

Analysis of Policies of Political Parties and Public Sector in Armenia Regarding the EU, NATO, CSTO as well as EEU

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Analysis of political party representatives' opinions

It is noteworthy that the project experts aiming to collect multilateral standpoints, involving as many actors as possible, carried out the respective research on several directions. On the first stage, which was implemented from June 1 through September 1, 2017, public opinion polls were conducted questioning totally 900 citizens, of which 402 (44.7%) in Yerevan and 498 (55.3%) in Gyumri, Vanadzor, Vayk, Yeghegnadzor, Martuni and other provinces. 497 (55.2%) of the respondents were female and 403 (44.8%) were male.

The survey results show that 50.67% of citizens in Armenia believe that Armenia's membership to the Eurasian Economic Union has a negative impact on the country, and 45.33% of the respondents are convinced that the impact has been positive.

To the question whether you consider Russia as an ally of Armenia, 34.33% of the respondents gave positive response, and 30.56% gave negative answer. 35.11% of respondents said that Russia is partly Armenia's ally.

40.22% of respondents believe that close relations with Russia are a barrier to Armenia's relations with the EU while 29.67% is confident that Armenia – Russia relations create no barrier to Armenia – EU relations. 29.67% of respondents believe that relations with Russia can partially hinder relations with the EU.

In response to a question on the Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement, 56.33% of the respondents replied that Russia has a negative impact on the conflict settlement, while 40.11% believe that Russia's influence is positive.

Replying to the question whether the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) ensures Armenia's security 15.78% of respondents graded it as positive and 41.33% found that NATO does not provide Armenia's security.

Asked whether CSTO would support Armenia in case of war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, 31.22% of respondents believe that CSTO will support, and 63.44% of the respondents have expressed opposite opinion.

In response to a question about the Armenian economy, 23.33% of the respondents mentioned that the deterioration of the economy is connected with the membership of the Eurasian Economic Union, and 37.67% think that the deterioration of our country's economy is not related to joining the Eurasian Economic Union.

Armenia's refusal to sign the Association Agreement with the EU in 2013 78.67% of the population assesses negatively, and 20.56% of the population positively. The activation of Armenia-EU relations 88.67% of the citizens estimated positive while 10.67% negative. To the question whether you link Armenia's future with EU membership, 58.89% of citizens responded positively, and 38.22% were negative on that issue.

Thus, at the initial stage of the program, average citizens' opinions and impressions on the political course of the government have been collected, but to make the picture more complete and to underline the extent to which approaches and attitudes towards Armenia's foreign policy of public and political actors (political parties) contradict or coincide, the opinions on above mentioned topics of a number of political parties registered in Armenia most of whom are also political agenda makers and are decision-makers in Armenia have been collected and analyzed.

For this purpose, in September-October, 2017 requests were sent to fill out the open questionnaire prepared by the Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC), to 28 political parties that have at least one MP in the National Assembly of the 6th Convocation or at least one MP in any factions or participated on parliamentary elections held on March 2, 2017 and are active in political life of the country or have a political long history. Only 22 out of above mentioned 28 replied. These parties are:

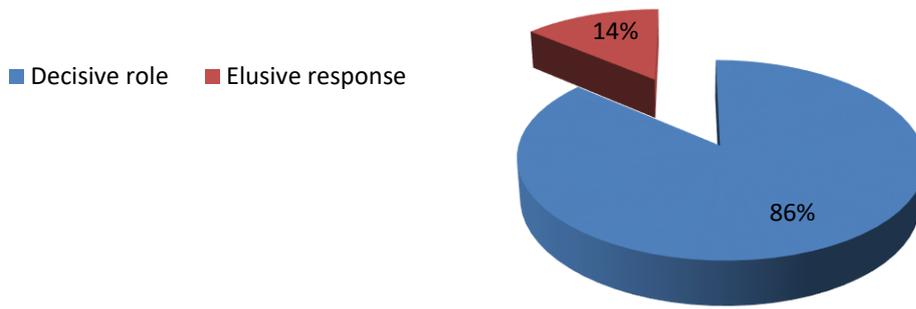
N	Name of the party	Leader of the party	Year of registration
1.	Civil Contract party	Sasun Mikayelyan	2014
2.	Democratic homeland country party	Petros Makeyan	1998
3.	Bright Armenia party	Edmon Marukyan	2015
4.	Republic party	Aram Sargsyan	2002
5.	Heritage party	Raffi Hovhannisyan	2002
6.	National Self-Determination Union	Paruyr Hayrikyan	1966, re-registered 1987
7.	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia party	Arthur Levonyan	2000
8.	Armenian National Movement party	Ararat Zurabyan	2014
9.	Free Democrats party	Khachatur Kokobelyan	2011
10.	Restructured Social-Democratic Hnchakian party	Lyudmila Sargsyan	2014
11.	Social-Democratic Hunchakian party	Narek Galsstyan	1887
12.	Democratic party of Armenia	Aram Gaspari Sargsyan	1991
13.	Christian Democratic party of Armenia	Khosrov Harutyunyan	1991
14.	Christian Democratic Renaissance party	Mkrtich Gimishyan	2005
15.	Communist party of Armenia	Tatchat Sargsyan	1903
16.	Progressive United Communist party of Armenia	Vazgen Safaryan	1997
17.	Republican party of Armenia	Serzh Sargsyan	1990
18.	National Security party	Garnik Isagulyan	1999
19.	Constitutional Right Union party	Hayk Babukhanyan	1989
20.	Reformist party	Vahan Babayan	2014
21.	Armenian National Congress	Levon Ter-Petrosyan	2008
22.	United Liberal National party	Levon Martirosyan	2007

Below is the summary of the responses provided by the representatives of the parties, according to the questions given to them.

Question 1: What role does Russia play in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement process?

Speaking about the role of Russia in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement, the majority of the respondents, in particular 86%, mentioned that the latter has a great role and 14% cited Russia's participation in the work of the OSCE Minsk Group and gave a general response.

