

ARMENIAN CENTER FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

ARMENIA'S NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN THE NEXT DECADE

Presentation of Expert and Public Poll Results
(50 experts and 2021 citizens from Yerevan and all Armenia)

About the Respondents (Expert Survey)

Age Groups			
21-30	31-40	41-50	50-60
16%	36%	30%	18%

Gender	
Male	Female
74%	26%

Education	
Incomplete higher	Higher
0%	100%

Academic Degree			
PhD	Candidate of Science	Master's	Bachelor's
4%	14%	82%	4%

Profession	
Art critic	6%
Geographer	2%
Physicist, radio-physicist	8%
Architect-builder	4%
Architect-economist	6%
Lawyer	10%
Biologist	6%
Journalist, editor	22%
Historian	14%
Political scientist	12%
Economist	10%

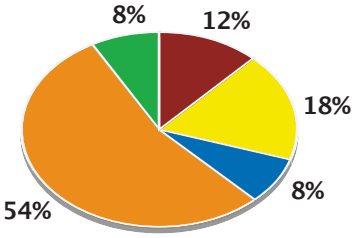
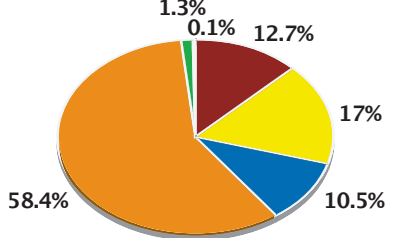
Status of Workplace	
State-run	20%
Non-governmental	68%
International organization	12%

About the Respondents (Public Survey)

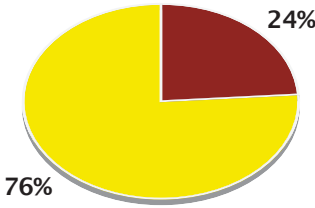
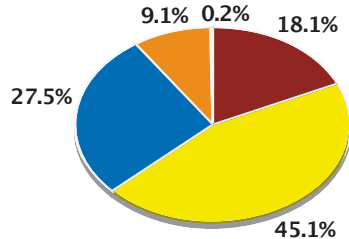
Age Groups							
18-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	50-60	60 or above		
7%	24.1%	22.7%	21.9%	12.7%	11.6%		
Gender							
Male				Female			
44.5%				55.5%			
Education							
Incomplete secondary	Secondary	Specialized secondary	Incomplete higher	Higher			
3.7%	24.6%	20.9%	8.6%	42.2%			
Occupation							
Employee	Unemployed	Pensioner	Welfare recipient	Student	Refused to answer		
46.1%	35.6%	9.5%	1.4%	6.6%	0.8%		
Status of Workplace							
State-run	Non-governmental	None	Refused to answer				
28.6%	18.7%	51.1%	1.6%				
Social Groups							
Rich	Well-off	Above average	Average	Below average	Poor	Extremely poor	Refused to answer
0.5%	1.2%	7.6%	44%	32.1%	11.1%	2.6%	0.9%

Sphere of occupation	
Agriculture, forestry	6.9%
Industry	0.2%
Energy, gas, water supply	0.3%
Construction, engineering	1%
Trade and commerce	5.9%
Hotel and restaurant management	0.3%
Transport and communication	0.8%
Finance and economy	0.9%
Real-estate service	0.3%
State governance and local administration system	13.2%
Health care and social service	2.1%
Education and science	6.5%
Consumer service	0.4%
Food industry	0.4%
Art and culture	0.8%
Library and archive	0.5%
Spirituality and religion	0.2%
Military	0.7%
Computer science	0.5%
Blue-collar work	3.4%
Public activity	0.6%
Private sector	0.9%
Media	0.3%
Chemical industry	0.2%
Refused to answer	1.9%
None	51.6%

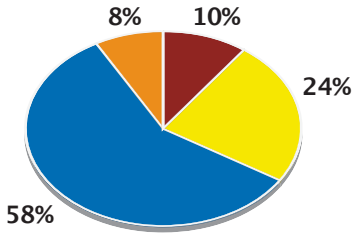
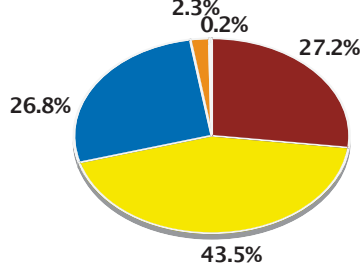
1. In your opinion, national security is...

