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POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF ARMENIAN POLITICAL PARTIES ACCORDING TO THEIR PROGRAMS

RESEARCH OUTCOMES



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ABOUT THE RESEARCH

A comparison of political programs of Armenian and pan-European parties was done aiming to identify the ideologies reflected in the programs of Armenian parties. The research was carried out at the initiative of Political Dialogue NGO with the financial support from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The viewpoints expressed in the research belong to the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of Political Dialogue NGO and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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1. ACRONYMS

ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe
ANC	Armenian National Congress
ARF	Armenian Revolutionary Federation
BAP	Bright Armenia Party
CC	Civil Contract Party
CDP	Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party
ECPM	European Christian Political Movement
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists Party
EDP	European Democratic Party
EGP	European Green Party
EPP	European People's Party
HP	Heritage Party
ID	Identity and Democracy Party
PAP	Prosperous Armenia Party
PEL	Party of the European Left
PES	Party of European Socialists
RPA	Republican Party of Armenia
STPAP	Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party

2. PREFACE

The debate on the relevance of political ideologies has been ongoing since the 1960s. It has had its unique reflection in the discussions taking shape in Armenia as well. Some note that political ideologies are outdated, superficial phenomena, while others believe that it is impossible to have a healthy system of political parties without political ideologies and engage in real political activism. Not diving into this debate, we should just note that regardless of subjective announcements, every party program has ideological provisions and their analysis identifies which kind of political ideology those parties are close to.

It is a common practice in democratic countries for political parties to announce the political ideology they believe in. This is typical of pan-European parties that basically represent almost the entire spectrum of main actual political ideologies. Pan-European parties are the parties established on a pan-European level and functioning in the frames of EU institutions.

There is a relative consensus among the scientific and expert community regarding the characterization of political ideologies of pan-European parties, and the political self-assessment of those parties usually coincides with the assessments of the community about those parties.

Pan-European parties can be very good guidelines for the study of political ideologies. Their pre-election programs can be very effective in this regard as they reflect the ideological basis of parties. Taking this into account, while conducting research aimed at the identification of political ideologies, we can lean on the following research logic: if it is a known fact that pan-European Party X stands for a social democratic ideology, that means ideological provisions of that party's program are typical of the social democratic ideology. Thus, if the ideological provisions of Party Y are largely the same or close to those of the pan-European Party X, then Party Y also stands for social democracy or at least holds social democratic ideas dear. In other words, election programs of pan-European parties are unique anchor texts for identifying ideologies of political parties. The present research is an attempt to identify the political ideologies of at least formally active Armenian political parties

by comparing their programs to those of pan-European parties. The present research aims to identify the de jure ideologies of Armenian political parties. Whatever is reflected in programs of political parties might not be their de facto ideological guidance: in a certain political process parties might act in contrary to their proclaimed ideas. Of course, such a situation would underline the lack of integrity of political parties. This is, however, a different story. It should also be noted that for various reasons party programs might not include the approaches of the party to a number of areas, which would naturally make the identification of their ideology more difficult.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present research was conducted using the following methods utilized in political science and linguistics: holistic grading and comparative qualitative analysis.

In order to develop anchor texts for the comparative analysis, election programs of political parties at European level participating in the 2019 European Parliament elections were selected as objects for review.

Election programs of 9 political parties (one of the 10 registered pan-European parties is a non-traditional regional party pursuing specific goals and thus was not reviewed by us) were reviewed with the use of the holistic grading method. Wolfram Nordsieck's "Parties and Elections in Europe" was used when referring to the characterizations of ideologies of political parties.¹

Series of words, phrases and sentences were taken out of each party's program and were divided into the following groups with sometimes somewhat different phrasing: a) issues viewed as fundamental problems and negative phenomena, b) issues viewed positively and seen as positive values, c) program provisions proclaimed as party goals.

9 Armenian parties were also selected for review, 3 of which are

¹ Nordsieck, Wolfram. "Parties and Elections in Europe". parties-and-elections.eu.

represented in the parliament (Civil Contract Party, Prosperous Armenia Party, Bright Armenia Party) and 6 other parties, including the Republic Party of Armenia, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Citizen's Choice Social Democratic Party, Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party, Armenian National Congress and Heritage Party.

The criteria for the selection of the aforementioned parties have been the participation in at least one national election (separately or as part of an alliance) and level of relative activity of the party in 2019 that was measured by having at least 3 public statements on social and political issues in the country.

The latest election programs of the above-mentioned political parties have been reviewed. If a party last time participated in elections as part of an alliance, the overall platform of the party was reviewed and/or the election program of the party published during the previous campaign. The programs of Armenian political parties have been reviewed using the same method that was chosen for the review of pan-European party programs. Afterwards, a qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) of pan-European and Armenian party programs was done. As a result, it was identified as to what extent the integrity of ideological provisions of each reviewed Armenian political party is close or far from the ideological provisions of each pan-European party, based on which the estimated description of each Armenian party's ideology has been provided. The ideological description of Armenian parties has been given according to two-dimensional format: issues of social and economic nature and issues of social and cultural nature.

4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The present research aims to identify political ideologies reflected in programs of Armenian political parties through the comparison of political programs of Armenian parties and those at a European level.

5. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF CIVIL CONTRACT PARTY



5.1 TABLE REFLECTING THE IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF CIVIL CONTRACT PARTY

The table below was formed based on the analysis of the election program of the Civil Contract Party, the method for which is described in the section on research methodology.

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Emigration	Potential of all Armenians	Creating a situation conducive to free development of people and the right to live a dignified and happy life.
Corruption	Territory of Armenia	Separation of business and politics
Violence	Doubling number of the population	Tackling poverty through the promotion of labor and education
Monopolies	Human freedom and dignity	Individual transformation
Poverty	Creative skills and education	Establishing favorable conditions for involving maximum number of people with business skills into the development of a gross domestic output
Political persecution	National unity	Creating jobs, increasing salaries

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Discrimination, agism or any other form of discrimination	Repatriation	Armenia should not make a choice between East and West
Patronage	Caring society	Democracy is the real chance for a peaceful and bloodless change of government through elections
Administrative red tape Regulations hindering businesses	Values of the non-violent, democratic velvet revolution	Institutionalization of direct democracy
Redundant bureaucracy	Human rights	Investment policy aimed at the promotion of exports, expansion of employment and jobs
Unemployment	Rule of law and equality of everyone before the law	State support to the establishment and development of associations, gradual delegation of state functions of economic regulation to businesses
Accumulation of debt	Civil solidarity	Clarification of taxation and customs policies
Social polarization	Security	Reduction of current tax, income tax and dividend tax rates
Unemployed young people	Free expression of the people's will	Establishment of favorable conditions in SME sector. Exemption from taxes for businesses with up to 20 million AMD turnover per year
Unemployed women	Economic competition	Development of a middle class

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Unemployed labor with high qualifications	Inclusive economic growth	Application of modern mechanisms for the management of mining wastes and rehabilitation/closure of exploited mines
Inflated government system	Creating jobs	Taking measures towards ensuring adequate level of TV broadcasts
Ineffective decisions based on gender stereotypes	Equal rights of men and women	Reduction of procurements from one person
Hate speech	Strong state	Continuous improvement of the educational level of the public

5.2 CIVIL CONTRACT PARTY/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Below we will present the comparative analysis of the party program of Civil Contract Party and the election programs of each pan-European party in accordance with the above-mentioned methodology.

Civil Contract Party/Party of European Left

Ideological approaches reflected in the programs of Civil Contract Party do not in any way correspond to the ideological views expressed in the program of the Party of European Left,² which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist and communist ideas.

- In the program of Civil Contract Party that was reviewed there were no such key provisions and values as socialism, communism, alter-globalization movement, alternative, radical, environmental and feminist leftism, society based on the principle of equality,

² https://www.european-left.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Manifesto-European-Left_ENG.pdf

etc.

- The program of the Civil Contract Party does not assign a negative connotation to or completely lacks phenomena, concepts or alleged realities that are deemed negative by the Party of European Left. These include capitalist exploitation, capitalist society, market values, neoliberal policy, US hegemony, market economy with free competition.

Civil Contract Party/ The European Democratic Party

*The ideological approaches in the party program of **Civil Contract Party** generally coincide with those of the social liberal **European Democratic Party**.³*

- Key points and values that are highlighted in the CC program are those stressed in the EDP program as well: democracy, rule of law and fundamental human rights, human dignity, freedom, solidarity, gender equality, separation of power, innovation, economic competition, promotion of economic growth and business competition, promotion of birthrates, stability, security, and the environment.
- A number of key issues and negative phenomena are the same in the program of CC and that of the EDP. These include the bureaucratic machine, undemocratic phenomena, unemployment particularly among youth, all sorts of discrimination, poverty, hate speech.

The CC program does not include anything that would contradict with the EDP program in principle. The same could be said of the opposite.

Civil Contract/European Christian Political Movement

*Some points on economy in the party program of **Civil Contract** are the same as those in the program of the **European Christian Political Movement**.⁴ However, the ideological approaches of these parties are*

³ <https://2019.democrats.eu/en>

⁴ https://ecpm.info/ElectionManifesto_A4_40pg.pdf

generally different in relation to many other issues.