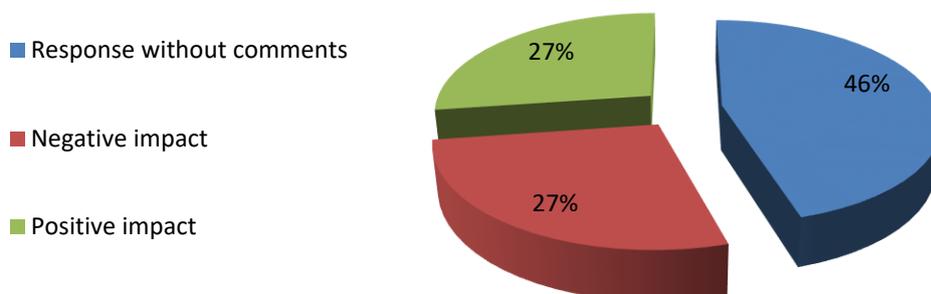
What role does Russia play in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement process?



At the same time, it is noteworthy that in response to the respective question some parties, in particular, 27% have given details that this decisive influence is positive and equally 27% claimed that the Russian influence is absolutely negative in the settlement of the aforementioned problem. Noting that Russia has a decisive or great impact in the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process, 46% of the respondents have refrained from commenting on how this impact is manifested.

During public opinion polls 56.33% of the citizens point out that Russia has a negative impact on the settlement of on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, while 40.11% estimate Russia's influence positively. Apparently, the attitude of the population towards Russia is twice as negative as the attitude of the parties.

What role does Russia play in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement process?



It is interesting that the part of the respondents who stated that Russia has a positive influence on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict settlement process supported their responses by the following argumentation:

- With all the shortcomings and mistakes the Russian influence is positive and favorable for Armenia.
- The role of Russian Federation is quite impressive, while the OSCE Minsk Group co-chairmen US and France damages the peaceful settlement of the issue.
- It is important because our enemy knows that they cannot start aggression against Armenia because there are many bilateral treaties between Armenian-Russian and CSTO multilateral ones.
- Russia is the ally of Armenia.
- Russia has a special role in the format of the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairing, effectively exercising its powers.

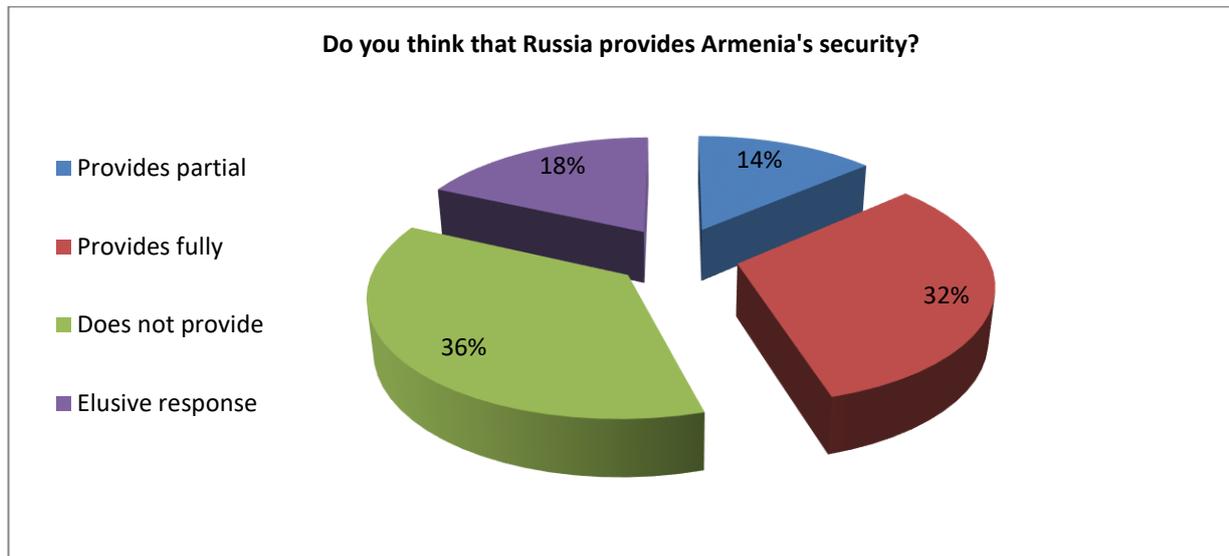
The group of respondents, who found that Russia had a negative impact on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict settlement, mainly supported their standpoint with the following argumentation:

- Russia actively supplies weapon to our opponent, which hinders the process of peaceful settlement of the issue.
- Russia by keeping this conflict unresolved, makes an impact on Azerbaijan (there is no leverage of other influences) and sells weapon to Azerbaijan, at the meanwhile imposing Armenia to sign certain documents providing closer relations with Russia, as if for security purposes.
- The role of Russian Federation should be mainly viewed in the context of co-chairing, however with reservation that Russia sells weapon to Azerbaijan this way increase its bellicose ambitions, which leads to the negative role of the Russian Federation.

Question 2: Do you think that Russia provides Armenia's security?

Most respondents, 72%, answered the question whether Russia provides Armenia's security with a clear answer "Yes", while 32% believes that Russia does not provide Armenia's security,

and 14% think that it is provided partially. And only 18% gave an elusive response, mostly referring to bilateral and multilateral documents within which security is provided.



It is noteworthy that the representatives of those political parties who believe that Russia does not provide Armenia's security insisted that the only guarantor of Armenia's security is the Armenian army and the guarantor of Nagorno Karabakh's security is Artsakh Army. At the same time, supporters of this standpoint supported their approach bringing as an example April war that came to prove the fakeness of the legend that Russia guarantees Armenia's security.

The representatives of the political parties participating in the poll, who find that Russia provides Armenia's security supported their view with following justifications:

