

ARMENIAN CENTER FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Regulating the Karabagh Conflict

Presentation of Expert Poll Results
(50 participating)

About the respondents

<i>Age Groups</i>			
30 and below	31-40	41-50	51 and above
8%	40%	42%	10%

<i>Gender</i>	
Male	Female
90%	10%

<i>Education</i>			
Higher	Incomplete higher	Secondary specialized	Secondary
100%	0%	0%	0%

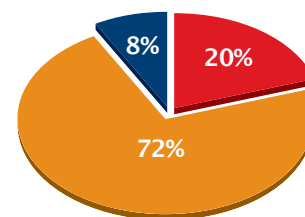
<i>Academic Degree</i>		
PhD	Master's	Bachelor's
20%	76%	4%

<i>Status of Workplace</i>	
State-run	Non-governmental
36%	64%

<i>Profession</i>	
political scientist	20%
philosopher, sociologist	4%
lawyer	8%
economist	10%
historian	8%
manager, administrator	4%
journalist, editor	22%
art critic	4%
geologist, geographer	4%
physicist, radio-physicist	4%
architect-builder	8%
doctor	4%

1. How well do you think you are informed about the present stage of the Karabagh peace process?

a) Fully	20%
b) Partially	72%
c) Not informed at all	8%



2. From where and how frequently do you receive information about the Karabagh issue? (An opinion is expressed about each of the following.)

Information Source	Frequency of Receiving Information				
	Never	Sometimes	Often	Most Often	Always
Television	8%	32%	26%	18%	16%
Radio	32%	50%	10%	4%	4%
Press	4%	14%	26%	20%	36%
Internet	8%	24%	42%	6%	20%
Speeches of politicians	14%	18%	28%	28%	12%
Expert opinions	8%	18%	32%	34%	8%
Non-official conversations (confidential and official sources, academic studies, preliminary information, etc.)	10%	28%	36%	12%	14%

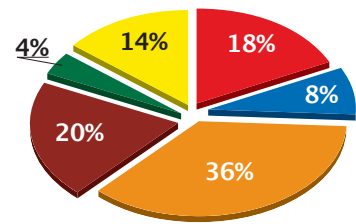
3. What first and foremost have Armenia and Karabagh achieved since the raising of the Karabagh question (1988-2004)?

Options	1	2
a) Independence and sovereignty of Armenia and Karabagh	82%	8%
b) Guarantees of physical security	8%	10%
c) Enhancement of territory	4%	20%
d) Confidence in our own abilities	4%	32%
e) Compatriots liberated from Azerbaijani dominion	0%	10%
f) Other:		
Inhabiting Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh with Armenian refugees, surmounting Azerbaijani presence	0%	2%
Marginalization of Armenia in the context of geopolitical developments and regional significance	2%	0%
Opportunity to pursue the Armenian Cause	0%	2%
g) Enemies, problems	0%	8%
h) Nothing	0%	0%
Total	100%	92%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 50 experts surveyed 92% (46 experts) marked a second answer, while 8% (4 experts) chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.

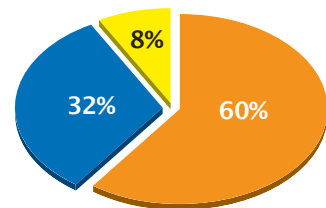
4. The price (personal deprivations, family losses, the state of the nation, etc.) you paid for the above-mentioned achievements during those years is

a) trivial compared with their gains	18%
b) less than the gains	8%
c) equivalent to the gains	36%
d) more than the gains	20%
e) meaningless, as there is either no gain or a trivial one	4%
f) difficult to answer	14%



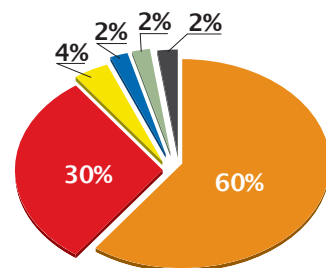
5. Do you think the Karabagh question is the priority issue for Armenia today?

a) Yes	60%
b) No	32%
c) Difficult to answer	8%



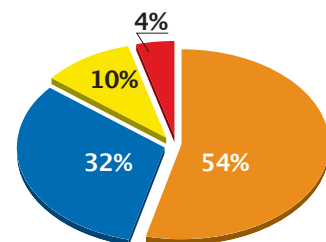
6. The Karabagh issue should be presented as

a) the quest for self-determination of Karabagh's people	60%
b) a component part of the Armenian Question	30%
c) Other:	
the first two answers together	4%
Azerbaijan's aggression against Mountainous Karabagh	2%
a result of provocation by "external forces"	2%
a non-issue, as it is already solved and thus there is no need to present it	2%



