, and to start working in an effective and coordinated manner to solve the accumulated problems. The widespread violations of human rights and freedoms of the Armenian population by the Georgian central government must be stopped (Aivazian 2005).

## **Conclusion**

Nowadays, Armenia aspires to become a full-fledged democratic state. Despite some improvements in that direction, Armenia still has multiple shortcomings to overcome. As it is known, political party programs are key elements for healthy political party system to survive. However, the analysis of pre-election programs has shown that constructed and structured programs yet constitute major problem for Armenian political parties.

Instead of planning more distinctive and realistic pre-election programs, Armenian political parties' pre-election programs are imprecise, and there is relatively little to differentiate between them.

Most parties, for example, underline that the state's basic attention must be focused on preservation, propagation and development of cultural heritage, promotion and development of Armenian cultural life and national culture, decentralization of cultural life. However, the majority of parties do not elaborate on the concrete steps to be taken.

Then, for the Armenia-Diaspora relations parties seek to develop relations with Diaspora, they evaluate the Diaspora's potential in scientific, educational, cultural, economic and other aspects. Despite that, most of the parties do not consider at all the problem of the repatriation. A couple of the other parties who mention repatriation do not offer any comprehensive program.

Many parties support normalizing relations with Turkey, its membership to EU, being convinced that it will increase democracy in that country, change priorities of its foreign policy and make it more predictable and easy to control, achieve Genocide recognition, and receive compensation for it. However, they do not describe how they are going to achieve these inherently contradictory objectives.

Despite Azerbaijan's threats of a new aggression, the Armenian political parties are talking about the establishment of cooperation with Azerbaijan and the settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, without elaborating much what it would mean. And finally, for the Armenian-Georgian relations and problems of Javakhk Armenians, their basic concerns were directed to the establishment of friendly relations with Georgia on the basis of mutual trust and protection of the interests of Armenians in Javakhk.

Generally speaking, Armenian parties attempt to present themselves as indispensable part for realization of Armenian national and foreign policies. However, among their programs there is not only lack of clear differences, but also for the most objectives and goals suggested there are not pertinent basis: they lack practical strategies as well as the methods and mechanisms for implementation. Even though several parties have proposed some methods and mechanisms, they are not explicit and bulky not relevant to the goal they are prescribed for. Hence, it becomes tough for the voter to make right choice, when even the leading parties do not include some vitally important questions of national and foreign policy in their pre-election programs.

What can be or should be expected from political parties? At minimum, the parties should offer clear and distinct policy alternatives that citizens can understand, should do so with some degree of consistency and continuity, and should work to implement those policy alternatives when in office. Only in this way they parties develop and function as the linkage institutions they are ideally supposed to be in a democratic political order. Here Armenian political parties fall short. Virtually all analysts agree that there is a lack of clear differences in their programs, that left-right differences are blurred, that political alliances cut across ideological lines.

In fact, in the eyes of some analysts, most voters seem to cast their votes based either on a desire to maintain the status quo, for the candidate who is most likely to win or to maintain a certain political stability, or conversely, against the status quo power arrangements, meaning that they are simply casting a general protest vote. There is, in other words, little sense of connection between the citizenry and the parties. Hence, for further studies it will be useful to find out how much the voters base their choices on political parties' pre-election programs.

Summing up, it can be stated that most parties have not developed mechanisms and methods for the majority of their proposed positions. For the issues observed in this essay, the party pre-election programs are based on simple slogans.

All in all based on the above mentioned analysis the following important conclusion can be done: the process of political party system formation and the acceptance of basic democratic principles in Armenia have gone awry and is far from being over.

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## Appendix A

<b>Table 1</b>			
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Party positions</b>		
	<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>History</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Promote fostering and educative functions of cultural centers.</li> <li>▪ Promotion of public initiative towards maintenance and development of cultural heritage.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Cultural heritage preservation within territories of other countries and Armenia.</li> <li>▪ Assistance in developing Armenian educational and cultural life.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Growth of the role of proper usage of Armenian language.</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Promotion of cultural life in and outside Armenia.</li> <li>▪ Development of a cultural base for systemic reform of Armenian society.</li> <li>▪ Preservation, democratization and spreading of Armenian cultural heritage.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Assist in preserving historical-cultural heritage.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Develop national culture. Develop proper cultural policy strategy, which will separate priorities and promotion programs and will implement them.</li> <li>▪ Start cultural education from pre-school and school age.</li> <li>▪ Pay a special attention to museums and libraries as cultural values' preservation and new generation's education centers.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe