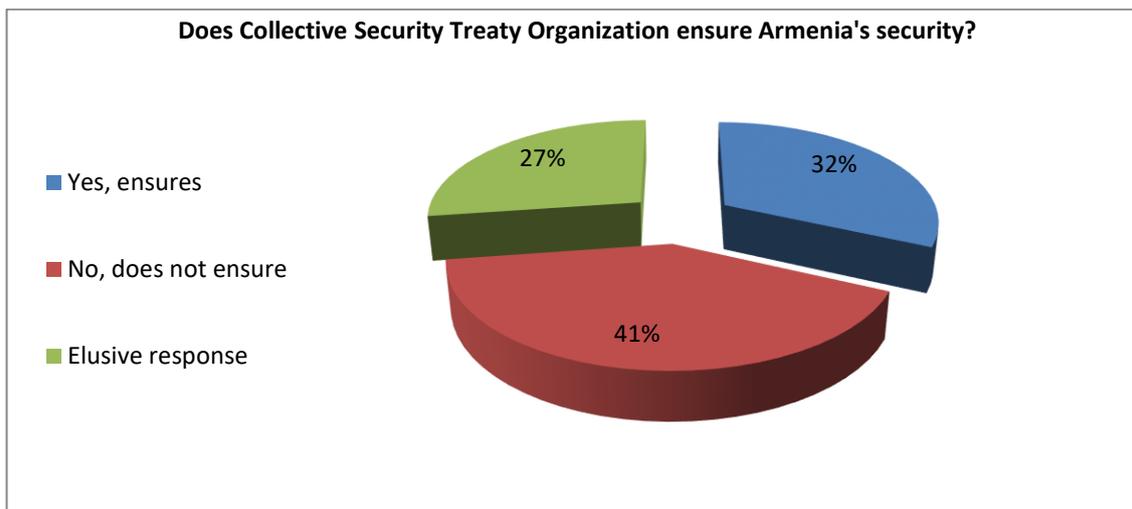
- Russia has its own state interests in this region.
- Russian soldiers protect our state borders from our ancient enemy Turkey.
- Russia is interested in Armenia's security.
- Relations between Armenia and Russia are allied and have mutually beneficial cooperation in security issues.

Question 3: Does Collective Security Treaty Organization ensure Armenia's security?

The majority of respondents that is 73% answering to the question whether CSTO provided Armenia's security expressed their clear standpoint, out of which 32% said "Yes", when 41% are confident that CSTO does not provide Armenia's security and 27% gave elusive response mainly referring to bilateral and multilateral documents.

It is noteworthy that only 15.78% of the citizens answered to the same question about the CSTO positively, which is twice smaller than in the parties.

It should be mentioned that the results of this question already identified a sustainable group of political parties who as to the previous question (also 32%), believe that Armenia's security is guaranteed by Russia and the CSTO.



It is considerable that the representatives of the political parties who expressed the viewpoint that CSTO does not guarantee of Armenia's security claimed that:

- CSTO members not only occupied neutral positions during the April war, but also pursued anti-Armenian policy.
- CSTO is an organization with a declarative and political aspiration and in practice it does not even make a statement condemning attacks on RA territory during the April war.
- CSTO is more political than military unit.

The group of respondents who were inclined to give elusive answers mostly claimed that:

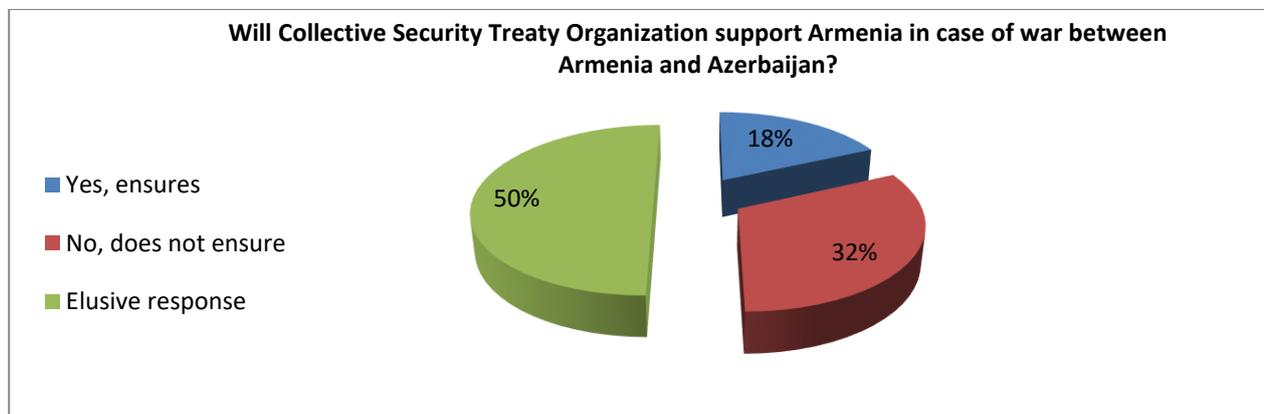
- Armenia's security is provided by the Armenian Armed Forces but CSTO has its role in Armenia's security.
- So far Armenia has not applied to CSTO for protection when it comes to applying to them and if they fail to respond, only then it might be possible to talk about ineffectiveness of the organization.

Question 4: Will Collective Security Treaty Organization support Armenia in case of war between Armenia and Azerbaijan?

Only half of the respondents 50%, answering the question whether CSTO would assist Armenia in the case of war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, gave a certain answer, pointing out that yes, they will support 18%, not support 32% and 50% gave elusive response, which also included “I am not sure” option.

Particular attention should be paid to a circumstance that only half of those respondents who replied positively to the Question 3 (it was 32% of respondents), which stated “whether CSTO currently provides Armenia's security?” believe that CSTO will assist Armenia in the aftermath of Armenia-Azerbaijan possible military actions.

It is important to underline that 63.44% of Armenian citizens consider that CSTO will not support Armenia in case of war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The difference between public and political parties is rather alarming and may indicate that public moods are not taken into consideration by political parties during decision-making processes.



Interestingly, a part of the respondents who found that the CSTO would not support Armenia, at the same time mentioned that Russia would nevertheless support. There was a private opinion that CSTO will not support Armenia, taking into account Kazakhstan's solidarity with Azerbaijan.

Half of the respondents who gave an uncertain answer, expressing their distrust on the issue, were mainly referring to the CSTO statutory commitments, pointing out that the CSTO would be useful to take on the role of the mediator and so on.

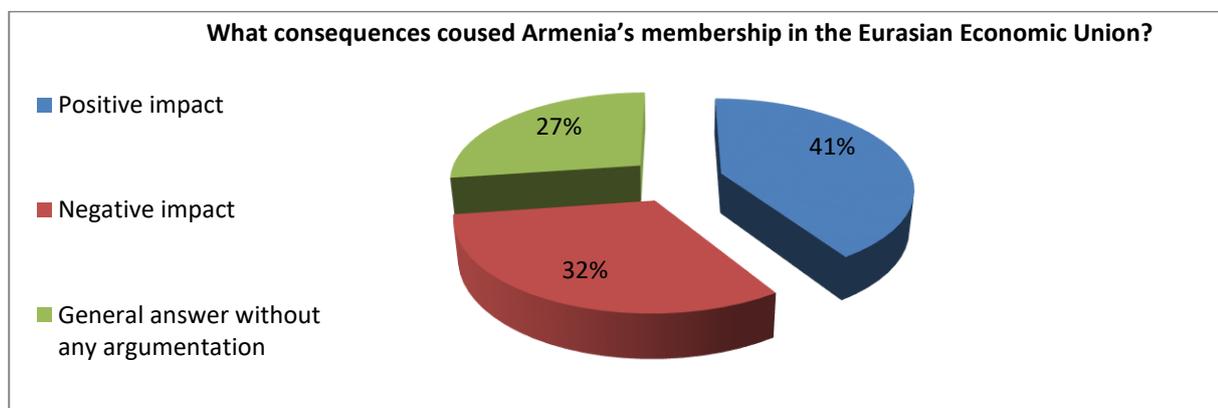
Half of the respondents who gave an uncertain answer, expressing their distrust on the issue, mainly referred to the CSTO statutory commitments, pointing out that the CSTO would do its best to assist Armenia, obtain the role of the mediator and so on.