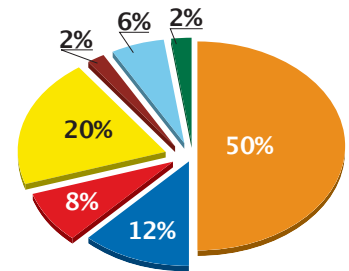
7. How would you like to see the status of Mountainous Karabagh?

a) As a part of Armenia	54%
b) As an independent and sovereign republic	32%
c) As an autonomous part of Azerbaijan	10%
d) Other:	
At the present stage, de facto a part of Armenia, formally independent and unrecognized	4%



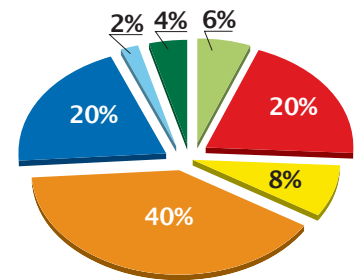
8. Why first and foremost doesn't Mountainous Karabagh belong to Azerbaijan?

a) In Soviet times it was forcibly annexed to the Azerbaijani SSR and during the collapse of the USSR the people of Mountainous Karabagh detached themselves in exercise of their right to self-determination	50%
b) Armenians have lived on that land for ages	12%
c) We won the war	8%
d) In terms of both de jure documents and de facto realities, Karabagh belonged neither to the Musavatist Republic of Azerbaijan (1918-1920) nor to the Azerbaijani Republic that received independence in 1991	20%
e) Other:	
Armenians certainly are the native inhabitants of Karabagh, but that is not an argument for not belonging to Azerbaijan	2%
Karabagh is a historical part of Armenia	6%
f) Difficult to answer	2%



9. How do you see the future of the liberated territories?

a) They will be completely united with Mountainous Karabagh	6%
b) They will be united with Armenia together with Mountainous Karabagh	20%
c) They will be completely united with Azerbaijan	8%
d) As the result of compromise they will be divided among the parties to the conflict in the following way: the regions of Lachin and Kelbajar to the Armenian side, the rest to Azerbaijan	40%
e) As the result of compromise they will be divided among the parties to the conflict in the following way: the region of Lachin to the Armenian side, the rest to Azerbaijan	20%
f) They will become a neutral zone under the supervision of international peacekeeping forces	0%
g) They will become a neutral zone solely under the supervision of CIS peacekeeping forces	0%
h) Other:	
As the result of compromise they will be divided among the parties to the conflict in the following way: the regions of Lachin and Kelbajar to the Armenian side, the rest becoming a neutral zone	2%
i) Difficult to answer	4%



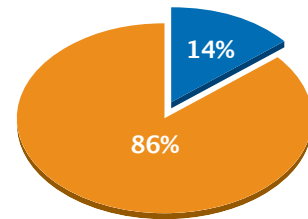
10. We might make territorial concessions to Azerbaijan in the case of

Options	1	2
a) Azerbaijani recognition of Karabagh's independence or its union with Armenia	50%	4%
b) Azerbaijan's opening of roads leading to Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh	4%	4%
c) signing a peace accord with Azerbaijan and ruling out war with it	20%	18%
d) uniting the Shahumian region and the Getashen sub-region with Karabagh	0%	10%
e) nothing, as the liberated lands cannot be subject to compromises and bargaining, even if that means the resumption of military operations	26%	4%
Total	100%	40%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 50 experts surveyed 40% (20 experts) marked a second answer, while 60% (30 experts) chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.

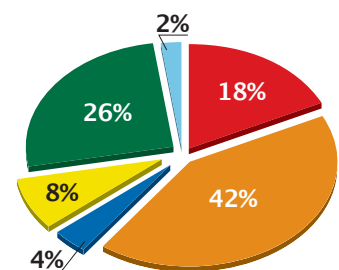
11. Are you in favor of the return of refugees from Armenia, Karabagh, and Azerbaijan to their places of former residence after the regulation of the conflict?

a) Yes	14%
b) No	86%



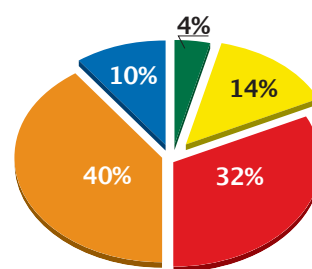
12. In which case would you agree to the return of Azerbaijanis from Karabagh and the liberated territories back to the places of their former residence?

