

COMPARISON OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES WITH THE IDEOLOGICAL PROVISIONS IN THEIR PARTY PROGRAMS

RESEARCH RESULTS

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Research Results

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ABOUT THE RESEARCH

The research compares the activities of the Armenian political parties with the ideological provisions in their party programs. The research was carried out at the initiative of Political Dialogue NGO with the financial support from the National Endowment for Democracy. The viewpoints expressed in the research belong to the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of Political Dialogue NGO and the National Endowment for Democracy.

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1

Preface

The purpose of this study is to find out to what extent the activities of active political parties correspond with the ideological provisions in their party programs.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned goal, we have researched the parliamentary parties by looking at their votes in the parliament and their positions on several issues of public concern. Secondly, we researched the parties outside the Parliament through their official statements. As for the parliamentary forces, all the voted bills had been examined and some of them were singled out, if they evidently contained ideological provisions. Eventually, during their examination all the bills that incorporated ideological elements had been distinguished. It is worth mentioning that those bills were a minority, as the vast majority of voted bills did not have any ideological component.

Analyses based on the studied materials have been compared with the results of our research on “Party Ideologies of RA according to their Programs”¹. This study presents research on ideological provisions which exist in the programs of active parties. This research had been conducted using the methodology of above mentioned study.

The time frame of study was January 2019 to March 2021.

1

Analysis of the votes of the parliamentary forces

Below we will present the extent to which the voting of parliamentary parties on the bills with ideological components correlates with the ideological provisions included in their party programs.

2.1 Analysis of the votes of “Civil Contract” Party

1. Voted in favour of the bill on making amendments to the law **“On the Structure and Activities of the Government”**, which is, in fact, a project for optimization of government’s structure, i.e., implies reduction of state apparatus. This vote is in line with the ideological provisions of CCP. For example CCP considered the exaggerated public administration system as a tricky phenomenon.
2. Voted in support of the bill on “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia”, “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia” of June 21, 2018 and “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia” of December 21, 2017, making amendments and additions to the TC-266-N law, making amendment to TC-338-N law, the aim of which is to make changes to the redistribution of the tax burden in order to increase competitiveness of national economy and investment attractiveness, to improve preferential tax system of micro-enterprises and to expand the scope of its application, as well as to solve tax-related problems in certain areas of activity. The flat-tax system was imposed according to this draft. Although the CCP program does not clarify which taxing system the party prefers, the latter underlines the need to simplify tax and customs policies, reduce profit tax, income tax and dividend tax rates: this at least does not contradict flat-tax policy.
3. Voted for the bill on **making amendments and additions to the law “On Local Referendum”**, which allows communities to apply the mechanism of local referendum in case of unification or division of the latter. This initiative at least does not oppose to the ideological provisions of the CCP program, which states that it is necessary to institutionalize direct democracy.
4. Voted in favour of the bill on **“Reduction and Prevention of the Damage Caused to Health by the Use of Tobacco Products and Substitutions to Them”**. The objectives of this law are “to protect present and future generations from the adverse effects, caused by the use of raw tobacco materials, tobacco products, tobacco substitutes, harmful effects of tobacco smoke, their damaging impact on the social, economic spheres and environment, as well as to root in public perceptions that the use of tobacco products, tobacco substitutes is unhealthy and rejected behaviour”. This initiative is in compliance with the ideological provision of CCP, which propounds the concept of “caring society”.

5. Voted for the bill on amendments to the law **“On Non- Governmental Organisations”**, one of the purposes of which is to make the reports of the non-governmental organisations available to the public. This project is in harmony with the ideological components of the CCP program, where we could find a clear emphasis on fighting against the corruption and sponsorship.
6. Voted in support of the bill on amendment and supplementing the law **“On Corruption Prevention Committee”**, which were imposed as necessary legislative tools for assessing moral behaviour of judges and members of Supreme Judicial Council. This initiative is pursuant to the ideological provision of CCP, which focuses on the fight against the corruption and sponsorship and generally, coincides with their agenda of deep democratic and social-liberal reforms.
7. Voted in favour of the draft law on **“Confiscation of Property of Illegal Origin”**. Legal mechanism is introduced which allows the seizure of illegally obtained property to be confiscated without conviction against the person. This initiative corresponds with the ideological provision of CCP, which focuses on the fight against corruption and sponsorship and in general, correlates with their agenda of deep democratic and social-liberal reforms.
8. Voted for ratification of the bill on **“European Council Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse”** (Lanzarote Convention). The Lanzarote convention is designed to protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse by establishing common standards and definitions which are applicable in all European states. This initiative meets the ideological provisions of CCP, which emphasize the importance of having a non-violent society, the priority of respecting human rights, human freedoms and dignity.
9. Voted in favour of the bill on changes and additions to the **Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia**, which highlights the necessity of adequate and progressive taxation of visible wealth and luxurious property units and one of the goals of which is to ensure the state’s redistribution function, thus providing a fair and logical system of taxation of the persons in different income groups. This undertaking meets the ideological provisions of CCP, where social polarization is considered as a serious issue and civic solidarity is emphasized.
10. Voted for the bill on amendments to the law “On Social Assistance”, this aimed at providing the introduction of an effective system for complete and comprehensive assessment of the families and citizens social needs. The expected result was to ensure more targeted and comprehensive assessment of population’s social needs, to provide uninterrupted provision of full range of affordable, targeted and quality community-based services by using more flexible and effective mechanisms for its implementation. This initiative overlaps with the ideological components of CCP, where social polarization is seen as a great problem, and a goal is defined to overcome poverty.

11. Voted in support of the bill on the **“Anti-Corruption Committee”**, which is called to ensure the existence of a specialized body with the function of detecting corruption and with the guarantees of independence. This initiative correlates with the ideological provisions of CCP, which focuses on the fight against corruption and sponsorship and generally coincides with their agenda of deep democratic and social-liberal reforms.

2.2 Analysis of the votes of “Prosperous Armenia” party

1. Voted against the bill on making amendments and additions to the law **“On the Structure and Activities of Government”**, which is, in fact, a project for optimization of government’s structure, i.e., implies reduction of state apparatus. There is no provision in the PAP program on the structure of government or the public administration system in general. However, we can conclude that this vote at least does not contradict the very limited number of the ideological provisions of the PAP. As for the “against vote” the fraction explained: “This structure by itself does not give the answers, which after the revolution should carry out economic revolution in our country, and generally have to normalise the living condition of the people and the socio-economic situation of the state”.
2. Voted against the bill on “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia”, “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia” June 21, 2018 and “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia” December 21, 2017, making amendments and additions to the TC-266-N law, making amendment to TC-338-N law, the aim of which is to make amendments to the redistribution of the tax burden in order to increase competitiveness of national economy and investment attractiveness, to improve preferential tax system of micro-enterprises and to expand the scope of its application, as well as to solve tax-related problems in certain areas of activity. The flat-tax system was introduced according to this draft. The “against vote” is in compliance with the ideological positions of PAP, which positively assesses the progressive scale of taxation.
3. Voted for the bill on **making amendments and additions to the law “On Local Referendum”**, which allows communities to apply the mechanisms of local referendum in case of their unification or division. There is no provision referring to this issue included in the PAP program. However, we can say that the initiative at least does not contradict the ideological provisions of the PAP program.
4. Voted in favour of the bill on **“Reduction and Prevention of the Damage Caused to Health by the Use of Tobacco Products and Substitutions to Them”**. The objectives of this law are “to protect present and future generations from the adverse effects, caused by the use of raw tobacco materials, tobacco products, tobacco substitutes, harmful effects of tobacco smoke, their damaging impact on the social, economic spheres and environment, as well as to root in public perceptions that the use of tobacco products, tobacco substitutes is unhealthy and rejected behaviour”. This initiative is not at odds with the ideological provisions of the PAP program.
5. Voted for the bill on amendments to the law **“On Non- Governmental Organisations”**,

one of the purposes of which is to make the reports of the non-governmental organisations available to the public. This bill at least is not in conflict with the ideological provisions of the PAP program.