Some positive answers of the respondents are remarkable due to the fact that if military actions take place on the territory of Karabakh then the CSTO will not support, while the actions are on the Armenian lands and if Armenia applies to the CSTO, then it will provide with necessary assistance to Armenia.

Question 5: What consequences caused Armenia's membership in the Eurasian Economic Union?

Majority of the respondents that is 73%, answering to the question on the consequences caused Armenia's membership in the Eurasian Economic Union, had certain standpoint on the issue, stating that it has positive consequences – 41% and other 32% believe that it has caused regress while 27% giving uncertain answers referred to the challenges the Union faces and the possible opportunities in the future. It should be mentioned that the results of this question identifies a sustainable group of political parties who have certain standpoint regarding external affairs of the country and that is 27%.

It is noteworthy that 50.67% of Armenian citizens consider that Armenia's membership in the EEU has had a negative impact on our country. The difference between public and political parties' perception on the issue is naturally disturbing and may indicate that public moods are not heard and taken into consideration by the political parties and decision-makers.



A group of political parties that found that Armenia's membership in the EEU led to regress, mainly underlined that:

- Single pole direction precedent has been established.
- There has been a regression of democracy, and there is no promised economic boom.
- Regression from the perspective of free trade, moreover, there is a real and already expected price trend.
- Negative because an opportunity of the country's development has been missed.
- It is absolutely negative, as the foreign trade turnover and the volume of investments has decreased and external debt of Armenia increased. Moreover, in case Armenia purchases weapon from a non- EEU member country, the country should transfer an additional 18% fee to the union budget.

The parties stating that as a result of Armenia's membership in the EEU the country had possible developments, supported their approach with the following arguments:

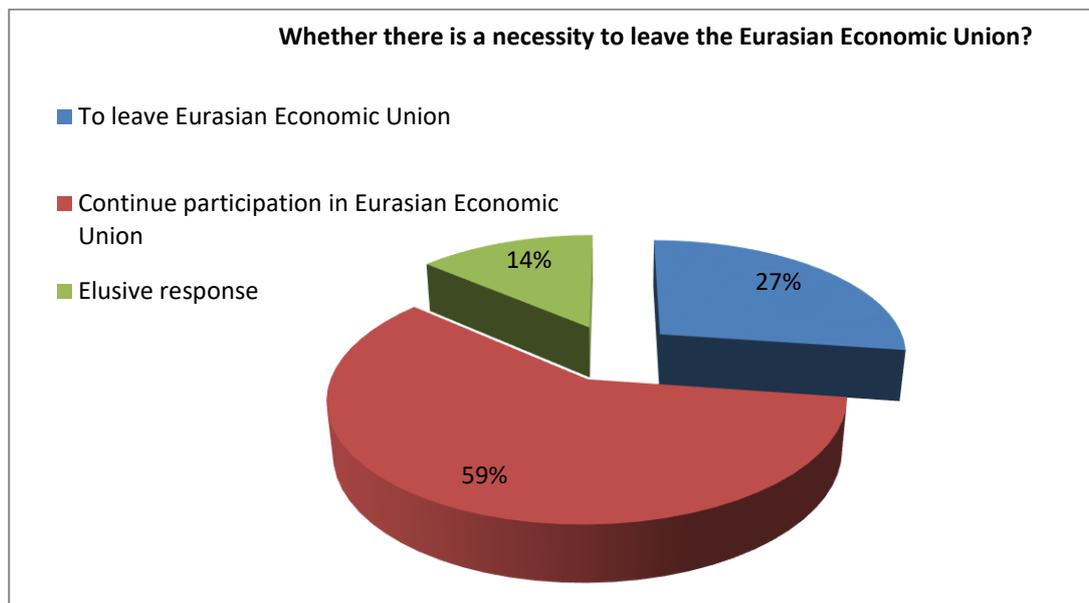
- There are some positive economic outcomes that will become more in the future.
- Armenia has reaffirmed strategic relations with Russia and has accessed a multimillion-dollar market.
- Created an opportunity to develop common trade and economic ties.
- Export volumes in Armenia have greatly increased.
- With the accession to EEU, Armenia has avoided the Association Agreement.
- Taking into account our mentality we are closer to the countries that are members of the EEU and no one in the EU market is waiting for us.
- Transparencies of private persons have increased, which speaks about the free movement of labor force.

Question 6: Whether there is a necessity to leave the Eurasian Economic Union?

The majority of respondents that is 86% answering to the question on whether there is a necessity to leave the Eurasian Economic Union gave certain answer out of which 59% replied that it is necessary to remain member of EEU, when 27% believe that Armenia must leave EEU and 14% gave elusive. It is noteworthy that some of the parties who gave elusive answer stated that decision on both joining and leaving EEU should be made by a referendum.

Representatives of this group also voiced opinion that in any case it is necessary to take advantage of current situation.

Interestingly, despite the fact that replying to the previous question 32% of the respondents claimed that Armenia had regressed after joining EEU, the number of parties that believed that it is necessary for Armenia to leave the EEU diminished to 27%.



Thus, political parties that claim to leave EEU are confident that:

- It is necessary to balance the relations with Russia.
- It is necessary, because neither economic development nor justifications on security insuring are in line with the reality.