Expert Survey	Public Survey																						
<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. Your personal security</td> <td style="text-align: right;">12%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Security of the current state system</td> <td style="text-align: right;">18%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Army-building and its combat-readiness</td> <td style="text-align: right;">8%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. All of the above</td> <td style="text-align: right;">54%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. <i>Other</i></td> <td style="text-align: right;">8%</td> </tr> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Guarantee for the longevity of the nation and people, for the freedom of collective action (the first and second do not have anything in common with national security, and often contradict it) ✓ Protection of citizens', society's, the state's vital interests, as well as national values and lifestyle, against external and internal threats 	1. Your personal security	12%	2. Security of the current state system	18%	3. Army-building and its combat-readiness	8%	4. All of the above	54%	5. <i>Other</i>	8%	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. Your personal security</td> <td style="text-align: right;">12.7%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Security of the current state system</td> <td style="text-align: right;">17.0%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Army-building and its combat-readiness</td> <td style="text-align: right;">10.5%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. All of the above</td> <td style="text-align: right;">58.4%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. <i>Other</i></td> <td style="text-align: right;">1.3%</td> </tr> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ Foreign and domestic security of the country ✓ 1st and 3rd options ✓ Application of ideology of patriotism ✓ Security of the unity of the people, nation, all of Armenia and the homeland ✓ Having a strong state structure ✓ None of the above <table border="1"> <tr> <td>6. Refused to answer</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0.1%</td> </tr> </table>	1. Your personal security	12.7%	2. Security of the current state system	17.0%	3. Army-building and its combat-readiness	10.5%	4. All of the above	58.4%	5. <i>Other</i>	1.3%	6. Refused to answer	0.1%
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6. Refused to answer	0.1%																						
																							

2. In your opinion, today Armenia's national security is...

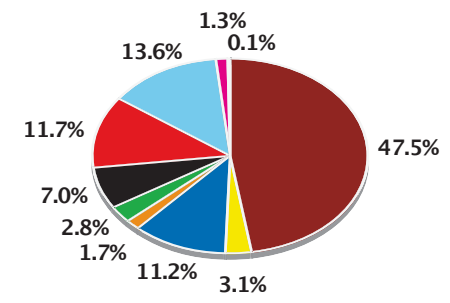
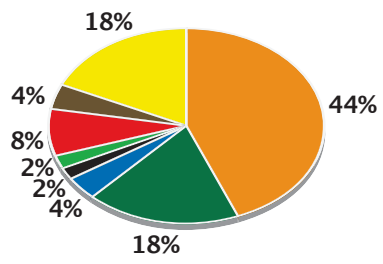
<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. Sufficiently provided</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Partially provided</td> <td style="text-align: right;">24%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Not provided at all</td> <td style="text-align: right;">76%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Difficult to answer</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0%</td> </tr> </table>	1. Sufficiently provided	0%	2. Partially provided	24%	3. Not provided at all	76%	4. Difficult to answer	0%	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1. Sufficiently provided</td> <td style="text-align: right;">18.1%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Partially provided</td> <td style="text-align: right;">45.1%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Not provided at all</td> <td style="text-align: right;">27.5%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Difficult to answer</td> <td style="text-align: right;">9.1%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Refused to answer</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0.2%</td> </tr> </table>	1. Sufficiently provided	18.1%	2. Partially provided	45.1%	3. Not provided at all	27.5%	4. Difficult to answer	9.1%	5. Refused to answer	0.2%
1. Sufficiently provided	0%																		
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4. Difficult to answer	9.1%																		
5. Refused to answer	0.2%																		
																			

3. In your opinion, Armenia should first of all strengthen its...

Expert Survey	Public Survey																		
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">1. Army's combat-readiness</td> <td style="text-align: right;">10%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Economic potential</td> <td style="text-align: right;">24%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Democratic potential</td> <td style="text-align: right;">58%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. <i>Other</i></td> <td style="text-align: right;">8%</td> </tr> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ National security, by ensuring the activity of all of its components ✓ System of national decisionmaking and collective planning, after putting it at the basis of the government and into action ✓ Overall national potential, by the principle of quantitative and qualitative growth of physical and spiritual components 	1. Army's combat-readiness	10%	2. Economic potential	24%	3. Democratic potential	58%	4. <i>Other</i>	8%	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">1. Army's combat-readiness</td> <td style="text-align: right;">27.2%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Economic potential</td> <td style="text-align: right;">43.5%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Democratic potential</td> <td style="text-align: right;">26.8%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. <i>Other</i></td> <td style="text-align: right;">2.3%</td> </tr> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ All of the above ✓ Foreign policy, diplomacy ✓ Sense of justice ✓ Campaign against domestic shadow government ✓ Legislative field ✓ People's mentality ✓ Labor force ✓ None <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">5. Refused to answer</td> <td style="text-align: right;">0.2%</td> </tr> </table>	1. Army's combat-readiness	27.2%	2. Economic potential	43.5%	3. Democratic potential	26.8%	4. <i>Other</i>	2.3%	5. Refused to answer	0.2%
1. Army's combat-readiness	10%																		
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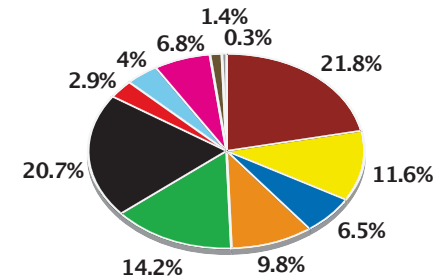
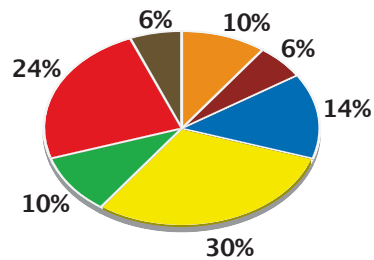
4. What is the major military danger that will threaten Armenia in the next 5 years?

Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. Outbreak of war with Azerbaijan 44%	1. Outbreak of war with Azerbaijan 47.5%
2. Presence of Russian military bases in Armenia 18%	2. Presence of Russian military bases in Armenia 3.1%
3. Withdrawal of Russian military bases from Armenia 4%	3. Withdrawal of Russian military bases from Armenia 11.2%
4. Possible military conflict with Georgia 2%	4. Possible military conflict with Georgia 1.7%
5. Armenia's accession to NATO 2%	5. Armenia's accession to NATO 2.8%
6. Turkey's military invasion of Armenia 8%	6. Turkey's military invasion of Armenia 7.0%
7. Civil war 4%	7. Civil war 11.7%
8. There is no military danger 18%	8. There is no military danger 13.6%
	9. <i>Other</i> 1.3%
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ Preoccupation with formalities ✓ Territorial redistribution ✓ Another "October 27" ✓ Danger of nuclear power plant ✓ Gangster wars
	10. Refused to answer 0.1%



5. What is the major political danger that will threaten Armenia in the next 5 years?

Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. Confrontations between authorities and people 10%	1. Confrontations between authorities and people 21.8%
2. Possible attempt of revolt 0%	2. Possible attempt of revolt 11.6%
3. Political terrorism 6%	3. Political terrorism 6.5%
4. Limitation of political and civil rights 14%	4. Limitation of political and civil rights 9.8%
5. Provocation of political tension by the opposition 0%	5. Provocation of political tension by the opposition 14.2%
6. Falsification of election results 30%	6. Falsification of election results 20.7%
7. Armenia's absence from regional programs 10%	7. Armenia's absence from regional programs 2.9%
8. Restriction of Armenia's sovereignty 24%	8. Restriction of Armenia's sovereignty 4.0%
9. There is no political danger 0%	9. There is no political danger 6.8%
10. <i>Other</i> 6%	10. <i>Other</i> 1.4%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Delay in surmounting the present crisis of national-state ideology ✓ Unfair elections and marionette authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ Disagreement among politicians and parties, power struggles ✓ Confrontations between opposition and authorities ✓ The lack of transfer of power, degeneration of authorities ✓ National disunity ✓ 4th, 6th and 7th, 6th-8th, 1st-8th options
	11. Refused to answer 0.3%

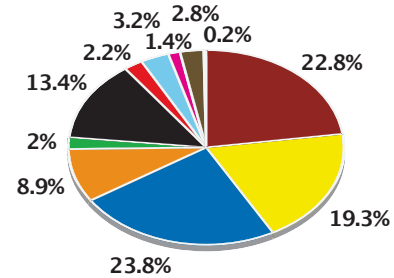
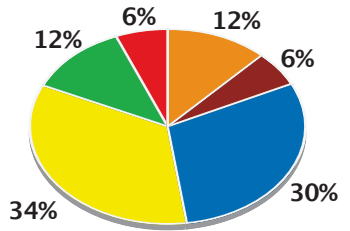