- Both ECPM and CC give importance to free trade and market economy, rule of law and democracy, investments in innovative economy, inclusive economic growth, environmentally friendly economy. The list of negative phenomena of both parties include the bureaucratic system and unemployment.
- However, as issues of utmost importance, ECPM has mentioned negative phenomena, i.e. radical left activist NGOs. Such groups are active in Armenia as well but CC does not view them as a problem. Individualistic conservative liberalism and technocratic social democracy, which ECPM views negatively, are not seen as issues by CC. ECPM mentions the Christian approach to human dignity as its main value and expresses a stark antipathy against Islam. The party also pays special importance to the so called “healthy and strong family” as an important cell of society and specifically notes that a family is the union between a man and a woman. The ECPM program notes the value system they want to pass on to their children. All of these provisions do not coincide with the approaches of CC, who are more nation-centered than family-centered and on the other hand are more tolerant and liberal.

Civil Contract Party/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party (ALDE Party)

Civil Contract Party and social liberal, centrist Alliance of Liberals and Democratic for Europe Party⁵ have many things in common.

- In their programs both parties highlight the importance of such values as human rights, human dignity, democracy, freedom, the rule of law, and individualism. Both believe in economic competition, inclusive economic growth and digital innovations, promotion of job creation, model of a caring state, promotion of the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, fight

⁵ https://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/alde/files/40-Resolutions/2019_freedom_opportunity_prosperity_the_liberal_vision_for_the_future_of_europe_0.pdf

against corruption, issues related to ensuring civil solidarity and security, gender equality, increasing the public level of education, development of people's skills. Both pay particular attention to unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, hate speech and violence. Both exclude political persecution and both parties are against economic patronage and inflated government.

CC does not have any ideological provisions that are against the principles of ALDE.

Civil Contract Party/ Identity and Democracy Party

*The programs of **Civil Contract Party** and the right-wing conservative **Identity and Democracy Party**⁶ are significantly different despite some commonalities.*

- Both parties give a lot of importance to the fight against corruption, job creation, development of small and medium-sized businesses and attracting investments. Both are against redundant bureaucracy and highlight national unity and sovereignty.
- However, the ID party puts the stress on the concepts of “family values” and “patriotism,” views immigrants under a negative light and speaks of the significance of conservative European values. This party views European leaders and the US very negatively and wants to portray itself as a non-classical anti-mainstream party. All of these ideas do not fit in the ideological scope of CC, which, unlike the ideas of the ID party, has more of a nature of tolerance and stresses the importance of universal democratic values.

Civil Contract Party/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*Although the program of the **Civil Contract Party** has a number of things in common with some principles of the program of the right-wing, national and conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists***

6 <https://www.id-party.eu/platform>

Party,⁷ however, in relation to other important ideological issues, the approaches of CC Party vary from those of the ECR party.

- Both parties believe in freedom, free competition, human dignity, and rule of law. Both are for low taxation policies.
- However, unlike the CC Party, the ECR party is for severe cuts in public spending and the elimination of the wealth tax. The party supports reducing the number of European standards and pays special importance to the institution of family. The intolerant stance of the party towards migration does not match CC Party's pluralistic and tolerant approaches either.

Civil Contract Party/European Greens

Civil Contract Party and the left-wing, center-left **European Greens Party** have many things in common but also a number of very different approaches.

- Both parties hold the following values and concepts in high regard: inclusive and prosperous society, equal rights for everyone, liberty, human dignity, social solidarity, small businesses, gender equality, long-term education. Both parties consider the following to be primary issues: poverty, particularly among youth, unemployment and inequality, discrimination and hate speech.
- However, if CC is for low taxes and simplifying taxation, the European Greens are for “tax justice” and in a number of areas favor increasing taxes. The party believes in the following principle: high taxes on the most unwanted things such as exploitation of natural resources, polluting industry and instead proposes low taxes on things we desire the most, i.e. jobs. Unlike the CC party, the European Greens have a negative view of neo-liberalism, austerity policies, giant multi-national organizations, and large corporations because they believe entrepreneurs suffer from unjust tax competition with them. The European Greens also favor very strict environmental regulations and underline the importance of social rights more than the CC party does.

⁷ https://ecrgroup.eu/vision/protecting_and_respecting_member_states

Civil Contract Party/Party of European Socialists (PES)

The Civil Contract Party and the center-left social democratic Party of European Socialists⁸ have a number of commonalities but there are also many differences in their approaches.

- Both parties believe in legal equality, gender equality, civil solidarity, liberty, democracy, innovations, inclusive society, need for creation of jobs, tackling poverty and social polarization, quality education, fight against corruption, fighting various forms of discrimination and hate speech.
- However, unlike the CC party, the PES considers the following to be fundamental issues and has a negative view of financial capitalism, climate change, accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, principle of subsidies, tax haven, austerities. The PES also has a negative view of right-wing national populism, dependence of the government on the capital market.
- Unlike the CCP, the PES prioritizes and/or has a positive view of the following: social market economy, social welfare state, progressive and just taxation system, fiscal justice, fair allocation of profits among all employees of enterprises, holistic employment, universal free educational, dominance of fundamental social rights over economic freedoms, foreign policy based on values. None of this exists in the program of CCP and does not stem from its logic.

Civil Contract Party/European People's Party

Civil Contract Party and the center-right, liberal-conservative European People's Party have a number of things in common, although there are also quite a few differences.

- Both parties underline the importance of the fight against violence, poverty, unemployment and redundant bureaucracy. Both value stable, inclusive economic growth and competition, freedom and human rights, equality and civil solidarity, equal opportunities,

8 <https://www.pes.eu/en/manifesto2019/>

innovation, creation of jobs, development of small and medium enterprises.

- Unlike the CC Party, the EPP pays special importance to the concepts of “liberal democracy” and “social market economy.” Unlike, the CC party, EPP renders criticism for all other isms, particularly communism, socialism, radical environmentalism, libertarianism. EPP clearly mentions in its program that it is against abortion and euthanasia and highlights the importance of preserving Christian values and pays special attention to the concepts of family and family values. None of this exists in the CC party program and at least directly does not stem from the logic of the party’s program. The EPP also underlines the importance of the principle of subsidiarity and social market economy, solidarity between generations, need for a balance between traditions and progress, concepts of universal good and truth.

Based on the aforementioned comparisons, we can conclude that CC party is closer to the center-right and moderate liberalism.

6. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE PROSPEROUS ARMENIA PARTY



6.1 TABLE REFLECTING THE IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE PROSPEROUS ARMENIA PARTY

The table below was developed based on the analysis of the election program of the Prosperous Armenia Party, the method for which is described in the section on methodology

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Illegal monopolies	Small and medium-sized enterprises	5-year exemption of taxes for enterprises with up to 30 million AMD annual turnover
Extra budgetary funds	Equal competitive conditions, fair playing field	Introduction of new anti-monopoly legislation
	Progressive tax scale	Policy of promotion of investments
	Grand repatriation	Reduction of the number of taxes, policy of easing the tax burden
		Comprehensive aid to people involved in agriculture
		Credit system recovery
		Mass provision of credits with 0,5-1 interest rates
		State support for exports (in specific cases)

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
		Removal of speed cameras and red lines for parking
		Significant reduction in tariffs of gas and electricity
		Certification of public payments in health care system
		Provision of state support to students with corresponding knowledge through loans and grants
		Implementation of social housing programs
		Provision of free land for building houses to people repatriating to Armenia
		Spending 5% of the state budget on the development of military industry
		Developing and further strengthening of Armenian-Russian allied relations
		Constructive participation in European integration processes
		Significant increase of funds towards the restoration of cultural and historical monuments

6.2 PROSPEROUS ARMENIA PARTY/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

The comparative analysis of Prosperous Armenia Party program and election programs of each of the pan-European parties is presented below carried out in accordance with the methodology mentioned in the present research.

Prosperous Armenia Party/Party of European Left

*Ideological approaches reflected in the programs of **Civil Contract Party** do not in any way correspond to the ideological views expressed in the program of the **Party of European Left**, which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist and communist ideas.*

- The program of PAP does not include the key provisions and values of the PEL such as socialism, communism, alter-globalization movement, alternative, radical environmental and feminist left, society based on the principle of equality, etc.
- The PAP program does not view negatively or completely lacks such phenomena, concepts or alleged realities that are viewed negatively by the PEL. These are: capitalist exploitation, capitalist society, market values, neo-liberal politics, US hegemony, free market economy.

Prosperous Armenia Party/European Democratic Party

*The ideological approaches in the program of **Prosperous Armenia Party** generally do not coincide with those of the social-liberal, centrist **European Democratic Party**.*

- The PAP program does not prioritize or only partially refers to such key provisions and values of the European Democratic Party as democracy, rule of law and fundamental human rights, human dignity, freedom, solidarity, gender equality, separation of powers, innovation, promotion of childbirth rates, stability, security, environmental conservation.
- There are very few things in common in the PAP and EDP programs in terms of primary issues and negative phenomena.