Meanwhile, those political parties who believe that it is in line with Armenia's interests to remain in the EEU, mentioned that the initiatives directed towards leaving the Economic Union are populist acts, conduction of some orders and etc., justifying that there is no any need to leave the union:

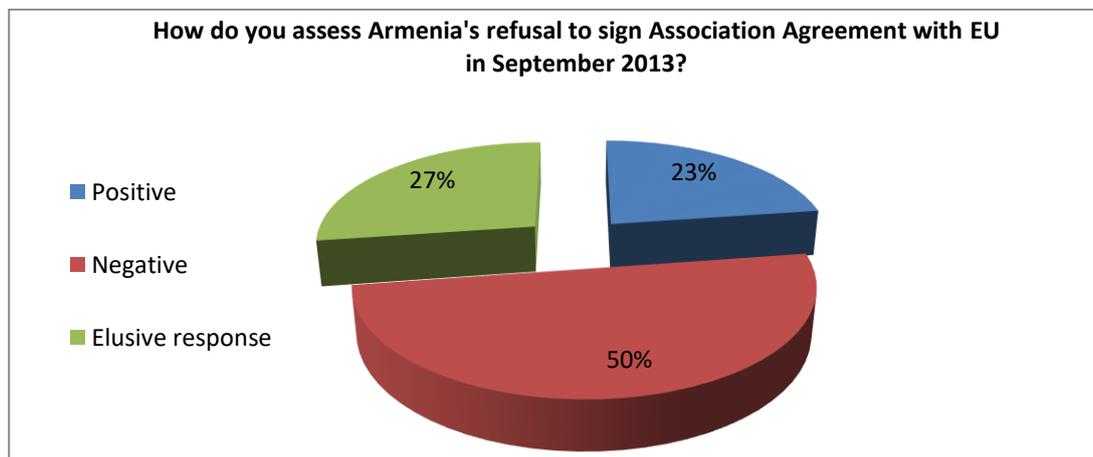
- Because it is a quite risky and dangers initiative. It's another question, how accurate it was to become a member of the union, but there was no alternative.
- Armenia should be where Russia is.
- Based on the importance of the economic and political component, as it is impossible to solve security issues in a CSTO system, and the economy at another one - in the EU.

Question 7: How do you assess Armenia's refusal to sign Association Agreement with EU in September 2013?

Majority of respondents that is 73% answering to the question on how you assess Armenia's refusal to sign Association Agreement with EU in September 2013 gave a certain answer, out of which 23% consider is positive, 50% believe that was negative and 27% gave elusive reply.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the parties giving elusive answers the actions of the authorities justified by the argument that EU has set a precondition for certain reservations regarding relations with Russia, which was unacceptable and in the current situation, the decision of the Armenian authorities was in favor of the EEU. The authors of elusive answers justified their arguments saying that Armenia is a member of the European family and Armenia's place in the world is not determined by this agreement. It is remarkable and noticeable that one of the parties expressing uncertain position expressed an opinion that the authorities did not put enough efforts in this direction, they were not transparent, could not explain the expediency and benefits of Armenia from signing the Association Agreement with the EU.

It is remarkable that Armenia's denial to sign the Association Agreement in 2013 78,67% of citizens considered negative and only 20.56 % believed that is was a correct decision.



The representatives of the parties considering Armenia's refusal to sign the Association Agreement extremely negative supported their standpoints by the following argumentation:

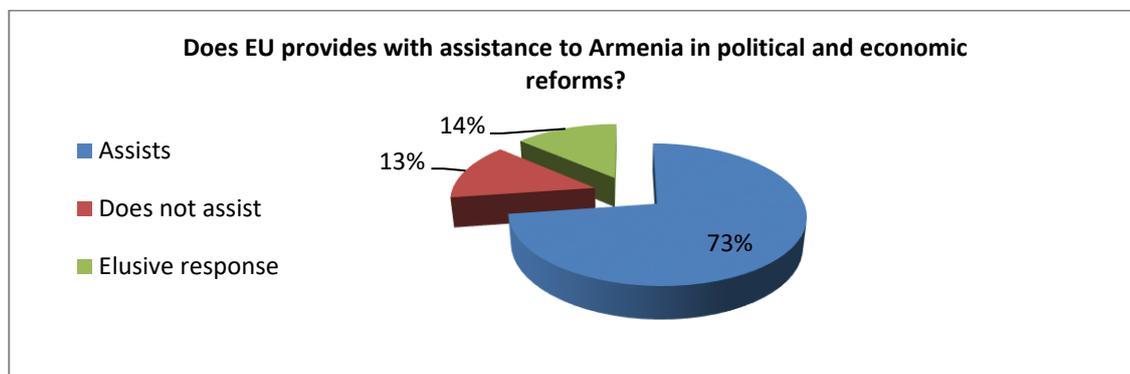
- Required decision made against sovereignty of the state.
- Shame for the state. However, Western and European countries are responsible for such a behavior of the authorities, who evaluated the results of each non-democratic election as one step forward applying double standards.

- Loss of sovereignty.
- Extremely negatively, because it was a change for the country to develop and for resolving Karabakh conflict for the best interests of Armenia.
- National betrayal.
- Lack of flexibility of foreign affairs policy of the RA.

It is interesting that those party representatives who had positive attitude towards Armenia's refusal to sign the Association Agreement did not bring any argumentation to support their approach except for one party representative who said that signing Association Agreement would only harm the interests of Armenia.

Question 8: Does EU provide with assistance to Armenia in political and economic reforms?

The majority of respondents that is 86% responding to the question whether EU provides with assistance to Armenia in political and economic reforms provided with certain answer, 73% out of which stating that yes EU provides with such assistance, and 13% expressing a standpoint that EU does not support Armenia while 14% of questioned did not have certain answer to this question.



The group of respondents who did not have certain answer raised the following issues:

- External appearance of institutions has been modified by the assistance of EU but the improvement of content which is the obligation of Armenian side remained the same which resulted in inefficiency of those reforms.
- EU is against economic, education or scientific development of Armenia, EU assists only development of tourism in Armenia.
- No, as their interference in the legislative field damages people's morale, and the loans provided to the economic sector only damage the economy.

A large number of political parties, who found that the EU supports the political and economic development of Armenia, specified the areas:

- Yes, support for development of various legislative projects, sectoral grants, and agricultural development programs.
- Yes, as it provides financial assistance to exclude the impact of the human factor on the electoral process.

However, some political parties also mentioned some reservations about support, in particular:

- Reform programs are being implemented, however insufficient evaluation and research is conducted for identification of necessity and procedure.
- They do not have an institutional impact, rather, partial solutions.