6. What is the major economic danger that will threaten Armenia in the next 5 years?

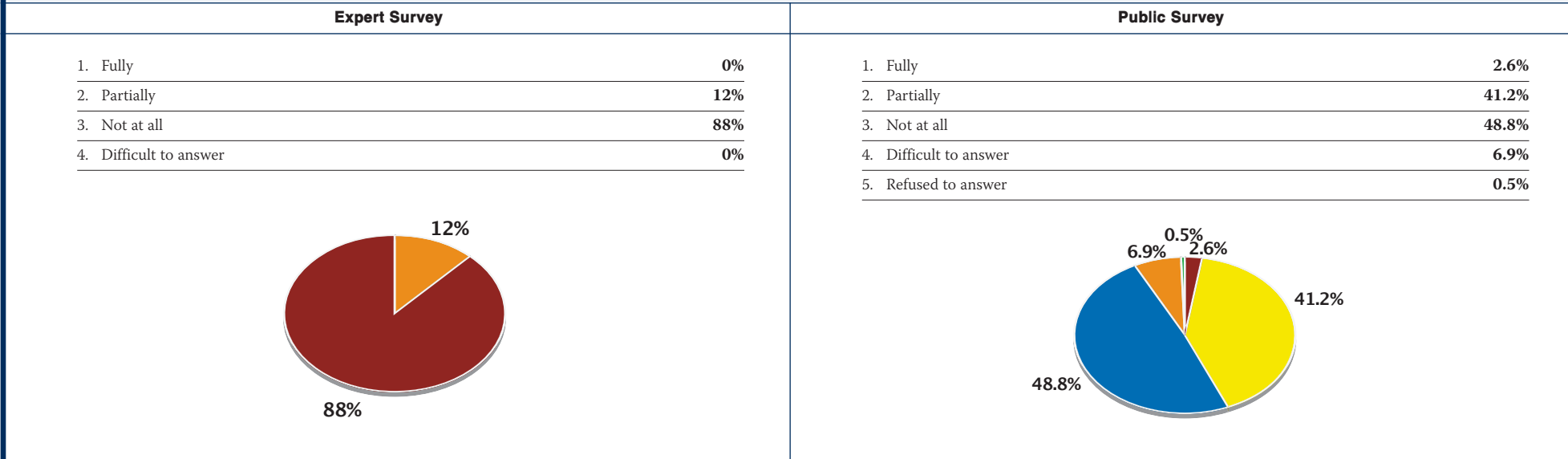
Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. Corruption 42%	1. Corruption 41.0%
2. Foreign debt 12%	2. Foreign debt 11.2%
3. Economic, financial crisis 14%	3. Economic, financial crisis 19.8%
4. The maintenance of Azerbaijan's and Turkey's economic blockade of Armenia 10%	4. The maintenance of Azerbaijan's and Turkey's economic blockade of Armenia 5.5%
5. Armenian enterprises of strategic importance belonging to foreign companies (ArmenTel, Zvartnots airport, energy distribution networks, Nairit, etc.) 6%	5. Armenian enterprises of strategic importance belonging to foreign companies (ArmenTel, Zvartnots airport, energy distribution networks, Nairit, etc.) 7.1%
6. Plunder of foreign loans provided to the state 8%	6. Plunder of foreign loans provided to the state 11.6%
7. There is no economic danger 2%	7. There is no economic danger 2.4%
8. <i>Other</i> 6%	8. <i>Other</i> 1.3%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ All of the above: continuous deepening of systemic crisis ✓ Circumvention of democracy and market economy ✓ Application of economic methods of territorial supervision by power centers (especially the United States) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ Natural disasters ✓ 2nd and 6th, 1st, 5th and 6th, 1st-6th options
<div style="text-align: center;"> </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> </div>

7. What is the major social danger that will threaten Armenia in the next 5 years?

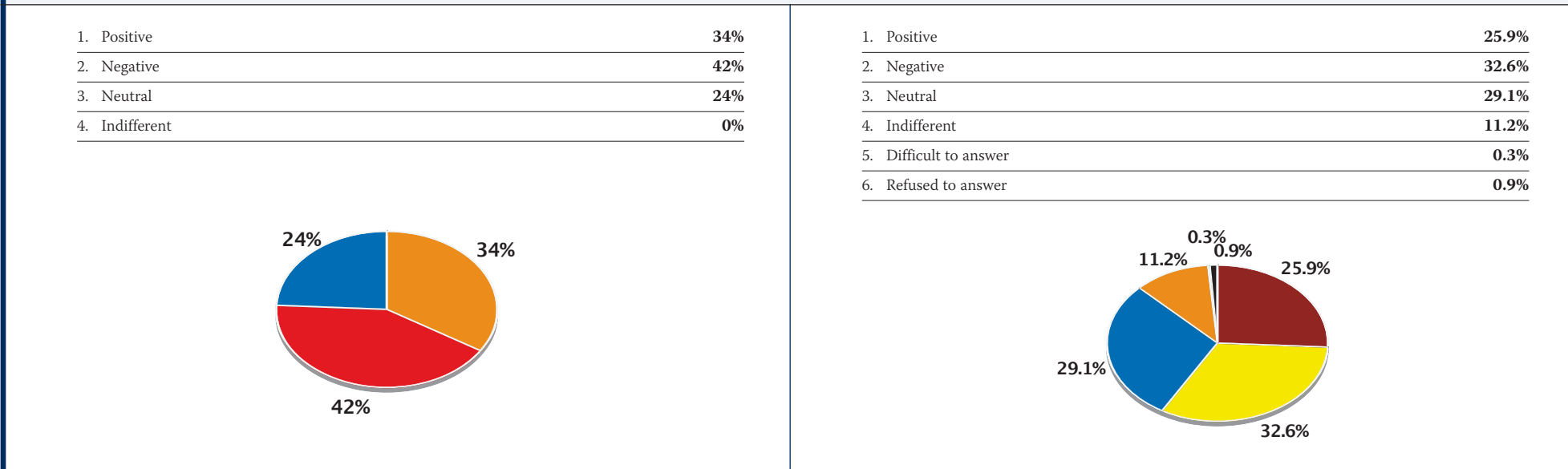
Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. Emigration 12%	1. Emigration 22.8%
2. Poverty 6%	2. Poverty 19.3%
3. Unemployment 0%	3. Unemployment 23.8%
4. Immorality 30%	4. Immorality 8.9%
5. Criminality 0%	5. Criminality 2.0%
6. Illegality 34%	6. Illegality 13.4%
7. Reduction of birth rate 12%	7. Reduction of birth rate 2.2%
8. Increase in diseases 0%	8. Increase in diseases 3.2%
9. There is no social danger 0%	9. There is no social danger 1.4%
10. <i>Other</i> 6%	10. <i>Other</i> 2.8%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ All of the above 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ Social polarization, hatred, disenchantment ✓ All of the above ✓ 1st-6th, 7th and 8th, 1st and 2nd, 2nd-6th options
	11. Refused to answer 0.2%



8. To what extent do agencies of state authority take the necessary steps to prevent, neutralize, or control the above-mentioned dangers?



