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International Center for
Human Development

The Resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh Issue: What Societies Say

Discussion results of Armenians
and Azerbaijanis at the parallel
Town Hall Meetings

Comparative analysis of the THM outputs



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Yerevan, 2010

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Introduction

In order to make heard the voice of ordinary people from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as to engage the citizens in active discussion on this issue of high public importance, two non-governmental institutions - the International Center for Human Development (ICHD, Armenia) and Youth for Development (YFD, Azerbaijan) organized Town Hall Meetings (THM) on the possible scenarios of peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh through 2008-2009.

Using the genuine format of the town hall meetings, ICHD has facilitated a number of discussions on issues of high public interest such as the Process of Armenia-Turkey Rapprochement and amendments to the Armenian Constitution previously. This format enables citizens representing different social groups to engage directly and effectively in discussions, express their views and opinions and voice their concerns.

The meetings, in which more than 2000 Armenians and Azerbaijanis have participated, have been held in twenty three cities of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The key added value of the THM discussions implemented in this endeavor became the engagement of both residents of Armenia and NK and residents of Azerbaijan into a virtual parallel discussion. This format of virtual parallel THM discussions allowed bridging the physical and political gaps for societies to meet and discuss the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict issue together.

Discussions have evolved around five potential scenarios of different solutions of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict including the status quo. The scenarios have been developed based on official statements, official political opinions and analysis published in the press (scenarios are described in detail in Annex 1).

Each town hall meeting has been followed by a voting process, when the participants had selected the most preferable scenario. The summary results of the voting are presented in Annex 2.

The town hall meeting format enables to capture each concise idea, opinion and suggestion voiced during discussions, to summarize and to analyze those and to present to the public and decision makers.

Methodology

The methodology of town hall meetings on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and analyzing the results of those meetings consists of two parts. The first part of the methodology represents the format of holding the town hall meetings; meanwhile the second part constitutes the technique used for examining the results.

Town Hall Meeting Format

The Town Hall Meeting format has been developed and applied by ICHD in 2005 in order to ensure effective participation of ordinary citizens in the process of public decision making.

Policy makers often find it difficult to assess opinions and perceptions of the majority of ordinary citizens about different issues of high public interest. Moreover, citizens are also often left out from the policy making process and do not tend to participate in public life. As a result, a vicious cycle that challenges democracy in the country is established.

The course of town hall meetings makes heard the voices, opinions and approaches of citizens in the process of public decision making through creating an enabling environment for direct communication of the will and position of citizens on issues of high public importance to high level policy makers.

Each town hall meeting ensures diversity of opinions and balance in the political arena due to simultaneous engagement of hundreds of ordinary citizens in the process, immediate and effective summarization of the opinions expressed by citizens, as well as wide dissemination of the results of those discussions.

Comparative advantages of this format include up-streaming of the opinions on discussed issues, effective participation, none of the voiced ideas is ignored, continuity of discussions, clear definition of priorities. Successful implementation of the format is conditioned by diversity of opinions around each table, engagement of decision makers in each stage, high quality of the content, structure and course of the process, real changes resulting from the process.

The town hall meeting format is enrooted in dialogue and exchange of opinions between citizens in contrast to lengthy speeches, Q&A sessions and presentations. Different groups of society take part in the discussions around a round table with a right to equal voice. 10-15 people gather around one table and express their opinions on policies, funding, planning and other important aspects of decision making. If a separate discussion does not pose specific gender or age requirements to the target group of participants, then around each table and in the discussion hall in general a maximum equal composition of women, men and youth is ensured. A highly skilled facilitator leads the discussion process around each table, which ensures consistency of participants in the framework of the discussed issue, as well as application of democratic principals in the process of discussion. In order to ensure a sufficient level of awareness on the issue under discussion among the participants they are provided with maximum detailed and balanced information on the issue.

The information technologies applied in the framework of this format enable to turn separate discussions taking place at each table into a combined discussion across the entire hall. Opinions and views expressed at each table are registered and sent to a unified database through a wireless computer network. Each table has one note taker, who is to record each idea expressed by the participants and to send it to the main operator, who is in charge of ensuring timely display of received messages on screens visible to all participants. At the end of the discussion each participant is provided with an opportunity to vote for a well-formulated most preferable position by using a computer program. It is noteworthy that the entire group is able to reflect upon the ideas voices at different tables and to make his or her position heard to policy makers through the final voting process. The general position expressed by the participants through the voting is summarized and presented after the voting process.

Organization of town-hall meetings requires (a) definition and clear formulation of the issue to be discussed, (b) collection of expert data necessary for discussion and formulation of alternative options, (c) sufficient program support, (d) availability of necessary computer equipment, (e) selection of discussion venue, ensuring necessary setting and adequate furnishing, (f) set up of the computer network, (g) availability of qualified facilitators and note keepers, if necessary through appropriate training, (h) raising awareness of citizens on issues to be discussed and ensuring presence of participants, (i) availability of technical support and service staff during discussions, (j) summarizing the results of discussions, (k) dissemination of information about the results of discussions among all stakeholders. Description of common town hall meeting setting is depicted in Annex 3.

Comparative analysis of town hall meeting results

The methodology of comparative analysis of town hall meeting results ensures an indirect social dialogue over the prospects of NK conflict resolution through comparison of facts expressing attitudes and positions of ordinary citizens across borders, hence through starting a mediated parallel dialogue (Annex 4).

The methodology of the comparative analysis relies on two components: (a) analysis of the results (messages) of the town hall meetings with an emphasis on raised issues and three main dimensions of knowledge, attitude and perceptions, and (b) summary of expressed pro and con opinions (messages) over the suggested scenarios or discussed issues.

This approach ensures mediated debate and dialogue among citizens through summarizing of opinions (messages) voiced by them. In some cases debate or grievance is the only possible format. When people are engaged in debate or dialogue the parties try to exert necessary pressure or gain political support for getting through their demands and perceptions. As the objectives of debate and dialogue are different both are important elements of the communications field. Unfortunately, often the balance between dialogue and debate is significantly leaning towards the latest.

The debate format dominated the public discourse due to many reasons such as (a) some are convinced that debate and opposition is the only path for making voices heard, (b) according to many the dialogue model contributes to status quo or slow changes, (c) there are only rare examples of real and effective dialogue on community or general public levels, (d) there are no defined rules for methods other than debate, (e) the hostile attitude towards each other among different groups of society implies that communication among them should also be hostile, (f) debating is much more attractive and interesting than dialoging, and allows the debater to stand out, (g) debate and opposition have a function of talking-discussing, (h) in a debate people can be ignorant and can choose not to learn thing that they do not like, (i) debating is easier, it is less risky and the debater is less vulnerable, (j) people like to speak on behalf of groups and not be on their own, (k) dialogue is perceived as means for melting and making melt, (l) there are fears that dialogue required concessions, (m) there are fears that in case of dialoging there will be need to assimilate and take the same position, (n) there are fears that confusion, feeling of vulnerability or understanding opinions of the other side makes the dialoging person less convincing, (o) there are fears that in case of engaging in dialogue the opponent may continue in a debate format and the dialoguer will lose, (p) many are not aware of the specificities of dialogue and do not know why it can be beneficial. For instance, many are not aware that they gain more convincing power when they let the opponents know that they had been heard.

Indeed engaging in dialogue cannot provide all remedies, however balancing between debate and dialogue is useful and helps in overcoming many issues in the process of communication and problem solution generated through debate. A more advanced level of dialogue can promote engagement of more people in the process. Dialogue enables to enrich the discussion through examples of personal experiences, to exchange worries, concerns and confusions. In this case more information is exchanged and better understanding is developed¹. The process of NK conflict resolution is often based on misperceptions of the issue, wishes and priorities by the other side. As a result the initiative of resolution of the problem may get out of its track.

Analysis implies comparative analysis of classified and grouped messages according to contrast-coherence ladder: The stages of analysis are as follows:

Stage1. During the preliminary processing stage recurring or technical messages were excluded, grammar and spelling in the entire text was edited.

Stage 2. During the classification stage the messages containing personal or national insult², which can be made available or analyzed in a framework of a separate study to reveal particularly negative attitudes and perception which, for instance, hinder normalization of relation.

Stage 3. The messages were classified based on the classification of the issues of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which were then summarized in the analytical table of Social dialogue and debate. At this stage each message has been placed in the column of similar messages, including rational, irrational, emotional arguments.

Stage 4. The messages were classified based on dimensions into subcategories based on general observation and direction/position of opinions. Basis of subcategories varies for each classified category and was based on next stage

Stage 5 (synthesis). The subcategories themselves represent the most important aspect of analysis thus making virtual debates and dialogues in a more reader friendly and explanatory way.

¹ Doug Stone, Robert Ricigliano and Eric Collins. Conflict Management Group. 1993:

² In the framework of this methodology insult is defined as expression or action that can cause emotional pain or may in some other way inflame passions of a person. Insult is a relative concept, as the feeling of it is often conditioned by specific values of an individual. In the framework of this methodology those expressions that have been freely circulated in media are not considered as insult.

Key Findings and Observations

General observation

There is strong asymmetry in the number of opinions expressed by residents of Armenia and NK and residents of Azerbaijan. Such asymmetry of opinions can be explained by the asymmetry of concerns: usually an issue of concern for one party of conflict leads to numerous comments but hardly gains attention of the other party. In a nutshell, neither a deep virtual dialogue nor even a deep virtual debate happened among the participants on the issues of the conflict, since one party doesn't care much of the concerns of another. The level of asymmetry is sometimes so high that one can find specific issues and topics that are full of concerns and opinions from one party of the conflict while got zero attention of the opposite party. This is quite a contrasting finding against the fact that both Armenians and Azerbaijanis were discussing the same scenarios about Nagorno-Karabakh conflict resolution.

The key findings and observations are synthesized below in best possible impartial language without going far into making political conclusions. We have not placed us in the position of finding and judging "truths" and "falsehoods" of people's opinions. One should read original messages if wants to grasp full deepness and emotional side of parties' opinions.

Current Situation

All parties of the conflict have exposed the entire diversity of attitudes and opinions about current situation aka status quo. Interestingly, in cases when the participants across borders expressed matching opinions and position, the interest behind these positions seem to differ as one can judge looking at the justifications they mentioned. Opinions for preserving current situation are mainly based on two factors: absence of war and/or of better alternatives. Besides, the prolongation of the status quo is also perceived as an opportunity for both sides but in different ways. Thus, Armenians see it as a security guarantee "until oil ends in Azerbaijan" and Azerbaijanis consider it as a pressure on Armenia in terms of isolation and blockade until "Armenia loses the race for the economical development". Opinions against current situation are resulted of the uncertainty and in some way by the fragility of the status quo. The major argument that Azerbaijanis mentioned against status quo was de facto Armenian rule in Nagorno-Karabakh. There are also other views about status quo that reflect people's perception of the status quo as something natural and/

or based on a consensus or imposed by centers of global power and geopolitical players in the region such as Russia and the USA.

War

The opinions of participants across the borders are mainly matching when they speak of war. War is understood as a last option, negative development but in some cases an inevitable development. There are also people who believe that the war is impossible. It is noteworthy that the opinions of across the borders are somewhat shared and often almost identical. Another group of people believe that the war is inevitable despite to the fact that many people across the borders do not favor the war. Some people consider that the war remains the last option and believe that compromise and peaceful solutions through negotiations is a viable alternative to war. Meanwhile, others are not confident in the negotiations and peaceful solution thinking that there is no alternative to status quo but war – those people are the supporters of the. The consequences of the possible future war are differently perceived by the parties since Azerbaijanis in some way share the view that future war means war against Russia.

Security

Security is recognized as a basic human need and is the utmost concern for people. This is absolutely true with regard to all key issues of NK conflict, whether it is the issue of return of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs), economic development and communication, war, identity and culture and even the prospect of coexistence or any other issue. The perception of security is very diverse across the borders. It seems that this issue is probably most contrasting among the parties. The key concerns that people have expressed on security can be grouped into several categories as follows.

- Identity and Coexistence

Armenians believe that Azerbaijan's rule is a major threat for Armenian identity and consider this threat as the origin of the conflict. They also recall to their historical memoir to argument this position. Azerbaijanis' opinions vary in this matter: some consider the coexistence of Armenians and Azerbaijanis impossible, while others think that Armenians shall have the right to live in Azerbaijan but shall not be entitled to any specific minority rights or to education and language rights only.

- Military Security

Majority of participants consider current status quo as a result of current military balance. Armenians and Azerbaijanis share the view that the military security is very important and should be provided by own military forces: Armenians want the sta-

tus quo in terms of military security to remain the same, while Azerbaijanis want Azerbaijan military forces to be located in the NK. Remarkably both parties unanimously reject the option of peacekeepers (see International Peacekeepers section).

- Demography

Armenians consider demographic change as one of the threats to their identity in Nagorno-Karabakh. The “demographic threat” is one of the key factors behind the attitudes towards the return of the refugees and IDPs. It seems that Azerbaijanis do not consider demography as an issue at all.

- Threats and fears

Other security issues can be summarized as fears and threats from different factors which is shown in the following matrix:

Armenians	Azerbaijanis
Time, Legal, Betrayal, Historical memory, innate fear, Fear of Turkey, possible war.	Psychology, Ecology, Terrorism, Legal, Precedent for other ethnic groups, Black market.

- Politics and Diplomacy

Most participants consider the South Caucasus being under cross-fire of interests of the centers of global power. Many participants across the borders believe that their political leaders and governments have not adequate capacities to face the challenges resulted from these interests and to respond in the interest of their nations. The majority of Armenians is afraid of being outmaneuvered by Azerbaijani diplomacy and in “information war”. The Azerbaijanis see the NK conflict as an instrument in the hands of powerful players in the region and are afraid of being manipulated by those players.

- Economic and Social development

People across the borders are also concerned of the economic and social development of their own societies and consider that the conflict has a major impact on this matter. There are also many matching opinions of people who consider that the NK conflict will not have a decisive effect on economic development and prosperity. All parties of the conflict refer the economic and social development as somewhat key to the NK solution in the future. Thus, while Armenians consider the strong economic development a key to favorable solution, many Azerbaijanis believe that the blockade of Armenia shall be continued to leverage a favorable solution in the future.

Demilitarization

One of the key issues beyond the possible resolution scenarios is the demilitarization of the region. This is inline with the concept of returning surrounding territories and summoning international peacekeeping mission in Nagorno-Karabakh. Despite to various opinions regarding the surrounding territories and peacekeepers [see respective sections] almost all opinions on demilitarization are negative. Armenians see the role of own armed forces as the only guarantee of security, while Azerbaijani participants consider only one sided – Armenian – demilitarization. So both sides reject the concept of a demilitarized zone.

International Peacekeepers

The attitude towards International Peacekeepers and their possible role in the region for the future is commonly shared. The majority of participants rejects the very idea of peacekeeping mission and provides different reasons for that. Those who agree with summoning peacekeepers in the region bring in some conditionality. These conditions are usually mutually exclusive. However, it should be mentioned that the main driving force in determining the attitude towards peacekeepers is the political attitude towards other players, so that participants of discussions view not the “peacekeeper soldier” but rather the country/nationality it represents. It seems also that the concept of peacekeepers has rather negative flavor in our region.

Land Communication

One of the discussed issues among THM participants was a retrospective examination about Key West plan, which was on the negotiation table and was denied by both parties earlier. One of the elements of that plan was the immediate solution and independence for Nagorno-Karabakh in exchange of providing a sovereign corridor to Azerbaijan in south of Armenia. The majority of opinions by participants across the border reject this retrospective opportunity. Armenians reject this opportunity recalling the fear of losing Meghri. Meanwhile, Azerbaijanis similarly reject this option, however, bringing the argument that such “exchange” is not a compromise at all. Either they consider such “exchange” unfair or they consider that the current alternative of traveling to the exclave via Iran degrades this option. It should be mentioned that discussion of this issue amongst Armenians raised emotions attributed to the attitude towards Nakhichevan.

Territories

The geography of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is somewhat complex and hence Armenians and Azerbaijanis, as well as the international community and diplomats have developed their vocabulary in describing it. The vocabulary is quite dispersed and includes sometime multiple definitions and terms: Nagorno-Karabakh, liberated

territories, Nagorno-Karabakh Republic territory, occupied territories, adjacent territories, surrounding territories, buffer zone, security zone, seven regions, five regions, etc. It's not the task of this publication to unravel the geography of the conflict but rather to expose Armenians' and Azerbaijanis' views about the geography in way to classify and consolidate the entire range of people's opinions and to illustrate this range. There are many views and opinion that approach the entire geography of the conflict unilaterally and consider this geography as something indivisible. Such views can be classified into subcategory of "All or nothing" representing the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the entire geography. This approach is very similar with opinions "Status quo or War" explored above. From Armenian side this view is illustrated as "there are only our lands" while Azerbaijanis illustrate the same attitude as "when we are mentioning the return of the territories we mean Nagorno-Karabakh and all the surrounding territories".

There are also opinions across the borders, which refer to the Surrounding territories (somewhat approximate to the territories/regions surrounding former NKAO administrative borders) as a part of the geography on the table of negotiations. Meanwhile, even those who talk about surrounding territories mostly consider these territories as a part of the NK. In this sense, many opinions in essence are similar to those behind the "All or nothing" position.

Armenians' views can be further sorted into emotional and rational types. The emotional attitudes towards surrounding territories refer to deaths and shed blood for these territories. The rational attitudes refer to guarantees for security, buffer zone, or bargaining resource.

Lachin and Kelbajar (Berdzor and Qarvachar) are regions formerly connecting NKAO and Armenia SSR and have been reportedly called the "Corridor". Reportedly, their status is on the negotiation table in terms of guarantee to connect Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia until the final status of NK is agreed. The views of Armenian and Azerbaijani THM participants are 180 degree different - we observe full contrast in this issue with few exceptions. So the attitude of many people to the status of the "Corridor" is absolutely coherent with their perspective of the overall solution of the conflict. In other words, the "Corridor" is somewhat referred as a "bone to pick" by the counterpart upon overall favorable solution of the conflict.

There is a range of other options on surrounding territories that consider a broader geography of conflict and do not necessarily refer to formal statements and diplomatic views. The perception of geography of the conflict varies dramatically spanning from Shahumian and Getashen to Zangezur.

Refugees and IDPs

The perception of Armenian and Azerbaijani on refugees and IDPs sometimes diverge dramatically. It is sometimes difficult to consolidate the messages in one group as there are not necessarily matching opinion across the borders in regard the concerns of one or the other party. In general, there are opinions across the borders which agree with the return of refugees and IDPs. However, many messages supporting the claim of refugees' return come with specific conditions.

The messages opposing to the return of refugees mostly consider that the return refers to Azerbaijani refugees or IDPs only. Such consideration is the immediate reflection of the statement in scenario, which has been in turn formulated based on the formal discourse reportedly exposed in media. The majority of Armenians are against the return of Azerbaijani refugees and IDPs while only two Azerbaijani participants reflected against the return. The Armenian participants also express concerns related to such asymmetry and bias of the discourse on return of refugees. There is a dramatic difference between the attitudes of the participants towards "our" and "their" refugees and IDPs.

There are opinions which do not directly demonstrate the position of the participant on the return of refugees and IDPs. "We will not return / they will not return" type of messages express the view that refugees and IDPs may not wish to return back from both or either sides.

Attitudes of participants on refugees and IDPs and their return in some way can be considered as arguments and justification behind the positions. Each attitude is somewhat unique and represents such concerns referring to demographic fears, justice, human rights, security, and new source of conflict.

The reflections on return of refugees as political pretext and externally driven process are represented by the opinions of Armenians only. In general, these messages approach the issue of return of refugees and IDPs from the perspective of possible political interest and "manipulation" and look at the process as externally driven or artificial.

Looking at the future and postponement of the resolution

The concept of the time became dominant factor in the NK conflict – "Time passes, negotiations are held, there is a ceasefire agreement and the future is still unknown". The political processes on track one, undoubtedly, affects the discourse of ordinary people on the resolution of the NK conflict. The perspective of participants on the future of the conflict can be consolidated into several groups below.

- Future is uncertain conflict is unsolved

These views resemble the opinions for keeping the status quo. Argumentations are very different but they expose the level of confidence among participants towards the effectiveness of the political processes. It seems that the participants see the solution of the conflict through only one prism – own position. Thus, the participants' opinions are somewhat a reality test for the resolution of the conflict in our favour/for our gain. The alternative options inevitably result to frustration or better-off justification – “if its not going to be solved in a way we expect, let it remain unresolved”.

- Nagorno Karabakh as independent state or part of Armenia

Many Armenians see the future of Nagorno-Karabakh clearly as independent or part of Armenia while Azerbaijanis reject such view.

- Nagorno Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan

No clear details are reported on “NK within Azerbaijan with wider autonomy status” but the participants tried to imagine such future. Remarkably, majority of Armenian and Azerbaijani THM participants share the view of impossibility of living together but have opposite views on the future status of Nagorno-Karabakh.

- Resolving refugee and surrounding territories affairs and leaving the status for the future referendum

People seem to be mostly concerned about the geography of the conflict – they raise a question: Which NK are we talking about when we consider its future status? Interestingly, majority of Armenian and Azerbaijani THM participants consider the referendum rather from the perspective of the risks than from the perspective of opportunities. Fears of the outcome dominate. While Armenians say “The status at first and the issue of territories and refugees later”, the Azerbaijanis say “The people of Nagorno-Karabakh can determine their future according to the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and Constitution”. The only message which lies between these two poles was voiced by an Azerbaijani “We should prove them that it is good for them to stay as a part of Azerbaijan”.

Trust

Remarkably, the participants referred to the issue of trust as the major cross-cutting issue almost in every scenario, despite to the fact that the issue of trust has not been directly reflected in the scenarios. All opinions, concerns and messages voiced by the parties reiterate emotions, historical memoir and personal experiences. These voices expose the current stereotypes and the critical challenge they create for the process of peaceful resolution of the conflict. Thus, the key to transformation of the stereotypes is addressing the justifications and explanations of attitudes of partici-

pants towards other conflicting parties, themselves, other players and processes. The messages of ordinary people contain the guide for any successful intervention in this area.

Generally speaking, the people across borders believe that trust can be restored under certain conditions and/or compromise - "There can be trust if ..." However, in the majority of cases such conditions are either non-feasible or considers critical level of concession from others. The majority of opinions reflect distrust of Armenians towards Azerbaijanis, distrust of Azerbaijanis towards Armenians, while only very few opinions showed mutual trust. Both Armenian and Azerbaijani THM participants also express their trust and distrust towards other key players in the conflict such as Russia, The USA, Turkey, Iran, OSCE Minsk group, the Europe etc. THM Participants across the borders express distrust also to other players.