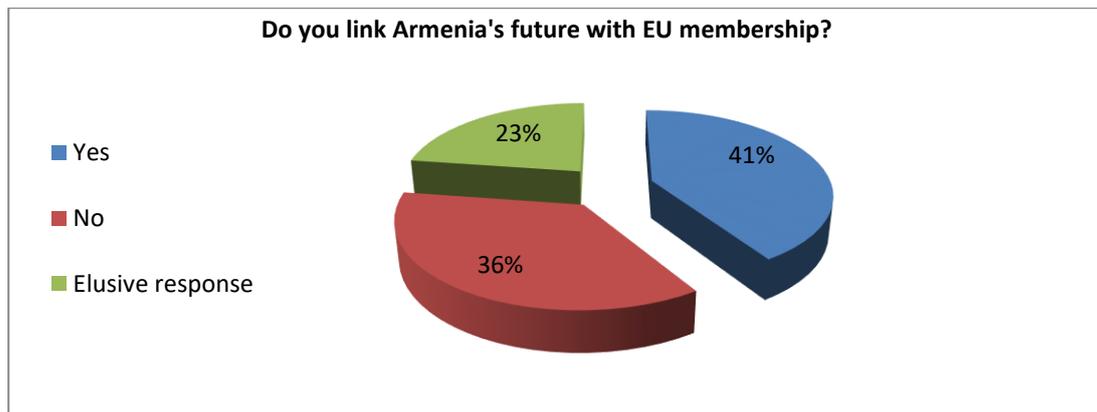
Interestingly, those parties that argued that the EU did not support Armenia's development, basically did not bring any justification, except for one particular case, when the party representative affirmed that the EU not only did not help but also harmed Armenia's national, the traditional value system.

Question 9: Do you link Armenia's future with EU membership?

Majority of respondents that is 77% answering to the question whether they link Armenia's future with EU membership gave certain reply, out of which 41% gave positive answer and 36% negative one, while 23% preferred giving elusive reply.

In this case, the number of parties linking Armenia's future with EU membership is rather high - 41%, however this percentage considerably varies from citizens' perspectives where the number of supporters is 58.89%.

It is noteworthy that, despite the fact that only 27% of the parties' representatives found it necessary to leave the EEU, the number of parties who link Armenia's future with the EU membership is much higher. The formation of such data is conditioned by the fact that a number of political parties point out that they link Armenia's future with the EU at the same time saying that it should not, however, be at the expense of relations with other partners.



The majority of political parties who believed that EU membership have a positive prospect for Armenia stated that it was their party's programmatic provision and expressed an opinion that the EU is not only an economic and political union, but a progressive civilization.

Those parties, who have given elusive answers, nevertheless stated that one of their party's programmatic principles was establishment Armenia's perspective based on international standards of human rights and European system of values. Interestingly, there were also such formulations as:

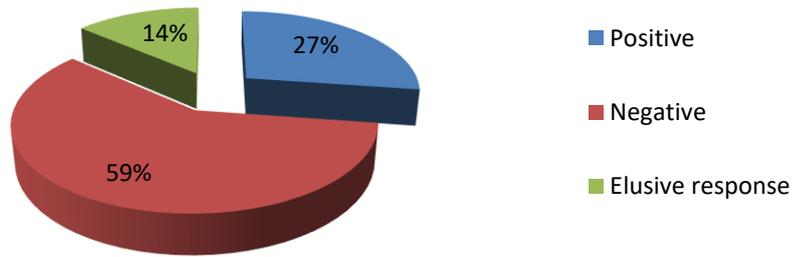
- Armenia should link its future solely with the development of its people, army and economy.
- EU membership is conditioned by the developments related to the Artsakh issue.
- It is acceptable to strengthen cooperation with the EU in separate spheres.

It is noteworthy that those party representatives who do not link Armenia's future with EU mainly avoided justifying their response, with the exception of some of them, in particular, one of the parties stating that they link Armenia's future with the establishment of socialist regimes and the restoration of the Soviet Union.

Question 10: What is your attitude towards Armenia's membership in NATO in the future?

Majority of respondents that is 86% answering to the question what is their attitude towards Armenia's membership in NATO in the future gave certain reply out of which 27% considered it positive, 59% negative and 14% gave elusive reply.

What is your attitude towards Armenia's membership in NATO in the future?



Answering to the same question 61.67% of the citizens answered positively, and 35.89% were negative. The difference between approaches of public and political parties is naturally disturbing and may indicate that public moods are not taken into consideration by political parties and political decision-makers.

The respondents who expressed their positive attitude towards Armenia's accession to NATO view this structure as an alternative to Armenia's security, as it will become a natural process after Armenia's membership to EU since all EU member states are NATO members as well. Those respondents who have expressed positive opinion regarding Armenia-NATO cooperation believed that it will promote the interests of Armenia, as well as contribute to the increase of Armenia's political weight and security.

The parties, which consider Armenia's membership to NATO absolutely unacceptable, mentioned that:

- It is necessary to cooperate with NATO but exclude membership.
- NATO membership does not stem from the vital interests of Armenia.
- It is not a matter of agenda.
- It may not only be effective, but may also be dangerous.
- It's meaningless and premature.

Although the number of parties giving elusive answers on this issue was not large, however there were some and the main arguments were as follows:

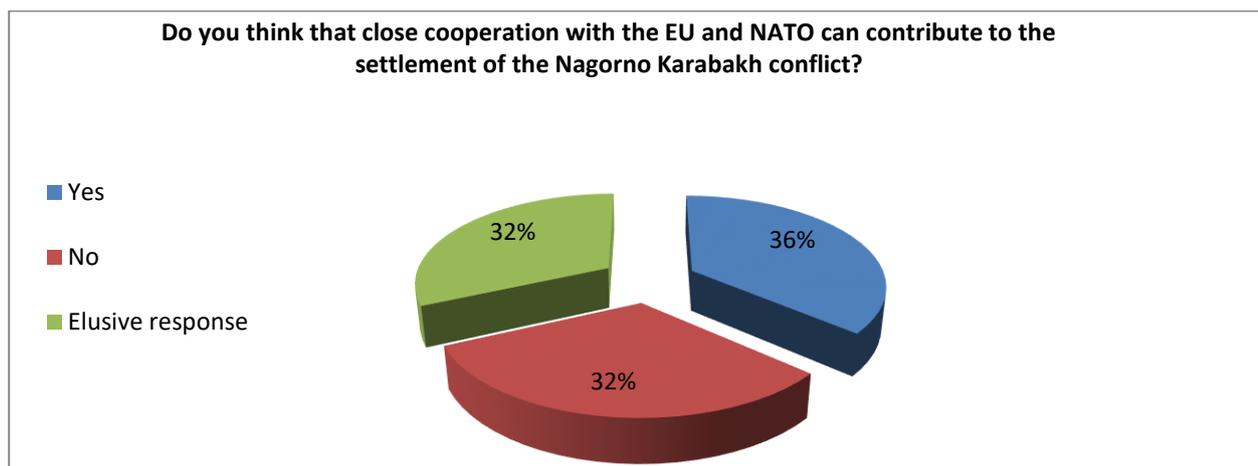
- Partnerships in separate areas with NATO are acceptable.
- Partnership with NATO is positive while membership is negative because it can sharply limit the political flexibility of Armenia.