Prosperous Armenia Party/European Christian Political Movement

*There are almost no commonalities between the programs of the **Prosperous Armenia Party** and right-wing, social-conservative **European Christian Political Movement**.*

Prosperous Armenia Party/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe party (ALDE Party)

*The party programs of **Prosperous Armenia** and the social liberal, centrist **Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe** have few things in common.*

- Both parties highlight the importance of economic competition, creation of jobs, model of a caring state, promotion of the development of small and medium enterprises, fight against corruption.
- However, unlike the PAP, in its program ALDE pays special importance to such issues as civil solidarity, gender equality, etc., while the PAP does not mention these issues at all. Unlike the PAP, among negative phenomena, ALDE singles out hate speech, violence and so on, whereas the PAP program has a negative view of only economic issues such as illegal monopolies and extra budgetary funds.

Prosperous Armenia Party/Identity and Democracy Party

*There are certain things in common in the programs of **Prosperous Armenia Party** and the extreme right-wing, national conservative **Identity and Democracy Party**. However, there are also a number of differences.*

- Both parties give a lot of importance to the creation of jobs, development of small and medium businesses, and attracting investments.
- However, the PAP is for a larger government, whereas the IDP supports a smaller bureaucratic system

Prosperous Armenia Party/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*Provisions of the program of the **Prosperous Armenia Party** are generally different from the principles of the right-wing national conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party**.*

- Unlike the PAP, the ECR party is for the significant reduction of public spending and elimination of the wealth tax.

Prosperous Armenia Party/European Greens Party

*There are certain things in common in the party programs of **Prosperous Armenia Party** and the **European Greens Party**. There are, however, very different approaches as well.*

- Both parties believe in the following concepts and values: prosperous society, small businesses, progressive tax scale.
- However, unlike the PAP program, which focuses more on economic issues, the program of the European Greens highlights the importance of gender equality and long-term education. Inequality, discrimination, and hate speech are viewed as primary issues.
- Unlike the program of PAP, the European Greens Party program holds a very negative view towards neo-liberalism, austerities, giant multi-national organizations, large corporation, noting that entrepreneurs suffer from unjust tax competition with them. The program of the EGP also underlines the policy of strict environmental regulations.

Prosperous Armenia Party/Party of European Socialists (PES)

*The programs of the **Prosperous Armenia Party** and the **Party of European Socialists** have a number of commonalities. However, in some issues they do have different approaches.*

- Both parties highlight the need for the creation of jobs, tackling poverty and social polarization. Both support progressive taxation systems.
- However, unlike the Prosperous Armenia Party, the PES has a negative view of the following phenomena and considers them fundamental issues: financial capitalism, climate change, accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, principle of subsidiarity, tax havens, and austerities. The PES also singles out

the following as negative phenomena: radical right nationalist populism, dependence of the government on the capital market.

- Unlike PAP, the PES also views the following as important and/or objectives and has a positive view of fiscal justice, fair allocation of profits of enterprises among employees, holistic employment, universal free education, priority of fundamental social rights over economic liberties, value-based foreign policy. None of this exists in the PAP program and does not stem from its logic.

Prosperous Armenia Party/European People's Party

*There are a number of commonalities between the party program of **Prosperous Armenia** and that of the **European People's Party**. There are also differences of approaches in relation to some issues.*

- Both parties give importance to equal opportunities, innovation, creation of jobs, development of small and medium-sized enterprises.
- However, unlike PAP, the EPP highlights the importance of liberal democracy, criticizes other isms, particularly communism, socialism, radical environmentalism, and libertarianism.

Taking into account the aforementioned comparisons, we can conclude the following: in terms of purely economic issues, the ideological approaches of the PAP are close to social democracy. However, the ideological weakness of the PAP platform and failure to address multiple important issues does not make it possible to understand their attitude about a number of very significant issues. This, in turn, does not make it possible for to identify the party's ideology at least based on our methodology. At the same time, the fact that in its program the party does not separately consider a number of issues related to human rights, does not address various issues required for the development of a democratic state, can only mean that the PAP

does not consider issues related to human rights and democracy to be priorities. Hence, at least for this reason, it may not be viewed as a party adhering to liberal ideology. The fact that the party does not present coordinated holistic approaches in regard to the development of the state but rather focuses on issues of economic nature allows us to believe that the party is organized only around specific issues and is far from being a party in the classical sense.

7. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF BRIGHT ARMENIA PARTY



7.1 TABLE REFLECTING IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF BRIGHT ARMENIA PARTY

The table below is based on the analysis of the election program of Bright Armenia Party, the method for which is described in the section on methodology.

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Shadow economy	Leading, modern political system, liberal reforms	Implementation of anti-monopoly policy
Poverty	Democratic representative institutions	Development of an environment conducive to the creation of jobs
Social polarization	Equal opportunities	No VAT charge on the border
Red tape	Value system of dignified national identity	Introduction of a mandatory health insurance system for pensioners
Corruption	European standards	Promotion of employment of people receiving benefits
Patronage	Rule of law	Introduction of state aid program for beginner businessmen
Social injustice	Social justice	Provision of tax privileges for organizations issuing securities
Policy of non-targeted aid	A prosperous and powerful state	Development of a green economy

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Overexploitation of natural resources	National interests of Armenia	Expansion of funding for education and health sectors equal to at least 5% of the GDP
	Liberal ideas	Elimination of obstacles on the way to external markets
	Inclusive economic growth	Support to small and medium-sized enterprises
	Stable macroeconomic environment	Protection of investments and ensuring guarantees
	Rule of rights /law/	Development of strategy promoting innovation
	Legality	Balanced, flexible and far-sighted foreign policy
	Security	Implementation of policy of avoiding geopolitical influences, logic and controversies among Armenia's potential allies
	Level playing field	Optimization of state governing bodies
	Common and fair taxation system for real estate	State support for certain types of investment projects
	Reallocation of the tax burden towards big businesses, office inspections of small and medium-sized businesses	Stabilization and reduction of national debt
	Tax holidays	Fair and predictable environment for the business and investor
	State cultural ideology	Exports are viewed as the most important source of economic growth
	Strong and healthy family	Establishment of partner relations with taxpayers
		Introduction of a wealth tax

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
		Reduction of the number of taxes
		Continuous increase of minimum wage
		Continuous education of adults
		Support to health and social sectors based on the principle of social justice
		Gradual introduction of the system of medical insurance
		Provision of certain medical interventions and measures exclusively free of charge
		Provision of tax privileges to specific enterprises
		Reduction of state participation in the management of educational institutions
		Preservation and renovation of cultural objects
		Liberalization of culture and ensuring its autonomy from state sponsorship

7.2 BRIGHT ARMENIA PARTY/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Below you can find the comparative analysis of the Bright Armenia Party program and the election programs of all pan-European parties reviewed based on the methodology mentioned in the present research.

Bright Armenia Party/Party of European Left

*Ideological approaches reflected in the program of **Bright Armenia Party** do not correspond to the ideological views expressed in the program of the **Party of European Left**, which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist and communist ideas.*

- The BAP program lacks the key provisions and values reflect in the party program of the Party of European Left, including socialism, communism, alter-globalization movement, alternative, radical, environmental and feminist leftism, society built on the principle of equality, etc.
- The BAP program does not have a negative view or simply lacks phenomena that are seen negatively by the Party of European Left such as phenomena, concepts or alleged realities like capitalist exploitation, capitalist society, market values, neo-liberal politics, US hegemony, free market economy.
- From the ideological similarities of these two parties we could point out that both parties value social justice.

Bright Armenia Party/European Democratic Party

*The ideological approaches reflection in the program of **Bright Armenia Party** in some cases coincide with those of the social-liberal, centrist **European Democratic Party**. However, there are also quite a few differences in their ideological provisions.*

- The Bright Armenia Party program that was reviewed highlights some key provisions and values that are seen as such also in the program of the European Democratic Party. These include democracy, rule of law and fundamental human rights, liberty, innovation, economic competition, security, nature protection.
- Both the program of the BAP and that of the EDP have very few similarities in terms of primary issues and negative phenomena. The shared issues include the bureaucratic machine and poverty. Unlike the EDP, the BAP primarily focuses on social polarization and social justice, patronage, shadow economy. Unlike the EDP, the Bright Armenia Party gives a lot of significance to the existence of a national cultural ideology, dignified system of national identity, strong and health family as well as pays special importance to taxation privileges to small and medium-sized business and various state support projects.

Bright Armenia Party/European Christian Political Movement

*The program of the **Bright Armenia Party** includes some approaches that correspond to the program provisions of the center-right, social conservative **European Christian Political Movement**. Their programs also have ideological differences.*

- Both parties value rule of law and democracy, investments in innovative economy, inclusive economic growth, green economy. Both parties have a negative view of administrative red tape.
- However, the ECPM considers radical left activist organizations serious problems and views them negatively. Such groups are active in Armenia as well but are not considered an issue by the BAP, which does not have a negative view of individualistic conservative liberalism and technocratic social democracy, which are considered negative phenomena by the ECPM. The most important value for the ECPM is the Christian approach to human dignity. The party has a clear antipathy against Islam. The BAP has a more tolerant rhetoric but underlines one system of values as well: the system of values of a dignified national identity. However, the BAP has also declared “liberal values” as very important values.
- The ECPM values the “healthy and strong family” as an important cell of society, noting specifically that a family is the union between a man and a woman. The BAP also highlights the importance of the strong and healthy family.

Bright Armenia Party/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party (ALDE Party)

There are some things in common in the programs of the Bright Armenia Party and the social-liberal ALDE Party. There are also some differences.