9. Your attitude toward the international anti-terrorist campaign pursued by the United States and its allies is...



10. From the viewpoint of security, Armenia's relations with the below-mentioned powers and countries should be...

Expert Survey					Public Survey					
	Developed	Maintained	Restricted	Broken off		Developed	Maintained	Restricted	Broken off	Difficult to answer
1. USA	76%	18%	6%	0%	1. USA	35.6%	51%	7.1%	1.9%	4.4%
2. European Union	88%	6%	6%	0%	2. European Union	51.9%	36.9%	5%	1.4%	4.7%
3. Iran	48%	52%	0%	0%	3. Iran	31.9%	48.5%	11.7%	2.8%	5.2%
4. Russia	30%	34%	36%	0%	4. Russia	76.9%	19.1%	2.2%	0.5%	1.2%
5. Turkey	64%	12%	12%	12%	5. Turkey	16%	33%	28.5%	17.2%	5.2%

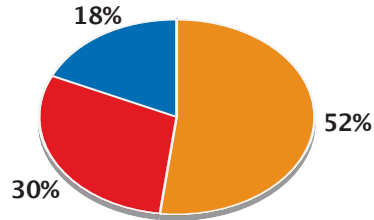
11. Which of the below-mentioned countries do you view as enemy, friend, or neutral?

	Enemy	Friend	Neutral	Difficult to answer		Enemy	Friend	Neutral	Difficult to answer	Refused to answer
1. Azerbaijan	76%	6%	12%	6%	1. Azerbaijan	90.9%	1.3%	4.1%	2.7%	1%
2. USA	6%	64%	24%	6%	2. USA	6.6%	46.8%	35.7%	9%	1.9%
3. England	6%	36%	46%	12%	3. England	3.8%	26.6%	53.5%	12.3%	3.7%
4. Germany	0%	54%	34%	12%	4. Germany	3.2%	27.6%	52.9%	12.6%	3.7%
5. Egypt	0%	36%	64%	0%	5. Egypt	2.8%	20.1%	53.1%	19.8%	4.1%
6. Turkey	64%	6%	18%	12%	6. Turkey	78.2%	1.9%	12.4%	5.7%	1.7%
7. Israel	36%	12%	40%	12%	7. Israel	11.8%	13.9%	50.5%	20%	3.7%
8. Italy	0%	48%	52%	0%	8. Italy	1.1%	35.3%	47.7%	11.9%	3.9%
9. Iran	0%	78%	22%	0%	9. Iran	5%	49.9%	32.7%	9.8%	2.6%
10. Lebanon	0%	76%	18%	6%	10. Lebanon	2%	40.9%	39.3%	14.3%	3.5%
11. India	6%	48%	46%	0%	11. India	1.4%	35.4%	36.6%	12.4%	4.2%
12. Greece	0%	66%	34%	0%	12. Greece	1.4%	45.5%	38.1%	10.7%	4.2%
13. China	0%	54%	40%	6%	13. China	0.9%	25.7%	52.6%	16.6%	4.1%
14. Russia	0%	66%	22%	12%	14. Russia	2.1%	89.2%	5.1%	2.3%	1.3%
15. Syria	0%	54%	34%	12%	15. Syria	2%	37.8%	43.6%	12.5%	4.1%
16. Georgia	18%	40%	42%	0%	16. Georgia	9.8%	34.1%	40.6%	13.4%	2.1%
17. Ukraine	18%	30%	46%	6%	17. Ukraine	2.1%	46.6%	37.6%	9.5%	4.1%
18. France	0%	66%	34%	0%	18. France	1.6%	74%	17.8%	4.3%	2.3%

12. Do you think Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia should be in a united system of security?

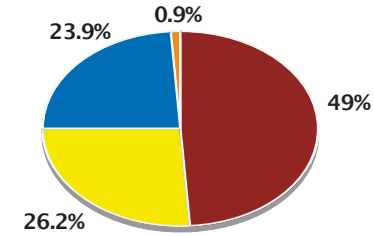
Expert Survey

1. Yes	52%
2. No	30%
3. Difficult to answer	18%



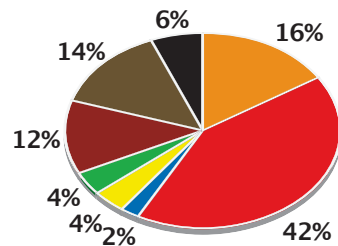
Public Survey

1. Yes	49.0%
2. No	26.2%
3. Difficult to answer	23.9%
4. Refused to answer	0.9%

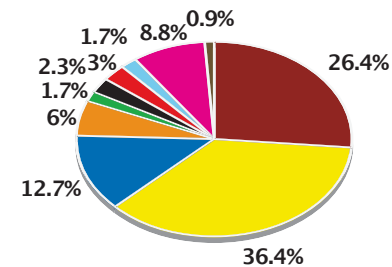


13. In which sphere is the trilateral regional cooperation among Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan most preferable today?