The Messages

Current Situation

Opinions for preserving current situation

Armenians

- If Karabakh is never going to become independent, then the only favorable option is the status quo. Of course, it has its own negative aspects but they are much less as compared to the other possible scenarios.
- The negative aspects of the status quo are less than the positive aspects.
- The privileges of the status quo were more plentiful than those of Scenario 3.
- If we do not plan for the further development of Karabakh, then the status quo is perfectly good for us.
- The only possible continuation of the status quo is making economic investments.
- Look at the example of Palestine: there has been no recognition for a few decades, but the status quo still goes on. And there is a continuation to this in the example of Kosovo.
- The status quo should be maintained because it is advantageous for us.
- The status quo is not a solution, but at this point it is the only advantageous option for us.
- The status quo option is good if compared with others.
- For today, we are for the status quo.
- What else can we do but maintain the status quo? What can we give up?
- Let the status quo continue, but we have to find a way to exclude the war.
- The status quo should be maintained for as long as we do not have solid guarantees.
- The status quo gives us an advantage in the negotiation process: we are the winners, everybody else can laugh. Let us remain confident, eh? We are the winners!
- If the situation is not resolved in the way we want it, then the status quo should be maintained.
- At this point, the status quo is better than war.
- The army of Azerbaijan is more powerful now, we cannot compare to them. Better be status quo.

- We should take advantage of the status quo and do everything possible to re-populate Karabakh and develop it.
- The status quo is the state of affairs that we have attained today.
- The only positive aspect of the status quo is that there is no fighting.
- The status quo is more convenient for Nagorni Karabakh and the Karabakhi people. But the status quo is primarily sustained through the efforts of Armenia.
- If Azerbaijan agrees to make a compromise, Armenia must try to prolong the status quo so that the compromises made at the table of negotiations are favorable for Armenia.
- It would be better if the status quo stayed instead of the third scenario.
- There will be provocations on both sides. Things like that happen even in non-war situations with non-conflicting countries. However, they are not serious enough to destabilize the status quo.
- The Madrid Principles are as follows: territorial integrity, right for self-determination, exclusion of force. This is the safe continuation of the status quo.
- The cons of the Status quo scenario are numerous, but the pros are so substantial that they cover any cons.
- The status quo is more beneficial for us than for Azerbaijan since a new generation is now growing on this land and becoming more powerful.
- Status quo by all means. The only risk here is the resumption of war, but again, that hazard is always there...
- The good thing about the status quo is that we are actually united with Armenia, there is traffic, and all kinds of relationships have been re-established.
- Not only ten years, but the status quo may persist for twenty more years until the time when Azerbaijan realizes how powerful it is...
- The current status quo is relatively good for us, but it is bad that Nagorni Karabakh is not acknowledged by the others. Its status should be recognized.
- If they don't recognize us, we won't recognize the solutions coerced by them. There is no intermediary solution. Status quo until the recommencement of war, which is unavoidable.
- It's ok, let everything remain as it was. We will keep the status quo.
- With this option of the status quo, the probability of restarting war is fifty/fifty. And if it does restart, it will be upon the Azerbaijani's initiative because we Armenians are partly satisfied with this status. We can go on living like this.
- If the status quo stays it will be fine. The chance that they will give those lands back to us will be greater. But if we give the adjacent territories now, we won't get them back later. Anyway, in time this issue will get resolved this way or the other.
- The status quo is advantageous for us today: on the one hand, there are no military operations; on the other hand our development is continuing to some extent. Apart from all that, this short break should be used to ensure our own development.
- The status quo is good for us because nobody talks about giving back lands in this option.
- We'd better be in the status quo...

- I do not see any better option than the status quo, at least for the immediate future.
- We must keep the status quo until peace is established.
- We should wait and keep the status quo as long as we can, until Azerbaijan runs out of oil. At that point the international community will start supporting us instead of them.
- Karabakh has already been acknowledged de facto, certain resources are already being supplied to us. We should strive to preserve the status quo until the time when Karabakh becomes a party to the negotiations.
- The status quo is an unhealthy situation, but we are willing to wait for some more years even in such an unhealthy situation. Therefore, you should understand how important this independence is for us.
- We have attained the status quo by demonstrating our will and nothing can stand in our way to continue like this.
- At this point the status quo is a desirable option because we can keep what we have.
- The good thing about the status quo is that they won't be able to deceive us.
- The status quo is not an end in itself: it is an instrument to resolve our primary issue.
- We are the ones who will decide to maintain the status quo or not. Continuation of this status is required until we resolve our issue.
- There are a lot of restaurants in Nagorni Karabakh today that are better than those in Armenia. Discussing any options for submission is inadmissible.
- Today the American Government is making allocations for Karabakh, which means that Karabakh is already receiving international aid and that we are not isolated.
- Nagorni Karabakh is developing today, and even better than Armenia.
- Our goal is to make the entire world acknowledge the legitimate right of the people of Nagorni Karabakh for self-determination. Let the Karabakh people decide.
- As our foreign policy becomes more and more flexible, they (the Azerbaijanis) lose their significance. For instance, the opening of the Armenian-Turkish border is desirable for the Turks in the first place. They realize that we are coming out of the blockade and are starting a new process with Iran.
- Every state is supposed to ensure the safety of its people. Well, that's exactly what we did. Why do they take it as an insult?
- The borders are open today. Who says that they are closed? The Armenians and the Turks trade quite alright through Sadakhlu. Time will put everything in its proper place.
- This situation is not very advantageous for us, but the good thing is that this scenario does not envisage submission of any lands.
- All of these scenarios have deficiencies. Nevertheless, the conditions seem to be growing more favorable for us.

- We have lived quite well without Turkey and Azerbaijan. The mere fact of the borders being closed made us think more creatively and more vigilantly.
- Our diplomats should work hard for re-integration with minimum compromise, through the status quo.
- We keep discussing the development of Azerbaijan. Why don't we talk about how we develop? Why don't we say that it is within our country that Karabakh will develop?
- The fifth scenario can be taken as a basis during the discussions of the status quo. It should be placed on the table of negotiations.
- This issue will be solved in a civilized manner. We are backed by a powerful state; besides, we are not feeble either.
- Our party should be more demanding during the negotiations.
- Azerbaijan has oil. We don't have any big hopes for international support. We just realize that this is the price we have to pay.
- No matter how long we keep discussing this issue, there will be no common conclusion. Yet the answer of this question has long been given by the people: that's our conjoint fist. Our powerful state is our guarantee.
- The diplomats should find the proper moment to resolve the issue of Nagorni Karabakh: when there is little probability of war.
- Because of this war we are in a blockade. Yet which of the other countries live better than us?
- The concept of compromise must be used only to win some time, given that time works for us in this particular case.
- Our diplomats need to win some time at any cost...
- After the ceasefire, favorable conditions were created for the people of Karabakh to develop their own Constitution and other structures requisite for any state. Now we have an opportunity to develop to a certain extent. The status quo does not oblige us to give back any territories.
- Artificially, we have two Armenian states today. In reality, it is the same country, so sooner or later we will have to unite. If the international community does not want to acknowledge us, that's alright. We will live like this forever.

Azerbaijanis

- The resolution of this conflict is only peace
- The current weak and difficult economic position of Armenia can influence the resolution of the conflict
- The economical situation in Armenia as of today is very bad
- One point should be added is that the terror organizations should be removed from NK
- The fact is that they are separated from everything
- NK gets support only from Armenia
- Other neighbors are not supporting

- The current worrying issue at the moment is the production of drugs in NK as well as the camps which are run by terror organizations
- Armenia has already got a feeling that Azerbaijan is ready to regain its territories
- Armenia stays behind in its economical development
- We should keep them in economical blockade
- Armenia is far from regional projects and Nagorno Karabakh also can not benefit from this, whereas Azerbaijan is on it's development stage
- One of the positive factors of occupation may be development of patriotic spirit in people
- We should strengthen Armenian blockade
- We have achieved strong economical growth
- The economy of Armenia stays behind
- Another alternative: To develop economically, to collect the democratic strength and become a strong country
- As long as the conflict is at this stage Armenia should be outsider of all regional project as aggressor

Opinions against current situation

Armenians

- Scenario 1 is a step backward from Karabakh's present status. The status quo cannot be a radiant future for us.
- If the status quo persists neither of the parties shall have profited.
- The status quo is like a slow bomb.
- We cannot maintain the status quo forever, since it is done at the cost of our families and children.
- The status quo is not advantageous for us because we are unable to expand economic activity.
- If nobody is going to acknowledge the independence of Karabakh, then why are we discussing the status quo?
- We are discussing the ways to resolve this conflict, whereas the status quo is not a solution, it is just a temporary measure.
- The cons of the status quo are the continuous infringements of the ceasefire.
- Another disadvantage of the status quo is that the interests of the powerful states may change.
- At this point the status quo is good, but there are no guarantees for stability.
- The status quo makes the safety vulnerable not only for Nagorni Karabakh, but also for our adjoining settlements. Nevertheless, the status quo is the actual requirement of the day.
- If we agree to the status quo, we will not go for any negotiations.
- This question should be resolved this way or the other. Status quo is not an acceptable option.

- If the status quo continues for a long time, Azerbaijan will grow more powerful and will get what it wants with less effort. This option will not be to our advantage. I believe it would be appropriate to arrive at a solution as soon as possible and sign an agreement.
- The status quo cannot last forever. We need some kind of a decision that would eliminate war and would establish peace.
- The dangerous thing about the status quo scenario is that the future of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh is unclear.
- The status quo is not beneficial for the Azerbaijani authorities either, because in such situation they are sustained in a position of the defeated party.
- As long as the status quo continues, the danger of war exists. That is why Armenia should be interested in the prompt resolution of the issue.
- One of the drawbacks of the status quo scenario is that Karabakh does not take part in the negotiations.
- We are not satisfied with the status quo because it is only a temporary measure.
- We need clarity. The status quo is no good in those terms.
- The status quo is not acceptable. We need to keep struggling because it is a shame that up to this date Artsakh has not been recognized.
- The status quo is a state of ambiguity. Even if it goes on for ten or twenty years, it will not give us anything and the people of Karabakh will not be sleeping tight.
- The status quo is not good for us because the issue remains unsolved.
- We are not partial to the status quo option because it limits our possibilities. Our students cannot participate in international programs; investments are not made in full...
- The delay of the status quo is somehow beneficial for both parties. However, it cannot go on forever. I want to see my country acknowledged and independent, I want to be a lawful citizen. And I want it to happen soon.
- One of the cons of the status quo is that Nagorni Karabakh is like hanging in the air (in uncertainty).
- The status quo is advantageous for Azerbaijan because they develop rapidly. There will come a moment in history where we will have to make compromises: keep the major cities but return some of the minor territories.
- The time for us to gain from the status quo is coming to an end. We have to find solutions.
- Persistence of the status quo is not good either; it limits our possibilities and freedoms.
- Status quo is not a satisfactory option because there is a danger that the war will recommence.
- The longer the status quo sustains, the greater the hazard of war resumption becomes.
- The status quo has exhausted itself time wise. The moment has come when we should start looking for other solutions.
- The status quo cannot go on forever. Part of the territories should be returned this way or the other.

- The option of the status quo should be replaced with another alternative. The time for independence has come.
- While we are talking here, our enemy is developing economically, whereas in the situation of the status quo our economy will not build up.
- The longer the status quo continues, the greater the risk of war will grow. Some solution should be found for this issue, but not through giving back any territories.
- The status quo is a subject for conversation but not an option to resolve this issue.
- The status quo is just “fooling around”, but we need to move forward.
- The status quo has certainly its positive aspects, but with this option our country is not recognized, our situation is unstable and complicated, and the hazard of war is still hovering...
- Every beginning has its end. This situation cannot go on forever.
- The status quo cannot last long; it is hazardous ... it is like a dormant volcano.
- The sooner the compromise and resolution of the issue, the better. The economy will develop faster then.
- Sooner or later we will arrive at the military solution of this issue. We have to take into consideration Turkey’s factor. This means that it is in our interest to resolve this issue as soon as possible.
- The blockade has an adverse impact on Armenia.
- We will have to make compromises, and likewise the Azerbaijanis. As a compromise on our part, I believe we should give back the unpopulated areas to Azerbaijan.
- Economically, we are in a blocked circle now and will not be able to resist long.
- A number of international programs are trying to steer clear of Armenia because of this unsolved problem.
- We have to negotiate with the Azerbaijanis and persuade them that we are right. That will be the resolution. We can’t go on like this anymore.
- No countries are able to make investments in Nagorni Karabakh today. If the question is finally resolved, we will have opportunities for development.
- This situation does not contribute in any way to the development of our economy. Without economic development there will be no military development.

Azerbaijanis

- Our people suffer from sociological as well as physical harm
- They also spoil the lands from ecological perspective
- Our economy is harmed
- Such scenario cannot provide sustainable peace. Azerbaijan society will constantly be under influence.
- It is not the right approach that Armenians in NK are carrying Armenian passport and using the Armenian drama
- The soldiers are coming over our territories pretty often

- The relationships are very tensed between Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia
- There are conditions for terror organizations and drug trafficking
- The current position of Armenia doesn't let the investments to be put into the NK and develop it
- Armenian language and monetary politics can not stay in NK
- The Armenians in NK can not obtain passport for going abroad
- NK should remain the part of Azerbaijan, economical, political, military and social institutions should be restored in the frame of Azerbaijan
- NK can not remain under occupation
- In reality NK is getting support from Armenia
- It is not right them to obtain passports from Armenia
- NK should get the autonomy the same as Nakchivan
- It is not acceptable that Armenians militaries provide the security of NK
- Nagorno-Karabakh and all surrounding regions being occupied, makes it difficult to implement social, economical and political projects on Caucuses efficiently
- The most important for us is the territorial integrity and this should be provided
- Nagorno Karabakh territory should remain as a part of Azerbaijan but Armenians can't live together with Azerbaijanis
- There is no way to accept the Armenian language and drama in NK. The preference should be given to Azerbaijan language
- NK may not remain under Armenia's occupation no way
- Armenian dram and language can not remain as official monetary base and language
- It is difficult to achieve the resolution based on the economical position
- The citizens of Karabakh can get abroad only via Azerbaijan passport
- Let Karabakh not get any support from other countries
- The Armenian national currency Dram can not be used as national currency in NK
- The Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh are travelling abroad getting the passport from Armenia. We are against it
- As all the rest Azerbaijan citizens Armenians will be also be able to participate in regulation based on the legislation of Azerbaijan Republic
- The population in NK should get their passport from Azerbaijan. Special regime organizations should keep in mind the Azerbaijan population with Armenian origin.
- Azerbaijan can support Armenia joining massive international projects as soon as Armenia ceases the invading politics
- NK can't receive any support from outside
- Nagorno Karabakh can not get the external support
- NK is not a state so all inter relation should be carried through the Azerbaijani government and the state

- Population of NK has to obtain Azerbaijani passports to travel and act based on Azerbaijani state rules
- But by different means the current situation doesn't let Azerbaijan to use it potential fully
- NK is our territory and should contain our attributes; this should be explained to Armenians in NK
- The business of foreign companies should be ceased there
- NK can never be the part of Armenia
- Dragging this issue on and on means to forget about it at all
- NK being occupied is not beneficial to Azerbaijan

Neutral or mixed opinions about current situation

Armenians

- I am confident that the status quo will never come to an end given that the parties will never make a compromise.
- If there is no better scenario, then the status quo option is good. On the other hand, however, we do not know in what direction the countries will develop. Will we be able to maintain this status?
- External powers would of course like this situation with the status quo.
- There exists an international act about the priority of national self-determination and territorial integrity. Without the Minsk Group and OSCE we won't be able to resolve these issues. The status quo will not last long.
- Azerbaijan has not matured yet for the concept that the status quo must be changed.
- It is specifically the greater states that need this status quo.
- For now the status quo is useful, but it cannot last long.
- Maintaining the status quo for an extended period is impossible.
- The status quo has both positive and negative aspects. If we admit that this scenario is going to be adopted, then we should try to get rid of the negative aspects and make best use of the positive ones.
- The status quo is advantageous for Azerbaijan, that's why they are delaying the process. The international community is supporting them because they don't want to disturb them, given the fact that they have oil.
- The status quo has both pros and cons, two of the latter being the absence of status and the risk of war resumption, which are interconnected. If the international community recognizes our independence, Azerbaijan will not dare attack us.
- So far we are satisfied with the status quo, but I am sure this cannot go on for a long time.
- The status quo is good for us, but its continuation depends on the international community and international relationships rather than ourselves. For instance, Russia has a significant role to play in this scenario.

- The status quo is an intermediary option, which should have development.
- They are also a nation. Why they wish Karabakh? They are just trying to restore their national dignity, like they are trying to say: 'Hey, guys, we are also people, right?..."
- If there were an option for peaceful solution, we would have been used it long ago. If we still do not have a solution that means there IS NO solution.
- The only positive aspect of this scenario is the ceasefire, in my perspective.
- Maybe it is early to talk about the resolution of this issue. However, if it is not going to happen today, it is bound to happen tomorrow.
- Talking from the position of international law, the borders will sooner or later be opened both with Turkey and Azerbaijan.
- Our children and grandchildren will face the same situation as we.
- We are a creative people with more developed brains. We need a brainy solution.
- We have to focus around one concept, otherwise our cause is lost.
- This situation is not new; its remoteness is not ten or twenty years. This issue comes from the 1920s and has now become too complicated.
- None of the resolution options proposed today is good.

Azerbaijanis

- It is Russia establishing such situation
- Russia is interested in having this conflict unresolved
- Azerbaijan and international society will not be able to accept the fact of independence of NK and remaining of NK under Armenia
- If the sovereignty of Karabakh is recognized then it abuses international laws and regulations
- The remaining of Karabakh as a part of Armenia harms not only Azerbaijan but many other countries of the world. The black market is more progressive there
- Alternative way is: war and peace
- Azerbaijan never lost anything to Armenia
- But I think it will be impossible to resolve this matter to our benefit
- The propaganda that reflects the war condition of the country can't be felt, it is only Social Television that partially refers to patriotism
- We should not look at the past we should base to the reality
- They have already established their own state in Armenia

War

War is inevitable

Armenians

- War is unavoidable in any scenario.
- The present conditions of the status quo are acceptable, but Azerbaijan won't be tolerating this state of affairs for long and the war will soon be unavoidable.
- Nobody will submit an inch of land to others just for the sake of doing it. It is possible only through war.
- The problem of Nagorni Karabakh should be solved by Armenia alone, even if it requires military action.
- I want no more war. We are exhausted and sick of war...
- War may start in any of the aforementioned scenarios. We should not be afraid of war.
- We want Azerbaijan to start a new war. We have unfinished business to complete.
- If war is unavoidable, then it better be now because some ten years later no one will probably take any measures towards that. Today' generation is more patriotic.
- War is anticipated every day; peace cannot be ensured anyway...
- There is a well-known truth: if you want to live in peace, get ready for war. Therefore, submitting lands because of the fear of war is childish, if not to say treacherous!
- Considering that the solution of this problem depends on the powerful states, in any development scenario of this situation war will be inescapable.
- If there's going to be a war, it better start right now, because the status quo is not an endless situation.
- The current situation is like when you gather dry brushwood and store it in the backyard to wait for a lightening. And the lighting will come some day...
- Nowadays we live a highly decentralized (isolated) life. The only thing that brings us together is war.
- Returning Karabakh will sooner or later lead to another war.
- Azerbaijan is desperately trying to get those territories back. We are living in a lot of tension.
- This way or the other, we will be going to war. That's for sure.
- We should always be prepared for war.
- The two bad things about the first scenario are that war can restart any moment and that this situation is highly unstable.
- I would not exclude the possibility of war resumption. Azerbaijan talks about it every day. They are getting ready for war, and we are getting ready for defense.
- The more we talk about compromise the greater the hazard of war will become.

- The only solution I see is that we become stronger and are not scared of war.
- The situation on the border is disquieting and, I think, it may go on for a long time because ceasefire does not mean end of war.
- Ceasefire is signed but it may be broken any minute and war may start. That is its negative side.
- Regardless of everything, there will be a war, no matter if we make compromises or not. Why return the lands then?
- Irrespective of anything, the war is going to start, so let it start on these very borders.
- With the first scenario, the hazard of war is always there. This issue should be resolved.
- If Azerbaijan is to start the war, it will start it regardless of the fact whether we make compromises or not. Why in that case are we making those compromises?
- If we lose our independence, we will lose everything. The hazard of war is tremendous.
- The hazard of war will always hover upon us, regardless of how well this issue is regulated.
- Nobody knows what is going to happen tomorrow. However, people who have seen war know that the war can recommence any moment. We just have to not let that hazard come close to us.
- The hazard of war will always be there whatever the circumstances. Because our neighbor is Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijanis

- The danger of war is real
- The danger of war increases from day to day
- We should strengthen the economy and fight
- In all the cases waging the war by strengthening the economy should be provided in the frame of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan Republic
- Since the conflict has been deeply resolved the danger of war is unavoidable
- Our army should be prepared to fight
- The danger of war is there and increases from day to day
- Ceasefire doesn't mean piece, there is always a danger of war
- The danger of the war is existing
- If it doesn't happen the danger of war will increase.
- The blood will be removed with blood.
- The danger of waging the war remains.
- There is constantly the danger of war.
- It will be impossible to resolve this conflict peacefully.
- The population should be prepared to the war.
- As we are always stating that Armenians are our enemies the war will never end up.

- We don't believe that even in 20 years Armenians will be with confidence towards Azerbaijan.
- As soon as we got born there has been an idea of enemy towards Armenians.
- Moscow crosses the option of resolution the conflict by waging the war.
- Now the awareness has been increased and therefore people obtain the information about any terror acts and their hate to each other deepens.
- As much as economy grows it goes towards the war.
- As long as the occupation continues there is a danger of war.
- Karabakh is consistent part of Azerbaijan and the territorial integrity should be regained.
- The war possibility increases from day to day.
- If the peaceful approach doesn't give a result, and the territories are not given back to Azerbaijan, where as Armenian military services don't leave our territories, the war is inevitable.
- 4th scenario – it doesn't seem real to live in peace.

War is the last option

Armenians

- The possibility of resumption of war is hardly realistic.
- We would even agree to go back to war, but we will not agree to give back our lands.
- The war may restart any minute now. This is not an advantageous option for us.
- We should take our lands; the rest is their business, whatever they do is fine. The important thing today is peace.
- To cut it short, we need peace at all costs.
- We have to take into consideration that the future of our country is in the hands of our young people. We must try and regulate this issue without a war.
- We exclude war. There are several preconditions, one of which involves solutions in a peaceful manner.
- Solution MUST be found and it should be peaceful.
- We are for a peaceful resolution of this problem.
- Our diplomats do not work properly. And the fight has long been transferred into the area of diplomacy,
- You cannot make a slogan out of the expression "shed blood". We need mutual compromises. The era of boorishness has passed.