- Both parties pay importance to values such as human rights, democracy, freedom, rule of law and right. Both believe in economic competition, inclusive economic growth, promotion of

job creation, model of a caring state, promoting the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, battling corruption, civil solidarity and ensuring security, liberalism. Both parties are against economic patronage and the inflated system of government.

- In the list of BAP issues and negative phenomena that hamper the realization of social rights are social injustice, social polarization, and shadow economy, whereas the problems listed by the ALDE program include hindrances to free trade, realization of political and civil rights. These hampering phenomena include protectionism, nationalism, disinformation, authoritarianism, gender-based violence, sexual abuse, etc. While the BAP puts the stress on the importance of state intervention in issues of social and economic nature, creating a just environment for businesses, ALDE underlines the significance of free trade and a free market.

Bright Armenia Party/Identity and Democracy Party

*There are some things in common in the programs of the **Bright Armenia Party** and the right-wing, national-conservative **Identity and Democracy Party**. However, the differences are many more.*

- Both parties highlight creation of jobs, promotion of small and medium businesses and investments. Both oppose excessive bureaucracy.
- Both parties stress family values, national identity and national interests. However, the ID party has a negative view of immigrants and speaks of the importance of conservative European values. Whereas the BAP only notes of the importance of European values and liberal ideas. The rhetoric employed by the BAP is of tolerant nature. Some issues that are highlighted by the BAP, i.e. social justice, liberal reforms, wealth tax, have not been found in the ID party program provisions.

Bright Armenia/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*Although some provisions in the **Bright Armenia Party** program include a number of provisions that can be found in the program of the right-wing, national-conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party**, regarding certain social and economic issues, the parties have different approaches.*

- Both parties value freedom, rule of law and right and pay specific attention to the institution of family and representative democracy.
- Social and economic approaches of the ECR party differ from those of the BAP. Unlike the BAP, the ECR party is for severe cuts in public spending and elimination of the wealth tax. Whereas the BAP has quite the opposite stance on these issues.

Bright Armenia/European Greens

*There are many similarities in the programs of **Bright Armenia Party** and the leftist, center-left **European Greens**. There are also very different approaches in the party programs.*

- Both parties believe in the following values: inclusive and prosperous society, equal rights for everyone, freedom, social solidarity, social justice, green economy, small businesses.
- Unlike the BAP, which views liberalism only positively, the EGP has a very negative view of neo-liberalism, austerities, giant multi-national organizations, and large corporations, claiming that entrepreneurs suffer from unjust tax competition with said corporations and organizations. The EGP pays a lot more importance to the rights of various vulnerable groups, gender equality, importance of an open society, underlines cultural diversity, street protests and participatory democracy. Whereas the BAP puts the stress more on representative democracy, need for a state cultural ideology, strong and healthy family, importance of the system of values of national identity.

Bright Armenia Party/Party of European Socialists (PES)

***Bright Armenia Party** and the center-left social democratic **Party of European Socialists** have a number of commonalities in their programs but also quite a few differences.*

- Both parties value equality, civil solidarity, freedom, democracy, innovation, inclusive society, need for creation of jobs, tackling poverty and social polarization, fight against corruption, reallocation of the tax burden towards big businesses.
- The PES sees financial capitalism, climate change and austerity as fundamental problems. It also notes of radical right nationalistic populism and dependence of the government on the capital market as negative phenomena.
- Unlike the BAP, the PES also has a positive view and/or sets the following as goals: fair allocation of profit of enterprises among all employees, holistic employment, universal free education, priority of fundamental social rights over economic freedoms and value-based foreign policy.

Bright Armenia/European People's Party

*There is a number of things in common in the programs of the **Bright Armenia Party** and the center-right, liberal-conservative **European People's Party**.*

- Both parties underline the importance of the fight against poverty, and redundant bureaucracy. Both value stable, inclusive economic growth and competition, freedom and human rights, equality and civil solidarity, equal opportunities, innovation, promotion of job creation, development of small and medium-sized enterprises. Both pay special attention to the family unit and family values.
- BAP and EPP both value liberal democracy. The EPP notes the social market economy as the model economy. The BAP does not use this term but instead values principles that are close to this concept, such as social justice, creation of fair conditions for the development of businesses, introduction of a wealth tax.

- Unlike the BAP, the EPP criticizes other isms, particularly communism, socialism, radical environmentalism, and libertarianism.

Taking into account the above-mentioned comparisons, we can note that social democratic and Christian democratic provisions are dominant in the Bright Armenia Party program, however some principles typical of these ideologies are lacking, which makes it difficult to identify the political ideology the BAP adheres to. Nevertheless, we can note that some ideas in the BAP program are very close to moderate conservatism and center-left and center-right approaches at the same time.

8. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ARMENIA



8.1 TABLE REFLECTING IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ARMENIA

The table below is based on the analysis of the election program of the Republican Party of Armenia. The method of the analysis is described in the section on methodology.

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Territory for peace	Strong army, nation-army	Optimization of spending in health care sector, introduction of the concept of mandatory insurance
	Repatriation of the Diaspora to the homeland	Strengthening of social guarantees for service of military officers, expansion of moral, psychological and material support to families of fallen soldiers
	Dignified life at old age	Foreign policy based on long-term interests of Armenia
	Traditional family values	Development of human capital
		Promotion of exports
		Promotion of small and medium-sized businesses
		Policy conducive to the creation of high-paying jobs

8.2 REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ARMENIA/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Below we will present comparative analyses of the election program of the Republic Party of Armenia and the ones of each of the pan-European parties in accordance with the methodology mentioned in the present research.

Republican Party of Armenia/Party of European Left

*Ideological approaches reflected in the program of the **Republican Party of Armenia** do not in any way coincide with the ideological views expressed in the program of the **Party of European Left**.*

- The RPA program that was reviewed lacks such provisions included in the program of the Party of European Left, which include socialism, communism, alter-globalization movement, alternative, radical, environmental and feminist leftism, society based on the principle of equality, etc.
- The RPA program does not have a negative view or does not include phenomena, concepts or alleged realities considered negative by the PEL. These include capitalist exploitation, capitalist society, market values, neo-liberal politics, US hegemony, market economy with free competition.

Republican Party of Armenia/European Democratic Party

*Ideological approaches reflected in the program of the **Republican Party of Armenia** generally do not coincide with those of the social liberal, centrist **European Democratic Party**.*

- The RPA program does not consider a number of primary provisions and values of the European Democratic Party to be of key importance. These include democracy, rule of law and fundamental human rights, human dignity, freedom, solidarity, gender equality, separation of powers, innovation, nature protection. There are no common issues or ideological objectives either.

Republican Party of Armenia/European Christian Political Movement

*Some economic approaches of the **Republican Party** program coincide with those of the **European Christian Political Movement**.*

- Both the RPA and the ECPM value the “healthy and strong family.”

Republican Party of Armenia/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party

*The **Republican Party of Armenia** and the social liberal, centrist **Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe** have very few things in common and their ideas are generally different.*

- Both parties favor the model of a caring state, promotion of small and medium-sized enterprises, development of human skills.
- However, with regard to all other issues, the rhetoric of these parties are different.

Republican Party of Armenia/Identity and Democracy Party

*There are similarities in the programs of the **Republican Party of Armenia** and the extreme right-wing, national-conservative **Identity and Democracy Party***

- Both parties highlight job creation, promotion of small and medium businesses, and “family values.”

Republican Party of Armenia/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*Provisions of the program of the **Republican Party of Armenia** have some commonalities with certain principles of the right-wing, national-conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party**. However, there are differences in relation to issues of social and economic nature.*

- Both parties pay special attention to the institution of family.
- Unlike the RPA, the ECRP is for cuts to public spending.

Republican Party of Armenia/European Greens

*Ideological provisions in the programs of the **Republican Party of Armenia** and the left-wing, center-left **European Greens Party** are very different.*

Republican Party of Armenia/Party of European Socialists (PES)

*There is almost nothing in common between the programs of the **Republican Party of Armenia** and the center-left, social-democratic **Party of European Socialists**.*

Republican Party of Armenia/European People's Party

*There is a number of things in common between the **Republican Party of Armenia** and the center-right, liberal-conservative **European People's Party**.*

- Both parties pay importance to the creation of jobs and development of small and medium-sized enterprises. Both pay special attention to the concepts of “family” and “family values”.

It should be noted that in relation to many critical issues the RPA program does not mention anything but it is rather of very specific character and cannot be deemed a complete election program. However, considering the above-mentioned comparisons, we can conclude that the very few ideas noted in the program are close to national conservatism and center-right ideology.

9. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION



9.1 TABLE REFLECTING IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION

The table presented below is developed based on the analysis of the election program of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party. The method for the analysis is mentioned in the methodology section of the present research.