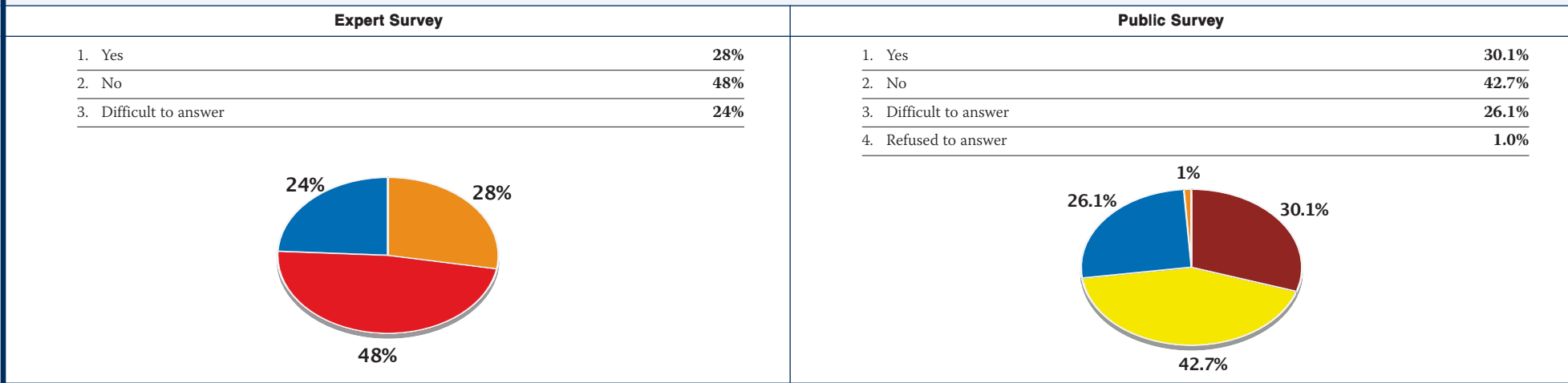
1. Political	16%
2. Economic	42%
3. Military	2%
4. Cultural	4%
5. Scientific	4%
6. Environmental	12%
7. Prevention of natural and technological disasters	14%
8. Other	6%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ All non-political spheres, on the professional and private levels ✓ Organizing the three countries on the basis of an Armenian regional plan, if Armenia adopts such, in the military-political, economic and all other meanings of the 2nd, 5th, 6th, and 7th spheres 	
9. None	0%



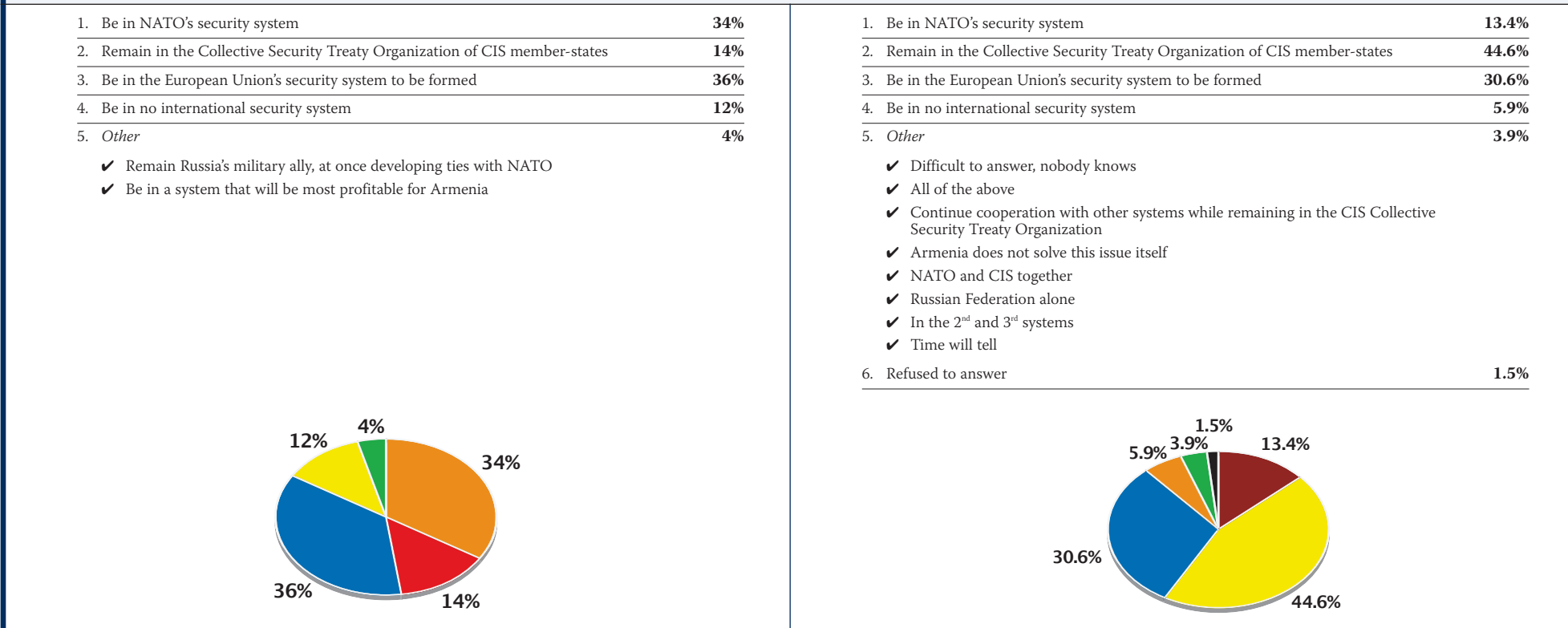
1. Political	26.4%
2. Economic	36.4%
3. Military	12.7%
4. Cultural	6.0%
5. Scientific	1.7%
6. Environmental	2.3%
7. Prevention of natural and technological disasters	3.0%
8. Other	1.7%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ Elimination of national discrimination ✓ Contacts among peoples ✓ All of the above are important ✓ 1st, 2nd, and 7th, 2nd, 3rd, and 7th together, as the problems are common in these spheres, 1st-3rd, 5th, 6th and 7th options 	
9. None	8.8%
10. Refused to answer	0.9%