6. Voted against the bill on amendment and additions of the law **“On Corruption Prevention Committee”**, which were introduced as necessary legislative tools for assessing moral behaviour of the judges and members of Supreme Judicial Council. There is no provision in PAP program related to this issue. This draft is not in variance with the ideological provisions of the PAP program. The vote against was explained with the unacceptability of other parts of the legislative package, therefore we can conclude that the position of the PAP does not confront the above-mentioned positions of its program.
7. Voted against the draft law on **“Confiscation of Property of Illegal Origin”**, by it legal mechanism is imposed which allows the seizure of illegally obtained property to be confiscated without conviction against the person. There is no provision referring to this issue included in the PAP program. However, we can say that the initiative at least does not contradict the ideological provisions of the PAP program.
8. Voted against ratification of the bill on **“European Council Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse”** (Lanzarote Convention). The Lanzarote convention is designed to protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse by establishing common standards and definitions which are applicable in all European states. The vote was explained by fears that “the convention contains provisions that reasonably threaten upbringing interests of the children”. Voting against the bill shows that the lack of approaches to human rights and freedoms in the PAP program is not a coincidence and testifies to the fact that PAP’s approaches to socio-cultural issues are at least anti liberal.
9. Voted in favour of the bill on changes and additions to the **Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia**, which highlights the necessity of adequate and progressive taxation of visible wealth and luxurious property units and one of the goals of which is to ensure the state’s redistribution function, thus providing a fair and logical system of taxation of persons in different income groups. This undertaking meets the ideological provisions of PAP, which highlights the progressive taxation system and, in general, places great stress on the regulatory role of the state.
10. Voted against the bill on amendments to the law **“On Social Assistance”** which aimed at providing the introduction of an effective system for complete and comprehensive assessment of families and citizens social needs. The expected result was to ensure more targeted and comprehensive assessment of population’s social needs, to provide uninterrupted provision of full range of affordable, targeted and quality community-based

services by using more flexible and effective mechanisms for its implementation. This initiative in accordance with its goals overlaps with some ideological provisions of the PAP program, which focus attention on social assistance to the vulnerable segments of the population. However, 8 of the PAP deputies voted against, the others did not vote or were absent. The PAP doesn't directly explain its position but from the general speeches we can conclude that the position of the PAP is of common political nature: they were against any bill submitted by the incumbent party at that period of time.

11. Voted against the bill on the **“Anti-Corruption Committee”**, which is called to ensure the existence of a specialized body with the function of detecting corruption and with the guarantees of independence. The idea of this initiative corresponds with the ideological program provisions of the PAP, but the PAP voted against. Based on the logic of the speeches of the PAP deputies we can assume that the vote against is of purely political nature, the idea of which is that any bill submitted by the ruling party is unacceptable and the only acceptable agenda is the resignation of the prime minister.

2.3 Analysis of the votes of “Bright Armenia” Party

1. Voted against the bill on making amendments and additions to the law **“On the Structure and Activities of Government”**, which is, in fact, a project for optimization of government’s structure, i.e., implies reduction of state apparatus. In the BAP program is mentioned the need to optimize public administration and to eliminate unnecessary administration. There is also written about reducing state participation in the management of educational institutions and liberalising the cultural sphere by making it independent from state sponsorship. Therefore we can underline that the reduction of state apparatus should not at least contradict the ideological provisions of the BAP. However the BAP voted against this bill, explaining its position as follows: “great reductions are expected as a result of adoption of this structure. Wait for those reductions. These reductions will not be just or as a depletion of exaggerated staff members, as experience has already shown. For example, the deputy governors are still working but there are reductions in many institutions”. In other words the BAP explained it’s “against” vote not because it’s against the idea of optimisation, but because the proposed draft law is of poor quality and assumes unfair optimisation.
2. Voted against the bill on “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia”, June 21, 2018 “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia” and December 21, 2017 “Making amendments and addenda to the Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia”, making amendments and additions to the TC-266-N law, making amendment to TC-338-N law, the aim of which is to make changes to the redistribution of the tax burden in order to increase competitiveness of national economy and investment attractiveness, to improve preferential tax system of micro-enterprises and to expand the scope of its application, as well as to solve tax-related problems in certain areas of activity. The flat-tax system was imposed according to this draft. The BAP program has not mentioned which taxation system the party supports. The program only mentions the need to impose luxury tax, to redistribute tax burden towards large businesses and reduce the variety of taxes. Apparently, this package of drafts does not challenge the ideological provisions of the BAP, but the party voted against citing its position that “ the Tax Code does not solve vital issues, does not create an investment environment, such a business atmosphere, where the investor will unequivocally make decision in favour of investing in Armenia” and “besides during upcoming years the excise tax on the gasoline, compressed natural gas and diesel fuel will increase by 3% annually, with its social and economic consequences”. So the BAP clarified its statement with the fact that in its opinion the law will not serve the goals that have been set.
3. Voted against the bill on **making amendments and additions to the law “On Local Referendum”**, which allows communities to apply the mechanism of local referendum in case of unification or division of the latter. In the BAP program there is no provision

regarding this issue. However, we can say that this draft law is not inconsistent with the ideological provisions of its program. The BAP voted against clarifying that “these regulations will evoke more problems than they will solve: depriving many communities of the opportunity to hold referendums. In other words, the BAP explained it’s against voting with the bad quality of the law”.