	<p>Create conditions for musical arts development.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Support cultural public organizations.</li> <li>▪ State's and public's attention on the preservation and rehabilitation of Armenia's historical-architectural monuments and other cultural values, not only in Armenia, but also abroad.</li> <li>▪ Form relevant legislative framework.</li> <li>▪ Create favorable conditions for satisfaction of citizens' cultural needs.</li> </ul>		
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Realization of complex programs directed to preservation, development and propagation of cultural heritage abroad (including internet sources).</li> <li>▪ Decentralization of cultural, scientific and educational life.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Development of Armenology</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>National Unity Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Revival and development of Armenian national culture</li> <li>▪ Establishment of state sponsorship for culture.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Preservation and development of national peculiarities of Armenian art.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The state contribution may multiply the investment of the Armenian culture in the world treasury.</li> <li>▪ Scientific, educational and cultural units outside the capital need special heed and care.</li> <li>▪ State support to national culture</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe

	development and cultural heritage preservation.		
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ State sponsorship towards culture development.</li> <li>▪ Protection of Armenian traditions formulated through decades.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ National culture development.</li> <li>▪ Develop and realize complex programs for Armenian culture preservation, development and propagation at international level.</li> <li>▪ Realization of a comprehensive program for monuments' and cultural other values' preservation.</li> <li>▪ State sponsorship towards culture development.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Development of Armenian language usage.</li> </ul>	Does not observe

**Table 1.1**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	11	78
<b>Does not observe</b>	3	22
<b>Total</b>	14	100

**Table 1.2**

<b>Language</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	3	22
<b>Does not observe</b>	11	78
<b>Total</b>	14	100

**Table 1.3**

<b>History</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	0	0
<b>Does not observe</b>	14	100
<b>Total</b>	14	100

<b>Table 2</b>			
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Mechanisms</b>		
	<b>Culture</b>	<b>Language</b>	<b>History</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Comprehensive inventory of the national cultural-historical heritage.</li> <li>▪ Fight against models of low quality culture.</li> <li>▪ Quantity increase of contests and nominations organized by state.</li> <li>▪ Increase of budget expenditures directed to development of culture.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Creation of official registration book of cultural heritage.</li> <li>▪ Amendment of museum system.</li> <li>▪ Prohibition of state museums privatization and assistance to the newly formed museums.</li> </ul>	No mechanism	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Allocate governmental subsidies in support of composing activities.</li> <li>▪ Formation of joint cultural territory for all Armenians.</li> <li>▪ Creation of Armenian cultural identity and its presentation to the world.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Assist in developing modern, national and applied arts.</li> <li>▪ Encourage authors with significant cultural achievements.</li> <li>▪ Deepen cultural cooperation with foreign countries and Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Introduce Armenian culture with dignity in</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ foreign countries.</li> <li>▪ Armenia must become a member of regional and international cultural programs.</li> </ul>		
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Create conditions for culture's open development.</li> <li>▪ Free periodic press and book publishing from value-added tax.</li> <li>▪ Create corresponding institution that will simultaneously expand and establish Armenia's international cultural relations.</li> <li>▪ Found an institution of cultural attaché in all Armenian embassies.</li> <li>▪ Rehabilitate and modernize cultural houses system in communities' and rural residences, converting them into centers that will satisfy modern requirements and provide their full-fledged activities.</li> <li>▪ Implement complex programs for national heritage preservation, development and propagating abroad (also through internet).</li> <li>▪ Ensure decentralization of cultural, educational and scientific life in the centers outside the capital, also facilitating the establishment of new ones.</li> <li>▪ Increase the state anxiety for cultural institutions.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe

<b>National Democratic Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Preservation of cultural and educational centers and creation of new ones outside the capital.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Public relief upon <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Armenian language teaching and utilization as a state language;</li> <li>○ Location of Armenian language in the computer network.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>National Unity Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Material and moral assistance to cultural workers and writers.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The state should have a clear cultural policy.</li> <li>▪ One of the most important points of cultural policy should be the most extended communication with the world countries without sacrificing national face of culture.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of mutual relations with different countries cultures and values.</li> <li>▪ Object to disseminate fake culture.</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	No mechanism	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Formation of relevant framework and creation of favorable conditions for national culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenian language shall be rooted as national language.</li> <li>▪ Expansion of state</li> </ul>	Does not observe



	development through practical steps. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Cultural values' restoration not only in Armenia, but also abroad.</li> </ul>	language agency's functions and authority, in order to make effective its work in direction of RA law about language usage.	
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**Table 2.1**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	10	90
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	1	10
<b>Total</b>	11	100

**Table 2.2**

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	2	67
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	1	33
<b>Total</b>	3	100