14. If Azerbaijan and Georgia gain membership in NATO, should Armenia follow them?



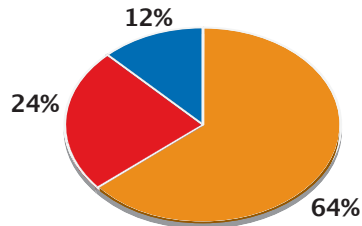
15. Within the next 10 years Armenia should...



16. Is it necessary today to open the Armenian-Turkish border?

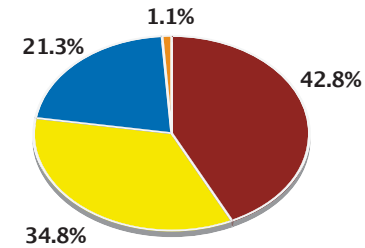
Expert Survey

1. Yes	64%
2. No	24%
3. Difficult to answer	12%



Public Survey

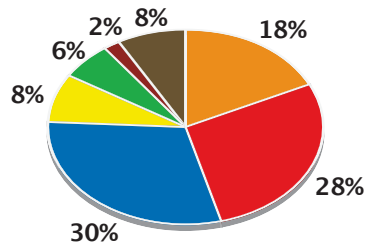
1. Yes	42.8%
2. No	34.8%
3. Difficult to answer	21.3%
4. Refused to answer	1.1%



17. Armenian-Turkish reconciliation is possible...

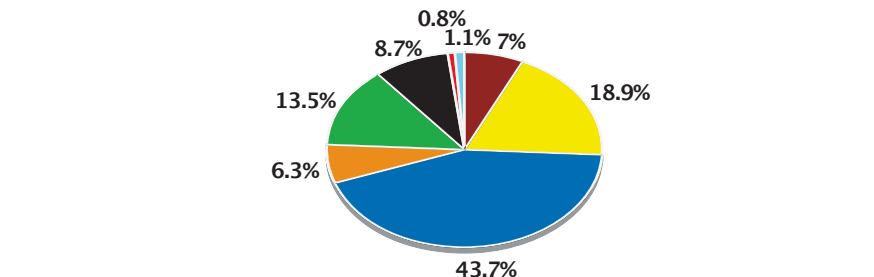
1. Without any preconditions	18%
2. Through the establishment of diplomatic relations with Turkey	28%
3. Only if Turkey recognizes the Armenian Genocide	30%
4. If Turkey compensates the heirs of the victims of the Armenian Genocide	8%
5. If Turkey returns the lands of historical Armenia	6%
6. In no case	2%
7. Other	8%

- ✓ Through mutual compromises
- ✓ Only if Turks understand on their own the guilt they have inherited and repent without Armenians' or others' compulsion
- ✓ If at the very least Turkey follows the approach Germany assumed toward the Jews

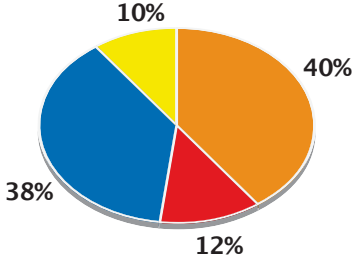
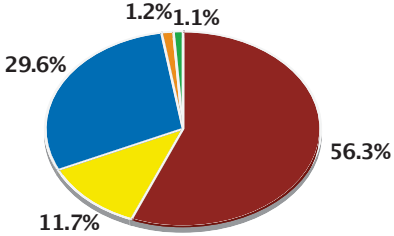