4. Voted against of the bill on **“Reduction and Prevention of the Damage Caused to Health by the Use of Tobacco Products and Substitutions to Them”**. The objectives of this law are “to protect present and future generations from the adverse effects, caused by the use of raw tobacco materials, tobacco products, tobacco substitutes, harmful effects of tobacco smoke, their damaging impact on the social, economic spheres and environment, as well as to root in public perceptions that the use of tobacco products, tobacco substitutes is unhealthy and rejected behaviour”. This initiative does not contradict the ideological provisions of the BAP. However, the BAP clarifies its voting against by the statement, that some components of the law will have negative impact on local producers, small businesses will be affected at minimum because the small kiosks won’t be able to place sign boards and will suffer economically. In fact the BAP is not against non-smoking policy, but is against the extremely strict methods of its implementation. So we can state that the BAP voting against the bill is not contradicting its ideological provisions.
5. Voted against the draft on amendments to the law **“On Non- Governmental Organisations”**, one of the purposes of which is to make the reports of non-governmental organisations available to the public. This initiative, at least, does not challenge the ideological provisions of BAP’s program, but the party explained its vote with the fact that the law could be a burden on the NGO-s and used as a limitation to their freedom. In fact, the BAP clarified its own position not by being against the regulation of the NGO field and making them more transparent, but with the fact that the law will hinder free functioning of the NGOs, therefore, we can conclude that voting against the draft does not contradict the ideological provisions of the BAP program.
6. Voted against the bill on amendment and additions of the law **“On Corruption Prevention Committee”**, which were introduced as necessary legislative tools for assessing moral behaviour of judges and members of Supreme Judicial Council. There is no provision in BAP program related to this issue. “Against” vote was explained with the fact that the legislative package included in the draft law “neither is necessary, nor proportionate”. Particularly, it was mentioned that the corruption prevention Commission has no tools for realising its mission and the law can become a tool to put pressure on judges, can motivate good judges to leave the system and so on. Thus, we can come to the conclusion that BAP’s negative statement doesn’t explain by being against the assessment of morality in general, but being against this particular bill, which will create new problems and won’t heal the Judicial System. So the BAP’s position doesn’t contradict ideological provisions of its program.

7. Abstained from voting for the draft law on **“Confiscation of Property of Illegal Origin”**. Legal mechanism is introduced which allows the seizure of illegally obtained property to be confiscated without conviction against the person. There is no provision on this issue in the BAP’s program, however, the BAP abstained from voting explaining its position by the problematic components of the law, and not because of being against the ideas lied on the grounds of the law. Thus, the BAP’s voting does not challenge its ideological provisions.
8. Did not vote for ratification of the bill on **“European Council Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse”** (Lanzarote Convention). The Lanzarote convention is designed to protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse by establishing common standards and definitions which are applicable in all European states. The BAP didn’t give reasons for not participating in the voting of the bill. This position of the BAP is not in line with ideological provisions of its program.
9. Voted against the draft law on changes and additions to the **Tax Code of the Republic of Armenia**, which highlights the necessity of adequate and progressive taxation of visible wealth and luxurious property units and one of the goals of which is to ensure the state’s redistribution function, thus providing a fair and logical system of taxation of persons in different income groups. This initiative is in harmony with the ideological provisions of the BAP, which draw attention to the luxury tax and in general pay great attention to the regulatory role of the state. However, the BAP voted against citing that “today we are obliged not taxing up to 10 million, as well as assuming from the income, what the income is to put coefficients by studying the information available in the community. Therefore, yes, a part of the draft had been adopted, but not the rest, which makes the reform unacceptable by itself”. In other words the BAP voted against, as it considered that the law will unfairly tax everyone and those with low incomes will suffer as a result. Taking into account above-mentioned arguments of the party, we can say that the position of the BAP does not contradict the ideological provisions of the party program.
10. Voted in support of the bill on amendments to the law **“On Social Assistance”** which aimed at providing the application of an effective system for complete and comprehensive assessment of families and citizens social needs. The expected result was to ensure more targeted and comprehensive assessment of the population’s social needs, to provide uninterrupted provision of full range of affordable, targeted and quality community-based services by using more flexible and effective mechanisms for its implementation. This initiative, with its goals, overlaps with the ideological provisions of the BAP program, where the social assistance to the vulnerable segments of the population is emphasised, so the “against” vote is in line with the ideological provisions of its program.
11. Voted against the bill on the **“Anti-Corruption Committee”**, which is called to ensure the existence of a specialized body with the function of detecting corruption and with

the guarantees of independence. This initiative is not in conflict with the ideological provisions of the BAP, the party explained its decision of voting against by stating that in its opinion the law is imperfect and controversial and there are components that will not serve the purpose. So we can conclude that the BAP's position does not challenge the ideological provisions of its program, as the party is not against the idea of creating an anti-corruption committee.

3

Analysis of the statements of the extra-parliamentary forces

3.1 Analysis of Statements of Armenian National Congress Party (ANC)

ANC has made a number of statements out of which we singled out the ones with prima facie ideological provisions and analysed them. By analysing the announcements we have not questioned whether the party is sincere in expressing its positions or not and whether the theses included in them are reasonable or not.

The announcements refer to:

- ***The necessity of the adoption of a new Electoral Code²***: In the statement it was particularly mentioned that “the draft law solves the problem of holding the elections based on the ideological and political grounds”, as a 100% proportional representation system is being suggested instead of “ranking” voting system. The ANC noted that with the new Electoral Code snap elections give an opportunity to overcome the political crisis.

This announcement is only interesting from the perspective of containing ideological elements, which reveals that the party is in favour of a competitive democratic model.

- ***The five-year program of the RA Government³***: in the statement ANC particularly expresses a positive attitude towards a number of points. For example, it was specifically mentioned that the program “contains valuable insights on the principles of good governance, such as inclusiveness, accountability and transparency, the simplification of regulations and so on”. The ANC also mentioned the solutions it considered as a priority, including transformation of the social-political system, restoration of the foundations of a competitive and liberal economy, etc..

This statement carries certain ideological both cultural and social-economic provisions as fair, competitive and participatory economy, importance of informational and high-tech economy, importance of transitional justice, clear extraction of power and large-scale business, elimination of unnatural monopolies, unacceptability of extreme social polarization and importance of alternative energy.

- ***The issue of Amulsar⁴***, the statement specifically stated that “the exploitation of the mine, that destroys the surrounding ecosystem, causes disproportionate damage to the nature, causes serious harm to human health, steals the wealth of the entrails belonging to the people”, should be banned, and that “many questions have been raised within the public,

which are questioning the expediency of exploitation of Amulsar mine”.

This statement contains some ideological provisions of socio-cultural and socio-economic nature, including the importance of the ecosystem, the unacceptability of the “predatory exploitation” of the subsoil, the significance of the state policy in the development of high-tech industry.

- ***The state policy for the development of high-tech industry***⁵. *The statement called for state support for companies working on advanced technology frontier. Among the proposals was the creation of “public private partnership (PPP) enterprises engaged in information and high technology development with state shares operating within the legislation”.*

This statement has certain ideological provisions of socio-economic nature, as the importance of the growth of knowledge-based and technology-based industry, close public-private partnership, liberalisation of foreign economic policy, the significance of establishing the associations to protect the interests of businesses.

- ***The attack on activist VardanHarutunyan***⁶, *the statement particularly stated that “ARF leaders openly declare that they are re-adopting terrorism as a method of political struggle and proclaim lynching against the persons who have views other their ownor values confronting theirs”.*

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature, as strict rejection of self-judgment and terrorism and, in general, the exclusion of violence in politics.

- ***Regarding to the constitutional amendment process***⁷. *The statement particularly underlines the need to switch to the semi-presidential model and not to be limited to “correcting the obvious shortcomings of the current constitutional governance model”; otherwise, “the illegal rejection of the will of the people of Armenia in the 2015 referendum will be legitimized”.*

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature: the admissibility of “oligarchization of political system”, the importance of the concept of “the people’s will”, the emphasis on wide public consultations prior to decision making process.