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Provocation of anti-Armenian forces	Armenian person	Building of a powerful and fair country for free citizens
Polarization of society	Armenianness	Effective state intervention
Emigration	National	Fair allocation of income
Spontaneous market approach	Socialist	Sustainable and advanced development of the country
Invisible hand of the market	Democratic	Introduction of progressive taxation policies
Monopolies	Morality	Establishment of cooperatives
Social polarization	Justice	Voluntary consolidation of lands
Overexploitation of natural resources	Human dignity and rights	Expansion of the social package for public servants
Demagoguery	National values	Establishment of an independent body battling corruption

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Neo-liberal politics	Social justice	Foreign policy based solely on national interests
Wild competition	Responsible state	
Dishonest competition	A harmonious society	
Conflict of interests	Economic welfare	
One-sided concessions	Social guarantees	
Turkish-Azeri tandem	Social market structure of the economy	
	Right to dignified labor	
	Fair conditions for competition	
	Small and medium-sized enterprises	
	United Armenia	
	Pro-Armenian and Armenia-centered	
	Nation-Army concept	
	National goals of all Armenians	

9.2 ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Below you can find the comparative analysis of the ARF Party program and the electoral programs of the pan-European parties carried out on the basis of the methodology mentioned in the present research.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation/Party of European Left

*The ideological approaches reflected in the **ARF Party** program in some way coincide with the ideological provisions of the program of the **Party of European Left**, which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist and communist ideas. However, there are also*

differences in the approaches of these two parties.

- The ARF program that was reviewed includes such key provisions and values of the PEL as socialism, society based on the principle of equality, etc. However, the ARF Party program lacks other concepts valued by the PEL, including communism, alter-globalization movement, alternative, radical, environmental and feminist leftism and other such concepts.
- The ARF program includes phenomena, concepts and alleged realities that are viewed negatively by the PEL. These include neo-liberal politics, market economy with free competition (the ARF program puts it this way: spontaneous market approach, wild competition).
- However, unlike the program of the PEL, the ARF Party program gives a lot of significance to such nation-centered concepts as national values, pan-national goals, nation-army concept. Whereas the emphasis made by the PEL is exclusively human-centered and international, including human emancipation, gender equality, humanism, international solidarity, etc.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party/European Democratic Party

*Ideological approaches reflected in the party program of the **Armenian Revolutionary Federation** in some way coincide with the approaches available in the program of the **European Democratic Party**. There are also differences in the programs of these parties.*

- The ARF Party program includes such provisions and values that are key also in the EDP program. These include democracy, fundamental human rights, human dignity, social economy.
- However, while the ARF values socialism and nation-centered concepts but criticizes neo-liberalism, the political rhetoric of the European Democratic Party is more international and human-centered. On the other hand, although the EDP values the social market, it puts an emphasis on the economic growth and business competition.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation/European Christian Political Movement

*The approaches reflected in the party program of the **ARF Party** generally do not correspond to those of the center-right, social-conservative **European Christian Political Movement Party**.*

- Among primary negative issues, the ECPM has mentioned the radical left activist organizations. Such groups are active in Armenia as well but the ARF does not consider them problematic. Quite the contrary: judging from their positive view of socialism, the ARF is probably welcoming towards such groups. The ECPM has mentioned technocratic social democracy as an issue. They are also for fewer state regulations, free trade and open economic competition, whereas the ARF Party is a supporter of the social market.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party

*There are some commonalities in the programs of the **Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party** and the social-liberal, centrist **Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party**. However, there are major differences as well.*

- Both parties in their programs adhere to values such as human rights, human dignity, and democracy. Both parties favor creation of new jobs, model of a caring state, development of small and medium-sized enterprises, issues related to civil solidarity and security.
- The ARF also values socialism and social market, whereas the ALDE Party is a proponent of the free market, liberalism and liberal values.
- ALDE puts the emphasis more on human-centered values, while the ARF favors nation-centered concepts more.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party/Identity and Democracy Party

*The program of the **Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party** and that of the extreme right-wing, national-conservative **Identity and Democracy Party** are quite different despite having certain things in common.*

- Both parties consider job creation and development of SME's to be important. Both parties value nation-centered concepts.
- However, the ideological language of the ARF program, with some exceptions (in relation to Turkey and Azerbaijan) is more tolerant than the ID party rhetoric. Moreover, the ARF values socialism and the social market, while the ID party has a negative view of classic ideologies, including socialism.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*Although the provisions of the **ARF Party** program have some things in common with principles of the right-wing national-conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party**, with regard to certain basic ideological issues, the approaches of the ARF are different from those reflected in the ECR party program.*

- Both parties value concepts of human dignity and nationalism.
- However, the ECR party is also for cutting public spending and elimination of the wealth tax, while the ARF is for the progressive taxation system and is a proponent of the social market.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation/European Greens Party

*The **Armenian Revolutionary Federation** and the leftist, center-left **European Greens Party** adhering to the green ideology have a number of identical program provisions. They do also have a number of essential differences.*

- Both parties believe in the following values and concepts: equal

rights for everyone, social justice, human dignity, social solidarity, small business, progressive taxing system. Both parties consider inequality to be a primary issue and have a negative view of neo-liberalism.

- However, the EGP is much more outspoken about environmental regulations than the ARF. Unlike the EGP, the ARF pays more importance to the nation-centered concepts.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation/Party of European Socialists

*The Armenian Revolutionary Federation and the center-left social-democratic **Party of European Socialists** have a number of ideological commonalities. They do also have some differences.*

- Both parties value equality, civil solidarity, democracy, need for creating jobs, tackling poverty and social polarization, social market economy, progressive and just taxing system.
- However, unlike the ARF, the PES considers climate change and right-wing populism to be fundamental issues.
- Unlike the ARF, the PES also believes holistic employment, universal free education and value-based foreign policy to be important and/or sets them as goals.

Armenian Revolutionary Federation/European People's Party

*The Armenian Revolutionary Federation and the center-right, liberal-conservative **European People's Party** have a number of commonalities. However, their programs do also have quite a few differences.*

- Both parties believe in civic solidarity, equal rights, creation of jobs and development of SMEs.
- Unlike the ARF, the EPP underlines the concept of liberal democracy and provides stark criticism for socialism. Whereas socialism is the only ism the ARF believes in. However, both parties value the concept of social market economy.

It is worth mentioning that the ARF has made its position clear not on all important issues. This makes it difficult to have an accurate identification of their ideology. However, taking into account the above-mentioned comparisons, we can note that the ARF is more center-left and adheres to national-conservatism.

10. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE SASNA-TSRER PAN-ARMENIAN PARTY



10.1 TABLE REFLECTING THE IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE SASNA-TSRER PAN-ARMENIAN PARTY

The table below is based on the analysis of the election program of the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party. The method for the analysis is described in the section on methodology of the present report.

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Treacherous and criminal regime	Right to rebellion	Implementation of lustration
Laws based on private interests	Blockchain economy	Return of stolen wealth to the people
Poverty	Knowledge-based industry	Optimization of the system of state governance
Foreign intervention	4 th industrial revolution	Development of a national pool of specialists
Materialism-thirst for power	Green economy	State support to development of innovation
Turkish rule	Dignified life	Implementation of national control over strategic infrastructure and objects
Russian rule, Russian colonialism	Nation-Army	Development of wind and solar power plants
Russia-loyal Armenian political elite, colonial administration	Mission of an Armenian (Ararat) person	Provision of subsidies to agricultural businesses

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
	Light of creation	Taxation policy aimed to encourage investments and strategic projects
	Justice	Tax holidays for small and medium-sized businesses
	Space for creation	Special tax holidays for the IT sector
	National wishes	Implementation of social housing programs
	Happiness	Promotion of birthrates
	A new Armenian	Unification of Artsakh with Armenia and establishment of a new republic in accordance with the spirit of the provisions of decisions of the 1920 Paris Peace Conference and the Executive Order signed by President Wilson.
	Political culture of light and justice	Retaking of the Armenian plateau
	National, sovereign, democratic and pan-Armenian state	Implementation of national control over strategic sectors
	Free and dignified life	
	Armenia and Armenia-centered policy	
	Individual and citizen-centered policy	
	Civic solidarity	
	Nation-state	
	Direct democracy	
	Will of the people	
	Just and legal allocation of economic resources and created wealth	

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
	Popular election of judges	
	Fundamental human rights and freedoms	

10.2 SASNA-TSRER PAN-ARMENIAN PARTY/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Below we will present the comparative analysis of the program of the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party and the election programs of pan-European parties using the methodology we have mentioned in the present research.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/Party of European Left

*The ideological approaches reflected in the program of **Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party** do not in any way correspond to the ideological provisions available in the program of **the Party of European Left**, which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist and communist ideas.*

- The program of the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party is missing key provisions and values reflected in the program of the PEL, including socialism, communism, alter-globalization movement, alternative, radical, environmental and feminist leftism, society based on the principle of equality, etc.
- The program of the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party does not have a negative view or lacks such phenomena, concepts or alleged realities that are viewed negatively by the PEL. These including capitalist exploitation, capitalist society, market values, US hegemony, and market economy with free competition.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/European Democratic Party

*The ideological approaches reflected in the program of the **Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party** somewhat coincide with the approaches available in the program of **the European Democratic Party**. However, there are differences in approaches related to a series of essential issues.*

- The program of the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party gives primary importance to such key provisions and values of the European Democratic Party as democracy and fundamental human rights, human dignity, freedom, innovation, digital economy, and green economy. Both parties have mentioned poverty as one of the most important issues and both favor the social role of the state.
- However, Sasna-Tsrer puts more emphasis on direct democracy and highlights the concept of “the will of the people,” whereas the EDP stresses the rule of law and the importance of separation of powers.
- Unlike the European Democratic Party, the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party underlines nation-centered, nationalist, spiritual and cultural concepts more, including the concepts of nation-army, mission of the Armenian (Ararat) man, light of creation, space of creation, new Armenian, political culture of light and justice, nation state.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/European Christian Political Movement