**Table 3**

<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Party Positions</b>
	<b>National Security</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Ensure the defense potential of the state, which is necessary for striking a reciprocal blow to any aggression, to protect sovereignty and independence, territorial integrity of the country.</li> <li>▪ Ensure efficiency of system reforms in the sphere of defense and security.</li> <li>▪ Continual improvement of social conditions of the military service.</li> <li>▪ Improvement of the efficiency of ideological activity.</li> </ul>
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Main objectives of the sphere are the following:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- assurance of RA territorial integrity and sovereignty,</li> <li>- implementation of operative and program measures for prevention and formation of such a regional security system, where Armenia will have a serious role and its security will be assured to greatest extent.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Strengthen country's defense, prediction, disclosure, prevention, counteraction activities and eliminate internal and external threats to national security.</li> <li>▪ Establish favorable, balanced, legally equal and mutually beneficial cooperation of Armenia with other states and international organizations.</li> <li>▪ Develop country's economy and implement economic policy with social direction, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- protection of economic interests,</li> <li>- reduction of scientific-technical and technological dependence,</li> <li>- regulation of demographic procedures,</li> <li>- improvement of the country's ecological and nature usage situations;</li> </ul> </li> <li>▪ Assure people's and citizen's security, their Constitutional rights and freedoms within the territory of RA.</li> <li>▪ Improve governmental system at local and state levels.</li> <li>▪ Strengthen legality and order.</li> <li>▪ Assure socio-economic and political stability of society, meeting the legislative requirements of citizens, officials, state and local government bodies, political parties, public unions, religious and other organizations.</li> <li>▪ To solve these problems there is a need to handle and adopt a concept about main points of National security.</li> </ul>
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Strengthen state's defensive capabilities and army's fighting abilities.</li> </ul>
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Make reforms aimed at expansion of fighting ability of armed forces, and elimination of non regulatory relations among soldiers.</li> <li>▪ Create mechanisms that will reduce the serving period.</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Create effective and flexible security system.</li> <li>▪ Ensuring safe life for Armenians all over the world, including Armenian Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ To protect its security Armenia must rely on itself.</li> <li>▪ Urgent revision of national security strategy in its all components, including military, foreign political, economic, information, food, energy, social, environmental security.</li> </ul>
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe

<b>National Unity Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>People’s Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The issues of national security must be in the framework of ensuring country’s independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.</li> <li>▪ Democratization and democratic security.</li> <li>▪ Strengthen armed forces.</li> </ul>
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Create necessary conditions to ensure national security of Armenian nation.</li> </ul>
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ It is necessary to ensure transparency of methods and goals of national security system and create effective structure for its control.</li> <li>▪ Provide counter-balancing and refraining mechanisms in the institutional system.</li> <li>▪ Reform system of national security.</li> <li>▪ It is necessary to form workable and flexible security system.</li> <li>▪ Issues of national security must be in line with the principle of “full sovereignty to state, society and citizen” to provide highest level of freedom and rights.</li> </ul>

**Table 3.1**

<b>National Security</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	8	57
<b>Does not observe</b>	6	43
<b>Total</b>	14	100

<b>Table 4</b>	
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Mechanisms</b>
	<b>National Security</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Permanent reinforcement of the army with high-qualified officer personnel.</li> </ul>
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	No mechanism
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakutyun Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Create adequate conditions to serve for Motherland.</li> <li>▪ Improve moral-psychological atmosphere in armed forces.</li> <li>▪ Except non regulatory and extraordinary relations among soldiers.</li> <li>▪ Solve social problems of soldiers, victim's families, war veterans.</li> <li>▪ Existence of both required and professional voluntary contractual military service.</li> <li>▪ Military-patriotic and ideological training of Armenian youth.</li> </ul>
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Along with reduction of serving period, increase the number of professional soldiers.</li> <li>▪ Remove all military courses from all universities of RA.</li> <li>▪ Establish civic and parliamentary control over the sphere of security.</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage Party</b>	No mechanism
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>National Unity Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ It is important to increase the fighting capacity of armed forces.</li> </ul>

<b>Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Provision of modern military equipment.</li> </ul>
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	No mechanism
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	No mechanism

**Table 4.1**

<b>National Security</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	4	50
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	4	50
<b>Total</b>	8	100