- ***Amendments to the Real Estate Tax Code***⁸, *in the statement particularly mentionedthat“in*

5. Statement, 08.11.19, <http://www.anc.am/?p=3000>

6. It's difficult to describe what happened to Vardan Harutyanyan in a different way than the terrorist act, The ANCP, 05.06.19, <https://lurer.com/?p=324466&l=en>

7. Statement, 11.02.20, <http://www.anc.am/?p=3011>

8. Statement, 29.06.20, <http://www.anc.am/?p=3024>

the relations between the state and taxpayer or state and society it is necessary to maintain the principle of equal opportunities. Similar changes should only be following to wide public discussions". The ANC offered that Armenian Government reconsider its approaches to this issue, initiate the repeal of the legislative amendments and address this issue on a conceptual basis after the end of the state of emergency.

This announcement holds certain ideological provisions of socio-economic nature as importance of maintaining the principle of equal opportunities in state-society relations, significance of carrying on the rule of three-year period of invariability of the tax regime, the value of introducing inheritance and wealth taxes.

Most of the ANC statements hold ideological provisions. Many of the statements are critical in their nature, and in some cases have their own approaches and policy proposals.

The analysed statements contain both social-cultural and social-economic provisions, which are in line with the ideological provisions included in their party program. Among the vital issues and negative provisions in the ANC program were particularly mentioned the dictatorship, sharp stratification of the society, monopolization of the economy. As a positive phenomenon, positive values were particularly distinguished as freedom, the prevalence of human rights, social justice, progressive tax policy, equal opportunities. As key ideological provisions, goals were specifically noted, as: significant state intervention, implementation of necessary measures to stimulate production, rapid development of SMEs.

The other provisions in the announcements at least do not contradict the elements of the program. Therefore we can state that in our research on parties' election programs, the assessment of the ideological orientation given to the ANC program - centre-right, moderately liberal which in some respects approaches centre-left conservatism - is in line with the ideas in the statements. It should be noted, however, that the statements were dominated by the provisions which cohere with left-centre and moderate liberalism.

3.2 Analysis of the Statements of “Citizen’s Decision” Social Democratic Party (CDP)

CDP has made a number of statements from which we selected the ones with prima facie ideological provisions and analysed them. By analysing the announcements we have not questioned whether the party is sincere in expressing its positions or not and whether the theses included in them are reasonable or not.

The announcements refer to:

- ***The issue of Constitutional Court⁹***: In its statement the CDP mentioned that the members of Constitutional Court must resign as they promoted violation of the fundamental principles of the state while criticizing the authorities for its “inconsistent, double standard working style, as well as for changing principles and being guided by the convenience of the situation”. The party also condemned the Prime Minister’s idea, that “all the powers supporting the ruling party in the referendum are loyal, and those who oppose it, are traitors”.

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature reflected through emphasising human rights and the rule of law, criticizing the formal legitimacy, underlining the importance of participatory process and direct democracy.

- ***The issue of the upcoming referendum on the Constitutional Court¹⁰***: the party wrote a letter to the Civil Contract Party Board and raised questions regarding the planned referendum on the Constitutional Court, and noted that their position would depend on the answers received. The letter also criticized the fact that the authorities did not give a legal and political definition for the past.

This statement contains certain ideological socio-cultural provisions including emphasizing the role of referendum, transparent governance and maximum engagement of the public in the decision making process.

- ***The events concerning Amulsar¹¹***: The Party criticized Lidian “for removing trailer-houses placed by the citizens and replacing them with company cabins”. The CDP noted that “Private militarized organisation became an instrument against the Republic of Armenia and their citizens.

This statement contains certain ideological both socio-cultural and socio-economic provisions as, underlining the concept of public space, prioritizing of environmental issues, the need for

9. <https://www.facebook.com/qosdp/posts/644327859670957>

10. <https://www.facebook.com/qosdp/posts/650477975722612>

11. <https://www.facebook.com/qosdp/posts/768733797230362>

special control by the State over supranational capital, prevalence of human rights.

- ***Tense internal political situation***¹²: *in the statement, the party called on “the two opposing parties acting in the field of internal politics to take one step back from their most principled positions and not to lead the society to the inevitable bloody clashes following these developments”.*

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature as independence, justice, solidarity.

- ***The amendments of the Tax Code***¹³; *the statement particularly mentions the idea backing the amendments to the Tax Code, that the motivation for partial declaration of the salaries will be abolished, is not reasonable. It is also mentioned that the thesis of increasing the competitiveness and investment attractiveness of the state economy via creating “cheap” labour is incomprehensible for the party. It was also noted that proposed amendments violate the principles of vertical and horizontal justice.*

This statement contains certain socio-economic ideological provisions as criticism on the concept of “cheap” labour, non acceptable concept of imposing tax burden on the low income population.

- ***The necessity to deprive Gagik Tsarukyan of his parliamentary immunity***¹⁴, *the party represented by the Secretary of Executive Body Suren Sahakyan, submitted an application to the NA speaker Ararat Mirzoyan and the RA Prosecutor General Arthur Davtyan on April 19 of the current year, in order to initiate a criminal prosecution related to the statements made by Tsarukyan during the discussion of the bill “On making amendments to The RA Law on State Duty” in the sitting hall of National Assembly, as well as afterwards, while speaking to the journalists and start the process of depriving him of his MP mandate taking into account prohibition of the deputy to engage in business activities.*

This statement contains certain ideological socio-economic provisions, as emphasising the concept of strict separation of business from politics.

12. <https://www.facebook.com/qosdp/posts/847367982700276>

13. “The Citizen’s decision” party is against such amendments to the Tax Code, 02.11.19, <https://iravaban.net/214869.html>

14. “The Citizen’s Decision” party applied to the Prosecutor’s Office and to the NA Speaker to terminate Gagik Tsarukyan’s powers as a deputy, 02.11.19 <https://iravaban.net/224535.html>

Some of the CDP statements contain ideological provisions. Most of the announcements are critical in nature; in some cases they include their own approaches and policy proposals as well.

The analysed statements contain both socio-cultural and socio-economic provisions, which are in line with the ideological provisions included in their party program. Among the vital issues and negative provisions in the CDP program were particularly mentioned oligarchy, unequal competition, metal mines, income and opportunity inequality, clans and privileged small groups. As a positive phenomenon, positive values were emphasized, as the equitable distribution of results, participation, social justice, equal competition conditions, state care, green technologies and the right to decent work. As key ideological provisions, goals were especially mentioned including regulation of business by the state for the benefit of the public interest, taxation of low income earners at low interest rate, repulsion of metal industry, simplification and adoption of direct democracy mechanisms, outsourcing of market.

The other provisions in the announcements at least do not contradict the provisions in the program. Therefore we can state that in our study on parties' election programs the assessment of the ideological orientation given to the CDP program - left-centric, moderately liberal, is consistent with the ideas in the statements.

3.3 Analysis of Statements of Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party (ARF)

ARF has made a number of statements from which we singled out the ones with prima facie ideological elements and analysed them. By analysing the announcements we have not questioned whether the party is sincere in expressing its positions or not and whether the theses included in them are reasonable or not.