Azerbaijanis

- If there is not a way to resolve it peacefully we should wage the war
- The piece issue is dragging on and seems to be the one with no solution. Army should be used therefore the army should be strengthened

- Nagorno Karabakh from ancient times is indivisible part of Azerbaijan and never can be Armenians. We should try peacefully resolve the conflict, if it doesn't work, then the military way is not an exception
- Youth gives preference to the peaceful resolution but waging the war is not exception
- If there is not humanism towards us then we are going be in the same position towards others
- If the Armenians don't agree we should wage the war
- There is no need in war if the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan regains peacefully according to the last clause.
- We should get agree on something with Armenia without pouring blood
- Only after coming to compromise the idea about waging the war may be left aside
- In current situation the war is not acceptable option for us, because now we have development in our economy and it means that we may become a stronger country in 10-15 years
- The most right solution of the conflict is the way of war. And therefore it is not acceptable for us.
- It would be good if NK conflict is resolved without any war bearing in mind the interests of both sides. Because war is a very bad thing anyway and should be kept as a last option

No alternative to status quo but war

Armenians

- We should not delay for tomorrow whatever we can do today. If war is unavoidable, let it start right now. No point waiting.
- Armenia must be prepared for war because you cannot nudge anything into the heads of the Azerbaijanis by mere words. You can do that only with arms.
- The status quo may lead to a situation where the rapidly growing army of Azerbaijan brings about a new wave of war.
- In any case this situation is not good for us because there is always the risk of war.
- Karabakh's military budget is increasing. We will be faced by tremendous forces. We will also need to be armed, there is no way out.
- The Republic of Armenia has always acted inappropriately in the question of Nagorni Karabakh and Armenia. Now if Turkey and Russia do not address the issue we won't avoid war. We should have stopped the fight back in 1994.
- When power enters through the door, justice is driven out of the window. Force is the decisive factor here.
- Where is it written that lands should be given by paper? It is the soldiers who conquer territories and it is the soldiers who give up territories.

- Both Azerbaijan and Armenia realize that the issue of Karabakh is not going to be resolved through negotiations.
- No national hero has ever liberated any lands through negotiations. They have fought and they have liberated...
- The war is not over yet and this situation cannot go on for a long time, unfortunately. The time has come when the need for a final solution has become imperative.
- Now, if we are not ready for a compromise, are we ready for war?
- If both countries are ready for war, let's fight and finally resolve this issue in favor of Karabakh.
- I am a female warrior and I will tell you this: better be war than the third scenario.
- Any change, especially if it refers to giving back the territories, will lead to a new war.
- All the scenarios contain a risk of war. It is not only the first scenario that has it.

Azerbaijanis

- They have taken it away by blood and should return it in the same manner
- Azerbaijan is due to rebuild its territorial integrity and defend it
- We should take away the enemy border
- The war position also influences our ability to protect our cultural heritage
- Such situation doesn't benefit us and we want to resolve this matter by waging the war
- Historical territorial integrity should be regained. The borders that were in the beginning of XX –th century should be regained.
- We should get back the same way we gave it away
- I want waging the war
- If this doesn't work we should decisively stand on our position and start the war as the matter progresses
- The resolution of the conflict peacefully is a bit difficult. The most guaranteed way out of it is waging the war
- we need to fight
- We should unyoke only via war if any other way is impossible
- Anyway we should be prepared for war: anyway whether it is peacefully or by waging the war – NK is our historical fatherland.
- War and free NK and whole Azerbaijan!

What if a war starts ...

Armenians

- If a war is waged, in any case Azerbaijan will lose.

- I think that the war has ended with our victory. At this point there is no war but we are in the middle of an information feud. Unfortunately, we are losing the information warfare but we were winners on the battlefield.
- Explosion will detonate when the interests of the powerful states do not coincide with those of Armenia and Nagorni Karabakh.
- I, as a yerkrapah (partisan), have to say that I support the idea of resolving the Karabakh conflict through negotiations, but in the meantime we don't have to be afraid to fight.
- Who will be the one that beats them? The one who talks like that will neither beat anyone nor fight with anyone. The real beaters talk after doing the beating.
- We won't start a war. Let them do it and they will be defeated.
- Today we are not scared of war.
- The next war is going to be a "blitz-war" and a more severe one.
- The war is much more dangerous for Armenia than for Azerbaijan.
- Probably there will be no war, but if war comes its casualties and ruins will be devastating. There may be clashes; there may be demonstration of power.
- If war starts we will go to war. What else can we do? We have fought and we will fight more.
- If you start going you must say that you are going for a victory and not for defeat or compromise.
- We are all worried that our children and grandchildren do not see the horrors of war. But when the time comes we will be reasoning differently. What can we do but stand for our homeland...
- Why do you think that our sons will not rise to protect their homeland when the trumpets of war blow again? I am more than confident that my grandchildren and my grand grandchildren will stand for our land.
- If the war breaks up tomorrow, I will not let my child go and fight at war. But I will go, together with my husband.
- No parent will want his son to go to war. Period!
- If we need to fight again, we will. No big deal. I don't think time works in favor of them.
- The fact that there are seven million of them and only three million of us does not determine anything. We are ready to protect our land today. And our number can be tripled.
- We will rob the oligarchs, we will buy armory and go to war.
- Even if there is war there will be no substantial differences between us and the Azerbaijanis.
- I am a veteran of war. If there is a need, we will rise again. We used to fight with hunter's rifles, but now we have "GRAD".
- This younger generation will not go to war. Even if we, their mothers want it, they won't go. They have a totally different ideology.
- During the reign of Tigran the Great Armenia used to stretch from one sea to another. There is no returning! We are going to Baku!
- I am ready to fight to the end with my family and my nation for our land.

- When we did not have anything we did not fight. Now we have everything, we have fought and we will fight to protect not only Karabakh, but also other Armenian territories like Javakhq and Nakhijevan.
- The question is this: are we ready to start fighting again and incur losses?
- According to the statistics of the last war, the Azerbaijanis losses exceed ours by five times at least. One of the reasons for that has been the intelligent operation of our career officers.
- If the war starts again, it is not clear who will win. Diplomacy can change a lot of things.
- Our people have just started to live a normal life. There are no standing buildings in Askeran. Restarting the war will throw us back again in development.
- If there is war, Azerbaijan will lose it again. Karabakh's position is quite good to defend and to win.
- No need to be afraid of Azerbaijan's military force. During the war they were better armed and equipped than the Armenians, but we won.
- If Azerbaijan wants those territories, let them come with war. We will meet them "with open arms"...
- Quite possibly, Azerbaijan will attack us (as Georgia did under the influence of diverse forces) but will face a solid counterforce.
- A child that has seen a remote control will not want to go to war.
- If there is a war, fifty percent of Karabakh's population will leave the country. And the higher authorities will be the ones to flee first.
- If we lose another generation to this war, our status will be horrific.
- One thing should be made clear: If the Armenian authorities adopt a decision that we do not like, the situation will be much worse than today. Not only war will start with Azerbaijan, but also a civil war will break out.
- I think we won't be able to fight in another war. We will be doomed.
- We are not scared of war. We will be able to protect our homeland.
- We mixed the plans of the super nations with our last war. We can do it now, too.
- Don't try to soothe us with the absence of war. We earned our independence through war. Should there be a need, we will fight more and will bring back the rest of our territories.
- I am scared of any Armenian-Kurdish or Armenian-Jewish war, but I don't even think about the Armenian-Azerbaijani war.
- As of this moment we do not need war. Our problem is not only with Azerbaijan but also with Turkey. War may unite those two states against Armenia.
- In critical times our nation is able to unite like a fist, and I am sure that we will always be the winners.

Azerbaijanis

- It is better to die once rather than each and every time
- The money received from oil industry is wasted but they are mentioning that it is all spend to develop the army

- If there is a war in Azerbaijan it will impact the economical position of the country
- If the war starts our economy will go towards declining
- If the war starts again they will again lose
- If we decide to get back waging the war we may lose
- We are not sociologically prepared for the war
- If the war starts nobody will let their children to go because our rights are not equal
- If the conflict resolves shortly then the positions of others will weaken
- If we are waging the war then Russia will be supporting Armenia, whereas Turkey will support Azerbaijan
- We would like to shoot first. Because afterwards we will be known as invaders.
- If we wage the war we should not be afraid of Russians. If a war starts it may become the world war.
- The resolution of the problem fully depends on Russia. In the case of the war the interference of Russia and protection of Armenia coincides.
- Russian forces that are currently in Armenia can be used any time during any war.
- Our patriotic sons are going to war voluntarily
- We don't have strong army
- If there is a war only Turkey will help Azerbaijan
- I would like waging the war and want to go for fighting
- According to the security contract between Armenia and Russia, Russia may help Armenia in future
- If we choose war we lose it
- According to the opinion of a few participants even if we start fighting and get our territories back from overall prospective will seem like losers
- If we start fighting, we will fight with Russia not Armenia
- If the war starts the economical projects will go towards liquidation and this is not beneficial for anyone
- If there is a war we will be fighting with Russians
- The war will not be beneficial for us
- Because in reality we will be waging the war with Russia not Armenia
- If we wage the war the inflation may occur
- If they get over the 3 rockets in Karabakh they can use it towards us
- If the fight will be between Azerbaijan and Armenia we will win
- But also would like to mention that Azerbaijan can regain our territories by waging the war

There will be no war

Armenians

- War is not a gainful option for Azerbaijan. They are involved in a lot of international economic projects and they would not want to diverge from those projects.
- If they want to take it by fight, let them take it. If they could they would have taken it. This is a message from us, the warriors. Everything would better stay this way.
- If the world acknowledges the sovereignty of Karabakh, they will compel Azerbaijan not to restart the war.
- We have fighters for freedom (azatamartik) who have struggled for Karabakh. However, in order to avoid the resumption of war, we have to think hard. We cannot risk the fate of the entire country. We ought to do everything possible to ensure peace. Two wars for one generation can be devastating.
- We are against the war and we are against the compromises. We have always been the ones who were making compromises. That was a BIG MISTAKE!
- There will be no war. This is a strategy to sustain the people in fear.
- We have to be tough about our demands; in that case Azerbaijan will agree to our terms because they don't want war.
- If this problem is regulated, Azerbaijan will not start a war because there will be a huge international pressure on them.
- It is in our interests that we avoid direct military activities with our neighbors. We must keep away from war.
- I do not believe that the hazard of war resumption is real. If they were to start it, they would have done that long ago.
- At the moment war is good neither for us nor for the Azerbaijanis.
- Despite the belligerent proclamations of the Azerbaijanis, I think war in this region is beneficial for neither of the parties. So let us not abuse the idea of recommencement of war.
- Until lately, we did not even know where Nagorni Karabakh was located. What kind of war resumption are we talking about?
- The present president of Azerbaijan will not want to restart the war because he will lose his power. As we all know, his position is for life.
- No one is eager for war. Only people who want power would talk about war. Peaceful population does not need war.
- Even if the Azerbaijanis insist that they are eager for war, that's not true. Even if we exclude the possibility of war altogether, such loud-mouthed proclamations are going to continue.
- I do not think that this status will lead to war. We will not go back to war.
- Better feeble peace than a long-term bloody conflict.
- There will be no war because the people of Azerbaijan won't let that happen.

- War is not good for Russia or America, and yet we are not making use of this significant circumstance.
- Resumption of war is impossible!
- Aliyev has told his son: "Do not instigate a war against the Armenians. Once they start cutting ears, it means we must beware of them".
- In reality, Azerbaijan is not thinking about restarting the war because they know quite well that they won't be able to win.
- It would be highly preferable for the issue to be resolved without war.
- As a rule, women are against war.
- Men don't want war either; they are just compelled to fight.
- They also keep saying that they are ready to fight. That's a lie. Turks are not good warriors.
- May there be no war. That's the most important thing. Let our scientists sit and decide what to do. So that nothing disturbs our peaceful existence.
- We know that Azerbaijan will not restart the war but we cannot weaken our vigilance. Our soldiers have to be in their places, steady and firm.
- If Azerbaijan were sure that it would be able to occupy Karabakh with its own resources, it would certainly attack Karabakh. This means that they are not sure.
- I do not believe that Azerbaijan will start a new war, especially after the events in Ossetia and Abkhazia.
- We will live and let life flourish everywhere. No hazard of war can distract us from this purpose.
- The risk of war does exist; however it is not as significant as we usually think.
- The super states will decide whether there will be war or not. If they leave it to us or the Azerbaijanis, there will be no war.
- Azerbaijan will never declare war to us. The weaker one never starts the fight first.
- I am confident that the war will not restart while the Aliyev dynasty is at power.
- The other interested parties will not let a big war start in our region.
- The important thing is how to avoid war: we will resolve the issue of the status later.
- What is the role of the international community if not peace? The risk of war resumption is very low.
- The oil of Azerbaijan excludes the commencement of war.
- They do not trespass our border from Nakhijevan because that will have unflattering coverage. International powers will not let Azerbaijan attack Armenia.
- The greater states have made substantial investments in the oil pipeline. They will not allow any resumption of war.

Azerbaijanis

- We don't need the war
- The peaceful population of Armenia also is not interested in waging the war
- Azerbaijan is not supporting the war in its way of politics

- Youth does want to wage the war and we should regain our territories using any method
- Government doesn't want to wage the war
- Armenia will not fight on its' own even if Azerbaijan is not strong
- But it is not real to wage the war today
- No benefit from waging the war neither to Azerbaijan no Armenia
- There will be no war between these 2 states.
- Nobody wants the blood to be poured
- It would be better for NK to be independent rather than waging the war
- You can't feel Azerbaijan being in a condition of war
- The foreign countries are investing to this region and they are not interested in conflict becoming a war and resolution of the conflict
- There is a potential in Azerbaijan to start the war but foreign states will not allow this
- Even experts are denying the resolution by waging the war
- The war option is not suitable
- As per my opinion it should be mainly peace
- There should be a compromise
- This issue should be resolved peacefully, because we can lose even more than we have already lost
- Azerbaijan does not agree to have arm population to decide the territorial questions
- The conflict should be resolved peacefully using our position and strength
- If we want to resolve the issue peacefully we should compromise somehow

Other opinions about war

Armenians

- There can be no compromise on our part during the negotiations. The only compromise could be the option that we give up Gandzak and other territories, i.e. the regions that we could have occupied, but did not. What a pity...
- One evening during the war we received a resolution that we were taking Nakh-ijevan, but the higher authorities annulled that decision. Should we not have obeyed the higher authorities, we would have taken back all our lands from Turkey.
- Azerbaijan is not backing off; it should be compelled to back off...
- The former Shamshadin led a war with the Turks. Today it is us who have given our lands to the Turks. The orchards of Parvakar, Artsvashen, Azatamut and Chinaretsi are tillaged under the enemy's fire. But even now we prefer to live in these conditions than to submit anything.
- Scenario 5 is acceptable to the extent that it will keep the enemy still for a certain period while we conquer Javakhg and move together towards Baku...

- Our mistake was in conquering not enough territories. A chance like that comes once in a thousand years.
- We are claimants today and we should not be scared of war or Azerbaijan getting stronger.
- If they cannot protect our borders, let them call me and my wife. We will do that.
- I heard this from a witness: during the war the same Americans were telling our commanders "why didn't you take 17 instead of 7?" Now we are discussing whether we were right or wrong?
- We could have entered Baku and reinforced our victory. Yet the powerful states did not allow that to happen and compelled us to sign a ceasefire.
- There was a time when I thought why our grandparents were fighting for their homeland. But when the moment comes my husband and I, and now our children as well, will certainly struggle for our homeland. I can't imagine it happening otherwise...
- The issue will be resolved in favor of Armenia only when Azerbaijan realizes that its adversary is stronger.
- In terms of starting a war, we are all manikins. It is the powerful states that decide whether there should be a war or not.
- Azerbaijan is taking major actions. We should proceed with our counteractions. Delaying time is also risky.
- It is due to Armenia's flexible policy that the war has not resumed so far.
- We must declare war to Azerbaijan. We must conquer more territories. Let them be scared of us!
- The probability of war does not depend on continuation of the status quo. It depends upon how the bigger states react.
- I wouldn't say that today we have a "no war, no peace" situation. To the contrary, we have both the war and the peace at this point. We should be ready for both.
- The war will be instigated by the party that is more interested in the reciprocal compromises.
- All who fought are now in Russia.
- America is afraid of even Iran and Korea. Now you have come here and are telling me that we are hallucinating when we say that something should be able to guarantee the exclusion of war.
- Wars are not born because of somebody's wish. They are caused by a lot of geographic, political and other reasons. One thing is clear though: that the world is trying to stay clear of the operations of war.
- It is all relative: we will have to grow as powerful as to exclude any war. The quest for the solution of this issue should follow this path.
- In case of the second scenario war will restart without any doubt.
- The past war taught us that mere military prevalence is not a sufficient precondition for victory.
- I assume that the possibility of war is a negative factor; nevertheless, we have independence, that's the important thing.
- It will depend on the change of policies how long this peace will last.

- If they have decided to find out our opinion today, that means the hazard of war has grown and there are complications in the field of diplomacy.

Azerbaijanis

- But in spite of that waging the war also doesn't work
- When we wanted to wage the war we did not do it and postponed it
- If there is a big number of victims and refugees this can not be called a conflict. This is a world wide war and if two sides supplied with modern weapons stand in front of each other, this is also war
- We are giving up the positions in "informative war"
- It has been afterward revealed that the elevators where the cotton grows may be used to get the hydrogen weapon
- We lost in informative war
- It is exceptional waging the war again based on the mutual agreement
- We also should find out whether we are ready to the war or not
- Armenians have won the war based on their brains not strong army
- There are a few people who want peace and war at the same time
- Nobody wants the war but no appropriate steps are taken to the peace
- Our weakness is expressed in our awareness but absence of justification
- If the economic strength of Azerbaijan increases in 15 years then the way of war will be also acceptable
- The movement of Armenia towards Turkey means that Armenia is sinking
- We can not always live with a scare of war

Security

Identity and Coexistence

Armenians

- Where did the Armenians of Nakhijevan go that used to comprise 54% of the population?
- I personally, as a native of Karabakh, can uphold that there has not been a single good thing during those seventy years of the Soviet period. I even had to study the history of my own nation out of school, on my own. Neither did I see any economic progress.
- Azerbaijanis are unable to ensure democracy and human rights in their home country, how are they going to do that in Karabakh?
- The sole policy of Azerbaijan in Karabakh has always been and will be the expulsion of armenians.
- Today the Kurds have legal independence in Iraq. There you are! See now what is happening to them?...
- They will come back, but will the Armenians go back?
- It can be presumed that if we give Karabakh to Azerbaijan, in a few years we will face the same policies as in the period that preceded the commencement of war.
- We are more than confident that Azerbaijan will not stick to the guarantees it committed to. Azerbaijan can never be trusted.
- This page should be written down in black. It is impossible to believe the Azerbaijanis. History has shown what is going to happen.
- There was a time when we used to compare the people of Karabakh to the Azerbaijanis. This was a result of the Azerbaijani policy.
- They could have respected the Armenians during the seventy years they had. But did they respect us?
- Who will be giving guarantees? Azerbaijan? It already had its chance. We all witnessed what their guarantees turned into...
- Protecting Karabakh serves the cause of protecting the Armenians.
- The coexistence of the Armenians and Azerbaijanis on the same land is no more possible. Perhaps some hundred years from now...
- Armenians and Azerbaijanis will no longer be able to live in peace as neighbors. Many things have changed since those times...
- Generations have replaced each other in years. Today the younger generation of Azerbaijan has been fed with so much anti-Armenian propaganda that their hatred will never let them live in peace with the Armenians.
- The Turks want to abolish Armenia. There will never be peace between the Armenians and Turks.
- The tension between these two nations has always existed and will carry on. It is a centuries-long hostility that comes from our ancestors.

- The Turks have inflicted so much harm on Armenians that it is impossible to forget.
- The conflict of Karabakh is the continuation of the hostility that originates from the Genocide.
- Safety, economic welfare and many other good things are observed in America. So what? We should all abandon our country and go to live in America?
- There is a concept of “cosmo” in the world. The idea is letting people live wherever it is best for them. We should not hinder development.
- We owe to Russia by the fact that the Turks have not entered Armenia so far.
- In those days the history of Armenia was taught at the schools of Karabakh only for two months.
- How did it happen that we saw 24th of April? If we do not stick to our right of self-determination there will be more April 24s...
- The second scenario should be excluded, so should its discussion be, given the fact that in case of Scenario 2 Karabakh will have the same fate as Nakhijevan.
- During the Soviet times we saw a lot of things, including the history of Nakhijevan. That is why this scenario is not acceptable for us.
- This is an unacceptable option. Never after this story will the Armenians and Turks live together. The roots of this hostility come from Western Armenia.
- What are the guarantees that there will not be another Genocide? Not a single Armenian soldier was able to live with a Turkish soldier for a single night.
- Breaking the homogeneous structure of Karabakh’s population will lead to more conflicts.
- You are so naïve that you are excluding the possibility of another Genocide by our neighbors, 94 years later.
- They are a blood-thirsty nation. You should expect danger from them any minute.
- We would need at least one century for the Armenians and the Turks to be able to live side by side.
- We ought to have normal relationships with all our neighbors. Our borders should be open.
- Nakhijevan is ours, too, but there are no more Armenians living there, which makes the issue more complicated. Notwithstanding that, we ought to keep Karabakh. There lives a young generation there that is not familiar with Turkish domination.
- Even if there were peace, many years would be needed for our people to coexist peacefully. We do trade with the Turks now but coexisting is totally different.
- The war is long over but our cultural monuments continue to be destroyed.
- In Baku they demolished the monument to Stepan Shahumian. Why? Didn’t he struggle for them?
- In the same way as Nakhijevan was cleared of Armenians, in case of the second scenario Karabakh will lose its Armenian population, too.
- If scenario 2 starts acting on our territories, it won’t be possible to avoid the expulsion of Armenians from Nagorni Karabakh.