Question 11: Do you think that close cooperation with the EU and NATO can contribute to the settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict?

Percent distribution of responses to this question varies from the answers to all other questions, as only 68% of respondents have expressed certain answer, and 32% have given elusive answers. Moreover, the percentage of positive, negative, and elusive responses was almost equally distributed in the following order 36%, 32%, and 32% respectively.

35.44% of the citizens answered the same question gave positive response, and 27.11% negative. In this case, the orientation of the public and political parties seems to be closer.

It is noticeable that only 27% of the respondents expressed positive attitude towards Armenia's membership to NATO, 36% of respondents expressed a stance that Armenia's cooperation with the EU and NATO can contribute to the settlement of the Karabakh conflict.



Thus, the main arguments of Armenia having positive influence on EU and NATO cooperation are:

- Cooperation not only these institutions, but also with EEU, CSTO and others will contribute to at least publicizing of the issue.
- It not only can have a positive impact but also might be the sole possible option.
- Yes, because deep cooperation with partners contributes to strengthen Armenia.

However, stances have also been raised about the fact that the EU and NATO cannot have a positive impact on the conflict settlement, in particular, expressing views that:

- The settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is not conditioned by anyone mentioned above.

- The settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is possible only by strengthening of Armenia, and cooperation with these organizations can contribute to development of Armenia.
- Armenia's interests do not coincide with EU and NATO interests.
- This cooperation has never contributed to the settlement of the conflict but only damaged it.

The arguments for elusive answers were also interesting.

- The settlement to Nagorno-Karabakh conflict mostly depends on the confronting sides.
- Armenia-EU, Armenia-NATO cooperation stems from Armenia's interests.
- It is possible to collaborate with any institution.
- The format of peaceful settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is the format of negotiations within the framework of the OSCE Minsk Group.

Analysis of public sector representatives' opinions

It is noteworthy that the project experts aiming to collect multilateral standpoints, involving as many actors as possible, carried out the respective research on several directions. On the first stage, which was implemented from June 1 through September 1, 2017, public opinion polls were conducted questioning totally 900 citizens, of which 402 (44.7%) in Yerevan and 498 (55.3%) in Gyumri, Vanadzor, Vayk, Yeghegnadzor, Martuni and other provinces. 497 (55.2%) of the respondents were female and 403 (44.8%) were male.

On the second stage of the project implementation survey has been conducted among registered in Armenia 22 political parties, who have been asked to provide with their comments on the same scope of the question, which appeared to greatly vary from the standpoints of the public.

On the third stage, similar open questionnaires have been applied and survey was conducted with 13 non-governmental organizations and public figures in Armenia who presented their approaches and viewpoints on the current course of Armenia's foreign policy and its further developments.

Thus, out of more than 4,000 non-governmental organizations registered in Armenia a request to fill out the questionnaire have sent to recently more or less active 100 suggesting submitting their position on the issue and only 13 responded (such a small number of answers is conditioned by the lack of independence of some NGOs and the fact that there are few organizations dealing with foreign policy issues). These organizations and public figures are:

N	NGO Name
23.	“Asparez” Journalist press club NGO
24.	Free University
25.	“Farmers Movement” NGO
26.	Gevorg Melikyan, expert-analyst
27.	Helsinki Citizen’s Assembly – Vanadzor Office
28.	"Integration and Development" NGO for Research and Analysis
29.	“Khoran Ard” Intellectual Center NGO
30.	Modus Vivendi Center
31.	Open Society Foundations- Armenia
32.	Armenian Institute for International and Security Affairs
33.	For the Sack of human stabile development
34.	“Union” NGO
35.	Chairperson of the Standing Committee on European Integreation of the National Assembly of the RA

Below is the summary of the responses provided by the representatives of the NGO and public actors, according to the questions given to them. Taking into account the fact that the number of questionnaires received is small, the summary is presented exclusively by qualitative analysis.

Question 1: What role does Russia play in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement process?

Interestingly, opinions expressed by the civil society representatives on this issue largely coincide on a point that most of them believed that the role of Russian Federation in NK conflict settlement is negative, except for one organization whose representative expressed a viewpoint that Russian Federation has a constructive contribution to the pursuit of peace, as well as another civil society representative who expressed a general opinion saying that Russia is trying to show more activity in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement, which, however, did not faster the process of negotiations.

It is key to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the respondents assessed Russia's involvement in the settlement of NK conflict negatively justifying their position by the following arguments:

The key point is that the overwhelming majority of respondents assessed Russia's involvement in the settlement of NK conflict negatively justifying their position by the following arguments.

- Russia pursuing a policy separate to dominate.
- Always applied and continues applying dual standards at the same time supplying with weapon both Armenia and Azerbaijan
- Very bad, because Russia constantly keeps the tension high through promoting arms race.
- Russian Federation uses NKR conflict as a tool for implementing its policy in the South Caucasus.

Question 2: Do you think that Russia provides Armenia's security?

The opinions of civil society representatives on this issue have been divided, some of which believe that Russian Federation provides or at least partially ensures Armenia's security, which in some cases is conditioned by Russia's geopolitical interests in this region.

The other part of civil society representatives, however, is convinced that recent geopolitical developments, as well as serious tensions on the Karabakh border, show that Russian military presence is more symbolic and has little to do with real security. Opinions were also voiced that Russia was characterized as the main threat for the Republic of Armenia and the main enemy of Armenia's independence.

Question 3: Does Collective Security Treaty Organization ensure Armenia's security?

The position of public figures on this issue was almost uniform, except in one case when the representative of the requested organization stated that the CSTO ensures Armenia's security.