The announcements refer to:

- ***Nikol Pashinyan's call to block entrances and exits of the courts***¹⁵: *the party noted that they consider the call of the RA Prime Minister "as a step against constitutional order in Armenia, an obstacle against the Judiciary system and, in general, an adventurous step against the statehood".*

This announcement holds certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature, as political repressions, use of force, condemnation of the selective approach, negative attitude towards intolerance.

- ***On the issue of Robert Kocharyan's precautionary measure***¹⁶: *the party particularly mentioned: "Believing that the court will adhere to its constitutional commitment to make independent decision free from pressure, nevertheless, we condemn any case of hindering the justice looking it as a step against the establishment and consolidation of the constitutional order in Armenia.*

This announcement holds certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature: condemnation of intolerance, importance of democratic governance, national unity and solidarity within the public, emphasises nationwide security.

- ***On the question referring to the social component of the authorities' policy***¹⁷: *"the parties' youth union claimed that "in the context of so called reforms, the rights of vulnerable middle classes are being violated". The statement also noted that "the interests of socially vulnerable groups should not be violated" and the policy should be designed in order to "improve the living conditions of middle and lower-middle income class representatives".*

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-economic nature, as the necessity of improving the living conditions of representatives of middle and lower-middle income class, the protection of interests of small and medium-sized enterprises and societal values.

15. The statement of the ARF Supreme Body of Armenia, 19.05.19 <https://www.arfd.am/news/13460/>

16. The statement of the ARF Supreme Body of Armenia, 18.05.19 <https://www.arfd.am/news/13406/>

17. Under the guise of reforms, the rights of vulnerable middle classes are violated, 14.03.19 <https://www.arfd.am/news/10446/>

- ***On the issue of the RA Government's program of 2019-2023¹⁸***, the party criticized the government's program particularly mentioning that "Despite the repeated statements of the ruling party, in the program there is no reference to the reforming of the political system". It was also stated that "an attempt has been made to replace the government with one person over centralizing the collegial governing body". According to the ARF "this is a reality that hinders the democratic development of the state and contains great risks". This statement, which consisted of several parts, also contained sector assessments.

This announcement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-economic and socio-cultural nature as "Develop without giving in" principle (principle refers to the territory of Artsakh", vital interests of Armenian nation, formation of a system of national values, establishment of nation-state, nation-army, unacceptability of economic policy in the context of neo liberalism, criticism of small government, importance of active economic policy, social justice, importance of equitable distribution of economic growth, criticism of free market base, unacceptability of large differences of incomes between the rich and the poor, significance of national values, spiritual and national traditions, national upbringing, patriotism, public consensus.

- ***About the issue on the events around the Prosperous Armenia Party (joint statement with "The Homeland" and "The One Armenia" parties)¹⁹***:in the statement it was mentioned that the parties believe that the PAP chairman is being criminally prosecuted.

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-economic and socio-cultural nature, including the importance of real agenda of nation-state, significance national consensus, criticism of the phenomenon of national division.

- ***On the issue of the mitigation of the Covid-19 consequences:*** in addition to various accusations and criticism addressing the authorities, the party was criticizing the agenda of "financing the banks instead of supporting the business". It was stated that "in fact, the government has escaped from taking responsibility for implementation of economic programs (risks), due to which business support programs were mainly limited by subsidizing loan interest rates".

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-economic nature: instead of financing banks, business should be supported; the government should take responsibility for implementing economic programs, increase of state debt without reviewing budget expenditures.

18. The point of view of the ARF Supreme Body on the RA government program for 2019-2023, 18.02.19 <https://www.arfd.am/news/9507/>

19. Statement of opposition political forces, 16.06.20 <https://www.arfd.am/news/27302/>

- ***On the issue of ratification of the Lanzarote Convention²⁰***, the party strictly condemned the reality of ratification of Lanzarote convention. The statement described the convention as “dangerous and with a highly controversial context”.

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature: sex education of children over the age of 6 “can have severe moral-psychological consequences and devastating effect on their value system”.

- ***The issue of the supposedly alleged campaign against the Armenian Apostolic Church (AAC)²¹***: in the statement the party demanded that the authorities “express clear position” on “campaign” against the church and “show relevant attitude towards politicians, state and public figures who have exhibited such a posture”.

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature: the importance of protecting national values and AAC from encroachments, unacceptability of the phenomenon of division of the society.

- ***The issue on the amendments of the laws due to the state of emergency²²***: the party was criticizing legislative amendments, particularly mentioning that “legislative changes suppose establishment of total control, which undermines constitutional immunity of personal, private and family life”.

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature: the significance of public solidarity, political tolerance and parliamentarism.

- ***The desecration of the Pantheon in the Proshyan Community of the Kotayq region²³***, the party hinted that what happened was the result of a number of negative phenomena, which were generated by the authorities.

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature: the importance of national church, school, family and the idea that they are endangered as a result of the activities of authorities and need to be protected, rejection of intolerance.

- ***The issue of planned application of flat income tax rates²⁴***: in the statement was particularly mentioned, that “the envisaged change contradicts the requirement of having an

20. The statement of the ARf Supreme Body of Armenia, 02.06.20 <https://www.arfd.am/news/26932/>

21. The statement of the ARf Supreme Body of Armenia , 15.04.20 <https://www.arfd.am/news/25457/>

22. The statement of the ARf Supreme Body of Armenia, 01.04.20 <https://www.arfd.am/news/25146/>

23. The statement of the ARf Supreme Body of Armenia, 02.12.19 <https://www.arfd.am/news/20651/>

24. Planned levelling of income tax rates, 31.05.19 <https://www.arfd.am/news/14184/>

order of social market economy stipulated in the RA Constitution and is worrisome from the perspective of social justice. It completely opposes the ideology of social state and does not derive from the best international practice”.

This statement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-economic nature: harmonious development, inclusive social development, social component of tax system, progressive rate of income tax, active support to the increase of the role of trade unions.

The vast majority of ARF statements contain ideological provisions, but mainly consist of harsh criticism of the authorities. In some cases there are also their own approaches and policy proposals.

The analysed statements contain both socio-cultural and socio-economic provisions, which are in line with the ideological provisions included in their party program. Among the vital issues and negative provisions in the ARF program was particularly mentioned polarisation of the society, social polarization and neoliberal policy. As a positive phenomenon, positive values were particularly stated: the national, the socialist, as well as national values, social justice, united society, nation-army concept, national goals of Armenians worldwide. As key ideological provisions, goals were especially mentioned including effective state intervention, fair distribution of incomes.

The other provisions in the announcements at least do not contradict the provisions in the program. Therefore we can state that in our research on parties' election programs the assessment of the ideological orientation given to the ARF program - national-conservatism and left-centrism is in line with the ideas in their announcements.

3.4 Analysis of Statements of Heritage Party

The Heritage Party has made a number of statements out of which we singled out the ones with prima facie ideological elements and analyzed them. By examining the announcements we have not questioned whether the party is sincere in expressing its positions or not and whether the thesis included in them are reasonable or not.