- There are no safety guarantees in Azerbaijan; neither for individuals nor for nations.
- The Azerbaijanis are lying when they say that there will be no more Sumgayits. That is just another lie!
- The ethnic structure of the nation will change. Tell me, how can you then refrain from opening Azerbaijani schools in Azerbaijani villages?
- What are we going to do if the Azerbaijanis come to the Ararat Valley and start to proliferate. We won't be able to coexist with them.
- Good-neighbor relations are very important. If only it were possible to avoid war...
- Artsakh will be deprived of the Armenians once again and the lands will stay unattended.
- No guarantees can ensure the rights of the Armenians under Azerbaijan.
- What kind of development are we talking about? They will immediately clear our territories of Armenians. What can develop then on the territory of Azerbaijan? The Azerbaijanis...?
- My husband fell in Karabakh, but as opposed to many others I am for the resolution of the Karabakh conflict through compromises so that the hostility between our people comes to an end.
- We should try to bring up our kids to be tolerant people. Alas, they (the Azerbaijanis) teach their children otherwise.
- No matter how hard I try to take care of your family, I won't be able to do even 1/10th of what you can do yourself. Respectively, why would a foreigner try his best to protect our safety?
- Why do you keep talking only about their negative aspects? We keep repeating the words of the guy from the joke: "It is not my fault: the victim came and accidentally fell on my sword. And that repeated eight times...:
- Both in Azerbaijan and Georgia they teach the kids distorted facts about history. How are they going to run Armenian schools in Azerbaijan?
- The world must realize that a Christian country cannot be given away to the Muslims.
- I personally do not hate the Turks or the Azerbaijanis, but the Azerbaijani young people have definitely a totally different attitude towards the Armenians.
- When Karabakh was with Azerbaijan, we were facing the risk of losing our national and cultural identity. If we adopt the second scenario the same thing will happen again.
- If the second scenario is adopted, Karabakh will soon be deprived of its Armenian population. The Republic of Nagorni Karabakh should be populated by Armenians!
- We have seen what happens if we open the borders. They better stay closed: the less we will assimilate with the Turks; we are finally our own masters. Had they stayed for a couple of more years, I do not even wish to imagine what might have happened.

- We need to move as many people from Armenia to Karabakh as possible. This way we will be able to ensure the repopulation of the area with Armenians and prevent its non-deliberate deprivation of Armenians.
- If this option is adopted, then we will lose our religion, our culture, everything.
- The Persians also frequented to our place and eventually came to stay. The same thing will happen with the Turks. Once you give them a foothold you can never get rid of them.
- Back in the Soviet times autonomy was being maintained but people were being turned into Turks.
- We are separated by their religious intolerance. We will not give ourselves in to an executioner.
- If the second scenario is adopted, Karabakh will be in a worse status than Javahq in Georgia.
- The treat of assimilation of Armenians by Azerbaijanis will increase if the borders will be opened
- On the other hand, how long can we be in conflict with the Azerbaijanis?
- If Turkey is really interested in the solution of this issue, who will be taking care of our compatriots who are now spread all across the world because of their cruel luck and Turkey' policies?
- Back in those times our kids were about to start speaking their language with each other.
- In the second scenario, the Armenians living in Azerbaijan will gradually absorb the everyday habits and traditions of the Azerbaijanis and a few generations later there will be no Armenians there.
- In our school, fights were inescapable. The principal was Azerbaijani and we had to walk with sticks ready in our hands to prevent clashes among the children.
- They keep forging the last names of our outstanding people: Hayrapetyan becomes Hayrapetov and so on and so forth. This is done to abolish our human resource, to assimilate us with themselves ...
- The bad thing about us is that our patriotism is only instinctive and we will not move away from the sofa unless "the knife reaches our bone".
- Scenario 2 is a gross violation of the right for peoples' self-determination!

Azerbaijanis

- We don't agree with the fact that Armenians would live in NK
- I always did not want Armenians to be in any governmental positions in Azerbaijan
- Armenians should get Azerbaijani education. For example in Iran they are not teaching Azerbaijani language
- I also would not like Armenian language to be taught in Azerbaijan
- Armenians can occupy the positions in Karabakh
- We should not permit the learning of languages...this is not proper

- I work in Shirvan-oil organization and reckon that it should be spoken our native language in our country
- Azerbaijan language should be taught by force
- If they don't want they may live in other country
- If they are living with us they should obey our rules
- I am happy with all the clauses except of the one related to schools
- It should be only Azerbaijanis living in NK
- In general we would like no Armenians in our country
- They should live the same way as other ethnical groups in Azerbaijan
- As soon as the independence provided they should be provided with languages
- As soon as there is a peace they will again live comfortably as they used to
- We should not agree on Armenians to live in NK
- Armenians are very close to us
- It is impossible for 2 societies to live together
- 2 societies can only live separately – shops separate, schools should be separate
- In any case co-living is possible
- Armenians who are citizens of Azerbaijan are using the general rights
- Azerbaijan is juridical state. State system is guarantee of our security and also is guarantee for other ethnical groups living in the territory of Azerbaijan.
- Repressions and violence and other cases breaking human rights are not acceptable
- In the frame of constitution all the rights should be used
- Azerbaijan guarantees the observance of human rights to Armenians
- There are Armenian language schools in the territory where Armenians compactly live
- Azerbaijan language should be taught as national language, Azerbaijani and Armenian history and literature should be taught on parallel to each other
- Such scenario can not provide sustainable peace. Azerbaijan society will constantly be under influence.
- On the basis that Nagorno Karabakh is consistent part of Azerbaijan the economical, political and social institutions will be renewed
- Why Karabakh should get high autonomy being as a part of Azerbaijan?
- The ones that are studying in Armenian language will not learn Azerbaijani language
- Armenian can study in Armenian language if he wishes but the major native language should remain Azerbaijani language
- Armenian societies should have radio, newspapers
- And also Armenians should not be admitted to legislative or regulative positions
- Nationality is not taken into account during our current parliament elections
- NK Armenians should not have a chance to determine their fate themselves
- We have Russians and Jews in parliament but there is not any regulation on election of Armenian to the parliament
- There are 76 ethnical groups in Azerbaijan
- Why do they not do a revolution?

- Azerbaijan is very tolerant country
- Armenians are getting used to our traditions
- The citizens of NK are Azerbaijanis and from this point of view there is not reason in giving them independence
- The state is ready to provide the high autonomy-the subject matter is not like that
- Society is the group of people who share one territory, culture and traditions and have the same problems
- There should be the same rights for all the citizens notwithstanding the religion and ethnical origin
- All ne nationality oriented organizations should cease their activities in the territory of Azerbaijan
- NK should not be given the high autonomy. NK is not a food that we should share with our guests.
- Military forces and police are the major strength of the state. Therefore Armenians can not occupy these kind of positions.
- This satisfies our position. I don't agree only with clause 4.The state should give guarantee to Armenians.
- We can justify that we can not live together with Armenians.
- One of the disadvantages here is to hand over the regulation to Armenians.
- Azerbaijan state guarantees the Armenians in the whole territory of Azerbaijan that there will be no violence, repressions and their security will be provided.
- Armenians in Azerbaijan as well as population of NK are getting the highest ethnical and human rights.
- The population gets the opportunity to choose the language of learning which may be Armenian or any other in NK.
- The legislation provides the participation of Armenians in the management system. The legislation of military services and police meets the interests of Armenian society.
- The proportion should be obtained in elections and in general management.
- There are many discontents on remaining of Armenian currency and language in NK
- Even if NK is regained Armenians in this territory will be using Armenian passport
- It is not right them to obtain passports from Armenia
- NK should get the autonomy the same as Nakchivan
- It is not right to use Armenian currency (dram) in NK. Therefore we should prepare the population to this
- NK can get high level of independence remaining as a consistent part of Azerbaijan
- Armenian language can not be the language of studies
- Why Armenia should interfere to our business on different levels
- Let them have their own schools, television and programs but be as a part of Azerbaijan - Tatarstan Model
- If there is a peace high ethnical and human rights can be provided

- If we are providing the cultural independence we should agree with this
- A few young people claim that they would not like the schools in Armenian language exist
- If there is a peace we are not against of Armenian representatives in Azerbaijani political elite
- The conditions for living should be prepared for both societies
- Armenians should only come and go as guests
- There should be a separate school opened for Armenians
- We don't want them to be at the regulative positions of Azerbaijan
- In general the ethnical rights should be provided
- Cultural independence
- Azerbaijan is unitary republic. We can not give the same level of independence as in Nakchivan to NK
- In education everyone can make his own choice.
- Every citizen can make his own choice of language.
- If our security is broken whilst we are in neighbourhood with Armenia then we don't need it.
- Because they have already established their social life here.
- I will never ever study together with Armenian.
- Azerbaijanis will not go for living to the places where Armenian lived.
- Armenians can think the same. Therefore it is impossible to live together.
- We are not ready to live together with Armenians.
- We used to live with Armenians in previous times and to be in conflict at the same time.
- Also our co-living with Armenians is impossible.
- Our generation will accept it with difficult.
- Only in foreign countries we can live peacefully together.
- After a while the co-living may be possible.
- The Armenians that are in Karabakh should get Azerbaijani citizenship.
- The Nakhchivan option can be used for Karabakh.
- The establishment of Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Republic option may be acceptable for us.
- But receiving the high autonomy is not true and is not acceptable for us.
- We can let Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh to get the education in their own language.
- Armenians can occupy the appropriate positions in Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabakh but they have to be citizens of Azerbaijan.
- We should make the educational development
- After such an issue Azerbaijanis will not be able to live together with Armenians
- Another proposal is to build Berlin Wall in Nagorno Karabakh which will let Armenians to live from one side and Azerbaijanis from another side.
- Language and money should be Azerbaijani.
- In reality the Armenians living in Nagorno Karabakh should be issued Armenian passport

- Nagorno Karabakh territory should remain as a part of Azerbaijan but Armenians can't live together with Azerbaijanis.
- As Nagorno Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan the regulation should be from Azerbaijan side.
- The highest level of ethnical and human rights can be given to Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh.
- Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh may get the same rights as other small national parts of Azerbaijan.
- We cannot believe that even if the peaceful agreement is signed the process of living Armenians with Azerbaijanis together peacefully is a very difficult issue.
- There is no way to accept the Armenian language and drama in NK. The preference should be given to Azerbaijan language.
- Armenian dram and language cannot remain as official monetary base and language.
- The human rights of Armenians should also be protected there.
- The preference should be given to Azerbaijan language.
- The internal and external politics of the country should be regulated only by the president.
- The citizens of Karabakh can get abroad only via Azerbaijan passport.
- Only after that the issue with respect of the rights of Armenians will be discussed.
- The Armenian national currency Dram cannot be used as national currency in NK.
- It is economy standing behind any type of monetary base. The monetary system should be single.
- There will be a government guarantee of the security and human rights protection of the population of Karabakh which will not lead to any repressions or violence
- Armenians as all the rest ethnical groups living in Azerbaijan will have the same human rights
- The education in secondary school may be self choosing but only in the frame of the educational legislation of Azerbaijan Republic
- As all the rest Azerbaijan citizens Armenians will be also be able to participate in regulation based on the legislation of Azerbaijan Republic
- The population in NK should get their passport from Azerbaijan. Special regime organizations should keep in mind the Azerbaijan population with Armenian origin.
- It will be impossible to live together
- There should not be a society of NK
- Why should we go back to separate societies? Elementary society period
- We may achieve the resolution of the conflict by establishing the democratic society
- State language should never be Armenian. however armenian minority population can use their language. But not at the State level

- Armenian currency is not acceptable. Manat should be in place
- NK is not a state so all inter relation should be carried through the Azerbaijani government and the state
- Azerbaijan had has a preference upon Armenians all the time
- They are provided with pupils and school language
- It means that we are providing them with better conditions than ours
- Population of NK has to obtain Azerbaijani passports to travel and act based on Azerbaijani state rules
- Azerbaijan should use the models of other states where the minority pupil are present
- And the ways these states are managing and operating
- legislations and mechanisms should be agreed and then the decision regarding the Highest autonomy is to be implemented
- Will be used as a foreign language in schools
- Religious factors and human rights of armenian people are to be in place
- We should agree to education
- Because this contradicts with principles of Azerbaijan and can cause danger in future
- have to go back and live together
- Azerbaijan and Armenia have to live in peace we want peace
- NK is our territory and should contain our attributes; this should be explained to Armenians in NK
- Before the conflict NK used to be region but now will become Autonomy Republic
- The participation of Armenians in legislative leg of government is impossible
- Armenians as a part of NK can be our citizens and be provided with all the rights
- I don't agree with the fact of providing Armenians in NK with fortune self provisioning – it should be only as it used to be – they can live there, private and exception rights shouldn't be given
- NK issue should be resolved even de facto – it means being a part of Azerbaijan. National government should arrange and provide people of that territory with equal rights.
- Armenians will be also be able to serve in the army on equal rights basis
- Then it means that Azerbaijan is providing with the same rights both sides Azerbaijan and Armenia and it also means that Armenians will be also encouraged to serve in army
- It is not real and Armenians will never serve in Azerbaijan army
- Armenians citizens can serve in Azerbaijan army
- If we realize the current picture the II scenario may be acceptable
- Why NK should have been occupied? Because this territory is suitable for tourism
- One amendment such as limitation of Armenians participation in legislation should be done to this scenario
- There is not such expression as "Karabakh population"

- It is not about high autonomy just autonomy. According to the scenario the opportunity of learning Armenian language to Armenians living in NK exists.
- We should explain them that we can live in neighborhood
- The aim of our current politics is this scenario. Both nationalities will not be able to live together
- The previous experiences can not be repeated
- One of the aspects of this conflict is religion
- I don't agree with other clauses other than the first ones because Armenians will never be able to live with us together
- Armenian population should not present in army this part is under the debates
- This scenario suits us but only with one exception – the population gets chance to be educated in Armenian and other desired languages. This can't be possible

Military Security

Armenians

- Scenario 1 is unacceptable, first of all, for Armenians. We are being held in a state of martial law nearly all the time.
- The only positive aspect of Scenario 1 is the preservation of safety both for Armenia and Nagorni Karabakh, within the existing format. In order not to face a situation where the future generations say "It was all Stalin or someone else who resolved the situation not in our favor", we will have to be prudent. No haste. Yet the powerful states are hastening us.
- If Karabakh becomes independent, it will be lost by all means.
- The more lands we surrender to Azerbaijan, the greater the danger for Armenia.
- It is possible that Armenians gain a lot through negotiations. However, if there is a danger of war, I would vote for rising together against the enemy, like we did in the battle of Avarayr: we did not win but we did not let anybody defeat us.
- We have to have a clear understanding of what "compromise" means. We do not have guarantees that after our return we will live in peace, do we.
- Autonomy will undoubtedly exclude the possibility of having our own army, which is not advantageous for us.
- Security: this should be our goal.
- Scenario 3 is not bad, but the protection zone should by all means be maintained.
- A very dangerous option. We'd better rely on ourselves.
- We are protecting our borders. Whoever wants to be a frontier guard should stand and guard own border.
- Our army is short of soldiers. We have to agree to the peacekeepers' involvement.
- I don't have faith in international forces. We are our masters.
- We need flexible diplomacy so that the war is not resumed.

- The primary significance of the liberated territories is ensuring the safety of Karabakh and Armenia.
- Today we have to create guarantees for tomorrow.
- One of the positive sides of this scenario is that today Karabakh ensures its security by means of the adjacent territories.
- Only the Armenian army will ensure the security of Karabakh.
- The danger of restarting a war is always there.
- It is an explosive situation. The ceasefire is periodically being violated and this makes our security quite vulnerable.
- The status quo is not a guarantee. The war may restart any minute.
- In case of Scenario 2 war is unavoidable: a Turk is always a Turk.
- Highlighting once again the priority of safety, we have to come to the following conclusion without more ado: in case of the status quo where there are not even international guarantees, the factor of security is higher than in this second scenario.
- The second scenario is still alive because they still hope that with pressure and coercion they will be able to achieve a convenient (for themselves) solution of the issue.
- Who will be guaranteeing the on-land communication between Armenia and Nagorni Karabakh?
- The roads can be opened only in circumstances of peace.
- The price is too high: give us Zangezour and we will give you Artsakh. This is what they are telling us.
- This scenario is more dangerous than the status quo. This is a defeatist scenario. We ourselves are making Zangezour a bargain-able territory? We cannot ignore this bomb.
- Lachin and Meghri cannot be made identical: Lachin was acquired with blood. And what about Meghri? Are we supposed to just give it as a gift?
- Even when we were a defeated country we never gave up Meghri. Now we will be surrendering it as a winning country?
- The war may be beneficial for the Azerbaijanis but not for us.
- Azerbaijan's military budget is nearly as big as Armenia's state budget.
- The army should be there by all means, irrespective of any solution. We should never forget what kind of neighbors we have.
- This is a temporary stillness, just to muster our strength. That's the summary.
- The more the new generation grows, the more they are brought up the way they want. And we are helping our children to escape from the service in the army...
- The issue of our security is more vital for us. Communication with Iran is a strategically important issue. We are depriving ourselves of communication with another state.
- Territories can decide issues of independence and national prospects. Submitting of territories will mean Armenia without any prospects.
- The main thing I don't like about this scenario is the idea of sovereign corridor. We can't let them have it.

- Returning of the adjacent territories plus sovereign corridor equals implementation of Pan-Turkish plans.
- NO promises about better life will make us move to Karabakh as long as the problem of security is not resolved.
- At any rate, the hazard of war will always be there. Our adversary is too insatiable. They wanted Lake Sevan and Yerevan, too.
- The hazard of war grows as time goes by. This situation has to be resolved.
- The war must be procrastinated for as long as possible. We don't believe there is another, better option. Armenia's powers are not enough.
- Meghri is our gateway. As long as Azerbaijan has no access to Turkey via Nakhijevan, their actions shall be limited.
- If the danger of war still hovers above us, we should change something. How long can we go on like this?
- If we give back the territories once again, the only thing we will be left with is Yerevan.
- Breaking the psychological stability of our army is more dangerous. We are bringing up a generation of winners, whereas surrendering the lands will contravene that self-assurance. We must think hard about that.
- As a consequence of providing a sovereign corridor Armenia will find itself encircled by Turkish states. And not only Armenia, but also Iran. Iran should speak against this issue, too.
- If we give Karabakh, we will someday give Armenia, too.
- In case of giving up a single piece of land, the entire Armenia will be cleared of Armenians because of this policy.
- Closed borders are first of all advantageous for us. This is a matter of security and national dignity.
- If the leaders of the state feel that suffering and pain are gradually departing from our memories, they can start a war.
- We should not think about whether to believe the Azerbaijanis or not; instead we must believe in ourselves, in our leaders and in our strength.
- If we had spiritual strength this thing would never have happened to us.
- I used to trust the Soviet Army. But I am afraid of the Armenian Army.
- I agree that the war recommencement risk is high, given that there is no progress towards the regulation of this issue.
- If this status continues, even if the war does not start, Azerbaijan will attack us periodically trying to instigate fighting.
- Opening of the borders will instigate a third and a fourth war.
- Obviously, the current ceasefire creates an illusion of peace, but that is not the best solution in terms of security.
- Nakhijevan is already in their hands, now they want Karabakh in their hands. What will there remain? Just taking Syunik and that'll be all?
- With the second scenario implemented, the safety of the Armenian population will be at hazard.

- If we are going to be surrounded by the Turks, no Armenian family will sleep tight.
- Even as of this moment they are breaking the ceasefire. If we let them closer, if we move the frontline closer, do you imagine what is going to happen? You can't let your enemy enter your home!
- For Goris specifically, the overland communication with Meghri is more important than that with Karabakh.
- We are protecting the border at Tavoush while we can. But as soon as they bring the border closer it will be much harder. In such event we would be talking about total war.
- If our neighbors continue to develop and become more powerful, our fears will materialize one day. They are still trying to intimidate us with their belligerent proclamations.
- Generations may forget the purposes and objectives of this war, but there is also a positive aspect to that: the fact that Artsakh is an Armenian land is now embedded in their brains. They will imagine no other reality.
- Eh, man, we need a lot of young Nzhdehs... There are no more such courageous people...
- For the sake of our security we won't do such a thing.
- It will be very hard for the UN to protect our safety.
- The international community did accept the independence of Kosovo, yet the problem has not been solved so far. The same thing will happen to Karabakh.
- We should reinforce the border...
- Even if Baku runs out of oil it will be more powerful than Armenia. We should not anticipate that with the end of oil they will be destabilized.
- The risk of war increases in the situation of a status quo.
- It would be good if we at least had some kind of an agreement corroborating, for instance, that for a certain period of time there will be no war.
- With the third scenario implemented, Armenia will find itself in a boiler!
- The risk of restarting a war is especially perceptible now. The belligerent proclamations of the Azerbaijanis have no end...
- Some day there will be put an end to this situation and that is going to be war.
- The fact that Gyumri does not have a border with Azerbaijan does not imply that we are more protected.
- The minute Russia leaves us on our own, the Azerbaijanis will attack...
- Today there is information about the Kurdish warriors' repopulation in the areas around Nagorni Karabakh.
- This "no peace no war" situation is quite unstable and dangerous. The probability of a new war is quite high.
- In the first scenario there is a hazard of war recommencement. If we remove that hazard, Scenario 1 will work for us.
- The status quo does not contain any advantages for us because Azerbaijan is growing more powerful, and the later the war starts the heavier it will be for us.
- Our security is not protected. We must have a powerful army, no matter what.

- People should feel that they are protected by their government. This is a major problem in Armenia.
- We must ensure the security of the people in Karabakh with our own resources.
- If war starts tomorrow, only the regular people will be going to war. No oligarch will let his son go to the war and fight.
- This “no war, no peace” situation cannot be maintained forever.
- There are no guarantees that the status quo will continue.
- Who can guarantee that after the provision of that road they will not start terrorist activities against us?
- I am telling you as a military man: by giving a sovereign territory Armenia will subside itself. Now we are very strong.
- Who will give us safety guarantees? I don't believe in any guarantees...
- To resolve this issue Armenia would need one thing: an atomic bomb!
- How do I know, will Azerbaijan rise one day and destroy Karabakh altogether or not? Remember how Georgia attacked Abkhazia?
- The current situation is full of anxiety of war.
- The status quo is full of war risk, and that is a serious psychological pressure on both of our nations.
- If this scenario goes on longer, we will suffer. We are losing, people.
- How can we be satisfied with the current situation when the threat of war keeps growing day by day?
- It is vitally important for us that we do not let the war recommence.
- We must avoid war in the first place. Maybe it is worth to give back the so-called “spare” or “occupied” lands just to avoid fighting?
- Yesterday there was another shooting in the vicinity of the village Khachik.
- The “no war” situation is good, of course. But it's the “no peace” situation that makes our life difficult.
- It would be easier to find a common language with the father, Heydar Aliyev rather than the son. Ilham Aliyev is more belligerent.
- As a citizen of Armenia I am telling you that our people are not ready for a second war. If another generation is destroyed, there will be no nation left.
- The most crucial thing for us is the safety of Karabakh.
- Every month an Armenian soldier is killed on the border. That is the price that we are ready to pay to protect the lands.
- I believe it would be more appropriate if the Karabakhi soldiers served in Armenia, just the way the soldiers of Armenia serve in Nagorni Karabakh. Thus, we will be able to create new points of contact and communication.
- Why do they discriminate among our soldiers? Our soldiers go to serve in Karabakh but their soldiers do not come to serve in Armenia. Where is the logic? Don't we provide all our resources for Artsakh?
- I don't want my brother or my child to serve in the army for the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Mothers send their sons to war with fear in their hearts.