*Some approaches of the **Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party** coincide with those of the center-right, social-conservative **European Christian Political Movement Party**. However, there are differences of approaches generally in relation to social and economic issues.*

- In terms of commonalities, both the STPAP and the ECPM value democracy, investments in innovative economy, green economy. Both parties highlight spiritual and moral concepts.
- However, the ECPM puts the stress on free trade and open market economy, while the STPAP highlights the need for fair allocation of wealth.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party

*There are some things in common in the programs of **Sasna-Tsrer** and the centrist, social-liberal **Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe**. However, there are also quite a few differences with regard to social and economic as well as social and cultural issues.*

- Both parties favor values such as human rights, human dignity, democracy, freedom, digital innovation, promotion of job creation, model of a caring state, development of SMEs, fight against corruption, issues related to ensuring civil solidarity and security.
- While ALDE highlights the free market, liberalism, free flow of capital, the STPAP puts the emphasis on nation-centered and conservative, spiritual, cultural, moral, and ethical concepts.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/Identity and Democracy Party

*The program of the **Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party** and that of the extreme right-wing, national-conservative **Identity and Democracy Party** share a number of ideas.*

- Both parties give a lot of importance to the fight against corruption, job creation, promotion of small and medium-sized businesses and attracting investments. Both parties value national unity and sovereignty. The ID party values the concepts of “patriotism,” while the STPAP also pays a lot of importance to nation-centered concepts.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*The program of **Sasna-Tsrer Party** has some commonalities with that of the right-wing, national-conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party**. With regard to social and economic issues, there are quite a few differences in the approaches of the two parties.*

- Both parties pay attention to nation-centered, moral and ethical concepts.
- Unlike the Sasna-Tsrer Party, the ECR party is for cuts to public spending, elimination of the wealth tax, free market, etc.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/ European Greens Party

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party and the left-wing, center-left European Greens Party have a number of things in common in their programs. There are also quite a few differences in their ideological approaches.

- Both parties believe in the following values and concepts: equal rights for all, liberty, human dignity, social solidarity, small business, fair allocation of wealth, green economy. Both view egoism and materialism as the most serious problems.
- However, with regard to social and cultural issues, the European Greens value such concepts as gender equality, open society, female empowerment, sexual and reproductive health, protection of rights of sexual minorities, etc. The EGP also highlights international issues. Whereas Sasna-Tsrer Party gives a lot of significance to nation-centered, conservative spiritual and cultural concepts.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/Party of European Socialists

There is a number of things shared in the programs of the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party and the center-left, social-democratic Party of European Socialists. There are also quite a few differences in their ideological approaches.

- Both parties value civil solidarity, freedom, democracy, innovation, need for creating jobs, tackling poverty and social polarization, just taxation system, fair allocation of wealth.
- Unlike the STPAP program, the program of PES includes radical left social economic provisions, i.e. holistic employment, universal free education, priority of fundamental social rights over economic

freedoms, etc.

- The cultural and political rhetoric of the PES is more international and human-centered, whereas the Sasna-Tsrer are more nation-centered and conservative.

Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party/European People's Party

*There are some common ideological provisions in the programs of the **Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party** and the center-right, liberal-conservative **European People's Party**. There are also differences with regard to certain issues.*

- Both parties believe tackling poverty is important. Both value civil solidarity, equal opportunities, innovation, creation of jobs, development of SMEs. Both parties underline the concept of truth.
- Unlike the Sasna-Tsrer Party, the EPP highlights the importance of liberal democracy, while the STPAP is for direct democracy.

It is worth noting that in relation to a number of important issues, the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party has made no references in their program, which makes it difficult to identify the ideology the party adheres to. However, taking into account the aforementioned comparisons, it may be concluded that the Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party is closer to national conservatism and moderate leftism.

11. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF CITIZEN'S DECISION SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY



11.1 TABLE REFLECTING IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF CITIZEN'S DECISION SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The table below is based on the analysis of the election program of the Citizen's Decision Social-democratic Party. The method for the analysis is described in the section on methodology of the present research.

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Authoritarian system	Sustainable democracy	Need for systemic democratic changes
Oligarchy	Social welfare state	Simplification and adoption of mechanisms for direct democracy
Unequal conditions for competition	Fair allocation of output	State intervention to be maximum justified and effective
Extractive institutions and instruments	Justice of public relations	Elimination of monopolies in market
Poor administration	Social justice	Pushing back metal mining
Cultural hierarchies	Human rights	Introduction of mandatory health insurance
Clans, privileged small groups	Human welfare	Low rates of taxation for those with low income
Metal mines	Social market economy	Assigning alternative functions for labor dispute resolution to trade unions

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Traditional forms of agriculture	Participation	At least 4.5% [of the state budget] financing for education and science
Inequality of income and opportunities	Level playing field	Increasing funds for sciences
Liberal capitalism	Sustainable and inclusive economic growth	Introduction of universal and mandatory medical insurance
Crime bosses and various criminal groups	Equal conditions for competition	Ensuring certain cultural diversity and decentralization
	Opportunity for a good life for every citizen	Ensuring harmony of humans and all other biological organisms
	State care	Incremental increase of environmental fees
	Trade Unions	Promotion of eco-business through state capital investments
	Social partnership	State regulation of businesses for the benefit of the public
	Social labor movement	
	Gender equality	
	Moral ideals based on truth, beauty and kindness	
	Local culture as part of global culture	
	Right to dignified employment	
	Green technologies	
	Eco-business	
	Natural, ecological clean production	
	Solar and renewable energy	

11.2 CITIZEN'S DECISION SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Below we will present the comparative analysis of the program of the Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party and the programs of each of the pan-European parties reviewed. The analysis will be based on the method described in the methodology section of the present research.

Citizen's Decision Social-Democratic Party/Party of European Left

*The ideological approaches reflected in the program of the **Citizen's Decision Party** somewhat coincide with those in the program of the **Party of European Left**, which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist and communist ideas. There are also quite a few differences in the approaches of these two parties.*

- The programs of both the CDP and the PEL include such key provisions and values as democracy and social justice, emphasis on social rights, gender equality, etc. The PEL program has a negative view of capitalist exploitation, while the CDP has a negative view of concepts like extractive institutions and liberal capitalism.
- While the PEL criticizes social democracy, the CDP has a very positive view of this concept and calls itself social democratic as well. Unlike the CDP, the PEL highlights values like socialism, communism, environmental and feminist leftism, society based on the principle of equality. Whereas the CDP believes in concepts like social democratic capitalism and social market economy.

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/European Democratic Party

*The ideological approaches reflected in the program of **Citizen's Decision** social democratic party in a number of ways coincide with the approaches found in the program of the social liberal, centrist **European Democratic Party**. However, there are also some differences.*

- The CDP program shares some key provisions and values with the EDP program. These include democracy, fundamental human rights, human dignity, dignified work, green economy, gender equality. Both favor giving a large social role to the state and underline the need for a social economy. Both parties consider poverty, poor administration, and authoritarianism.
- While the EDP puts the emphasis on the principle of separation of powers, rule of law and freedom, protection of minorities' rights, the CDP pays more importance to direct democracy, public participation, social democratic traditions, and accountability. In relation to some social democratic issues, the EDP, for instance, values stability of prices and protection of trade (although not all types of trade), economic growth and business competition, ensuring minimum income and pensions, while the CDP is more for fair allocation of outputs, social justice, sustainable and inclusive economic growth, equal conditions for competition, bigger role of trade unions, etc.

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/European Christian Political Movement

*The approaches of the **Citizen's Decision** Social Democratic party and the center-right, social-conservative **European Christian Political Movement Party** do not coincide with regard to multiple issues.*

- The ECPM puts the emphasis on free trade and open market economy, while the CDP values fair allocation of wealth and social market economy. A negative phenomenon, according to the ECPM, is social democracy, which is characterized by the party as technocratic, whereas social democracy is the ideology the CDP claims to stand for. In relation to cultural issues, the rhetoric of the ECPM is more intolerant and conservative than that of the CDP.

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party

*There are some things in common in the programs of the **Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party** and the social liberal, centrist **Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party**. There are, however, also quite a few differences with regard to social economic and social cultural issues.*

- Both parties favor such values and phenomena as human rights, human dignity, democracy, promotion of job creation, model of a caring state, civil solidarity, just and equal conditions for all, gender equality.
- While ALDE values the free market, liberalism, liberal democracy, free flow of capital, the CDP is more for fair allocation of wealth, social market, and social democracy.

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/Identity and Democracy Party

*The ideas reflected in the programs of the **Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party** and the extreme right-wing, national-conservative **Identity and Democracy Party** are largely different.*

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*The ideas reflected in the programs of the social democratic **Citizen's Decision Party** and the right-wing, national-conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party** are largely different in nature.*

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/European Greens Party

*There is a number of identical ideological provisions in the programs of the **Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party** and the **European Greens Party** that adheres to green ideology. There are also some*

differences in their approaches.

- Both parties give importance to the following values and concepts: equal rights for all, human dignity, social solidarity, social justice, fair allocation of wealth, green economy, human welfare, basic social rights, mandatory health system, tax justice, dignified income, trade unions.
- Unlike the CDP, the EGP stresses the importance of such concepts and phenomena as open society, female empowerment, sexual and reproductive health, protection of rights of sexual minorities, etc. The EGP highlights international issues.