The announcements refer to:

- ***The issue of Lending institutions²⁵***, the party was particularly mentioning, that “the task of the state is not to support tacitly to the expropriation of citizens but to contribute to the state of emergency caused by the pandemic”. The state was offered to repay the consumer loans up to 500,000 (five hundred thousand) AMD. The party also suggested to revoke the licenses of some loan organizations that “have been created in a way which raises suspicions of money laundering”

This announcement contains certain ideological provisions of social economic nature, such as encouraging direct state support to the wide public, strict and harsh policy towards private enterprises suspected of being formed through money laundering.

- ***Regarding the criminal cases against PAP members²⁶***. In the announcement the party accused the authorities of making “selective accusations” in the address of PAP and warned that such behaviour can lead to “personal-political repressions, civil strife, creating the atmosphere of fear and intolerance”.

This announcement contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature, as condemnation of political repression, use of force and selective approach, and a negative attitude towards intolerance.

- ***The outbreak of protests and the behaviour of authorities towards them during the pandemic²⁷***. The party was criticizing the authorities, as in its opinion, disproportionate force and unnecessary restrictions had been used.

This statement holds certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature such as the importance of democracy and the protection of human rights, emphasis on national consensus.

25. Not 7% of the borrower population has a problem of repaying loans, but much more. 25.09.20

<https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/720-250920>

26. Democratic Armenia can not find itself in an atmosphere of repression, civil strife, fear and intolerance, 14.06.20

<https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/715-140620>

27. Force must always be combined with the imperative of maintaining legality, 13.06.20 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/714-130620>

- ***The bill to make amendments to the law on referendum²⁸***. The party considered that “the legislative change is an explosive mine placed in the domestic political field of the Republic of Armenia; it violates basic democratic principles of the separation of powers and creation of counterbalances, enabling majority forces to use laws in the sectoral interests of maintaining oligarchy”.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature; such as the values of revolution, the national consensus, democratic process in the government, the separation of powers and institute of counterbalances, emphasizes the concepts of the institute of referendum.

- ***The State of Emergency caused by the pandemic²⁹***. The party was criticizing the authorities for alleged inaction by the bodies responsible for the fight against the pandemic. The Heritage Party demanded “the resignation of the heads of The RA Ministry of Healthcare and insisted on public explanation”.

This statement holds certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature including the atmosphere of national consensus, “declared goals of the revolution”, “the basic principle of the government’s accountability”.

- ***The increase of the salaries of government members³⁰***. The party was criticizing the authorities for the disproportionate increase in the salaries of high-ranking members of the government.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of socio-economic nature such as the fair redistribution of public good, the concept of Social State, happy individual, caring society and strong state.

- ***Regarding the issue of constitutional referendum³¹***, in the announcement it was stated that “in the current situation both “yes” and “no” to the April 5 constitutional referendum will lead to a partial, illegitimate result for our country”. The party proposed convening a Constituent Assembly and adopting a new Constitution through referendum.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature as national-state interests, the importance of the people’s adoption of democratic Constitution.

28. The bill to amend the Law on Referendum is a mainfield for Armenia’s democracy. 05.06.20

<https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/713-050620>

29. RA barracks and healthcare officials must be accountable and resign, 03.06.20 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/712-030620>

30. Let’s move forward with free, fair, legal and systematic reforms, 28.02.20 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/704-280220>

31. The statement of “The Heritage” Party: Armenia needs a referendum to convene a Constituent Assembly and a new draft Constitution, 17.02.20 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/703-170220>

- ***The issue of reforming the state bodies of the Republic of Armenia***³². The party noted, that “the state system is shifting in key areas and socio-political understanding between ideological forces is weakening”

This statement has certain ideological provisions of both socio-economic and socio-cultural nature including “the final victory of democratic, velvet and non-violent revolution”, emphasizing the concepts of “free and democratic values”, “balanced development of infrastructures and territories” and criticizing criminal subculture in small district communities”.

- ***The mining and environmental issues***³³. In the announcement it was mentioned that some circles, with their emotional slogans, were trying “to turn the truthful mission of preservation of nature into an unmanageable process” without professional knowledge and theoretical and practical justifications. The party also underlined that “the state is slow to take sufficient and systematic steps to move the mining and environmental issues to a professional level of resolution”.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of both socio-economic and socio-cultural nature such as development of the industrial potential, the solidarity and democratic evolution, the protection of nature and national health and industrial Armenia.

- ***The need for judicial reforms***³⁴, in the statement “The Heritage” party demanded that the authorities “initiate an impartial process of constitutional reforms with the involvement of a wide range of extra-parliamentary political forces and the public”.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of both socio-economic and socio-cultural nature including the need for a policy of separation and restraint of the powers and the importance of democratic systematic change.

- ***The issue of possible attempts of the old political powers to come back and overthrow the constitutional order***³⁵, in the statement it was mentioned that “the party expects immediate organization of discussions with parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political and public forces in order to prevent by the law the reproduction of the old political powers and their possible attempts to overthrow constitutional order”.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature such as the transitional justice, the exclusion of the return of former political powers by the law and solidarity.

32. The imperative to thoroughly reform the work of judicial, legislative and executive bodies of the Republic of Armenia, 22.01.20 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/700-220120>

33. The statement of “The Heritage” Party, 22.08.19 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/670-220819>

34. “The Heritage”: The imperative of impartial judicial reforms, 22.06.19 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/667-220719>

35. Let’s rule out the return of the old forces by law, 21.05.19 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/648-210519>

- **Regarding the issue of the trial of Kocharyan and others³⁶**, in the announcement the party was criticizing “the executive and legislative branches of New Armenia for failing to ensure the formation of a legal system in which judicial fever would be impossible”.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature such as the criticism of “The Old Armenia”, that is the authoritarian regime, transitional justice and importance of lustration.

- **The issue of amending the Electoral Code³⁷**, in the announcement the Heritage Party called for the rapid actions to amend the Electoral Code, as a result of which “the legal and political levers of the old reproduction will be reduced as much as possible”.

This statement, regardless of whether the party’s criticism is justified, contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature: criticism of “The Old Armenia”, that is the authoritarian regime, transitional justice and importance of lustration.

- **Regarding the anniversary of the Velvet Revolution³⁸**, the party was considering “the peaceful resignation of the main authority branches already rejected by the people as a crucial milestone in the history of statehood”.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature such as the establishment of lost justice, social and political solidarity, free and safe environment, the creative citizen and strong statehood.

- **The problems associated with the management of the authorities³⁹**, in the statement the party was warning that in its opinion a one party system was being established and the government often acts according to the old methods.

This statement has certain ideological provisions of both socio-economic and socio-cultural nature: emphasizing “Free and independent Armenia without monopolies”, the idea of the need to develop “economically advantageous rules and timetable for the repayment of tax and other liabilities accumulated by the criminal administration” is put forward, citing public discontent as a dangerous phenomenon. Achieving “happy individuals, a caring society and the establishment of a strong state” is seen as important values and goals.