- The boys from Armenia go to serve in Karabakh. Why don't the Karabakhi boys come to serve in Armenia? Why don't they protect the borders of Armenia?
- The government authorities do not have any idea about what is going on in the army now.
- The spirit of our army is invincible.
- Who says that our fate is not in our hands? It is in our hands, we are just unable to realize that.
- If we keep an army now, we will keep it in future, too.
- Our army should be paid (professional).
- We have to feed our army and they will protect our territories.
- Our land should be protected by our own soldiers. No international forces have anything to do with it.
- Our minimum requirement towards our authorities is protecting what we already have today.
- The war has proven that quantity does not guarantee victory.
- Their army has always outnumbered ours. The only good thing about this conflict is that our adversaries are Turks and not, for instance, Chechens or something like that.
- I have gone through the war. Every year aid is collected through the schools and transferred to the soldiers, so that they stay firm and protect our lands decently.
- There is one more guarantee for our safety: that's our consolidation. We have to be consolidated from top to the bottom. Only in this case will we have a strong army and a powerful state.
- We use the available resources to strengthen our defense. However, even if there is no war, our main assets should be directed towards the strengthening of our army.
- A developed country, developed economy and a powerful army. This is our goal.
- We should live in peace, we should live without conflicts but at the same time we should protect our borders the best we can.
- Mandatory conscription, of course, mandatory conscription. How else would you imagine? Existence of an army is natural and logical for all countries. Why are you highlighting that issue in this specific case?

Azerbaijanis

- The security should be provided based on the agreement of both sides
- If the conflict resolves peacefully more sustainable piece may be obtained
- The soldiers are coming over our territories pretty often
- The resolution of this conflict is only peace
- Armenia has already got a feeling that Azerbaijan is ready to regain its territories
- If we want to resolve this peacefully we should compromise.
- NK can not remain under occupation
- We want the guarantee of the security
- It is not acceptable that Armenians militaries provide the security of NK

- One of the positive factors of occupation may be development of patriotic spirit in people
- The most important for us is the territorial integrity and this should be provided
- The main reason of it is provision of our security which seems to be unreal
- Baku may become lost if we forget about them after this
- Military services of Nagorno Karabakh doesn't provide the security
- Independence of Karabakh and remaining as consistent part of Armenia is even more dangerous for Azerbaijan
- Let Armenia admit our territorial integrity and we in our turn will create conditions for them to live in Nagorno Karabakh
- NK may not remain under Armenia's occupation no way
- Alternative way is: war and peace
- NK can never be the part of Armenia
- We should obligatory strengthen the army
- Van Kards should come and prepare the army
- Army is strengthening from day to day
- Army should be more organized
- The situation in military service is not so good, as the soldiers cover all their expenses themselves
- Our military services and means are weak and we don't have experts who can have knowledge in this and also no financial resources devoted to this.
- National consciousness and morale should be strengthened among the soldiers
- The military forces of NK cannot provide security together with Armenia
- It should be only Azerbaijani military forces.
- The money spent on houses should be spent on military services
- I am Azerbaijani and therefore I have to protect and support my homeland
- Military security forces of Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh can not protect the borders of Nagorno Karabakh
- NK may not achieve the independent military forces
- Azerbaijan military forces should be located in NK
- We should strengthen the army

Demography

Armenians

- 50.000 Azerbaijanis used to live on those territories. Now that they hear about repopulation there will be five million of them...
- I think that we should not let that happen. Wherever the Azerbaijanis go, they settle there, and we will once again be the ones to lose.
- The refugees will return and this means that very soon Karabakh will be totally inhabited by the Azerbaijanis.
- Azerbaijanis are good diplomats. They will develop a strategy of rapid proliferation and that's it.

- Don't you think that the minute the Azerbaijanis increase in number on our territory, they will demand territorial self-determination?
- Azerbaijani refugees should not be allowed to come back to Karabakh because in twenty years they will spread out rapidly and if there is a referendum, they will easily resolve any issue in their own favor.
- We have a serious issue: Azerbaijanis are forcing Armenians out, meanwhile the number of Armenians in the United States is growing...
- In case of realization of this scenario there won't be a single Karabakhi in Karabakh.
- The fourth scenario contains demographic hazards.
- As much as it is painful to admit, we haven't been able to increase the population in Nagorni Karabakh during the past ten years.
- If the refugees return, the demographic structure of Karabakh will change. The Azerbaijanis will increase in number and soon they will form majority; and in case of a referendum Karabakh will again be handed over to Azerbaijan.
- Armenia is filled now with Karabakhis. They don't think about their homeland. Do I have to go and live myself in Karabakh?
- We should enhance the process of repopulation on a national level.
- Repopulation is not satisfactory for us because the Azerbaijanis will repopulate the land with ten instead of one.
- Azerbaijanis give birth to ten children whereas the Armenians have only two, at best. We will suffer at any rate.
- Within ten years the Azerbaijanis will outnumber the Armenians; therefore we will not have any opportunity to win a referendum.
- The minute we open the borders, the Turks will come to defeat Armenia.
- Let us recall how they built Khojalu. It was a program of Turkization.
- As a democratic option, Scenario 4 seems to be acceptable. But let us not forget that during the transitional period the number of the Azerbaijanis may significantly increase and that may lead the results of the referendum in a totally different direction.
- If it goes on like this, both Karabakh and Armenia will lose their Armenian population.
- Azerbaijan will quickly gain demographic advantage both in Karabakh and in Armenia.
- We don't need Azerbaijan's oil or birth rate.
- Everybody knows how quickly the Azerbaijanis reproduce. In five or ten years they will form majority of the population in the area, accordingly the results of any referendum will not be in our favor.
- We are well aware of the Muslim inclination to reproduce rapidly. That is a catastrophe! We should keep Artsakh clean.
- Do we have official statistics as to how many Azerbaijanis used to reside in Nagorni Karabakh? Only after clarifying that can we conduct a referendum in Karabakh.

- As opposed to the Armenians, the people of Azerbaijan are a rapidly reproducing nation. In a few years they will form majority and there will be no more referendum in favor of the Armenians.
- The Armenians gradually decrease in number while the Turks keep increasing. Demographically, they have an obvious quantitative privilege.
- The children of our village move to Yerevan and never come back.
- Europe has already fallen into the trap of the Turkish proliferation. They keep growing and growing. Do they even imagine what's going to happen?
- The Azerbaijanis do not have a mentality of a victim. Neither can they understand what losing home means. They are nomads. They will come and fill this place, and we will be compelled to play the neighbor game again. And everything will start anew.
- If the status quo goes on longer, Karabakh will be deprived of Armenians.
- The Armenian women deliver a maximum of three children. If we let only ten Azerbaijani women come here, they will have so many children that it will be the end of the story for the Armenians.
- The return of the Azerbaijani refugees will create a risk of changing the demographic structure of the population in the area within a very short period of time.
- A lot of people are moving to Karabakh from the provinces of Armenia, and if more of them move to Karabakh as time goes by, the situation will be resolved in our advantage.
- Our supremacy should be ensured not only by our army, but also by our population. If we do repopulate our lands the question will be half-solved.
- The Karabakh people will have to gain control over their land, they will have to return to their land and Armenia will have to support them.
- The issue of repopulation of the territories is very important. We are neglecting that.
- The primary issue is returning the people of Karabakh to Karabakh.
- What I want more is for the Armenians spread all over the world to come back home.
- The young people that leave the provinces for big cities hardly ever go back to their villages.
- I am a half-Karabakhi native. I wanted so much to go back there and work as a teacher, but everything was done to get in the way of that. What I want to say is that there is no distinct policy about repopulation and having people live in Karabakh.
- If the Azerbaijanis were smart enough, they would have given us both Karabakh and Nakhijevan long ago. I'll tell you why: you know how rapidly they used to reproduce here. In time they would have outnumbered us and would have resolved any issue in their own favor.
- There is very little population in Karabakh today. The birth rate should be encouraged there because lands are maintained by the people who live there.

- All the people who left Karabakh must return to their residences, be it regular workers or presidents, so that those regions start to prosper and the struggle for Karabakh comes to a victorious conclusion.
- If there were no Armenians in Nakhijevan before, there would not be an Autonomous Region of Nakhijevan. What I mean to say is that our power is in the people, in the repopulation of the territories.
- The government should send university graduates to work in Karabakh.
- If we want to keep Karabakh, we should not bring the Karabakhis and settle them in Yerevan and send the crazy people of Yerevan to live in Nagorni Karabakh.
- What is it that holds us back from having many children? We work hard on quality...
- The issue of priority for us is our security and reproduction. The idea of repopulation is just absurd!

Azerbaijanis

- The increase in population of NK may allow them to take the regulation in the country on their own again
- The economy of Karabakh should be strengthened so that people are directed there
- There are many acceptable aspects in this scenario but if such way of resolution is accepted we need to make sure that the majority of population is - Azerbaijan society

Threats and fears

Armenians

- I don't want us to surrender any territories; neither do I want the war to continue. I want peace. We have to think of something different. If we surrender ANY territory, tomorrow they will claim Lake Sevan, too.
- Our only guarantees are our unity and power.
- Today's circumstances are situational, vague, uncertain, and hardly bearable. This cannot go on for long.
- Long suspense is very dangerous from psychological and moral point of view: it affects the mentality of the population.
- Time is working for Azerbaijan. We should find a solution to this problem NOW.
- The issue should be transferred from the political field into the legal area where everything is clear: today's Azerbaijan does not even consider itself a legal successor of the Azerbaijan of 1918.
- I don't know, man, I really don't know... But I fear that the cat's play will turn into the mouse's death. By God, may we not be in the position of the mouse...
- If we have to go for a compromise, we should do it without a war.

- We should act quickly. Another 50-100 years and the future generations will be left with no chances to resolve this issue.
- All these issues should be coordinated with the Dashnaks.
- We are giving away lands now and receiving vain promises. How will that work?
- We keep harming ourselves. We do not have any diplomatic skills.
- This situation must change. There are people living here, there is a country living; this situation may not go on for a long time.
- We will have to resolve this conflict today because the longer it persists, the more difficult the solution to any problem becomes.
- Persistence of this situation may aggravate our security and lead to a more extensive international intervention in our problem.
- Opening the borders will bring about serious risks. We do not need to open borders.
- No promise will be kept. These are all just lies.
- We must think about the security of Armenia. That is the foremost goal.
- The party of the Young Turks was also promising and guaranteeing things. Remember what happened in the aftermath?...
- Scenario 4 has a hidden menace within. On the background, we are practically discussing the option of giving our home away to Azerbaijan.
- Opening the border is more dangerous. It better stay closed. The Turks will come flying and then even Armenia will become theirs. Did you know there are eight million Turks living in Germany. What if one million of them decide to come here?
- The Azerbaijani diplomacy is quite different from ours. They never get enough. If we give them one territory, they will claim more and more.
- If two contrary things are ratified, I mean two conflicting norms of international law, then conflicts and misunderstandings will be unavoidable.
- We have an innate fear. We have burned our fingers many times after having relied on outsiders...
- The fourth scenario implies that we do not want anything but we leave everything to them, eh?...
- Today hostility is tremendous and no positive action is anticipated from Azerbaijan.
- Today there is a risk of war. As long as the Armenians and the Turks live in this world, the danger of war will exist.
- There will come the day when the governments will make compromises, but that does not imply that we have to surrender any lands.
- It would be wiser to make our conditions more stringent and our requirements larger in quantity.
- Not opening the Armenian-Turkish border will not cut off our oxygen.
- How will opening of the border make us more powerful? If there were a wish to become more powerful, we could become powerful right now. It's just a matter of wanting.
- Azerbaijan never acts in our favor.
- We won by virtue of arms but we were defeated by paper.

- Why do we think that the Turks are less intelligent than we are, and that they will not take advantage of the opened borders?
- Our diplomats will surrender at the front line on the very same day.
- If we look at it more closely, we will see that Azerbaijan is really fighting to get access to Nakhijevan through Armenia. And Karabakh is a play card for Azerbaijan.
- I am against opening the border with Turkey because in a situation of war Turkey will be able to transfer its forces to Azerbaijan with greater ease.
- The solution will come in time. Trading will also start in time. It is Nakhijevan that stands in the way of opening our avenues. We will take Nakhijevan or will construct a parallel railway.
- Every process has its positive as well as negative aspects. The positive thing is that Artsakh was not totally deprived of the Armenians. Secondly, Nagorni Karabakh even as a non-recognized state provides an opportunity for thousands of its residents to live in their homeland and protects their safety. The negative side is that economic development is too slow and, secondly, that tremendous resources are directed towards keeping an army. Thirdly, internationally speaking, both the Republic of Armenia and Nagorni Karabakh have certain difficulties. To sum up, Armenian people should be able to live safely in their motherland. This is the utmost priority. Independence will come later.
- This situation is not to go on for long. There are a lot of associated difficulties: future is uncertain, blockade stands in the way of development, and Karabakh is unable to start formal relationships.
- If we were sure in our safety, we would certainly make some compromises. But we are not.
- If we make some compromises now, we will immediately lose everything. We are not feeble: we must continue struggling.
- We are not to forget the lessons of history: the Turks have always promised us manna from heaven.
- Repeating own mistakes is unforgivable; we should not let ourselves be deceived.
- In the third scenario Azerbaijan gets a sovereign corridor through the territory of the Republic of Armenia to ensure its communication with Nakhijevan. This is unacceptable!
- We must not allow for this scenario to be implemented because we cannot give them a road to Nakhijevan via our territory.
- When peace is established, no one will prohibit the cars' traffic through that territory, but that is our territory and the road is ours.
- There is not a single family that has escaped the casualties of war; even thousands of guarantees will not be persuasive enough.
- Discussion of Meghri should be removed altogether.
- If we are friends, then why do they require a special road for communication? Isn't that superfluous?
- The sovereign territory via Armenia is a dangerous idea.

- Armenians shed their blood to bring back those territories; how can we return them?
- In case of realization of the third scenario Armenia is going to lose Zangezur.
- If the Key West option was so good, why were they keeping it in secret from the people?
- Giving up Meghri would mean opening up gates for Panturkism.
- They are requiring communication with Nakhijevan for Azerbaijan. How about us establishing connection with Iran?
- I am categorically against the opening of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border.
- Giving back our lands or providing a sovereign territory is a continuation of the Genocide.
- Even if the Azerbaijanis acknowledge the Karabakhi peoples' right for self-determination they will later renounce it. They have nothing sacred. Their word cannot serve a pledge for us.
- We keep talking about the end of the self-determination process. What will we gain after the end of that process?
- We must bring up a generation that knows that this is Nagorni Karabakh and it is a legitimate territory of Armenia.
- We need national ideology. We should treat our neighbors neighborly but we cannot forget about ourselves.
- Attention should be paid to the border-line villages: they should be repopulated, jobs should be created, and activities should start.
- There are Azerbaijanis living in the north of Iran. If problems arise, the road will be closed.
- Destroying Armenia is an idea that originates from the policy of the Party of Young Turks.
- The Azerbaijanis are already looking for good lands in Margara.
- Providing a road through Meghri would mean offering Armenia as a present to the Turks and the Azerbaijanis.
- Do whatever you do but no more bullets flying, please. I am sick of that.
- It looks like we are making more compromises than Azerbaijan.
- Any ceasefire is a preparation for a new, more severe war; therefore the issue should be resolved as fast as possible but in favor of us.
- Fear is controlling everyone here today. People are afraid to cultivate the border-line soils.
- If the war resumes for at least ten days, no one will stay in these areas: all of us will abandon our homes and leave.
- We do not want war; please, do everything so that there is only peace.
- We no longer hope for anything good because everything is only getting worse and worse.
- Any uncertainty or suspense is more dangerous than the most brutal war.
- If we give way to fear, they will try to terrorize us even more, and tomorrow they will come and tell us to give them Syunik.
- Living in fear is not good.

- It is the fault of the Soviet period that the Armenians do not know well their own history. The same deficiency still carries on.
- We are not blameless, too, you know. But what can we do? The only thing is uniting.
- We must get rid of this fear.
- The current situation is very good with the exception of the fact that there is fear among us, and that's because of the fact that this situation has not been ratified by corresponding documents.
- Any question must have a solution, but this situation cannot go on for a long time.
- We want changes; we are tired of this condition that has been going on for fifteen years.
- Continuous postponement of this issue will eventually lead to an unfavorable resolution for us.
- We'd better give Karabakh to Azerbaijan because the Karabakhis have already conquered Armenia...
- We don't want to see war. Forbid God!
- In any case we must try to avoid war. But I also hate to think that my perished son's blood was shed in vain.
- Of course, there exists a differentiation between the people of Armenia and the people of Karabakh. However, when it comes to the solution of the Karabakh conflict, we should put all those differences aside.
- Maybe it is our centuries-long ability of conformation that has brought us here. We must fight that...
- We need to have identical national ideology in any diplomatic activity, any discussion of any issue.
- Better everything stay as it is today because neither the third, nor the fourth or the fifth scenarios, even more so the second scenario, are beneficial for us. One of them proposes that we give back territories, the other envisages return of the refugees, the third one wants us to provide a corridor...
- Armenia should study thoroughly the examples of Abkhazia, Kosovo and others. Only after that should Armenia sit down and develop an option that is most advantageous for the country. We should not "let ourselves be swallowed"...
- The status quo hinders the development of Armenia but affects the image of all the three countries, Armenia, Karabakh and Azerbaijan.
- Today's status quo is not good for anybody. It is only good for the authorities.
- Uncertainty is a bad thing. I do not agree with the status quo situation because I do not see any positive sides to it.
- The danger of border trespassing is always there, that is why this scenario is not acceptable.
- I would want Armenia to give consent to this scenario in order to avoid additional casualties in future.

- The population of Armenia is not psychologically prepared for the unification with Karabakh. We will have to resolve that moral and psychological issue first, and then transfer the question into the political field.
- When we say that we need changes, it does not mean that we are scared of the situation. We just need to get rid of this dependent situation.
- People are getting tired. There should be some results already...
- We live in a borderline village and this state of uncertainty has created an atmosphere of fear. It is easier to withstand the economic hardships than overcome this insecurity.
- In order for Armenia to get out of this situation, it needs this clan of Karabakhi mafia to depart from governance.
- We need to get out of this status quo and come to a state of stability so that we start getting aid from foreign countries and the international community recognizes the independence of Nagorni Karabakh.
- If we leave it for the future, this issue will hardly ever be resolved. No guarantees can be trusted. Who will guarantee that we won't be in more terrible conditions tomorrow?
- About the fourth scenario: why don't our people go to live on the liberated territories? Because there are no adequate conditions and there is fear. My uncle was kidnapped by the Azerbaijanis while he was working on his combine in the field.
- There is a risk that in five years we will get accustomed to the situation. We are a nation of reconcilers.
- With the fifth scenario, there will be no stability in Armenia. People will be stricken with panic.
- Any change may deteriorate the situation.
- The heads of the states meet once a month or once a year and we have no idea about the results of those encounters. How can we sit back and relax? What are they doing? Are they cheating us or giving us hope, we have no idea. How long can we live dependently like this? Why don't they explain to the public what's going on?
- The answer to the question "Until when?" is unknown. We keep asking about that our own government and the Azerbaijanis keep asking theirs.
- We are going to lose the basin of Lake Sevan...
- Today's authorities have not been elected. They have usurped the power! We cannot go on like this!
- Our citizens have no idea about the diplomatic progress in this issue.
- If the president signs any document, the people will revolt, that's natural!
- The people are not fully informed. We have no idea about how our diplomats represent the position of our country on the international arena.
- Armenians are not scared easily...
- There are differences between the people of Armenia and Karabakh. There is no tension, but there are dissimilarities.
- Let everything resolve in a peaceful way. I am telling this as a mother of a soldier.

- We have no hope that our voice will ever be heard.
- This situation keeps everyone in suspense.
- The status quo may be satisfactory for the younger generation; yet how long can it continue?
- People are not sure whether to build new houses or to abandon those lands for good. We should move forward and provide a solution for this.
- They submitted Western Armenia to the Turks, now we are submitting Nagorni Karabakh to the Azerbaijanis. Who will we submit Armenia to?
- The Turks have always been able to find a way to achieve solutions that made their life ten times better than before.
- There are no guarantees for better future in Armenia. No one can tell what a three-year old should expect in some fifteen years from now.
- I don't like this situation because we are living in an atmosphere of fear.
- We have become victims of civilization. No one can judge the winner after his victory. And yet we allow them to accuse us. There was once Talaat Pasha, but there was also Soghomon (Tehirian). Now they assassinated Hrant Dink but no response followed...
- Scenario 2 is deplorable, as you would expect. In terms of democracy Azerbaijan is not the best country.
- Turkey is also for the resolution of the conflict of Nagorni Karabakh. If we are unable to resolve this issue peacefully, we will remain in conflict with Turkey as well, and in a blockade.
- What independence are we talking about if it is not secure?
- Alternatives are proportional: independence without security or security without independence.
- The situation is becoming much more complicated because of the lack of roads. However, the issue of state security is much more relevant.

Azerbaijanis

- Our people suffer from sociological as well as physical harm
- They also spoil the lands from ecological perspective
- The laws that are accepted in NK should be in compliance with the Azerbaijan legislation
- It is very well known since the ancient times that if we give Armenians free space then they will do the same things
- If we look back to the past we should not re-live such problem again
- It may also be that it will be dangerous to live there
- We are not happy with accepting this territory as autonomy
- There are conditions for terror organizations and drug trafficking
- Kurds with Armenian roots are causing danger
- One point should be added is that the terror organizations should be removed from NK

- The current worrying issue at the moment is the production of drugs in NK as well as the camps which are run by terror organizations
- The Armenians in NK can not obtain passport for going abroad
- One of our major issues should be human rights
- It should not interfere to internal matters
- If Nagorno Karabakh becomes autonomy then may claim for independence
- There should be a state system in Azerbaijan
- Nagorno Karabakh is managed by illegal regime
- If each and every ethnical group gets interested in governing there may born a chaos in the world
- It is not right to accept the official papers from each other in Armenia or Karabakh
- This may cause anarchy in future
- If the elections are carried out transparently then there can be an immediate agreement
- The remaining of Karabakh as a part of Armenia harms not only Azerbaijan but many other countries of the world. The black market is more progressive there
- The Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh are travelling abroad getting the passport from Armenia. We are against it
- Security issue of Azerbaijan population with Armenian origin remains to their own determination
- If Karabakh returns to us and everything stands back to its places it will mean that we have forgotten about our victims
- The business of foreign companies should be ceased there
- Even if the problem is resolved it is too early for opening the borders. Because the number of criminal cases will increase

Politics and Diplomacy

Armenians

- Azerbaijanis are doing their best to discredit us on the international scene. Where are our counter measures and strategies?
- Even Armenia is not independent as of today. We are all under the influence of the Powerful States.
- I am confident that all negotiations are still ahead. It is early to talk about the resolution of the Karabakh conflict because Russia needs Armenia, and Azerbaijan needs other forces.
- Giving Karabakh and Meghri to Azerbaijan, handing over Lori to Georgia, is that what the international community is driving at, ha? Then what? We all go together to live in Yerevan? Turning Armenia into a city-state, that's what the international community wants.
- Only the Russian troupes can protect us in the safety zone.