<b>Table 5</b>	
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Party Positions</b>
	<b>Armenia-Diaspora Relations</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Development of relations with Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Calculation of potential in scientific, educational, cultural, economic and other aspects and the usage of that potential so as to strengthen Armenia.</li> </ul>
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Relations with Diaspora must be coordinated for the development and further deepening of Armenia-Diaspora relationships in accordance with international norms.</li> <li>▪ Political, mutual, spiritual, investment power and professional capabilities of Diaspora must be used to strengthen Armenia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ for RA and Artsakh development,</li> <li>○ for Armenia’s integration to worldwide and regional economic collective programs implementation,</li> <li>○ for solution of nationwide problems,</li> <li>○ for gathering Diaspora Armenians around motherland,</li> <li>○ for preservation of spiritual-cultural values.</li> </ul> </li> <li>▪ Implement Diaspora educational-cultural, spiritual, sporting and other programs.</li> </ul>
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Create Pan Armenian informative zone</li> <li>▪ Strengthen the Armenian political, cultural and economic lobbying, for the sake of RA consolidation, fair regulation of Artsakh issue, and for the international recognition of Armenian Genocide and defense of</li> </ul>

<b>Party</b>	<p>Javakhk Armenians rights.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Implement Diaspora educational-cultural, spiritual, sporting and other programs.</li> </ul>
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Development of relations with Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Implement Diaspora educational-cultural, spiritual, sporting and other programs.</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ RA should assist to the preservation of Armenians in Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Promote straightforward relations between Armenians in Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Diaspora should serve as a paramount bridge of cultural, economic, political relations and cooperation between Armenia and the rest of the world.</li> </ul>
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Preserve Armenians and rehabilitate ideal historical Motherland. This is possible only by high level of self organization, through the independent state and national institutions.</li> <li>▪ Armenia and NKR must cooperate with Diaspora economic, cultural, religious, charitable, professional, publishing and other institutions, and stimulate cooperation among all that institutions and Motherland.</li> <li>▪ Diaspora can help Armenia with <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ democratization and international integration,</li> <li>○ Karabakh's consolidation and international recognition,</li> <li>○ Formation reliable attitude towards investment activities in Armenia and Karabakh,</li> <li>○ Arrangement and encouragement of immigration to Armenia and Karabakh.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>National Unity Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Stimulate cooperation processes between Armenia and Diaspora in different spheres.</li> <li>▪ It is necessary to enhance education opportunities of Diaspora in high educational institution in Armenia.</li> <li>▪ It is necessary to create mechanisms for Diaspora-Armenians participation in solution of country's essential questions.</li> <li>▪ Create favorable conditions for economic integration.</li> <li>▪ Stimulate cultural, musical, and other cooperation between Armenia and Diaspora.</li> </ul>
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic</b>	Does not observe

<b>Party</b>	
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mutual strengthening and enhancement of links with Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Party considers important to develop legal and practical procedures.</li> </ul>
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Change the approach of viewing Diaspora as a financial source. Diaspora is not a capital for Armenia, but a source of knowledge.</li> <li>▪ Involve Diaspora in solving Armenia's educational problems.</li> <li>▪ Assure Diaspora Armenians inclusion in public administration.</li> </ul>

**Table 5.1**

<b>Armenia-Diaspora relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	9	64
<b>Does not observe</b>	5	36
<b>Total</b>	14	100