a) Before final regulation of the Karabagh issue	0%
b) Simultaneous with regulation of the Karabagh issue, if this can promote the regulation process	18%
c) Only after final regulation of the Karabagh issue	42%
d) In case Azerbaijan also allows Armenian refugees to return to the places of their former residence, including Nakhijevan	4%
e) In case Azerbaijan also allows Armenian refugees to return to the places of their former residence, and Turkey allows the Armenian refugees of the beginning of the 20th Century and their heirs to return to historical Armenia	8%
f) Under no condition	26%
g) Other: Independent of the period in question, if they do not have a place to live and fully accept Armenian citizenship, but not exceeding the number allowed for Armenia's security	2%



13. The Karabagh negotiation process

a) completely satisfies you	4%
b) more satisfies than dissatisfies you	14%
c) more dissatisfies than satisfies you	32%
d) completely dissatisfies you	40%
e) is difficult to evaluate for lack of information	10%



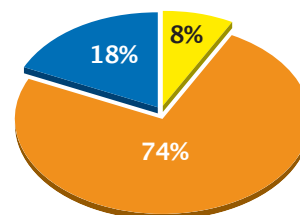
14. If you are not satisfied with this process, whom do you hold accountable?

Options	1	2
a) Former administration	18%	8%
b) Current administration	42%	20%
c) Mediating organizations	8%	20%
d) International community	8%	8%
e) Armenian society	10%	8%
f) All Armenians	8%	4%
g) Turkey	4%	0%
h) Other: Human imperfection	2%	0%
Total	100%	68%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 50 experts surveyed 68% (34 experts) marked a second answer, while 32% (16 experts) chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.

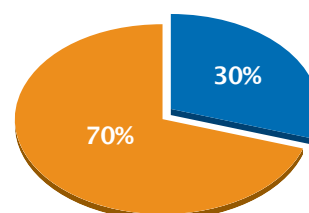
15. Who should take part in the negotiations?

a) Armenia and Azerbaijan	8%
b) Armenia, Republic of Mountainous Karabagh, and Azerbaijan	74%
c) Mountainous Karabagh and Azerbaijan	18%



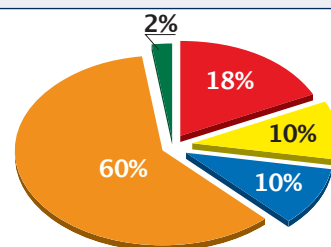
16. Are you satisfied with the activities of the OSCE Minsk Group?

a) Yes	30%
b) No	70%



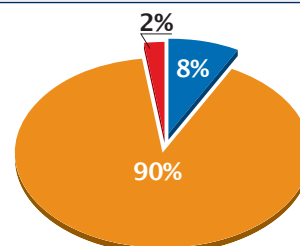
17. Which of the co-chair countries in the OSCE Minsk Group has a position more in correspondence with the Armenian one?

a) USA	18%
b) Russian Federation	10%
c) France	10%
d) None	60%
e) All	2%



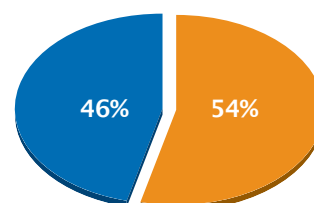
18. Do you think the problem cannot be solved peacefully and it is possible only by means of a new war?

a) Yes	8%
b) No	90%
c) Difficult to answer	2%



19. Would you agree to freeze the Karabagh issue in its current, unregulated state and circumstance (status quo)?

a) Yes	54%
b) No	46%



20. Delaying regulation of the problem can help

Options	1	2
a) to solve it in the future when Armenia will have achieved a considerable political and economic advantage	8%	14%
b) to solve it in the future when Armenia will have achieved a considerable military advantage	2%	4%
c) to reduce the importance of borders and territories for the Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Karabaghtsi publics	0%	4%
d) to prepare the societies for compromises and their non-painful acceptance	10%	10%
e) the international community and Azerbaijan to become reconciled to the actual independence of Mountainous Karabagh	40%	22%
f) to solve nothing	28%	0%
g) Other:		
to repopulate the territories	0%	4%
to promote the growth of Armenian national qualities of will and spirit, to strengthen the Armenian factor in the world	4%	0%
to do harm to Armenia and to bolster Azerbaijan	8%	0%
Total	100%	58%

Note: The respondents were given the opportunity to choose two answers, marking them according to their importance. Among the 50 experts surveyed 58% (29 experts) marked a second answer, while 42% (21 experts) chose only one. The indices of the second answer are calculated against the total number of respondents.