- We and Azerbaijan are in similar situations today: we are voicing our concern to the world about the Armenian lands that belong to Turkey now, and Baku is bellowing about its lands that are under Armenian control now.
- Russia likes the current situation: the more complicated the situation in the region, the stronger their position gets.
- In reality, it is not the people that resolve conflicts, it's the state.
- War is unacceptable; Georgia should serve as an example.
- Controlling the war does not depend on our wishes or on those of the Azerbaijanis. There exists something called international interest, that's who is playing with our fates.
- Nagorni Karabakh is a lever in the hands of Russia. Russia does with us whatever she wants.
- If the US has issues with Iran, then the danger of instigating a war somewhere close to the Iranian border is constantly in the air. That could be the resumption of the war around Karabakh.
- As a former deputy, I have met with a great number of parliamentaries and negotiators in Karabakh and I have understood one thing: earlier when we were in the position of a supplicant, we were in a different status, in a worse one. But when we are in the position of a compulsory, they will take us into account... Remember, it is the power that gives authority.
- We should not rely on the foreign policy of other states.
- We are considered a greater power in the region than the Azerbaijani vat or the Georgian democracy and pro-Americanism.
- No neighbor should be allowed to intervene in our matters, neither Persia, nor Georgia or others.
- We will lose connection with Iran. Even Georgia is not a sufficient guarantee. It cannot be allowed for Armenia to be turned into an isolated island.
- The question of Nagorni Karabakh should be made level with the notorious Armenian Issue. Van, Erzerum, Nagorni Karabakh ... it's all the same issue.
- Only Armenians insist that the status of Nakhijevan is still in the air (unresolved); yet the whole world maintains that the status of Karabakh is in the air...
- Do you think we are doing the right thing opening our gates widely in front of the Persians?
- Opening of the borders?... This implies that the resolution of the Karabakh conflict depends on Turkey as well? Do I get it right or maybe I am missing something?...
- The agreements of the higher echelons mean nothing. Kosovo is the best example.
- Whatever the powerful states decide, that will be the future. Everything else is just a tall tale.
- We keep saying that the issue of Karabakh cannot be a precondition for the Armenian-Turkish relationships, and yet we continue discussing the question of opening the borders in all of these scenarios.
- It would be better if the borders were open. Everything would be free.

- We should always keep in mind that small states have continuously served as a toy in the hands of the greater ones. This is the same situation.
- America's vote is the decisive one not only in recognition of the Genocide, but also in recognition of Karabakh's independence.
- Turkey will always intervene in this question to support Azerbaijan. They are the same nation.
- We should not forget Russia. Russia can make Turkey refrain from intervention.
- Turkey's sole purpose is the resolution of the conflict in favor of Azerbaijan.
- The powerful states could not care less about Armenia or Azerbaijan.
- We survive because the Turks are aware that Russia is backing us up.
- Armenia is Russia's only bridgehead in the region.
- Any powerful state that supports the resolution of this issue is pursuing its own interests.
- Americans are dangerous: wherever they go people start weeping.
- Associating the opening of the Armenian-Turkish border with the resolution of the Karabakh conflict is dangerous.
- The Armenian-Turkish border should never be opened.
- As long as the Russian-American conflict exists, no territorial issues are going to be resolved. If it were left to both of our nations, we would have found a way out long ago. However, in the controversy of those two powerful states there is a serious conflict of interests.
- I cannot comprehend how the opening of the Armenian-Turkish border can be related to the issue of Nagorni Karabakh.
- The border was closed by the Turks; therefore it is them who have to open it.
- Peace was established thanks to the Russians. Without Russia no progress is fathomable.
- The final settlement of the Nagorni Karabakh conflict is important not only for Armenia, but also for Azerbaijan and Turkey.
- France, Russia and Obama: those are our confederates.
- We have to learn how to play with the powerful states. We have to make use of their Caucasian interests.
- We are a foothold for Russia in Transcaucasia. Russia wants us to be strong: it is in its interests.
- The Azerbaijanis are prevailing in information war. This is what we have to combat.
- Our only hope is associated with the international authorities. We are alone in our quest and are unable to get this issue resolved.
- We have suffered in many respects. There is no one to hold our hand.
- Well, we do not need any roads, we are on a crossroads. We just need to develop a strategy how to make the best use of that crossroads.
- We must beware of Turkey's "soft" diplomacy.
- We have serious work to do in the battlefield of information.
- We don't need opening the border with Turkey at all. Strengthening our relationships with Iran is much more beneficial for us.

- We keep hearing anti-Armenian propaganda from the Azerbaijanis, whereas the Armenian news is quite limited.
- Turkey needs Armenia more than we need them.
- Our diplomacy should work so hard as to get our demands to the right people.
- The Persians are smart. They know our value very well...
- Our diplomats must realize that the issue of Nagorni Karabakh is only part of the Armenian issue. We have segregated it without suspecting that it is just what our enemy wants.
- Irrespective of our opinion, the powerful ones will pursue their own point of view.
- Every state pursues its own interests. Who needs Armenia...?
- The status quo is also dependent on the events and changes going on around the globe. That is a major hazard.
- Opening of the border should be without any preconditions. We agree with the government in that.
- We cannot open the Armenian-Turkish border. At this point there are around 1500 Armenian women in their jails. Do you imagine what's going to happen afterwards...?
- Following the opening of the border, the Turks will pervade Armenia and not vice versa.
- The relationships between Armenia and Azerbaijan do not refer solely to those two countries. Due to rational diplomacy, there are interests engaged from powerful states. This is good because we will be protected from the enemy's assaults.
- Georgia is more dangerous for us now than Turkey.
- Opening of the borders without preconditions is impossible. What does that mean: "Let us open the borders, and then we will adjust those borders". What kind of a neighbor says so?
- Opening of the Armenian-Turkish border cannot be a positive thing...
- No, no, we don't want them to open the borders.
- Football diplomacy? On the uniforms of our players Mount Ararat was replaced by a ball. Is that our diplomacy?
- Opening of the border is in Turkey's interests. We just don't realize that.
- We will have to choose the least of two evils. Out of two Muslim countries we will have to choose communication with Iran and not Turkey.
- In information warfare the Azerbaijanis are always winners. Besides, they are rich. They have oil. That is why many countries support them or do not wish to interfere.
- We do not have decent dipomacy. Today's situation is the best proof of that.
- The reason for all this situation is that we are not really autonomous...
- Instead of going to secret negotiations with the Turks, Armenia should employ serious diplomatic efforts especially with the powerful states of the world so that the world acknowledges the independence of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Diplomacy is diplomacy, but global development is also a hoax. We should think about our national interests.

- The opening of the Armenian-Turkish border has nothing to do with the issue of Nagorni Karabakh.
- To avoid shedding more blood, there should be a compromise. But what should its form look like; that's an issue for the diplomats.
- After the official acknowledgement of the Genocide the issue of Nagorni Karabakh will become more distinct.
- In the present world, wars are conducted with brains not with arms.
- We are unable to prove before the international entities that Karabakh has never been in the structure of Azerbaijan. The powerful countries pursue their own interests. They don't need us.
- The Azerbaijani lobby is huge; therefore Scenario 4 is hazardous for us.
- We must make the Azerbaijanis realize that they should fight for the minimum.
- First of all, we must be friends with Russia. It is a powerful state and everyone is afraid of Russia.
- I would not attach so much importance to the factor of Iran, although it has substantial territories inhabited by Azerbaijani population. Certainly, Iran will not like this scenario.
- We could put our Armenian pride aside for the time being, and hire qualified international diplomats who would treat this issue impartially and without unnecessary emotions.
- Some time ago a lady who was a member to a monitoring commission said to our government: "These territories are not yours. If they were really yours we could come and see flourishing repopulated areas but not this".
- We have to attract to our side as many countries as possible.
- The foreign organizations want justice. We do, too. They ask and we answer what it is that we want. What else do they want?
- Why is Karabakh, the winner at war, not participating in the negotiations? It is necessary that those negotiations be tri-party.
- We will not have any real solutions to this problem unless our political leaders and our diplomats become direct partakers in the negotiation process.
- If the whole world witnesses that the people of Nagorni Karabakh are capable of providing for their own needs both legally and economically, they will start taking us seriously and will start considering our opinion.
- Our efforts should be directed towards convincing the Azerbaijanis that we are right.

Azerbaijanis

- One of such examples is 8.5mln of military provision to Armenia from Russia
- The relationships are very tensed between Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia
- Russia is influencing Turkey via Armenia
- It is Russia establishing such situation
- Russia is interested in having this conflict unresolved

- It means that NK is like a tool in their hands and it is used against us
- The fact is that they are separated from everything
- NK gets support only from Armenia
- Other neighbors are not supporting
- NK should remain the part of Azerbaijan, economical, political, military and social institutions should be restored in the frame of Azerbaijan
- Azerbaijan and international society will not be able to accept the fact of independence of NK and remaining of NK under Armenia
- If NK will get the same level of sovereignty as Nakchivan, it will get support from Russia and Armenia and again will run their own ideas
- The straight contact between Armenia and NK contradicts to international standards
- NK being a part of Azerbaijan can not accept any official documents neither from Armenia or any other countries
- If the sovereignty of Karabakh is recognized then it abuses international laws and regulations
- Even if Armenia wants it won't be able to get an agreement with Azerbaijan on the resolution of the conflict
- Let Karabakh not get any support from other countries
- Azerbaijan can support Armenia joining massive international projects as soon as Armenia ceases the invading politics
- NK can't receive any support from outside
- Nagorno Karabakh can not get the external support
- As long as the conflict is at this stage Armenia should be outsider of all regional project as aggressor
- Turkey is fully independent country and may open and shut its borders anytime it wants
- Only Azerbaijan military services can keep record of it. Only in the case of obtaining the territorial integrity the borders between Turkey and Armenia as well as Armenia and Azerbaijan may get open.
- The borders between Azerbaijan and Armenia and Turkey are opened only after the full resolution of the conflict and after the territorial integration of all the regions
- At the moment Turkey is negotiating opening the borders with Armenia. But they closed the borders because of NK issue. If the issue is not resolved they may consider the opening of the borders.
- But we should also try to defend our interests first
- As soon as the independence is regained it is interesting who are going to be the leaders
- The second alternative is to accommodate the Armenians in Karabakh in small numbers
- We should activate the diplomatic discussions
- Azerbaijan is supporting Georgia on certain level, Georgia can also support Azerbaijan in this sphere

- Russia is supporting Armenia via Azerbaijan air space
- International organizations don't use this function
- First of all we should be known abroad
- We should advocate
- There is a big role of non official lobbying organizations in resolution of this matter
- There is a need to strengthen the lobbying
- Our propaganda is not in the right direction
- Armenia stays behind due to Azerbaijan being an operator of regional projects
- We should put all our efforts to redirect the opinion of others to ourselves
- The students studying abroad should be active in this direction
- The propaganda should be strengthened
- Armenians are using the strength of international courts
- The propaganda is weak in Azerbaijan
- We should formulate the opinions of society via propaganda
- Our propaganda in this sphere is also weak
- Our propaganda is weak especially abroad
- We should have balanced politics and should not break the relationship with neighbors
- The propaganda should be widened within the lobby
- The current position gives us a chance to be strong
- Armenians have lost the political war
- Even if one of the scenarios is accepted Russia will do her best to break it via strong propaganda
- We may change the way of the conflict towards ourselves via propaganda
- Azerbaijan has to continue its effort at the International level to regain its territorial integrity

Economic and Social development

Armenians

- In Scenario 1, Azerbaijan will gradually get richer and Armenia will stay in poor economic conditions and will not have a beneficial position in the possible scenario of a war outbreak.
- In order for Nagorni Karabakh to be independent, it must have an army of its own, which requires significant financial resources. That is why the role of the Armenian Diaspora in this question is essential.
- We must assist the population of Nagorni Karabakh by means of economic leverage.
- The current economic crisis will in no way lead to any positive change in terms of resolving this situation.
- As opposed to Azerbaijan, we should not pursue the idea of monarchy. We have to move towards democracy. That will help us.

- If Armenians do not have a well-formed state system, they will incur a lot of losses.
- Although England is considered a democratic state, it has the problem of Ireland; therefore democracy is not a decisive factor.
- Karabakh cannot do anything without Armenia. It is Armenia that motivates Karabakh and supports it.
- Today's economic situation is so complicated that during the upcoming years hardly any solution to this problem may be found. People seem to have stopped debating on this issue. This is why our initiative is quite commendable.
- Today the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh has declared itself independent. Being with Azerbaijan will take Karabakh back to economic recess.
- It would be right for Armenia to become so powerful that it reserves the right to recognize the independence of Nagorni Karabakh irrespective of everyone else.
- Military solution is not an option. We must strengthen Karabakh economically and move forward.
- We must become more powerful to be able to be in command of our historic lands through the virtue of our supremacy. We must be in control of both Karabakh and Nakhijevan. Biological weapons are needed to exterminate the Turks.
- I am confident that there are internal resources for the development of our country. They are not being utilized.
- Let them negotiate, let them talk and talk, blah blah blah... but let them make us more powerful.
- Armenia (only after Israel) is the second state that has chances to become powerful.
- When the ceasefire was signed, our government should better have sat down and thought instead of ruining the country.
- The important thing is not conquering territories; the important thing is developing them.
- We should overcome poverty. That is actually feasible.
- In my perspective, Scenario 1 enables economic strengthening. Any issue will find its positive solution for the powerful ones.
- If this situation is to go on, then we must at least develop the internal resources of Armenia.
- As a united nation, we, Armenians of the world can grow powerful even in this situation of blockage and resolve the issue in our favor.
- Yet in this status we do not witness any progress: no investments, no recognition. This cannot go on forever.
- Economic estimates must be made as to how advantageous the opening of borders will be for the Armenians.
- By giving up Karabakh we won't be solving our economic problems.
- I think it's time to talk about Armenia. We also need a lot of help. Enough helping Karabakh alone.

- Let us look at the issue from another perspective. We are saying that Nagorni Karabakh cannot be given back for the sake of security, for the sake of human rights and so on. Now I am asking you: are all those rights protected in Armenia?
- The Azerbaijanis have their "naut" (oil) and we have our molybdenum, gold and copper. We must strengthen our budget and compete with the budget of the Turks.
- What is the meaning of fighting for Karabakh when we are still dividing the Armenians into those from Karabakh and those from Armenia? When we resolve this issue amongst ourselves, we will be able to arrive at a joint conclusion and decision.
- We are talking about danger, victims, bloodshed... but we are forgetting the economic problems. A failure to resolve the issue of Nagorni Karabakh will lead us to an economic genocide.
- At this point we lack the authority and power to resolve the issue of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Both the resolution of this issue and the protection of the territories will be left to the people to carry out.
- This is not right. There is no economic progress.
- Naturally, we cannot be satisfied with this state of affairs and we are the ones to be blamed for that, because we have Armenian Diaspora that Azerbaijan and Turkey don't. However, our weak diplomacy is unable to play that card right.
- We can enhance our campaign to promulgate that those lands are ours. Sadly, this issue cannot be resolved without a compromise, and keeping this status longer is not good for Armenia. Aid does not reach Karabakh.
- What kind of economic development or resources are you talking about? As long as the hazard of war hovers above our heads we won't be able to live in peace and develop economically.
- You cannot put security and national dignity on the same scale as the economic interests.
- No country receives as much money as Armenia. Those resources must have targeted utilization.
- If the immeasurable fields of Aghdam were to be cultivated and planted with wheat, our Armenia would never have any shortage of bread. But the Minister of Defense tells me that a single shot from the other side will burn up the entire field. Well, I tell him, why don't you protect us then, why don't you take special measures of security?
- We need to get stronger. We have everything that is required for that: intelligent and talented people, gifted individuals... Only the money is not spent correctly.
- We must improve our social status so that the country becomes more powerful.
- They do a Telethon showing that they are repairing the roads. What else? Is that all? Isn't there anything else to repair or to construct? They are simply "laundering" the money collected by the Fund, whereas so many things could be done for Artsakh with that money...
- Karabakh cannot survive long without Armenia's assistance.

- To be able to resolve other problems we will have to think about the improvement of people's lives in the first place.
- We have National Academy of Sciences, and many other structures. They must work to represent the Armenians to the world.
- Our children want to run away from here because they see no future in here... What are you talking about, people?
- Opening of the borders will enable economic development for us, as well as our neighbors. Who will benefit more, I can't tell.
- We all need that road for development. However, there should not be any land issues associated with that.
- If the conflict of Nagorni Karabakh is resolved, that will be good for us, too. The people of Goris will surely live a better life.
- The development of Artsakh and Armenia should by no means be linked to the opening of the borders. Alternative options are developing, I'm telling you, and even better ones than those proposed by Azerbaijan.
- I am sorry, but the problem of Karabakh is not a social issue, but an ethnic one...
- Repopulation and development of all the liberated territories is an important issue for our government.
- When we upgrade our social and economic level, we will become much more powerful.
- This situation is not beneficial for anybody. This is a situation of cold war and there is no economic, financial or political progress.
- The one that is directly affected by the status quo is Gumri. The border is closed and Gumri is dying.
- I am for the second scenario, you know. Today Armenia is unable to resolve its own issues, what can it do for Karabakh?
- Because of the poor social and economic conditions, Armenians are leaving Karabakh little by little.
- We want to have a small territory but to live in a developed country.
- This conflict should be resolved as soon as possible considering the fact that outbound immigration has grown within Armenia in conditions of the status quo. The population has reduced, whereas the population in Azerbaijan has grown.
- We are sitting here talking about our future. I'm telling you, we should make our country one of law and order. This will resolve all the problems: Karabakh will be ours and the international community will take notice of us.
- In the first scenario, Armenia should strengthen its diplomatic interaction with the rest of the world. Economy must develop, defense must be enhanced. The present situation is unstable.
- The status quo is not good. It hinders economic development in Armenia. We have to get out if this immediately.
- The present status is economically disadvantageous for Armenia, considering the fact that part of our budget goes to the army. Naturally, we should make some compromises in order to get rid of this challenging economic situation.

- Opening of the Armenian-Turkish border is definitely good for our economy.
- We all love Yerevan. But difficult times have come. We need to pay more attention to the peripheries to give people hope and courage.
- If a government does not wish to support the peasant, will that state ever become a proper state?
- First they ignore the villagers, and then they tell them to go and fight.
- Time wise, Azerbaijan is in a better position because it has time to rapidly develop its economy.
- Governments are formed through free and independent elections. If there is no democracy, no issue will be resolved in our favor.
- If we want to grow economically, we will have to cooperate with the neighboring countries like Turkey, for instance.
- The rural areas of Karabakh should be supported by government programs. It is the village that takes care of the soil. Otherwise, the fourth scenario will not make any sense. But I am sure that our government will not do that.
- The population of Lachin used to amount to around ten thousand people. Now only twelve hundred live there.
- Who lives better, the Armenians in Karabakh or the Armenians in Armenia? Karabakh keeps flourishing day by day.
- Instead of criticizing the Turks, we should think how to bring up our young people to be patriots.
- We are not utilizing our Diaspora to solve this issue. Instead, we are using them and abusing them. And Turkey is creating new colonies of its diaspora across the world.
- We should try to resettle the people that left those territories long ago. But in order to be able to do that, very decent living conditions need to be created.
- Adequate conditions must be created for the people to go back to Karabakh.
- There should be favorable conditions for a person to live on his own land and to stick to it.
- If the government provides jobs and accommodation, many young people will come to live here.
- We'd better think about the local manufacturers.
- They have been living thanks to us, and we have been living thanks to them. The only one that suffers from this situation is the common people.
- I don't know, man, it is all so complicated... But we should not lose hope. Instead, we should become more powerful. Our power is in our development. We need an economically powerful democratic state. In that case we will have both Karabakh and Nakhijevan, plus we will get Western Armenia as a gift.
- Apart from patriotic emotions, we have to think about economic development. In any case there are going to be a lot of concerns.
- As far as the land kept the villagers, people did not abandon their villages.
- The blockade of Armenia does not have anything to do with the issue of Nagorni Karabakh.
- First of all, we must develop our economy.

- We have no economic relations with any state. It is necessary that your neighbors acknowledge you before they can start economic relationships.
- We should develop our intellectual capacity and start prospering like Japan.
- If we are free and independent, we will be able to protect ourselves.
- If we utilize our resources (minerals, mineral water, gold deposits, etc.) intelligently, we will be able to develop more rapidly.
- Relying on courage and spirit is not enough. We need financial/material development as well.

Azerbaijanis

- Our economy is harmed
- In future Nagorno Karabakh as an independent economic zone should be regulated based on Azerbaijan legislation, and all the taxes should be proceeded to the buNKet of Azerbaijan Republic
- It is not the right approach that Armenians in NK are carrying Armenian passport and using the Armenian drama
- The financial means spent on military influence to economic potential of the country
- The current weak and difficult economic position of Armenia can influence the resolution of the conflict
- The current position of Armenia doesn't let the investments to be put into the NK and develop it
- The economical situation in Armenia as of today is very bad
- As soon as our natural resources exhaust it will be more difficult to resolve the issue
- Their first need is economical development
- I think that the difficult economical situation in Armenia will make them to cooperate with us
- Armenian language and monetary politics can not stay in NK
- Armenia stays behind in its economical development
- In reality NK is getting support from Armenia
- We should keep them in economical blockade
- The development of Armenia fully depends on Azerbaijan
- The economical relations are stimulating the integration process in the region
- Another participant mentioned that this position is not beneficial and if Nagorno-Karabakh would have been a part of Azerbaijan our profit would have been more
- Nagorno-Karabakh and all surrounding regions being occupied, makes it difficult to implement social, economical and political projects on Caucuses efficiently
- Armenia is far from regional projects and Nagorno Karabakh also can not benefit from this, whereas Azerbaijan is on it's development stage
- We should strengthen Armenian blockade

- We need integration
- The most beneficial for Armenia in peaceful resolution of the conflict is opening the borders with Turkey
- Nagorno Karabakh has rich natural resources which are used by Armenians
- If Nagorno Karabakh is returned the unemployment problem will decrease. There will be economical promotion for Azerbaijan as well as development
- But in such case this can again lead to conflict
- In Baku State University, the faculty in Armenian language will be opened
- We have achieved strong economical growth
- It is difficult to achieve the resolution based on the economical position
- The economy of Armenia stays behind
- If Karabakh remains as a part of Azerbaijan the social and economical situation in the country may rebirth
- The social injustice causes difficulties in resolution of the conflict
- Another alternative: To develop economically, to collect the democratic strength and become a strong country
- The development of each country depends on its economy
- For instance the peace resolution of the conflict creates conditions for economical development of Azerbaijan and implementation of strategic projects.
- But by different means the current situation doesn't let Azerbaijan to use it potential fully .
- Armenia is off site only in the projects where Azerbaijan participates whereas in majority of projects with Iran, Georgia and Russia – Armenia is used as transit.
- Armenia stays behind the regional projects for example the projects with Iran.
- The communication should not be repaired until the territories are not regained.
- Being aside of all international projects is the fault of Armenia itself and in general this is not a good situation for the region.
- As soon as the conflict is resolved and the territorial integrity is regained the communication between Azerbaijan and Armenia can be rebuilt.
- If it is resolved peacefully then the borders between Armenia and Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan will be opened.
- I think Armenia doesn't remain behind of any regional projects
- They have a project together with Iran.
- If not the current conflict the majority of the projects would have been with Armenia
- If Armenia doesn't agree to resolve the issue constructively then we together with Turkey should strengthen their blockade. Only if the issue resolves Azerbaijan-Armenia and Armenia-Turkey borders may open.
- The economic relations are stimulating the integration process in the region.
- Oil industry contracts are making big profits for Azerbaijan
- It may happen that the situation may change in couple of minutes and will let Armenia join the projects

- There were rumors from Armenia recently that there is not a peaceful solution because their economical support comes from Russia; therefore they may not accept our offer on economical cooperation
- But we agree that economical potentials are not sufficiently used
- Armenia stays behind of the projects
- Azerbaijani Diaspora is weak
- Our Diaspora is weak
- Our current potential and strength gives us a chance to be the winners today
- First of all we should be patriotic.
- Today the economical position of Azerbaijan is very good and our strength is in our oil industry. However this is not unlimited resource.
- Therefore we should resolve this matter before our oil resources are exhausted.
- But as soon as the oil resources exhaust in Azerbaijan then we can agree even to a worse scenario.
- Now Azerbaijan has developed and this option doesn't work for us.
- Azerbaijan is developing in the region.
- We don't know exactly the potential of Armenia.
- Armenia can not use the economy of Nagorno Karabakh.
- Azerbaijan has sufficient natural resources. They should be used during the discussions.