<b>Table 6</b>	
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Mechanisms</b>
	<b>Armenia-Diaspora Relations</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Formation of a separate body on affairs of Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Formation of the executive body with the purpose of organizing and effective planning of Armenia-Diaspora conferences works.</li> <li>▪ Effective implication of Diaspora in various activities in Armenia.</li> <li>▪ Elaboration and implementation of programs within the scope of international Pan Armenian youth organization.</li> <li>▪ Elaboration and implementation of programs of returning to the Motherland.</li> </ul>
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Protection of rights and interests of Diaspora Armenians should be considered one of the supremacies of Armenia's foreign policy.</li> <li>▪ RA must realize practical steps in juxtaposing relations with Diaspora Armenian lobby organizations.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Promote Diaspora national life.</li> <li>▪ Create possibilities for Diaspora Armenians participation in motherland political, socio-economic, educational, spiritual-cultural, sporting and public life.</li> <li>▪ Facilitate activities of professionals from Armenia in educational, cultural, spiritual and sporting structures of Armenian migration centers.</li> <li>▪ Preserve and teach Armenian language and history.</li> <li>▪ Support Diaspora educational-cultural institutions with necessary books and materials.</li> <li>▪ Implement a structured process for trainings of Diaspora Armenian teachers and professionals.</li> <li>▪ Expand the capabilities of Diaspora-Armenians for getting education in motherland universities.</li> <li>▪ Program, collect finances for functioning of “Armenia” Pan-Armenian fund.</li> <li>▪ Allocate corresponding means for gradual solution of Diaspora Armenians problems.</li> <li>▪ In the process of Armenians’ unification around motherland, Armenia should be a leader guarantor of national preservation.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakutyun Party</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Develop and execute a complex program of Diaspora migration to Armenia</li> <li>▪ Encourage cooperation between catholicates of All Armenians and Kilikian Grand House, which can become a base for creating unified Armenian Apostolic Church structure.</li> <li>▪ Promote multilateral cooperation of Armenian and Diaspora informative media.</li> <li>▪ Enable the development of Armenology teaching program, which will be applicable in all Armenian educational institutions and schools.</li> <li>▪ Take care of studies in Western Armenian.</li> <li>▪ Create incentives for bringing together Eastern and Western Armenian languages, and unify Armenian language spelling.</li> <li>▪ Expand the amount of Diaspora-Armenian teachers’ trainings and Diaspora Armenians admittance to the motherland’s educational institutions.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Country of Law Party</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Creation of a special body dealing with Diaspora.</li> <li>▪ Realization of practical steps towards publishing of high-quality Armenian copy-books and importing them to Diaspora migration centers.</li> <li>▪ Creation of favorable conditions for Diaspora Armenian investors.</li> <li>▪ Implement “your house in Motherland” migration program, for bringing back people who left Armenia.</li> <li>▪ RA must support Diaspora Armenians in preserving and teaching Armenian language.</li> <li>▪ Train Diaspora Armenian language and history specialists.</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Add Diaspora students in Armenian Universities.</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Become a link between Diaspora communities, serving a focal point of communication.</li> <li>▪ To deal with the affairs of Diaspora a special governing body should be created within the Government of the Republic of Armenia.</li> </ul>
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	No mechanism
<b>National Unity Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenian nation needs a centralized body of national propaganda that will coordinate and direct activities of Diaspora political and public organizations.</li> <li>▪ Adoption of laws that will promote investment opportunities for Diaspora Armenians.</li> <li>▪ Insurance of Diaspora Armenians ownership rights (for the ground also).</li> <li>▪ Expand possibilities of study for Diaspora Armenian students in Armenian universities</li> <li>▪ Start new stage for Diaspora teacher's trainings.</li> </ul>
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Adopt the principle of dual citizenship.</li> <li>▪ It is important to form a corresponding state institution for deepening relations with Diaspora.</li> </ul>
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Involve Diaspora Armenians in higher educational institutions.</li> </ul>

**Table 6.1**

<b>Armenia Diaspora relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	8	89
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	1	11
<b>Total</b>	9	100

**Table 6.2**

<b>Creation of separate body</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Suggested</b>	5	56
<b>Have not suggested</b>	4	44
<b>Total</b>	9	100

<b>Table 7</b>			
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Party Positions</b>		
	<b>Armenian-Turkish Relations</b>	<b>Genocide Recognition</b>	<b>Blockade</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The coordination of Armenian-Turkish inter-state relations and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the countries should be realized without preconditions.</li> <li>▪ Armenia must not oppose Turkey’s membership to EU, it does not contradict Armenia’s national and state interests, because in case of becoming EU member, Turkey may take predictable and controllable steps as:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ establishment of real democracy and thus, human rights protection,</li> <li>○ cooperation with Armenia,</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Punishment for Armenian Genocide as well as its recognition are unavoidable.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Blockade might be eliminated if Turkey becomes EU member.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ elimination of blockade,</li> <li>○ Genocide recognition.</li> </ul>		
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenia must not accept Turkey's hostile policy and preconditions for establishing diplomatic relations and for Armenian-Turkish border opening.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ International recognition of Armenian Genocide</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenia-Turkey relations presuppose an open, honest dialogue through cultural and social cooperation.</li> <li>▪ Regulate all separating disputes and relations in a comprehensive and complex manner.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Recognize their own history and resolve the Genocide and its consequent heritage issues.</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenia is ready both for dialogue with Turkey and establishment of diplomatic relations without any preconditions.</li> <li>▪ Armenia is for Turkey's democratization and conformity with European values, and in that consequence, membership to the European Union, which will facilitate improvement of relations with Armenia.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Party attaches major importance to the Genocide recognition and will consistently pursue the process.</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>National Unity Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenia should establish friendly relationships with Turkey.</li> <li>▪ Fair resolution of Armenian Cause should be reached in peaceful circumstances based on historical facts, international norms and principles.</li> <li>▪ Opening of Armenian-Turkish border and establishment of</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe

	<p>diplomatic relations.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dialogue between Armenia and Turkey should be started without any precondition.</li> </ul>		
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Combat against those foreign and domestic forces, which use the idea of Armenian Cause for their own interests.</li> <li>Armenian Cause should be solved in a way, which will be more realistic and will not hurt the growth of Armenia's statehood.</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relations with Turkey cannot be developed at the expense of Armenian Cause (without preconditions).</li> </ul>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The party believes that the world should recognize Armenian genocide.</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>New Times</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not

<b>Party</b>			observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	▪ Intensify official and unofficial contacts with Turkey particularly encouraging diplomatic channels.	Does not observe	Does not observe

**Table 7.1**

<b>Armenia-Turkey relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	7	50
<b>Does not observe</b>	7	50
<b>Total</b>	14	100

<b>Table 8</b>			
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Mechanisms</b>		
	<b>Armenian-Turkish Relations</b>	<b>Genocide Recognition</b>	<b>Blockade</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	▪ In establishing bilateral relationships between Turkey and Armenia, all issues must be discussed: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ regional security and cooperation,</li> <li>○ Turkey’s balanced, constructive and non-ideological standpoint in the processes of peaceful settlement of Artsakh issue,</li> <li>○ Armenian-Turkish border opening,</li> <li>○ communication ways, including the re-exploitation of Gyumri-Kars railway,</li> <li>○ preservation of Armenian cultural values in Turkey.</li> </ul>	No mechanism	No mechanism

<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	No mechanism	No mechanism	Does not observe
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Two nations should gradually amend the archetypes governing over them.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recognize their own history and resolve the Genocide and its consequent heritage issues.</li> </ul>	Does not observe
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Emphasizing the fact that Turkey is still far from being the carrier of European values (which is provided by the unwillingness to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide, Armenia's blockade and overt prejudiced policy with regard to Karabakh issue), Armenia's key task shall not be to show the West that Turkey does not meet the European standards but compete Turkey in satisfying that standards faster.</li> </ul>	No mechanism	Does not observe
<b>National Unity Party</b>	Opening of Turkish-Armenian border.	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Combat against those foreign and domestic forces, which use the idea of Armenian Cause for their own interests.</li> <li>Armenian Cause should be solved in a way, which</li> </ul>	Does not observe

		will be more realistic and will not hurt the growth of Armenia's statehood.	
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	No mechanism	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	No mechanism	Does not observe
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	No mechanism	Does not observe	Does not observe

**Table 8.1**

<b>Armenia-Turkey relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	4	57
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	3	43
<b>Total</b>	7	100

**Table 8.2**

<b>Genocide recognition</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	2	33
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	4	67
<b>Total</b>	6	100

<b>Table 9</b>		
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Party Positions</b>	
	<b>Armenian-Azerbaijan Relations</b>	<b>Karabakh issue</b>

<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Solution of Karabakh issue.</li> </ul>
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of relations with Azerbaijan.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Within the framework of comprehensive negotiations with OSCE Minsk Group, it is necessary to assist Artsakh security guarantees, democratization, socio-economic development and regional integration.</li> </ul>
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Fair regulation of Artsakh issue.</li> </ul>
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The only way of peaceful regulation of the conflict is negotiation.</li> <li>▪ Party is against the policy of preservation of existing status quo and regulation of conflict by all means.</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The axis of relations with Azerbaijan is Karabakh issue.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Karabakh conflict should be resolved in a peaceful and publicly acceptable manner.</li> <li>▪ Negotiation process must be carried out in the framework of OSCE Minsk group, with the exclusion of subjective country participation.</li> </ul>



<b>National Democratic Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenia shall be willing to cooperate with Azerbaijan in various spheres (economic, humanitarian, information, sport) and at different levels (state entities', enterprises', NGOs', journalists', scientists') without conditioning them to the regulation of Karabakh issue.</li> <li>▪ Armenia should use democracy and complete Euro integration to oppose the Azerbaijan oil factor, which presupposes qualitative growth of economy, while the latter is possible only with rapid establishment of democratic, legitimate state.</li> <li>▪ Armenia must strengthen its security system.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Conflict regulation through negotiations.</li> </ul>
<b>National Unity Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of friendly relationships with Azerbaijan.</li> <li>▪ Settlement of Karabakh issue is possible through regional integration.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Artsakh issue is a matter of nations' self-determination and human rights.</li> <li>▪ Regulation of negotiations' processes of NK conflict ought to be continued in the framework of OSCE MG.</li> </ul>
<b>Dashink Party</b>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Regulation of Karabakh conflict.</li> </ul>
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<p>Does not observe</p>
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Regulation of NKR conflict.</li> </ul>
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Conflict regulation through negotiations. Recognition of Karabakh's right to self determination at the international level.</li> </ul>
<b>Communist Party of</b>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Regulation of Artsakh issue.</li> </ul>