1. Without any preconditions	7.0%
2. Through the establishment of diplomatic relations with Turkey	18.9%
3. Only if Turkey recognizes the Armenian Genocide	43.7%
4. If Turkey compensates the heirs of the victims of the Armenian Genocide	6.3%
5. If Turkey returns the lands of historical Armenia	13.5%
6. In no case	8.7%
7. Other	0.8%

- ✓ Difficult to answer
- ✓ Without preconditions the 3rd, 4th, and 5th options
- ✓ 2nd-5th, 3rd-5th, 2nd and 3rd options

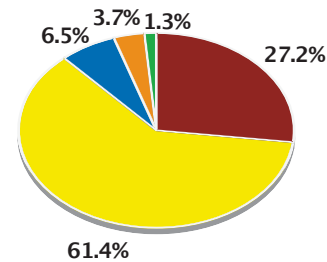
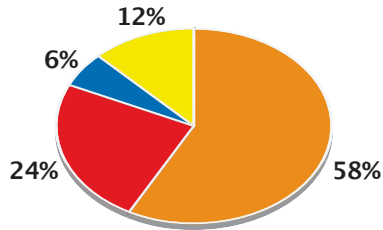


18. What is your attitude toward contemporary Turks and Turkey?

Expert Survey	Public Survey																		
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">1. A Turk remains a Turk, always capable of committing genocide</td> <td style="text-align: right;">40%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Contemporary Turks are not those of the beginning of the 20th century</td> <td style="text-align: right;">12%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Turkey's official policy is one thing, its people another</td> <td style="text-align: right;">38%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. <i>Other</i></td> <td style="text-align: right;">10%</td> </tr> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Regardless of the identity of neighbors, one should always be vigilant ✓ They are not trustworthy ✓ Turks are merely instruments for genocide and a dark future for Armenia; the Turkish state is slightly more responsible, but in the end it is an instrument too ✓ Good neighborly 	1. A Turk remains a Turk, always capable of committing genocide	40%	2. Contemporary Turks are not those of the beginning of the 20 th century	12%	3. Turkey's official policy is one thing, its people another	38%	4. <i>Other</i>	10%	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">1. A Turk remains a Turk, always capable of committing genocide</td> <td style="text-align: right;">56.3%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Contemporary Turks are not those of the beginning of the 20th century</td> <td style="text-align: right;">11.7%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Turkey's official policy is one thing, its people another</td> <td style="text-align: right;">29.6%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. <i>Other</i></td> <td style="text-align: right;">1.2%</td> </tr> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ Positive, very good, normal ✓ Contradictory ✓ The Turkish republic has no future ✓ It is necessary to assess historically and not to err out of a lack of knowing Turkey and the Turks ✓ Turkey is gradually becoming a European country <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">5. Refused to answer</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1.1%</td> </tr> </table>	1. A Turk remains a Turk, always capable of committing genocide	56.3%	2. Contemporary Turks are not those of the beginning of the 20 th century	11.7%	3. Turkey's official policy is one thing, its people another	29.6%	4. <i>Other</i>	1.2%	5. Refused to answer	1.1%
1. A Turk remains a Turk, always capable of committing genocide	40%																		
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3. Turkey's official policy is one thing, its people another	29.6%																		
4. <i>Other</i>	1.2%																		
5. Refused to answer	1.1%																		
																			

19. Which one of the below-mentioned powers has the biggest influence in the South Caucasus?

Expert Survey	Public Survey
1. USA 58%	1. USA 27.2%
2. Russian Federation 24%	2. Russian Federation 61.4%
3. United Europe 6%	3. United Europe 6.5%
4. <i>Other</i> 12%	4. <i>Other</i> 3.7%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The United States and Russia: neither of them has a clear advantage over the other, and each of them has a bigger influence in specific spheres ✓ Russia is gradually ceding its position to the United States 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficult to answer ✓ All of the above ✓ For Armenia, Russia; for its neighbors, the United States ✓ Iran ✓ All three ✓ Russia and the United States equally ✓ None of them
	5. Refused to answer 1.3%



20. As to foreign military presence, in the next 10 years the following should be in Armenia:

1. Only Russian military bases 18%	1. Only Russian military bases 46.9%
2. Military bases of Russia and CIS member-states 0%	2. Military bases of Russia and CIS member-states 20.8%
3. Russian and NATO military bases together 40%	3. Russian and NATO military bases together 14.1%
4. Only NATO military bases 12%	4. Only NATO military bases 2.5%
5. All foreign military bases should be withdrawn from Armenia 30%	5. All foreign military bases should be withdrawn from Armenia 13.2%
	6. Difficult to answer 0.6%
	7. Refused to answer 2.0%