Demilitarization

Armenians

- Demilitarizing Karabakh and its adjacent regions means giving ourselves up.
- The Armenian armed forces should stay. There should be no demilitarization.
- Demilitarization is also greatly dangerous.
- The fourth scenario is the most hazardous one.
- The provision about demilitarization should be eliminated. We ought to be on the alert or as the Russians say, "na cheku".
- The worst provision here is the demilitarization.
- Never demilitarization.
- Demilitarization of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh and its adjacent territories implies that there will be a new massacre like the one in 1915. I do not trust the international law; neither do I trust the international entities.
- The demilitarized territories are not a guarantee that Azerbaijan will not attack us.
- Demilitarization would mean tying up our hands and surrendering so that they massacre us again.
- There can be no demilitarization in Karabakh. Our armed forces cannot leave Karabakh.
- Wow, how are they going to demilitarize us...?
- If we were to demilitarize, why were we fighting in the first place?
- We cannot agree to the idea of demilitarization of the adjacent territories because after that they will simply butcher us like cattle.
- Demilitarization? Have we lost our minds?
- The issue of demilitarization is the most terrible option. We will lose our security.
- We cannot secure ourselves without our army. History has shown many times that the enemy devours us if we do not have our own army. Armenians have always had powerful armed forces throughout their history.
- Let us take the third scenario and keep from the fifth scenario the issues of demilitarization and Kelbajar and Lachin. That would be an ideal scenario.
- In order to ensure the security of those territories a safety zone must be created around them. Demilitarization is a necessity.

Azerbaijanis

- If the armed forces are kept the previous situation may occur again
- The borders of NK should be protected via bordering forces of Azerbaijan Republic
- The military services should be located in NK the same way as in other regions

- Azerbaijan military services should protect and secure the border of the country as well as the territory in general as soon as the territorial integrity of the country is regained
- All the military forces leave NK and Azerbaijani forces are locating there
- All the foreign forces should leave NK whereas Azerbaijani forces located there
- Only after being assured in the stability of the situation the military representatives of both countries will have a chance to control their own borders
- NK has to be cleared form forces
- Azerbaijan's army has to protect its borders
- NK and all the surrounding territories should get free from Armenian army

International Peacekeepers

For

Armenians

- Peacekeepers must be ethnic Russians. It will be difficult to bribe them.
- I agree that foreign countries have the required power to guarantee the safety of the weak.
- The peacekeepers are needed to win some time. If it all stays like this and the peacekeepers arrive, that will be the best thing.
- Let the peacekeepers be from the CIS countries.
- It would be better if the international peacekeepers arrived now, but the scenario with the status quo continued.
- We would like the Russian peacekeepers to come.
- The international peacekeeper forces must be impartial.
- If the peacekeepers are coming, let them come from Russia not NATO.
- The peacekeepers should be from Switzerland or China because in that case they will be impartial.
- Russia could probably come forth as a third party to oversee that each country carries out its commitments as to the guarantees.
- Peacekeepers can come, but it is important that there are no Turks among them.
- We may give our consent to the peacekeepers' deployment if there is no demilitarization.
- The only chance for the peacekeepers to arrive here is if our army is located on our territory as well.
- Only the Russians can be peacekeepers.
- If they open the borders there will be endless clashes. Therefore, the deployment of the peacekeepers is necessary.

Azerbaijanis

- I go for peaceful forces to be located here
- Following the rules above is guarantee to opening the borders between Azerbaijan and Armenia, Armenia and Turkey
- Peaceful forces are usually neutral
- The peaceful forces get located in the territory
- We should work in such manner that makes the peaceful forces to defend our interests
- We agree on locating the peaceful forces
- But there should be a 3rd party regulating the peace
- Peaceful forces should consist of different nationalities
- The war will be impossible under the influence of foreign forces

- Because world countries have invested very much to this region
- If Azerbaijan wants to resolve this it is mandatory to have the presence of international forces
- International peaceful forces can be located in Nagorno Karabakh
- In accordance to this peaceful forces should be located in the region
- It will be impossible to keep Azerbaijani police together with Armenia police
- Constantly they should be under international control
- It is beneficial for us to locate peaceful forces in Karabakh
- At the first stage we should get Azerbaijani, Armenian, Russian and French military representative leave Karabakh and pass it over to peaceful forces who will provide the security of NK
- If the issue is resolved in order to arrange peace there should be presence of international peaceful forces, but this should be determined by each of the party itself without any mediators.

Against

Armenians

- Deploying peacekeeper troupes is not very advantageous because it is going to be for an indefinite period. Besides, we don't know if they are going to be unbiased or not.
- We do not agree to the idea of bringing in peacekeepers. We are excellent peacekeepers ourselves.
- No peacekeepers from any countries should arrive in Karabakh and its adjacent territories. They cannot solve any issue anyway.
- The international peacekeepers are unable to ensure peace in any country today.
- We are taking care of our borders. We don't need any peacekeepers, they ensure no guarantees.
- The international peacekeepers will never protect us or ensure our safety.
- We will have another Kosovo; calling the peacekeepers is not going to resolve anything.
- As shown by the experience, the deployment of peacekeeper forces will only lead to the procrastination of any solution.
- Placement of the peacekeepers is an unnecessary intervention by third parties.
- We are "striking both the hammer and the nail". We are saying that we have to rely on ourselves and at the same time we want international peacekeepers...
- Deployment of the international forces will not provide a solution to this issue. Besides, no one can guarantee peace. At this moment we have a ceasefire agreement but there are still a lot of casualties. Therefore, it makes no sense insisting that if there is an agreement peace will come and stay.
- Peacekeepers are not going to resolve any issues. We will be resolving them.

- Peacekeeper forces were in Iraq and Kosovo, too. What was the result? Let them not try to hoodwink us with the peacekeepers. Our only protection is the Armenian army.
- We trust our army; what are the peacekeepers needed here for?
- Peacekeepers are never to be trusted. That is shown by past experience.
- The entrance of the peacekeepers will mean increasing the risk of war and first of all for us, the people of Syunik.
- The presence of foreign troupes will just increase the bribe money that both parties will have to pay them.
- Deployment of the peacekeepers in this region is ineffective because those forces can be used against Armenia.
- Peacekeepers have never solved any problems. We have seen what they did to the other territories they were used on.
- The peacekeepers were present in Kosovo, former Yugoslavia. Were they able to enforce peace?
- I am against the presence of the UN peacekeepers in this region. I think they will send Turkish forces, which is not good for us.
- Who says that the peacekeepers are going to play a major role in this? Let us recall Bosnia...
- The peacekeepers are unreliable. Somebody will pay them a million and they will close their eyes. Meanwhile the villages in Karabakh will be looted and the population will be killed.
- The peacekeepers will do the same as in Kosovo. They can't provide any permanent guarantees either.
- The international peacekeepers will only bring additional tension to this area. The best example is Iraq.
- We know those peacekeepers quite alright! There were Russian peacekeepers in the area back in 1915. We all saw what happened...
- Whatever we have seen must serve a lesson for us. We should rely solely on ourselves. This is the lesson of history.
- The idea of the peacekeepers is just a hoax. There are peacekeepers deployed in every part of the world at this moment, but peaceful people keep dying everywhere.
- It is the army that will protect peace. Artsakh cannot survive without its army.
- Deploying international peacekeepers makes no sense because in case of war they won't be doing anything.
- International peacekeepers will not be able to protect our population. The Russian peacekeepers were in Abkhazia but were unable to ensure security.
- Let us have a look at what the peacekeepers are doing in Afghanistan and Iraq. Forbid God...
- Peacekeeper forces mean the NATO forces. Iran will also be against it.
- It is our land and we are supposed to protect it. What kind of peacekeepers are we talking about?

- What if the peacekeepers are not impartial? The Russian peacekeepers in Ossetia were not neutral...
- We will have to protect our borders with our own resources. We don't trust any peacekeepers.
- I have no trust in the international peacekeepers. I have trust in our own power.
- We should not let the international peacekeepers come to this area. They won't be resolving anything. Their main purpose will be pillaging.
- We are familiar with the actions of the international peacekeepers. What did the Soviet army give?
- The Turks are pros in bribing. They will leave no peacekeepers unbribed.
- Peacekeepers are also people; they have weaknesses of their own. We'll feel better if we are protected by our own people.
- Both Armenia and Karabakh will find themselves encircled and enclosed if the peacekeepers are transferred here.
- We have seen the Russians' actions before. It makes no difference if the peacekeepers are Russians or Turks.
- Our army ensures our safety just fine. Why do we need any peacekeepers? A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, one today is worth two tomorrows.
- Turks will put on a hat of a peacekeeper and will come and start killing from the inside. We don't want that.
- We don't need international peacekeepers. We don't want them to carry out their service in a way that there are human victims. They have done that in other parts of the world. The same will happen here.
- The peacekeepers were there, in South Asia. Did they not kill people? I am a peacekeeper myself and I know one thing for sure: I won't be fighting for others' lands as hard as I will struggle for my own land.
- If there is any danger, the peacekeeper will be the first to run away.
- If tomorrow the peacekeepers arrive in this place, they will be exercising pressure on us, Armenians again.
- Weren't there Soviet armed forces on this territory when they massacred us? The same will be with the peacekeepers.
- They will bribe the peacekeepers, too.
- A similar situation occurred back then when the Russian forces were functioning here as peacekeepers. Remember what happened? We don't have trust in any other peacekeepers either.
- Scenario 4 implies a repetition of 1921. Back then the Russians came here, too. Remember what happened after that?
- We have just as much trust towards the peacekeepers as we have for the Azerbaijanis.
- They used to bribe the Russians to do "bloody peacemaking". There are no other nations with a blood "redder" than ours. We will protect ourselves quite alright.
- The risk in the deployment of the peacekeepers is that Azerbaijan is good at finding a common language with any country: they will certainly find a way to use the peacekeepers to their advantage.

- Peacekeepers? You mean mercenaries
- The peacekeepers have always been fighting for one of the parties to the conflict. No foreign soldier will shed blood for our lands.
- We can hardly support our army. How can we bring in international peacekeepers and support them at our cost?
- The so-called peacekeepers will only destabilize the situation even more. We have seen them operate...
- International peacekeepers have never been impartial or neutral. I am sure that their functions will better be implemented by our boys in our army.
- I am telling you: international peacekeepers are part of the plan conceived and designed by Azerbaijan.
- They are telling us that the international peacekeepers are arriving. What are they coming for? We don't need that. The killers will continue killing and no peacekeepers will be able to stop that! Only our army can save us...
- We are not going to make any compromises; no giving lands and no letting the Azerbaijani refugees come back here! And we are quite sick of the peacekeepers, too...
- The only guarantor of our safety is our army. No peacekeepers and no guarantees can ever ensure our safety.
- Every nation has to protect its borders. We cannot rely on the peacekeepers.
- Now there is another name for the peacekeepers and that is TROUBLEMAKERS.
- The Azerbaijani refugees will come to Shoushi and Stepanakert, and the peacekeepers will be somewhere else. What are they gonna do if the Armenians and Azerbaijanis start killing each other again?

Azerbaijanis

- International organizations are frightened that they will not be able to provide the security
- None of the international peaceful forces could realize themselves
- The major issue here is to know from which countries do this peaceful forces consist?
- There are terrible things going on in Afghanistan under the peaceful forces
- International peaceful forces can not so much help
- Lots of work may be done under the supervision of international peaceful forces
- The military cooperation is not acceptable
- If the peaceful forcercs are located here it would have been a back up for Armenians
- If the international peaceful forces are represented by Russia or France it will not work for us
- If the Russian soldiers arrive under UN Organization control it also doesn't work for us
- There is no need for international peace forces in Karabakh
- There is no need in peaceful forces; we are capable to resolve it ourselves

- no need for peace makers on the borders

Other opinions

Armenians

- The senders of the peacekeeper troupes are the powerful states. If they wanted this conflict to be settled, they would have settled it long ago.
- Perhaps during military operations there will be a need for the peacekeepers, but now there is no war. Who needs them? The armed forces of both countries maintain peace just fine.
- It is not very essential which peacekeepers will be there, as long as they carry out their role adequately. The question is that the adjacent territories of Karabakh should not be handed over to Azerbaijan; instead, the peacekeepers should be deployed on those territories. As for the corridor to Nakhijevan, an issue that has always been manipulated upon by the Azerbaijanis, we should not accept that.
- Instead of the peacekeepers there should be police forces, for instance, from the UN or the Council of Europe. Their functions are totally different.
- If they are giving just contractual guarantees, that won't work. As for the peacekeepers, they should deploy them on the adjacent territories and not try to hand over the adjacent territories. Surrendering is off discussion. Artsakh should also maintain its own army, that's beyond any doubt.
- I believe there is nothing bad in the peacekeepers' deployment in Nagorni Karabakh. It's just that we are not sure that they will really protect our safety.
- They are trying to bring in peacekeepers from the Muslim countries.
- We do not have any experience as to, for instance, the NATO troupes. Who knows what will happen? We do have some experience with the Russians though. They are more or less reliable.
- The peacekeepers cannot stay here forever, can they? The minute they live, the former situation will be restored.
- The peacekeepers may be needed in some phase. Right now, at this point, there is no need for peacekeepers.
- Ok, let's assume that Armenians and Azerbaijanis live together in Shoushi. The peacekeepers arrive. Exactly where are they going to be deployed?

Azerbaijanis

- It has been shown the period of activities of peaceful forces.
- The arrival of international peaceful forces to the region means the interference of international forces to this conflict.
- No military services of foreign countries should be in the territory of Azerbaijan Republic and therefore Armenian soldiers can not provide the security together with Azerbaijan

- Only after resolving the conflict between 2 countries other countries can interfere
- Because there is not any international organization that can guarantee that as soon as the people move back they will have full security and protection
- The opinions may be different with respect to international forces – who will be joining to them? We have seen them during this long period

Land Communication

For

Armenians

- A sovereign corridor is not such a scary idea: certain international entities can ensure the normal operation of that corridor.
- If there are strong guarantees, we could provide a corridor to Nakhijevan, why not.
- Along with Nakhijevan we can submit the overland communication, let only the question be settled once and for all.
- Let them pay money for every kilometer of that sovereign territory. Only after that can they travel freely to and fro.
- If that sovereign corridor is going to be just a controlled corridor, I agree to this scenario.
- The third scenario will work if the international community ensures control over that corridor.
- Better we provide a neutral corridor via Meghri than let the Azerbaijani refugees come back.
- This is a preferable option. As for the corridor, we will do the following: they will open a corridor for us and we will provide a corridor for them.
- As a compromise, we may admit that the railway operation to Nakhijevan be restored.
- We should afford roads for them to let communication with Nakhijevan.

Azerbaijanis

- It is not possible to carry everything via plane and therefore a road should be rebuilt with Nakchivan
- If Armenians want to live in Azerbaijan then Armenians should give Azerbaijanis the space
- For establishing the liaison between Azerbaijan and Nakchivan we are obtaining the "corridor"
- If everything resolves peacefully then the corridor can be build to Nakchivan
- Nakchivan may become a corridor
- The corridor is in the process of regaining back in order to restore the relationships between Armenia and Nakchivan
- The path to Nakchivan should be opened throughout Mehri region
- If we are giving a corridor from NK to Armenia then Armenia also should give Azerbaijan a corridor from Nakchivan to Azerbaijan
- In order to use transit Armenia can compromise in certain percentage
- it should be a corridor from Mehri region

Against

Armenians

- We cannot give a corridor to Azerbaijan. If you give one, they will claim ten.
- The idea of a corridor through the territory of Armenia is unacceptable. We do not trust the Azerbaijanis. It would be better to surrender some territory close to the border.
- We give up Meghri and regain Karabakh? After that we will be fighting for Meghri. That is what this scenario leads to.
- No corridor for Azerbaijan! We took our lands and that's it!
- Both options are unacceptable: I mean providing a corridor via Meghri and surrendering the adjacent territories.
- If they start traffic via Meghri, we will lose communication with Iran. Whereas that particular border is very essential for Armenia.
- Providing a corridor for Azerbaijan through our territory is highly dangerous. Would be much better if Karabakh were an enclave instead of Armenia becoming an enclave surrounded by Turkish states.
- If we give Meghri, the Iranian-Armenian border will be closed for us.
- Third. Let's think like normal people: what part of Armenia are we talking about to be afforded as a communication avenue with Azerbaijan? We are not giving Zangezour, and we are not sharing Armenia.
- First, I will talk about the negative aspect: we obtain Artsakh but we lose Zangezour. Instead of a sovereign corridor we propose reopening of the road and not opening of a new road.
- Providing a corridor makes no sense.
- The issue of a sovereign territory is too dangerous... It gives rise to a multitude of questions like repopulating, monitoring and so forth.
- Unacceptable totally.
- The Meghri option contains more hazards than the status quo...
- These corridors do not have the same value. We are not making any compromises.
- Providing a way via Meghri is a very dangerous solution for us.
- The most intolerable thing about the third scenario is the idea of the corridor. Thank you very much! Nakhijevan is already theirs, now we are providing a corridor...
- We have things to get back but we do not have anything to give. The idea of giving them a way via the territory of Armenia is more than absurd!
- You are asking, I am answering: no sovereign territories! That's it!
- Look at them, man! Just to give us an imitation of a so-called "status" they want so many things from us...
- The option of the compromise will not work. The corridors should stay as they are.

- If we provide Azerbaijan with a road from Karabakh to Nakhijevan, they will later seize Zangezur and will promptly populate that area with the Azerbaijanis.
- If we give Azerbaijan a corridor in Meghri, that will have very sad repercussions for us.
- If we give the Meghri corridor to the Azerbaijanis we will lose communication with Iran. A new economic crisis will start in Armenia.
- The third scenario will be advantageous for the Azerbaijanis: they will receive a sovereign corridor and the adjacent territories. As for Karabakh, it will get nothing except for its independence.
- Karabakh is ours this way or the other. Why would we surrender another territory like Meghri?
- I do not see anything good in providing them with a corridor through Meghri.
- They will once again try to connect to Nakhijevan by penetrating deep into the territory of Armenia. Not to mention, that it is our Armenian land.
- Providing a corridor makes no sense. Let them use the Iranian territory.
- No sovereign corridors! Do we possess abundant lands to be giving away corridors?
- If we provide a corridor for the Turks towards Nakhijevan we will have to say good-bye to the opportunity of ever raising the question of Nakhijevan in future. But the opportunity will come when the Turks acknowledge the Genocide.
- Third scenario: Meghri is our "road to life".
- We have certain hopes associated with Iran. With this scenario that road will close, too.
- If this option envisages losing the border with Iran, it isn't even worth discussing.
- Azerbaijan has Nakhijevan, which has the same status for them as Karabakh for us. Why would we give up our advantage to benefit them?
- We are calling it a "corridor" but in fact Meghri becomes a sovereign territory of Azerbaijan. We practically lose our border with Iran. That is intolerable!
- We are providing them with a right to control a road via our territory. What is good in that?
- If we give Meghri, we will be cut off from Iran. Besides, Azerbaijan will have a gateway to enter Armenia if the war restarts.
- We should not provide any corridors for Azerbaijan. They want too much: the territories and the corridor. How is that possible?
- What kind of Meghri are you talking about, people? I am reminding you the Batumi Agreement and you are talking about providing a corridor via Meghri. Aren't you familiar with the Turkish appetite?
- What sovereign corridor? How were we living without a corridor? Let them do the same, too.
- Who are they going to visit in Nakhijevan? They don't need to go to Nakhijevan and we don't need to provide a corridor for them.
- Oh, dear, why do you try to make me angry? The third scenario is no good if we are giving Meghri.
- By no means should we give them Meghri.

- If there is a corridor, the Azerbaijanis will increase the tension. The situation will aggravate.
- If a stable status is established and the resolution of this issue is favorable for us, then we could gradually submit those territories. However, there can be no talking about exchanging corridors.
- The idea of the corridor for communication with Nakhijevan sounds absurd.
- If we provide corridors for Azerbaijan, there will be new fighting and they will eventually seize Meghri.
- The option about a corridor via Meghri is simply a hoax.
- The idea of a corridor via Meghri should be excluded. If we provide it today, we will have to surrender other territories tomorrow.
- A corridor should not be provided even in exchange for the independence of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Why should I give? It's mine.
- By providing them with a corridor via Meghri we are cutting ourselves off the rest of the world. Besides, there will be direct communication between Azerbaijan and Turkey, which is absolutely intolerable for us.
- If we provide a corridor for Azerbaijan via our territory, we will lose connection with our most friendly neighbor, Iran. It is quite clear that this provision is unacceptable.
- There is no need to provide a corridor through Meghri. They have communication with Nakhijevan through Iran, right? That's enough for them.
- We should not give any corridors to Azerbaijan. Russia is not connected to Kaliningrad in any way, but it's developing. For us, Lachin is needed for security reasons.
- Azerbaijan should not have any communication with Nakhijevan in the first place, because they will connect to Turkey, (which is the most intolerable thing for us) and transfer anything they want from Turkey to Azerbaijan.
- The third scenario is highly dangerous for Armenia. By giving up Meghri we will be cut off from Persia and the Persian Gulf.
- All we have is one road. If we give it back how can we communicate?
- The corridor of Meghri cannot be given to anybody. It is our communication avenue with Iran. Today they will get the road, tomorrow they will claim the territories along the road, they will build their villages there and will arrive and fill them up. This contains a major hazard for us.
- We already have our corridor; if they want they can build their own corridor, but not at our expense.
- If we give them a corridor, that will mean giving part of the Armenian territory to Azerbaijan. That is impossible. It will become an uncontrollable territory and there will be no guarantees for our security. This approach is totally inadequate.
- If we provide them any territories via Meghri, we will have complications with Iran. We will be losing a direct road and will be inciting our neighbor's discontent.