36. The governance crisis in Armenia is turning into anarchy, 19.05.19 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/647-190519>

37. “The Heritage”: the imperative of reforming the Electoral Code, 29.04.19 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/644-290419>

38. :The Heritage” confirms it’s allegiance to the ideology of the new Armenian State, 23.04.19

<https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/641-230419>

39. The statement of “The Heritage” Party:, 08.04.19 <https://www.heritage.am/hy/news/637-080419>

The vast majority of the Heritage Party statements contains ideological provisions, but mainly consists towards the authorities. In some cases there are also their own approaches and policy proposals.

The analyzed statements contain both socio-cultural and socio-economic provisions, which are in line with the ideological provisions included in their party program. The provisions of socio-cultural nature were dominating in the statements. Among the positive phenomena, positive values in the Heritage Party program were particularly mentioned: the social justice, the national rights, the social market and social solidarity, the importance of forming an individual with a high moral value system, the democracy, liberalism and national preservation. As key ideological provisions, goals were especially mentioned: the fair and targeted distribution of national income and the reduction of the tax burden on small and medium-sized businesses.

The other provisions in the announcements at least do not contradict the provisions in the program. Therefore we can declare that in our research on parties' election programs the assessment of the ideological orientation given to the Heritage Party program - moderate-conservatism and centrism is in line with the ideas in their announcements.

3.5 Analysis of Statements Republican Party of Armenia (RPA)

The Republican Party of Armenia has made a number of statements out of which we singled out the ones with prima facie ideological elements and analyzed them. By analyzing the announcements we have not questioned whether the party is sincere in expressing its positions or not and whether the thesis included in them are reasonable or not.

The announcements refer to:

- ***NikolPashinyan's call to block the entrances of the courts⁴⁰***. The RPA condemned “the unprecedented pressure exerted by NikolPashinyan on the judicial system of the Republic of Armenia”.

This statement contains social and cultural ideological provisions such as the idea of the division of society and the belief in its unacceptability, the concept of an atmosphere of public solidarity and its importance, the unacceptability of intolerance.

- ***Regarding the Istanbul Convention, the party's deputy chairman Eduard Sharmazanov⁴¹***, on behalf of the party, in fact, joined the signature collection of the far-right “Will” initiative against the ratification of the convention, noting that “the Republican Party of Armenia is a National Conservative Party and if we were in favor, we would bring the issue of ratification to the National Assembly during in period of our rule. Naturally, we are against the ratification of the convention as it contradicts our national values and includes worrying provisions”.

E. Sharmazanov's statement, made on behalf of the RPA, contains certain ideological provisions of socio-cultural nature including the importance of traditional Armenian values, the extremely negative attitude towards the concept of “social gender”, the idea of national values and their importance, conservatism.

The vast majority of the RPA's statements does not contain any ideological provisions and mainly consist of harsh criticism of the authorities.

Both analyzed statements contain only socio-cultural elements, which are in line with the following socio-cultural provisions included in the party program: nation-army, traditional family values. The other, very rare provisions in the announcements at least do not contradict the provisions introduced in the program.

Therefore, we can note that in our study of the parties' election programs, the assessment of the ideological orientation given to the RP program - national-conservatism - is in line with the ideas contained in the statement.

40. The Republican Party of Armenia made a statement on the call of the RA Prime Minister, 20.05.19 <https://armeniasputnik.am/politics/20190520/18686245/hhk-n-koch-e-anum-joxovrdin-zerc-mnal-pashinyani-koxmic-hrahrvox-gryntacnerin-masnkaceluc.html>

41. The RPA is a national conservative party and cannot be in favour of ratification of the Istanbul Convention, Eduard Sharmazanov, 25.07.19 <http://www.hhk.am/hy/news/item/2019/07/25/sharmazanov-konvencia/>

3.6 Analysis of the Statements of “SasnaTsrer” Party

The “SasnaTsrer” Party has made a number of statements from which we selected the ones with prima facie ideological elements and analyzed them. By analyzing the announcements we have not questioned whether the party is sincere in expressing its positions or not and whether the thesis included in them are reasonable or not.

The announcements of “SasnaTsrer” party refer to:

- ***The release of Robert Kocharyan from custody:***the party was criticizing Pashinyan’s government, stating that he does not follow a “revolutionary logic” but acts under “the regime of false constitution” and laws and follows “anti-national political concepts”. It is also noted that Pashinyan’s government is unable to withstand the pressure of the 5th column and the Kremlin, which, according to the party, is fraught with “dangers of revenge and disintegration of the state”. However, the party also stated that “there is no alternative to supporting NikolPashinyan’s government⁴²”, but he should sober up, unite healthy forces and take “radical adequate steps” to neutralize the above-mentioned dangers. The statement also noted that “the people ordered national revolution”.

This statement contains ideological elements of socio-cultural nature: The Velvet Revolution that is democratic system of values, the endorsement of radical democratic reforms, the significance of sovereignty and the emphasis on the national.

- ***The establishment of the commission for inquiry into the circumstances of the April War⁴³,*** in the statement, it was particularly mentioned, that the issue is of national importance and it is vital from the point of guaranteeing national and state interests. It was suggested to involve JirayrSefilyan in the work of that commission, as the latter revealed the “conspiratorial nature” of that war, the territorial losses and, in order to cover them up, the falsifications of Serzh Sargsyan and the regime headed by him.

This statement contains ideological elements of socio-cultural nature such as emphasizing the existence of national issues, application of the non-synonymous terms of national and state interests, criticism of non-transparent and falsifying regimes.

- ***The activity of the representatives of the former regime in Artsakh⁴⁴,*** the statement

42. Nikol Pashinyan and his team are in fact unable to resist the pressure of the 5th column and it’s Kremlin owners, “Sasna Tsrer”, 18.05.19 <https://www.aravot.am/2019/05/18/1043936/>

43. We demand to involve Jirayr Sefilyan in the work of the Commission, “Sasna Tsrer”, 05.06.19 <https://medialab.am/23658/>

44. Message of the Secretariat of the “Sasna Tsrer” Pan-armenian party, 29.03.19 <https://sasnatzrer.com/newspaper/%D5%A1%D6%80%D6%81%D5%A1%D5%AD%D5%AB-%D5%B4%D5%A1%D6%80%D5%A6%D5%AB-%D6%84%D5%A1%D5%B7%D5%A1%D5%A9%D5%A1%D5%B2%D5%AB-%D5%B7%D6%80%D5%BB%D5%A1%D5%B6%D5%B8%D6%82%D5%B4-%D5%A1%D5%A6%D5%A1%D5%BF-%D5%B0/>

criticized their “semi-criminal” manners and stated that they put pressure on the residents so that they have nothing to do with the “SasnaTsrer” Party.

This statement holds ideological elements of socio-cultural nature: the repressions and the anti-democratic regime are being criticized.

- ***The issue of the exploitation of the Amulsar Mine⁴⁵***, the statement criticized the existence of an “oligopolistic economy” after the revolution inherited from the “traitor to its own nation” and “criminal” regime and “predatory exploitation of nature”. The party noted that the authorities ignore the voice of affected communities; the statement stressed the need to find alternatives to mining, an industry based on the final result.

This statement holds ideological elements of both socio-cultural and socio-economic nature: the anti-democratic regime, the mining industry, the oligopolistic regime and the exploitation of nature are criticized.