The main stances confirmed that:

- The CSTO does not provide Armenia's security, which has been proven during many incidents against Armenia when the CSTO maintained silence and did not interfere.
- CSTO is merely a tool in the hands of Russia for implementing its own imperialist programs.
- CSTO does not provide Armenia's security and can not provide for two reasons. Firstly, Armenia ensures the security of Nagorno Karabakh, and the border with Turkey and Iran is controlled by Russia, which is regulated by Armenian-Russian agreement. Secondly, CSTO member countries have different foreign policy orientations and security challenges. In this case, CSTO member states can not form a unified security agenda, therefore the likelihood of mutual assistance is very low.
- Of course no: Moreover, it hinders Armenia's security policy.

Question 4: Will Collective Security Treaty Organization support Armenia in case of war between Armenia and Azerbaijan?

The opinions of the organizations questioned on this issue were the same with 100% absolute confidence that CSTO will not support Armenia during the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The following arguments were brought to support this position:

- It will not support or will harm Armenia and support Azerbaijan.
- Although in October 2016 Armenia signed, "CSTO Collective Security Strategy by 2025", which stipulates collective security provisions, but in the case of real scenarios there has not been a chance to see the CSTO in action yet. Moreover, unlike NATO, global disagreements between members of the CSTO, as well as the opposing interests of the member states, make Armenia do not have realistic expectations from the CSTO.
- If the war will take place directly between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Armenia applies to the CSTO, then the CSTO will either have to assist Armenia or it can no longer be considered a serious security system. Therefore, in case of war escalation, Russia will make pressure on Armenia not to submit such a request to CSTO.

Question 5: What consequences caused Armenia's membership in the Eurasian Economic Union (hereby EEU)?

The viewpoints of the respondents on this issue were almost identical, claiming that Armenia's membership in the EEU resulted exclusively of the following negative consequences.

- The international isolation of Armenia has intensified, the economic crisis has deepened, economic, military and political dependence from Russia has increased, the number of violations of human rights has increased in the country, isolation from global development processes has deepened and default. All of this led to a situation when the level of sovereignty of Armenia has dropped.
- In trade-economic relations with Russia no legal simplification was made. Moreover, relations with countries outside the EEU have become more complicating.
- This membership hinders Armenia's foreign economic relations with other markets - the EU, US, Iran, and China.

Question 6: Whether there is a necessity to leave the Eurasian Economic Union?

The viewpoints of non-governmental organizations on the issue of leaving the EEU have been divided, some of them expressed confidence that it is necessary to leave this union and, as soon as possible, justifying that Armenia does not benefit from this union economically, there is no common borders with the EEU member states, sanctions against Russia, oil prices fall, and so on. However, there were quite cautious positions on this issue; in particular, opinions have been voiced mentioning that it should be a process initiated simultaneously with finding alternative options to join other unions.

Some representatives, however, have found that taking into account the serious political and economic challenges Armenia currently faces, there is no need for such a radical step at this time. No, as in this case, Armenia will fall under Russian blow, which is full of dangers and the prove of such negative relations might be relations between Ukraine and Russia.

Question 7: How do you assess Armenia's refusal to sign Association Agreement with EU in September 2013?

The viewpoints on this issue were almost identical claiming and confirming that public organizations have a very negative attitude towards refusal to sign the Association Declaration with EU in September 2013, considering it as:

- There were three main reasons for refusing to sign the Association Agreement: serious pressures and blackmail from the Russian side, the EU's wrong policy (a demand for a civilized choice) and a serious failure of reforms in Armenia.
- Violation of the interests of the state and its citizens for the sake of the maintenance of their own power.
- Refusal from the Association Agreement by Armenia has greatly damaged the reputation of the country and caused both political and economic negative developments.
- As the greatest failure in foreign policy.
- This circumstance proved that Armenia does not pursue foreign policy independently, but adapts to Russia's needs.

Only one civil society representative had the viewpoint that Armenia had a positive stance on the refusal from the Association Agreement with the EU because it was impossible to combine the Eurasian integration vector with European integration version.

Question 8: Does EU provide with assistance to Armenia in political and economic reforms?

The viewpoints on this issue were divided into main three groups:

Group I expressed confidence that the EU did not support the development of Armenia and this group was a minority.

The II group found that the EU provided support, but that support was not always targeted, effective, and purposeful. The underlying cause of inadequate assistance is that in most cases the EU is exposed to the logic of Armenian authorities.

Group III insisted that the EU supports economic and political development of Armenia with grants, loans, consultations, and the continuation of all these processes are in the interests of the Republic of Armenia. At this point, the EEU membership limits Armenia's economic ties with the EU. Moreover, in their opinion, all possible measures should be taken to ensure a new level of Armenia-EU relations.

Question 9: Do you link Armenia's future with EU membership?

The number of civil society representatives linking the future of Armenia with the EU is dominant. Almost all, except for the representatives of the two organizations, are confident that Armenia's future should be linked to the EU in particular, noting that in the present situation it is difficult to imagine / discuss Armenia's EU membership. In particular, it is difficult to define the future. Nevertheless, the European direction should be priority for Armenia's development.

Question 10: What is your attitude towards Armenia's membership in NATO in the future?

Neutral opinions on this issue were quite few, and contextual answers were mainly divided into two groups: those who consider Armenia's membership not only unrealistic, but also view it as a real threat as the latter contradicts Russia's position, as well as creates new threat for the regional security system.

The other part of the interviewed civil society representatives is convinced that the membership of Armenia to NATO is not only a very positive, but also the only real security system for Armenia, it will seriously contribute to Armenia's security provision, as well as expressed confidence that NATO strongly strengthens its partnership offering partner-countries, including Armenia appropriate cooperation opportunities. NATO membership should be positively assessed for Armenia's future as EU membership.

Question 11: Do you think that close cooperation with the EU and NATO can contribute to the settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict?

Public attitudes on this issue were largely identical and expressed a positive mood about the favorable influence of cooperation with NATO, in particular following standpoints were expressed:

- Yes, because NATO is not only military, but also political organization,
- They can prevent the sudden outbreak of war. However, the conflict itself will not be resolved.
- Georgia's upcoming accession to NATO as well as Armenia's prospects for NATO membership will have a positive impact on the region's development. It is important for Armenia to be vigilant about the role of Turkey in the NATO (and therefore its friendly relations with Azerbaijan).
- Moreover, in that way I see the settlement of this conflict in favor of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.