<b>Armenia</b>		
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Regulation of conflict.</li> </ul>
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenia should intensify official and unofficial contacts with Azerbaijan through diplomatic channels</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ NKR conflict regulation</li> </ul>

**Table 9.1**

<b>Armenia-Azerbaijan relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	5	36
<b>Does not observe</b>	9	64
<b>Total</b>	14	100

**Table 9.2**

<b>Karabakh issue</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	13	93
<b>Does not observe</b>	1	7
<b>Total</b>	14	100

<b>Table 10</b>		
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Mechanisms</b>	
	<b>Armenian-Azerbaijan Relations</b>	<b>Karabakh Issue</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Party states that the right of Karabakh to self-determination should be internationally recognized.</li> <li>▪ Karabakh should not be in subordination of Azerbaijan.</li> <li>▪ Security of Karabakh population and its borders should be ensured.</li> <li>▪ RA and Karabakh should have a common border.</li> <li>▪ Regulation of Karabakh issue should not take place at the expense of borders of the RA.</li> <li>▪ Karabakh should figure as a negotiating party in the process of</li> </ul>

		peaceful regulation of the issue.
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Take constructive steps aimed at development of relations with Azerbaijan.</li> <li>▪ The existing problems between Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations may be resolved not based on hate, but on indulgence, founded by historical facts, realities, norms and principles of International law.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The international recognition of Artsakh population's right of self-determination, based on concessions by both parties of the conflict (Artsakh and Azerbaijan), Recognition of international guarantees for security and peaceful settlement of Artsakh issue</li> <li>▪ In negotiations Artsakh must be a party with all rights, and any decision concerning Artsakh status will be excluded without Artsakh nation's agreement.</li> </ul>
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	Does not observe	No mechanism
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Karabakh issue must be regulated based on concessions.</li> <li>▪ It is necessary to reach the involvement of NKR into the negotiations process as a negotiating party.</li> <li>▪ International recognition of NKR's right to self-determination.</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Conclude a trilateral agreement with Azerbaijan, after the peaceful regulation of Artsakh conflict, the third party being the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh (negotiating party).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Karabakh should become a complete party in negotiations, before determination of its international status.</li> <li>▪ Conduct negotiations without preconditions.</li> <li>▪ Prohibition of Karabakh's return to Azerbaijan, and protection of Armenia's sovereignty over its own territories.</li> </ul>
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	No mechanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Self-determination of Karabakh.</li> <li>▪ Inclusion of NKR as a negotiating party.</li> <li>▪ International recognition of the</li> </ul>

		<p>Republic of Karabakh and its integration into international structures.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Assurance of reliable regional link between Karabakh and Armenia.</li> <li>▪ Adequate compensation for violated rights of Armenians who were forced to migrate from the Soviet Azerbaijan (including loss of motherland).</li> <li>▪ Establishment of democratic principles in the NKR and RA will contribute to the NKR recognition.</li> <li>▪ Consolidate NKR's sovereignty and political independence.</li> </ul>
<b>National Unity Party</b>	No mechanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ No agreement concerning the status of Nagorno Karabakh can be achieved without full participation of Karabakh in negotiation processes.</li> <li>▪ Karabakh and Azerbaijan powers must agree upon concessions.</li> <li>▪ Armenia and Azerbaijan shall not have to have territorial requirements.</li> </ul>
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Compromises proposed by conflicting parties.</li> <li>▪ Under the sponsorship of any international reputable organization (as EU), in the bases of regulation must be held principles of intermediate sovereignty.</li> <li>▪ Resettlement of refugees and compulsory removed persons on voluntarily basis.</li> <li>▪ Creation of preconditions for development of economy in Artsakh.</li> <li>▪ Determination of Artsakh status through a new referendum.</li> <li>▪ In the negotiations process directed for settlement of Artsakh issue regions of (Lachin) Qashatax and New Shahumanyan (Qelbajar) cannot be argued.</li> </ul>
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe