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/Party of European Socialists

*The ideological provisions in the program of **Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party** and that of the center-left social democratic **Party of European Socialists** are largely the same despite some differences.*

- Both parties value civil solidarity, democracy, need for creating jobs, tackling poverty and social polarization, fair taxation system, fair allocation of wealth, social democracy, social welfare state, equality and justice, social market economy, accountability, sustainable and inclusive economic growth.
- Unlike the CDP, the PES party program also includes radical left-wing social economic provisions such as holistic employment, free universal education. The cultural and political rhetoric of the PES is more international.

Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party/European People's Party

*Many of the ideological provisions in the programs of the **Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party** and center-right liberal-conservative **European People's Party** are the same despite also some basic differences.*

- Both parties highlight the fight against poverty. Both parties value

civil solidarity, equal opportunities, creating jobs, sustainable and inclusive economic growth, justice, social justice. Both parties underline the concepts of morality and truth.

- Unlike the CDP, the EPP values the concept of liberal democracy, separation of powers, rule of law. The CDP believes in social democracy and stresses the need for direct democracy as well.

Taking into account the aforementioned comparisons, we can conclude that the ideology reflected in the program of the Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party is moderate liberalism with a center-left orientation. There are also some provisions atypical of the noted political orientations.

12. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF HERITAGE PARTY



12.1 TABLE REFLECTING IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF HERITAGE PARTY

The table below is based on the analysis of the election program of Heritage Party. The method for the analysis is described in the section on methodology of the present research

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Freedom of citizens	Human dignity and fundamental rights	Level playing field for businesses
Treatment of citizens by autocratic authorities as serfs	National interests	Fair and targeted allocation of national wealth
Staying in power at all costs	Equality of everyone before the law	Knowledge-based economy
Oligarchic groups	Sovereignty	Expansion of state oversight in markets of goods and services
Systemic corruption	Democracy	Increasing public support to political parties
Outdated provincial capitalism	Welfare	Fair and effective regulation of natural monopolies, enforcing the fight against artificial monopolies
Oligopoly	Rule of law	Ensuring grand repatriation to Armenia
Human rights violations	Social justice	Easing of tax burden for small and medium-sized businesses

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Unethical and immoral customs	Social market economy	Application of a one-time luxury tax
Public support that does not reach its destination	Middle class	Simple, stable and predictable taxation field
Merging of government and big businesses	Modern European democratic social state	10-15% annual economic growth due to SME's
Discrimination	National rights	Introduction of progressive taxing
Damping policy by large companies	Society of equal opportunities	Ensuring labor rights of vulnerable groups
	Social justice and social solidarity	Cut and then root out unemployment
	Liberalism and social obligations	Instilling the culture of healthy lifestyle
	Social market	Making publicly paid medical treatment more targeted and fairer
	Small and medium-sized businesses	Expanding financing of education sector up to 5.5% of GDP
	An individual with a high moral system	Provision of privileged loans for students in higher educational institutions in need of support
	National preservation	Easing of tax burden in education sector
		Expanding state support to cultural institutions
		Transformation of extractive enterprises into open joint-stock companies

12.2 HERITAGE PARTY/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Below you can find the comparative analysis of the Heritage Party program and that of each of the pan-European parties. The analysis has been carried out in accordance with the methodology described in the present research.

Heritage Party/Party of European Left

*The ideological approaches reflected in the **Heritage Party** program generally do not coincide with those of the **Party of European Left**, which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist and communist ideologies.*

- In terms of similarities, we can note that both parties value democracy and social justice.
- The HP program lacks provisions and values that are key to the PEL program. These include socialism, communism, alter-globalization movement, alternative, radical, environmental and feminist leftism, society based on the principle of equality, etc.
- The HP program does not have a negative view of phenomena, concepts or alleged realities that are not favored by the PEL. These include capitalist society, market values, neo-liberal policies, US hegemony, free market economy. The HP criticizes outdated, provincial capitalism.

Heritage Party/European Democratic Party

*Ideological approaches reflected in the **Heritage Party** program often coincide with the provisions in the program of the social-liberal, centrist **European Democratic Party**. There are, however, some significant differences as well.*

- The HP program prioritizes some key provisions and values that are perceived as such in the EDP program as well. These include democracy, rule of law and fundamental human rights, human dignity, freedom, solidarity, separation of powers, and

social economy. A number of priority issues as well as negative phenomena are the same in the two parties programs. These include undemocratic practices, poverty.

- However, while the EDP puts the emphasis on business competition and economic growth, the HP speaks more of a fair and targeted distribution of national wealth, and introduction of a progressive taxing system. In addition to that, the HP gives more significance to nation-centered concepts, while the political rhetoric of the EDP predominantly comprises of individual-centered concepts.

Heritage Party/European Christian Political Movement

*The provisions in the programs of **Heritage Party** and the center-right, social-conservative **European Christian Political Movement Party** are mostly different. However, in terms of cultural issues, there are some commonalities.*

- While the ECPM stresses free trade, open market economy and as fewer state regulations as possible, the HP favors the social market and is for the fair distribution of national wealth.
- The ECPM has mentioned the following as negative phenomena and important issues: radical, leftist activist public organizations. Such groups are active in Armenia as well but are not viewed as an issue by HP, which does not have a negative view of other things noted as negative phenomena by the ECPM, namely individualistic conservative liberalism and technocratic social democracy.
- The ECPM notes of a Christian approach to human dignity as the most important value. The HP approach in this case is somewhat equal to that of the ECPM. The HP has also mentioned immoral and unethical public customs as an important issue and has underlined the need for being an individual with a high moral system.

Heritage Party/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party

*The **Heritage Party** and the **Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party** have many things in common in their programs.*

- Both parties believe in values like human rights, human dignity, democracy, freedom, rule of law. Both believe it is important to promote job creating, the model of a caring state, development of small and medium-sized enterprises, fight against corruption, civil solidarity and security issues, ensuring equal and fair opportunities for everyone.
- While ALDE emphasizes competition, free trade and market economy, the HP highlights social market, targeted and fair distribution of national wealth. In addition, the HP believes in nation-centered concepts, while ALDE pays special importance to human-centered concepts.

Heritage Party/Identity and Democracy Party

*Despite some similarities, the programs of **Heritage Party** and extreme right-wing, national-conservative **Identity and Democracy Party** are different in relation to a number of issues.*

- Both parties give a lot of importance to the creation of jobs, development of small and medium-sized businesses and attracting investments. Both highlight national unity, sovereignty, and national interests.
- Unlike the ID party, the HP rhetoric is more tolerant and has a more social emphasis.

Heritage Party/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*Despite some similarities in the programs of **Heritage Party** and the right-wing, national conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party**, the ideological approaches of the two parties are largely different.*

- Both parties believe in freedom, human dignity, rule of law and national sovereignty.
- However, the ECRP is for free competition, low taxation policies, severe cuts to public spending, and elimination of the wealth tax, while the HP is for social justice, wealth tax, and progressive taxing system. The intolerant rhetoric of the ECRP does not match the rhetoric of the HP in relation to a number of issues.

Heritage Party/European Greens

The programs of Heritage Party and the leftist, center-left, advocate of green ideology European Greens Party have multiple provisions in common. However, there are also significantly different positions.

- Both parties believe the following values and concepts are important: equal rights for all, freedom, human dignity, social solidarity, social justice, social market, small and medium businesses, progressive taxing system.
- However, the EGP is a proponent of stricter environmental regulations, pays more attention to gender equality, and protection of minorities' rights. Unlike the EGP, the Heritage Party focuses more on nation-centered concepts.

Heritage Party/Party of European Socialists

*The programs of **Heritage Party** and the center-left, social democratic **Party of European Socialists** have a number of things in common but also have quite a few differences.*

- Both parties value equality, civil solidarity, freedom, democracy, need for creation of jobs, tackling poverty and social polarization, fight against various forms of discrimination, social market economy, progressive taxing system.
- Unlike HP, the PES aims for the implementation of more radical measures, such as holistic employment, free universal education, and value-based foreign policy. HP pays a lot of importance to nation-centered concepts, while the PES rhetoric has more of an

international feel to it.

Heritage Party/European People's Party

*There are a number of significant commonalities in the ideological positions of **Heritage Party** and those of the center-right, liberal-conservative **European People's Party**. There are, however, some differences as well.*

- Both parties value freedom and human rights, equality and civil solidarity, equal opportunities, creation of jobs, development of small and medium-sized enterprises, social market economy, social justice.
- The EPP highlights preservation of Christian values, while the HP stresses the need for maintaining a high moral value system.
- In addition to social market economy, the EPP also values competition and sustainable growth, while the HP makes a more social emphasis, i.e. the HP program has a provision on fair and targeted distribution of national income, as well as exclusion of unemployment.

Although in relation to many issues Heritage Party has not stated its position in its program, which makes it difficult to identify the party's ideology, however, based on the aforementioned comparisons, we can conclude that Heritage Party is equally close to being center-left and center-right and also moderate conservatism.

13. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PARTY



13.1 TABLE REFLECTING THE IDEOLOGICAL APPROACHES OF THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PARTY

The table below is based on the analysis of the election program of the Armenian National Congress Party, the method for which is described in the section on methodology of the present research.

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Foreign rule	Freedom	Reasonable use of natural resources
Relations of the criminal world	Traditional system of values shaping the national identity of the Armenian people	Provision of certain guarantees and equal conditions
Any foreign policy orientation as a perpetual position of the nation	Democracy, human rights	Significant intervention by the state
Tyranny of the majority	Global liberal institutions	Implementation of measures required for promotion of production
Dictatorship	Social-liberalism	Rapid development of small and medium-sized businesses, expanding the middle class

Issues deemed important, negative phenomena	Positive phenomena, positive values	Key ideological provisions
Stark polarization of society	Political will of the people	Strengthening friendly relations with immediate neighbors: Georgia, Iran and Russia, making constructive efforts towards resolution of relations with Turkey and Azerbaijan
Monopolization of economy	Dignified life	Promotion of employment and birth rates
Redistribution of property	Social justice	Implementation of social housing programs by the state
	Rule of law and equality before the law	Expansion of the role and number of state programs in health care, educational and academic sectors
	Rule of law and social state	
	Ethic, religious and cultural diversity	
	In-party factions	
	Interconnection of liberty and social justice	
	Progressive taxation policy	
	Social market economy	
	Immunity of private property	
	Equal opportunities	

13.2 ARMENIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS/PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

Next, we will present the comparative analysis of the program of the Armenian National Congress Party and the election program of each of the pan-European parties based on the methodology noted in the present research.

Armenian National Congress/Party of European Left

*The ideological positions mentioned in the program of the **Armenian National Congress Party** generally do not coincide with the positions of the **Party of European Left**, which is an advocate of Marxist, radical left, democratic socialist, and communist ideas.*

- The only idea in common between the two parties is social justice.

Armenian National Congress/European Democratic Party

Ideological approaches in the program of the Armenian National Congress has a number of things in common with the program of the social-liberal, centrist European Democratic Party. However, there are also significant differences with regard to a number of issues.

- The ANC program highlights provisions and values that are key to the EDP program as well. These include democracy and fundamental human rights, human dignity, separation of powers, rule of law and freedom. Both parties are for assigning a social role to the state and for social market economy. Both parties mention polarization of society and authoritarianism as serious issues.
- Unlike the EDP program, the ANC program does not mention the concepts of green economy and gender equality (this does not necessarily mean that the party does not value these). The ANC program includes the following national-conservative provision: “a traditional system of values forming the axis of the identity of the Armenian people.”

Armenian National Congress/European Christian Political Movement

*The positions of the **Armenian National Congress Party** on a number of issues do not match the positions of the center-right, social-conservative **European Christian Political Movement Party** program.*

- The ECPM puts the emphasis on free trade and open market

economy, while the ANC highlights social market economy and significant state interventions. In terms of cultural issues, the ECPM rhetoric is very intolerant and conservative. There are some similarities in relation to socio-cultural issues in the sense that the ECPM stresses the Christian perception of human dignity, while the ANC underlines “a traditional system of values forming the axis of the identity of the Armenian people.”

Armenian National Congress/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party

*Ideological provisions in the programs of the **Armenian National Congress Party** and the social-liberal, centrist **Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party** are largely the same. There are, however, some differences as well.*

- Both parties highlight the importance of such values as human rights, human dignity, democracy, freedom, rule of law, and liberalism. Both value the creation of jobs, caring model of states, development of small and medium-sized enterprises, equal opportunities, diversity.
- The ANC program lacks such concepts as competition, free trade, simplification of bureaucracy, competitive economy. Unlike the ALDE Party program, the ANC program has a positive view of the model of a social market economy and progressive taxing policies.

Armenian National Congress/Identity and Democracy

*Ideas reflected in the programs of the **Armenian National Congress** and the extreme right-wing, national conservative **Identity and Democracy Party** are for the most part different.*

Armenian National Congress/European Conservatives and Reformists Party

*The ideas reflected in the programs of the **Armenian National***

Congress Party and the right-wing, national-conservative **European Conservatives and Reformists Party** generally do not match.

Armenian National Congress/European Greens

*There is a number of similar provisions in the programs of the **Armenian National Congress** and the leftist, center-left **European Greens Party**. There are also some differences in their approaches.*

- Both parties favor the following concepts and values: equal rights for all, human dignity, social justice, human welfare, tax justice, progressive taxing system, dignified life, support to small and medium-sized businesses.
- However, unlike the ANC, the EGP also emphasizes such concepts and phenomena as open society, female empowerment, fair distribution of wealth, fair economy, green economy, sexual and reproductive health, protection of minority rights, etc. The EGP also underlines certain international issues.

Armenian National Congress/Party of European Socialists

*Many of the ideological provisions reflected in the programs of the **Armenian National Congress** and the center-left, social democratic **Party of European Socialists** are the same. There are also quite a few differences.*

- Both parties are for tackling social polarization, introducing a progressive taxing system, social market economy, and cultural diversity.
- However, unlike the ANC program, the PES program also includes radically leftist socio-economic provisions such as holistic employment, free universal education. Also, the cultural rhetoric of the PES has more of an international nature.

Armenian National Congress/European People's Party

Many of the ideological provisions reflected in the programs of the

Armenian National Congress Party and the center-right, liberal-conservative **European People's Party** are the same. There are also certain differences.

- Both parties value equal opportunities, social justice, separation of powers, rule of law, social market economy.
- The EPP program pays special attention to competition, economic growth and as little bureaucracy as possible, while the ANC favors state interventions. The ANC believes in social liberalism, while the EPP believes in liberal democracy.

Taking into account the aforementioned comparisons, we can conclude that ideologically the ANC program is closer to the center-left and to moderate conservatism and in some cases to center-right and moderate liberalism. There are also some positions that are not typical of the mentioned political orientations.

CONCLUSION

The present research shows that the identification of political ideologies of Armenian parties based on their programs is largely difficult due to the fact that parties usually present their positions only on a limited number of issues, which makes it impossible to find out the positions of parties on many important issues.

Even in cases where it is possible to identify the ideology adopted by Armenian parties, very often they also have some provisions that are contradicting with those ideologies. It should be noted that in comparison with the programs of pan-European parties, Armenian party programs usually include softer rhetoric towards problematic issues and rival political parties. In some cases, the issues talked about in the programs are so limited, that the given party could well be considered a group that has gathered only to solve one issue and is not a party in the classical sense of the word.

The programs of 9 Armenian parties that were reviewed mostly include center-left and social democratic ideas. Moreover, contrary to pan-European parties, Armenian party programs usually include nationalistic and moderate conservative rhetoric. What is also interesting is that in some cases the ideology that has been identified based on the review of the party's program is quite different from the ideology that the party officially adheres to. There are also cases when the party's official ideology is very different from what the ideology society attributes to them.

Of the 9 Armenian parties that were reviewed, the following had center-left ideas: Armenian National Congress, Heritage Party, Bright Armenia Party, Prosperous Armenia Party, Sasna-Tsrer Pan-Armenian Party. Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party have very obvious center-left leanings. The Civil Contract Party and the Republican Party of Armenia are closer to the center-right. In a certain way, the ANC and Heritage Party have ideas closer to the center-right as well.

Parties with ideas close to the center-left (Armenian National Congress, Heritage, Bright Armenia) also have provisions that are close to moderate

conservatism and in some cases moderate liberalism. The Prosperous Armenia Party program does not leave any room for conclusions in this regard. The Citizen's Decision Social Democratic Party with a center-left ideology also stands for moderate liberalism. The center-left ARF and Sasna-Tsrer are also somewhat conservative. So is the center-right RPA Party. The center-right Civil Contract Party also has moderate liberal leanings.

ANNEX 1. TABLE REFLECTING IDEOLOGIES OF PARTIES

	CENTER-RIGHT, MODERATE LIBERAL	CENTER-RIGHT, CONSERVATIVE	CENTER-RIGHT, MODERATE CONSERVATIVE	CENTER-LEFT, MODERATE LIBERAL	CENTER-LEFT, CONSERVATIVE	CENTER-LEFT, MODERATE CONSERVATIVE	CENTER-LEFT (PROBABLY CONSERVATIVE)
CC							
PAP							
BAP							
RPA							
ARF							
STPAP							
CDP							
HP							
ANC							

ANNEX 2 ARMENIAN PARTIES VS. PAN-EUROPEAN PARTIES

The present table demonstrates which pan-European parties have the ideologically close party programs to those of Armenian political parties viewed.

	MARKIST, RADICAL LEFT	SOCIAL- LIBERAL, CENTRIST	SOCIAL- CONSERVATIVE, CENTER-RIGHT	SOCIAL- LIBERAL, CENTRIST	NATIONAL- CONSERVATIVE, EXTREME RIGHT-WING	NATIONAL- CONSERVATIVE, RIGHT-WING	GREEN, CENTER-LEFT, LEFT-WING	SOCIAL- DEMOCRATIC, CENTER-LEFT	LIBERAL- CONSERVATIVE, CENTER-RIGHT
	PEL	EDP	ECPM	ALDE	ID	ECR	EGP	PES	EPP
CC									
PAP									
BAP									
RPA									
ARF									
STPAP									
CDP									
HP									
ANC									



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