- ***The issue of trial of SasnaTsrer Group⁴⁶***, in the announcement was particularly mentioned that instead of realizing “the prisoners of war rebels” NikolPashinyan handed them over to the discretion of judiciary which had become an instrument of the former regime.

This statement holds ideological elements of socio-cultural nature. The following concepts were mentioned as positive values in the text of the party: right, dignity, statehood, national interest, public solidarity, rebellion. The text criticized the former regime in which, according to the party, there was no justice.

In the statements, except for the issue of Amulsar, there are only elements of socio-cultural nature, which are in line with the ideological provisions of the party program. From the socio-cultural point of view, the party program is assessed by us as a national-conservative. The program emphasizes, for example, such concepts as national aspirations, nation-army, national sovereign pan Armenian state, Armenian centeredness, recapture of the Armenian plateau, direct democracy, human rights and freedoms, will of the people, right to revolt, etc.

As it can be seen from the analysis of above-mentioned statements, the ideas contained in them are in line with the ideological provisions in their party program or at least do not contradict them.

45. <https://www.facebook.com/sasnatzrer/posts/2251852381578935>

46. We emphasize the issue of realising Armen Bilyan and Smbat Barseghyan from custody, “Sasna Tsrer”, 01.07.19 <https://a1plus.am/hy/article/343277>

The statement on Amulsar contains social and economic ideological elements, which correspond with the provisions included in the party program and which we have assessed as moderately leftist. In particular, the program states about the importance of a green economy, public solidarity, direct democracy. Among the negative phenomenon the former “traitor to its own nation and criminal regime” is mentioned and in the list of goals for example, the need for national control over strategic infrastructure and facilities were stated.

Based on this all above mentioned analyses, we can state that the other provisions in the announcements consistent or at least do not contradict the provisions in the program.

4

Conclusion

The study of the parties' public activities (in the case of the parliamentarians, the voting on the bills, and in the case of the extra-parliamentarians, the announcements) showed that they are dominated by the component that does not require ideological orientation.

The analysis of the votes of two of the parliamentary forces, Prosperous Armenia and Bright Armenia, gives a basis for moving them by one point to a more conservative field, compared to their placement in the spectrum of political ideologies as a result of studying their programs. However, our general assessments of the ideological provisions included in their programs also apply to their voting. Any evidence of non-compliance with the activities of the "Civil Contract" party and the provisions of its program has not been revealed. Thus, our assessment of the ideological provisions of the CCP, the PAP and the BAP remains unchanged, i.e. the CCP is closer to the center-right and moderate liberalism, the PAP is near to the left-centrism and radical conservatism. The BAP is closer to left-centrism and moderate conservatism.

It is a remarkable fact that the vast majority of the bills that we have assessed as ideological are the legislative initiatives of the government or of the ruling power.

As for the extra-parliamentary forces, the study of the official statements of those parties showed that they mainly correspond to our assessments of the ideological provisions in their own programs. Thus, the ANC is closer to the center-right, which strives for more center and moderate liberalism, the Heritage is near to the center-left and moderate conservatism, the "SasnaTsrer" party is closer to the center-left and radical conservatism, the ARF is characterized by a strong left-centeredness and radical conservatism, the RPA is closer to a right-centeredness and radical conservatism, the CD is characterized by a highlighted left-centeredness and moderate liberalism.

The fact that the activities of extra-parliamentary forces are mostly expressed in their statements, the volume of which, as a rule, does not exceed two pages is of particular interest. A relatively large number of observations and suggestions have been made about the government's program by only few forces. During the two-year period under review the number of party announcements averaged more than ten and did not exceed twenty.

Most of the statements are criticism towards the authorities. It should also be noted that in public sphere no extra-parliamentary party, which had been surveyed, has come up with any legislative initiative or has submitted any alternative document on policy (this, of course, does not exclude the implementation of such activities through non-public channels, the study of which, however, is beyond the scope of our research).

It should be noted that the statements of the extra-parliamentary parties addressed a very limited number of topics, which shows that outside the election rounds the parties do not take any institutional position on many important topical issues.

The votes of the parliamentary forces on the bills, which we assessed as containing ideological elements, referred to the following topics:

- *Optimization of government's structure,*
- *Application of Flat Taxation system,*
- *Introduction of Local Referendum institute,*
- *Cigarette smoke protection,*
- *The issue of accountability of non-governmental organizations,*
- *Establishment of the Institute for Testing the Ethics of Members of the Supreme Judicial Council,*
- *Establishment of an institute for confiscation of property of illegal origin,*
- *Ratification of Lanzarote Convention,*
- *Application of Luxury tax,*
- *The issue of targeted and effective social support,*
- *The establishment of Anti-corruption committee.*

The limited number of topics covered by the parties and the number and volume of their statements do not allow fully revealing of their ideological orientation.

There had been cases when there were positions of two or more parties on a specific topic. Such statements addressed the following topics: (*The names of the parties that referred to these topics are mentioned in brackets.*)

- *The issue of Constitutional Court and the question of constitutional referendum***(CD, ANC, The Heritage),**
- *The issue of Amulsar and environmental issues* **(CD, ANC, The Heritage),**
- *Tense internal political situation and assessments of the authorities' management* **(CD, ANC, ARF, The Heritage, SasnaTsrer, RPA),**
- *Introduction of flat tax* **(CD, ARF),**
- *The case related to the criminal prosecution of Gagik Tsarukyan and other PAP members* **(The Heritage, ARF),**
- *The issue of blocking the entrances and exits of the courts***(RPA, ARF),**
- *The policy referring the consequences of Covid 19 and the state of emergency* **(The Heritage, ARF),**
- *The case of the trial of Kocharyan and others* **(The Heritage, ARF),**
- *The issue of judicial reform* **(The Heritage, ANC, CD),**
*The necessity of adopting new Electoral Code***(ANC, The Heritage),**
The issue of return of former political forces and assessment of the previous regime **(The Heritage, CD).**

The unique and unrepeatable topics of the statements of the studied extra-parliamentary parties are:
(The names of the parties that referred to these topics are mentioned in brackets.)

- *The necessity to deprive Gagik Tsarukyan of his parliamentary immunity because of his alleged business activities (CD),*
The case on the desecration of the Pantheon in the Proshyan Community of the Kotayqregion (ARF),
The alleged campaign against the Armenian Apostolic Church (ARF),
The state policy for the development of high-tech industry(ANC),
On the occasion of the attack on activist VardanHarutunyan(ANC),
Regarding the Istanbul Convention(RPA),
The establishment of the commission for inquiry into the circumstances of the April War (SasnaTsrer),
The activity of the representatives of the former regime in Artsakh(SasnaTsrer),
The case of SasnaTsrer Group's trial(SasnaTsrer),
The issue of Lending institutions(The Heritage),
Regarding the increase of the salaries of government members(The Heritage),
Regarding the issue of reforming the state bodies of the Republic of Armenia(The Heritage).

Noteworthy is the fact that at least one of the extra-parliamentary forces has expressed a position on only three of the voted bills that have been assessed as ideologically nuanced topics by us: the optimization of the government structure, the introduction of a flat tax system and the ratification of the Lanzarote Convention.



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