<p><b>Armenian Democratic Party</b></p>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Liberated territories must be given to 500 thousands Armenian immigrants.</li> <li>▪ To regulate the aftermath effects of the war it will be appropriate to sign a “peace agreement” corresponding to international norms, thus resulting in separation of Artsakh issue regulation from the aftereffects of war.</li> <li>▪ Compromises must be made on equivalent basis, leading to a final solution, and which must be included in a comprehensive package of General treaty.</li> <li>▪ Implementation of agreed upon provisions may be put into action according to a fixed timetable.</li> <li>▪ Diplomacy aimed at regulation of Karabakh issue must be directed in NKR’s recognition as an international subject.</li> <li>▪ All kind of negotiations cannot be held without NKR participation.</li> <li>▪ Conduct all nation referendum and unite Karabakh with Armenia.</li> </ul>
<p><b>People’s Party of Armenia</b></p>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Issue should be fairly resolved in a peaceful way, through political negotiations.</li> <li>▪ NK must figure as an equal party in these negotiations.</li> <li>▪ The settlement of the conflict must be based on international recognition of its right to self-determination.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Communist Party of Armenia</b></p>	<p>Does not observe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Promote continuation of peaceful negotiations for Karabakh issue’s solution.</li> <li>▪ The settlement of the conflict must be based on international recognition of its right to self-determination.</li> <li>▪ The only and final solution to that conflict is the admission of NKR to newly formed Unity of Independent state as a legitimate member.</li> <li>▪ Develop and discuss legitimate</li> </ul>

		programs for RA and NKR further economic integration.
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Make great efforts for its international recognition as an established state.</li> </ul>
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	No mechanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Resolve the problem of Artsakh in favor of Armenia based on principle of nations' right to self-determination.</li> <li>▪ The resolution of Artsakh problem should exclude subordination of NKR to Azerbaijan.</li> <li>▪ Ensure reliable land connection between Armenia and Artsakh.</li> <li>▪ Establishment of democracy in Armenia and Artsakh is one of the most important elements of Artsakh problem resolution in favor of Armenia.</li> </ul>

**Table 10.1**

<b>Armenia-Azerbaijan relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	2	40
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	3	60
<b>Total</b>	5	100

**Table 10.2**

<b>Karabakh issue</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	12	92
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	1	8
<b>Total</b>	13	100

**Table 11**

	<b>Party positions</b>
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<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Armenian-Georgian Relations</b>	<b>Javakhk issue</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ In political, economic, energy, regional security, communication ways, spiritual-cultural, humanitarian as well as other forms of cooperation, it is necessary to develop traditional friendly relationships with Georgia.</li> <li>▪ Georgian approach to security issues with regards to Armenians living in Georgia.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Georgian program approach to Javakhk Armenians, their security and self-determination rights.</li> <li>▪ Resolution of socio-economic and spiritual-cultural problems facing Javakhk.</li> <li>▪ Armenia, in an agreed way with Georgian authorities, must constantly assist Georgia in its steps directed to resolution of Javakhk problems.</li> </ul>
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Protect rights of Javakhk Armenians.</li> </ul>
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Heritage Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friendly relations with Georgia should be established on the basis of mutual trust, through the solution of Javakhk problem, which is a factor of national security.</li> <li>▪ The paces of economic cooperation should be transferred to political sphere as well.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friendly relations with Georgia should be established on the basis of mutual trust, through the solution of factor of national security-Javakhk problem.</li> </ul>
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Solution of Javakhk Armenians problems.</li> </ul>

<b>National Unity Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Armenia should try to establish allied relationships with Georgia which will enable to protect in a best way our national interests both in regional affairs and in protection of Armenians in Javakhk.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Protect our national interests both in regional affairs and in protection of Armenians in Javakhk.</li> </ul>

**Table 11.1**

<b>Armenia-Georgia relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	3	22
<b>Does not observe</b>	11	78
<b>Total</b>	14	100



**Table 11.2**

<b>Javakhk issue</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Observe</b>	5	36
<b>Does not observe</b>	9	64
<b>Total</b>	14	100

<i>Table 12</i>		
<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Mechanisms</b>	
	<b>Armenian-Georgian Relations</b>	<b>Javakhk Issue</b>
<b>Republican Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Prosperous Armenia Party</b>	No mechanism	No mechanism
<b>Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnakcutyun Party</b>	Does not observe	No mechanism
<b>Country of Law Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Heritage Party</b>	No mechanism	No mechanism
<b>National Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Allocation of Armenian language a status of regional language.</li> <li>▪ Real local governance.</li> <li>▪ Preservation and development of cultural heritage.</li> <li>▪ Exclusion of inter-state and political life discrimination against Georgian Armenians.</li> </ul>
<b>National Unity Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Dashink Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Democratic Way Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe

<b>Armenian Democratic Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>People's Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>Communist Party of Armenia</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>New Times Party</b>	Does not observe	Does not observe
<b>United Liberal National Party</b>	No mechanism	No mechanism

**Table 12.1**

<b>Armenia-Georgia relations</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	0	0
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	3	100
<b>Total</b>	3	100

**Table 12.2**

<b>Javakhk issue</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Have mechanisms</b>	4	80
<b>Does not have mechanisms</b>	1	20
<b>Total</b>	5	100