- Via the corridor in Meghri Azerbaijan will first of all connect to Turkey: this is a perspective, which contains even more hazards.
- Even if we take out the option of providing a corridor, the third scenario will not be acceptable for us at any rate. We will not return our lands.
- What business do the Turks have in Meghri? The Turks' foot should not step on the Armenian land...
- Syunik is a very attractive territory for the Azerbaijanis.
- Our roads pass through the territory of Meghri. How can we give them to the Azerbaijanis? They will be wedging in our territory again.
- Islamic sharia law probably prescribes expansion of territories. Providing a little territory as a corridor via Meghri would mean giving them the entire territory of Zangezur.
- Communication with Nakhijevan is a serious issue. They have close links with the Turks and we cannot let them communicate with Turkey with such ease. This problem has existed since the 1920s, since the first days of Nakhijevan becoming part of Azerbaijan...
- The risk associated with Scenario 3 is that we will be cut off from Iran.
- With the third scenario Azerbaijan will be resolving not only the issue of Nagorni Karabakh, but also the issue of Nakhijevan. Later, we won't be able to forward any claims for Nakhijevan.
- The corridor to Nakhijevan will break our neck.
- Even if the border is open, I don't think that someone will take the risk of passing along that road.
- The corridor via Meghri is a more unacceptable option than that of the territories.
- If the issue is solved peacefully, what stands in Azerbaijan's way to calmly reach Nakhijevan without having a sovereign territory?
- Scenario 3 contains hazards for the integrity of Armenia, even if the sovereign corridor passes in parallel to the Iranian-Armenian border.
- In the third scenario communication with Iran will be cut off and we will incur heavy economic losses. Compromises are perhaps tolerable, but not that kind of compromises.
- If the third scenario is adopted, there will be one thing left for the people of Meghri: be massacred by the Azerbaijanis or attack Yerevan.
- The sovereign corridor may interfere with the economic relations between Armenia and Iran. And Iran is our most reliable link with the rest of the world.
- Meghri is one of Armenia's most tranquil regions. Providing a corridor through Meghri may destabilize the situation in that area.
- Scenario 3 is acceptable with some reservations: the idea of a sovereign territory is appalling.
- How have they been traveling to Nakhijevan so far? By air? In that case let them continue doing so.

Azerbaijanis

- There should be no hurries for communication
- The communication with Armenia via Nakchivan is also not important. International military forces can be located in the border of Azerbaijan and Armenia, with the permanent location in Armenia

Other opinions

Armenians

- If it were possible to build a tunnel from Armenia to Russia we would never ever have problems again.
- The third scenario is acceptable if Meghri is under international control, but not Azerbaijanian.
- If they want communication with Nakhijevan, we can jointly construct a road along the border of Syunik. This will ensure communication; besides working together will bring closer both nations.
- We should take Nakhijevan back from the Azerbaijanis and not provide another corridor so that they can go to and fro.
- We should have liberated Nakhijevan also. In that case we wouldn't be facing this situation today.
- Zangezour and Karabakh are incompatible. They won't dare to claim Meghri.
- Okay, if they want a sovereign territory let them also provide a sovereign corridor for us via their territory to communicate with Russia.
- This scenario refers to the issue artificially raised by our enemies back in 1921. Why don't we recall our former borders when Meghri and Artsakh were a joint territory?
- If we give them a sovereign corridor, no one will go to fight.
- Even if we provide a sovereign territory, Azerbaijan will not acknowledge the independence of Karabakh.
- At the beginning of the 20th century the Russians acted very smartly: they did not provide a corridor through Meghri and did not allow Turkey to have direct communication with Azerbaijan.
- We will teach them a good lesson and only then will we let them pass through our territory.
- If we are providing a sovereign territory, let Turkey give us back Western Armenia as a sovereign territory.
- If we give them a corridor through Meghri, Azerbaijan will have to ensure that the road to Iran is always open and free.
- The corridor via Meghri is advantageous, first of all, for Turkey because it will be able to gradually carry out its Panturkist programs.
- Making Karabakh independent or part of Armenia by means of giving up Meghri? Now that's a good option, isn't it ...?

- Having a sovereign territory through Meghri is Azerbaijan's dream. But they are forgetting that Iran and Russia will be against their direct communication with Turkey by means of using that corridor.
- Instead of thinking how to provide communication between Azerbaijan and Nakhijevan, we should better think about taking back Nakhijevan. It is our land and we have not forgotten that.
- Nakhijevan is our land. Now they are claiming that we provide them a road via the territory of Armenia? For them to communicate?
- If we give Meghri, it will mean that we officially reject the idea of Nakhijevan being an historical Armenian land.
- Communication with Nakhijevan? What will be compromised in exchange for that? If they want that, we want a sovereign territory in one of the ports of the Caspian Sea.
- Ask the Turks: "Is Nakhijevan yours that you want an overland communication with Nakhijevan?"
- In fact, Nakhijevan is ours, too. What kind of a corridor are we talking about?
- Informally Azerbaijanis are using Meghri even now.
- Instead of sovereign one there should be a guaranteed corridor.

Azerbaijanis

- They reckon that if Nakchivan can be separate then Karabakh also can
- The Communication connections of Azerbaijan and Nakchivan in Armenia are renewed
- To open the entrance to Nakchivan is not suitable for both sides
- We need onshore connection with Nakhchivan but this should not be done by losing another territory. We may travel to Nakchivan via Iran
- NR has to be connected with the rest of Azerbaijan by Armenia and NK

Territories

All or nothing

Armenians

- The seven adjacent regions are not Azerbaijan's. Why would we have to return them?
- The occupied territories are also Karabakh and Armenia for us, because we have soldiers there that are on military service, we have people from Alaverdi that live there...
- We believe that all the territories controlled by the Armenian forces belong to Karabakh.
- We have returned our lost lands. We must maintain justice at all cost.
- If the adjacent territories are not ours, then what are our troupes doing there?
- We should maintain that we have liberated and not subjugated those lands, given the fact that we cannot subjugate our own churches.
- We have nothing to give to Azerbaijan. The adjacent territories are ours, why would we give them to Azerbaijan?
- As a start, we should never think about returning any lands.
- It's better be the status quo option, and we will think about earning for our living. Then we will repopulate Karabakh and its surrounding areas with Armenians. We have always tried to resolve our issues with our own resources. We'd better be poor but not surrender our territories.
- First of all, there are no seven regions. There are liberated regions and we do not have to submit any one of them.
- Our achievements have not been effortless; we won back our lands with a lot of casualties and we can't go back.
- I see the solution of the issue of Karabakh not within the borders of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Karabakh, but within today's' margins.
- If we surrender a piece of land, the next thing they claim will be Yerevan.
- What was attained by blood cannot be given by word. The subject of the adjacent territories must be forgotten.
- We are not giving any territories.
- Surrendering lands will be a crime committed by us. Not an inch...
- If they are going to give back the territories, then let them gather all of us who lost their children to war and give us to Aliyev as well.
- We want our territories and some formal "independence" for Karabakh. We won't be making any compromises!
- Nagorni Karabakh used to start from Shamkhor and stretch until the Persian border. What is left of that? (Not to mention the Valley Karabakh).
- They want us to give them back our own lands? Let them give us back our boys that perished at war. Is that possible? Then what are we discussing this for?

- Let us take the word “occupied” out of our vocabulary. Those territories are “liberated”.
- Getting back our lands cost us twenty thousand orphans. Did anybody ask those children what they want?
- The liberated territories must be repopulated as soon as possible.
- I will agree to all the items in here if after all these things we realize that we are not giving away a single inch of land. Having under our control just Lachin and Kelbajar is not enough to protect Artsakh.
- Artsakh is Artsakh only in tandem with its adjacent territories. In case of returning the lands the same situation will be replayed again. War will become unavoidable. The Turks should not stand in your back.
- Fizuli was our Garegin region. They made it Fizuli and now they are telling us that it is theirs. Have we forgotten that, too?
- Not a single inch of land! The same refers to the corridor through Meghri. It should not be provided either.
- The minute we yield, they will claim more. If we yield one day, the next day they will wake up totally different persons.
- There should be no Azerbaijanis in Armenia; the adjacent territories of Nagorni Karabakh should not submit; and the return of the Azerbaijani refugees should not be permitted!
- No territories should be surrendered. Compromises cannot solve any problems.
- Dearest ones please remember that those are not adjacent regions of Nagorni Karabakh; those are part of Nagorni Karabakh.
- By using “adjacent territories” and other inappropriate terms we are providing an advantage for our adversary. Each of such terms is later used by them against us.
- Why are we calling them “adjacent territories”? Those are conquered areas.
- Those were our lands and we finally got them back!
- We have shed blood on those lands. What are you talking about?
- Not to mention that this is not even a scenario of mutual compromise but an option of submission proposed to a winning party. We know the value of their fairy tales.
- Something earned with blood can never be returned. The option about returning the territories must be excluded.
- We have conquered those lands with our blood. There should be no compromises.
- The lands of Karabakh belong to us. No turn of events may compel us to give them back.
- What do you mean by “occupied territories” when historically speaking those territories were ours?
- We will never give back any territories.
- Any minor compromise leads to the collapse of the state. Not a single inch of land, not a single road!
- Giving up lands is treachery.

- What else do they want? We return all the territories, their refugees come back... what else is there?
- They have seized too many territories from us. Now our struggle has given us certain results. We cannot give them back.
- We have nothing to give or take. Let them return Shahumian and other Armenian territories. After that we will think about our compromises.
- If we are to give a single hectare of land, I'd rather have this situation unchanged.
- The land of Karabakh has been washed with the blood of our sons. How can we possibly submit those lands?
- The item about returning the territories is absolutely unacceptable.
- Those are our ancestors' lands, we won't give them back.
- We need Karabakh in its completeness, the way it is now.
- What do you mean by "occupied territories"? In the past they were all Armenian lands.
- They should not have spent so much time on the selection of the compromise options. The earlier we had this discussion, the sooner this issue would have been resolved.
- The liberated territories are mainly populated today.
- The territorial integrity of Nagorni Karabakh has not been restored yet. And you are talking about going back to the system of Azerbaijan...
- We will never give in and we will not return any lands. THAT'S IT!
- But those are all our historic lands. How can we return them?
- We are not returning any areas.
- We did not take any Azerbaijani lands to be giving them back now.
- We wanted to get those territories back in a peaceful way but they did not give us. So we liberated them by fight and now we don't have anything to give back. No winner in a war gives back its territories.
- They want us to give back territories? Ok then, we will occupy a couple of more territories and then we will give them back. Let them calm down.
- There should be no changing of today's borders, not for an inch. NOT A SINGLE region should be given up.
- We are not giving back any territories.
- We have not taken their lands. Those were our lands. Had our politicians understood that simple truth long ago and spoken from that position, we would certainly have five totally different scenarios today, and all of them would be favorable for us.
- Our lands should stay with us and become part of our state. We must be confident that we will be able to do that with our own resources.
- Shahumian, Getashen, Martakert: instead of talking about giving back any territories to Azerbaijan we have to think about how to get back these three regions.
- We could make compromises but not at the cost of the lands, our historic lands that we have liberated. There are still other lands that they should give us, other lands that we still have to liberate.
- All of those lands are ours. What are you discussing that topic?

- I would not agree to the contention that we are not willing to compromise. If they put forward something reasonable during the negotiations, we will certainly agree.
- Our borders have been drawn long ago! We have now liberated only part of our territories. What i mean to say is that there is no such thing as adjacent territory!
- Instead of giving back the seized territories we should think about taking new territories.
- There can be no discussing of the return of any territories.
- No neighbor will give an inch of his own vegetable garden to his neighbor. Why would we give our lands to the enemy?
- Why were we shedding our blood if we were to return those territories?
- Well, we've been claiming back our lands from Turkey for ages. Let them now claim back their lands. Who will be listening to them?
- We will not give back our lands, but in the meantime we are waiting for the world to acknowledge us.
- Giving back our lands? Well, if there were no ladies here, I would tell you what I really think about that...
- The least of concession will be enough. They will claim more and more.
- We have ratified constitutionally the issue of the adjacent territories that you are talking about as our own lands. There can be no issue of adjacent territories.
- The only thing they will get is the tail from a dog... no lands will be returned.
- There can be no discussion of giving back the territories.
- What adjacent territories? If they find any adjacent territories, they can get them back. There are no adjacent territories.
- Scenario 5 envisages that Lachin and Kelbajar remain under our control. NO! All territories should remain under our control.
- Those are not adjacent territories. Those are territories that have been corroborated by our Constitution.
- Territories adjacent to Karabakh? That means Iran and Azerbaijan? Ok, we can give back those adjacent regions.
- This is not possible! We are not giving back any lands.
- Our fathers and sons shed their blood on those lands. We are not giving back territories!
- I told you a thousand times: those are not "adjacent territories"; those are "liberated territories". Jesus, this is what happens when your enemy is from the household...
- I believe that we do not have a single centimeter of land to surrender. My husband died at war and I lost everything. But so that they don't think that we are not ready to compromise, I will say the following: we can exchange the regions that are difficult for us to maintain with other preferable territories.
- But we see no need for compromise here! What is there to compromise?
- What "territories that are adjacent to Nagorni Karabakh"? Constitutionally, we have endorsed them as an integral portion of our republic; therefore expressions like this are violating our constitutional rights.

- We have not taken extra territories from Azerbaijan. We have just amended the mistakes we did in the past by bringing back the lands that were lost in the times of our grandfathers.
- Where did the adjacent territories come from? They represent the same Karabakh.
- There are no occupied territories; there are liberated settlements.
- Calling the liberated areas "adjacent territories" is not correct.
- The liberated territories lie within our administrative units; our soldiers protect our own territories.
- I was not aware that apart from Karabakh there are occupied territories that are not part of the administrative territory of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Surrendering a tiny piece of land will give rise to a new war.
- Of course, this is the most acceptable scenario and it assumes compromise by both parties.

Azerbaijanis

- But the reality is that we have lost our territories
- The territories that were given via blood should be regained in the same manner
- The historians should justify them that these territories are ours
- All the territories should be returned without any terms and conditions
- All the territories should be returned and they should keep living in NK
- It doesn't matter how but we should regain our territories
- The territories are not regained peacefully only by war
- Nagorno Karabakh and surrounding territories should be returned to Azerbaijan without any terms
- At the moment Nagorno Karabakh territories of Azerbaijan occupied by Armenians will be returned to Azerbaijan without any terms and conditions
- Nagorno Karabakh and surrounding territories are in the process of cleaning from illegal invaders whereas security is provided by forced army of Azerbaijan
- NK and surrounding territories are the part of Azerbaijan and it should be the topic of discussion
- Historically all Armenian territories used to be Azerbaijan's
- We should regain these territories with our blood
- If Azerbaijan is economically strong then it will be easy to get our territories back by any means
- NK can not stay occupied
- The territories of NK should be returned back
- NK and all the surrounding territories should be regained. But the issue on determination the destiny of NK should not be on the agenda.
- The borders should be taken away
- NK and surrounding territories should be regained

- When we are mentioning the return of the territories we mean Nagorno Karabakh and all the surrounding territories; Nagorno Karabakh should also be returned
- Territories are ours and should stay with us
- Karabakh territories should be regained
- Karabakh and the surrounding territories should be regained without any discussions
- all territories need to be regained
- And all the territories have to be rejoined
- We should unyoke NK and all the surrounding territories from Armenian occupation using all the possible means
- Nagorno Karabakh rightfully is part of Azerbaijan and there is not another option
- The desired option should defend our territorial integrity
- NK has been the consistent part of Azerbaijan since it gained its independence
- In the first instance we should regain the territorial integrity
- It is our goal to get Karabakh joining Azerbaijan again
- Karabakh cannot be separated from Azerbaijan
- Nagorno Karabakh is consistent part of Azerbaijan
- it is a part of Azerbaijan territory
- According to us Azerbaijan cannot compromise now

Surrounding territories

Armenians

- If there are negotiations, it is quite logical that there will be compromises. However, we cannot give away the land, on which the Armenian blood has been shed.
- I consider it tolerable that we give them one or two of the regions, but not all the seven of them. But in that case we will have to claim back the Shahumian region.
- The paragraph about returning all adjacent territories of Nagorni Karabakh is totally unacceptable... although our former Supreme Council has declared before that the Autonomous Region of Mountaneous Karabakh is part of Armenia, and within its borders there are no occupied territories.
- Returning all the territories to Azerbaijan? This is not a normal point of view.
- Sooner or later the territories will be surrendered. It is just important that the decision about surrendering be wise.
- Sooner or later we will be communicating with our neighbors, but we hate the idea of achieving such communication at the cost of returning our territories.
- We should not be interested in the legal status of Karabakh at this point. We ought to safegusrd the occupied territories.
- It would be a good guarantee for us to return the territories portion by portion, but I don't think the Azerbaijanis will go for that option.

- If the adjacent territories are given to Azerbaijan and if that contributes to the PEACEFUL solution of the Karabakh conflict, then so be it...
- For future generations those will be lost lands because they did not shed any blood on those lands.
- We should give back those territories but in a way that it would not infringe our protection zone.
- No option of returning the adjacent territories, but there is an option of surrendering them.
- If Azerbaijan says, "Karabakh, you can become independent", then we do not need the adjacent territories.
- In the worst case we could surrender the liberated territories (except for those of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh).
- The option of returning the seven territories may be accepted if in return the question of Karabakh's status is resolved.
- There are regions in Karabakh that have been occupied. We could give those instead of Aghdam and Fizouli.
- If we give away any adjacent territory, then war will become inescapable.
- We shouldn't forget that the adjacent territories were conquered for the sake of safety.
- If we give away any territory, the only thing left in Karabakh will soon be the street signs and not the Armenians.
- We are talking about returning the seven regions, but we are forgetting that Azerbaijan wants Karabakh, too. We shed our blood in those regions; we do not have any moral right to return those seven regions to Azerbaijan.
- When we were taking over those territories we were thinking that part of them were being captured for a specific reason: we had to have something to be able to trade it with something else in future.
- Enough is enough! We gave Karabakh to the Turks once, on paper; we will not give it again without fight. If we were to return the lands, what are all those graves for?
- If we conquered the territories adjacent to Karabakh with fight, then there can be no talk about the option of returning them.
- Isn't it possible to repopulate the liberated areas with impoverished families from Armenia?
- Repopulation of Karabakh and its adjacent territories are factors that will work in favor of Armenia.
- If the Azerbaijanis demand the adjacent territories, we also have Shahumian and Nakhijevan to claim.
- Scenario 3 is the best but on two conditions: not all the adjacent territories should be returned; and Lachin and Kelbajar should be retained; otherwise this option is unacceptable.
- Let Azerbaijan give back the territories that it conquered, i.e. Getashen, part of Martuni and others. After that we will consider exchanging them with the occupied territories. That will be the best solution.

- By giving up the adjacent territories we are not guaranteeing our safety. This is intolerable.
- Giving back the occupied territories is a sign of defeat. But we are not defeated.
- Practically speaking, we will be giving back the lands and then only start negotiating? That's absurd!
- They say "adjacent territories" but they do not ask themselves how significant those territories are for us.
- In the long run we may give up the adjacent territories if the international community acknowledges the independence of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Sooner or later the issue of returning the territories will arise because the international structures will not accept the occupied territories.
- We could exchange the adjacent territories for shahumian and nakhijevan ... but we cannot give the adjacent regions in exchange for peace.
- Aghdam means the same for the area of Martuni as Lachin for the entire Karabakh.
- Again, we may admit that peacekeeper forces should be deployed on the adjacent territories, but we will totally reject the idea of submitting those territories to Azerbaijan.
- I am against the returning of the territories. If we are to discuss that, then we should also review the issue of returning Nakhijevan to us. Considering that it is impossible because Azerbaijan will never agree to that, accordingly the status quo will go on for a long time.
- I couldn't care less if we returned their lands. The important thing is that Karabakh is ours.
- But let us be serious. Let us keep Lachin and Aghdam and return the rest.
- People fought for the occupied territories; but the final goal was the independence of Nagorni Karabakh. This was the focal point that would justify all their losses and sacrifices.
- When we talk about returning the adjacent territories, we must not forget that the twenty-kilometer buffer zone should be kept by all means.
- By surrendering those territories we will deprive ourselves of communication with Iran. That is impermissible.
- Submitting adjacent regions? I will pound you to the ground so hard, you will forget what you came here for...
- Those lands should not be given back; the price paid for them was too high.
- If this is a war situation and if blood has been shed, that means that returning of the adjacent territories is not possible. We have won them and we are not giving them back.
- We may think about giving the territories that are the guarantees for our security, but we can never think about Getashen and Shahumian.
- If we give back the lands, the cruel experience of our past will repeat.
- Our biggest mistake is that we did not immediately repopulate the adjacent areas we conquered. Back then who would conceive the idea of claiming back those lands?

- The lands taken with blood cannot be given back based on some “parole”.
- The only option of submitting the liberated territories is the return of Getashen and the rest of the Armenian lands. And let us not forget that Gandzak (Kirovabad) is a historic Armenian area.
- How is it possible that we give the adjacent territories back? We can still afford giving back territories? We have given up so much, isn't it enough?
- In case of a compromise, we give back the adjacent territories. What do we get in return from Azerbaijan? What kind of a compromise is that?
- If we give back Aghdam they will start bombing us again from there.
- By giving back the adjacent territories we will lose part of our security.
- We will give them Aghdam and Khojalu but never Shoushi.
- If we give up our lands, the nearby villages will also get filled with Turks.
- If we submit territories, our borders will be extended, which will require a greater number of borderline recruits.
- We have shed our blood on every inch of the adjacent territories. Returning them contradicts the rule of war.
- I believe that the submission of the adjacent territories is in conflict with the Russian interests as well.
- Giving back the adjacent territories is unacceptable even for the status' sake.
- I am against acquiring our independence at the cost of submitting the adjacent territories. We have felt the chill on our skin from the Azerbaijanis' closeness to our border. We don't want to experience the same thing over and over again.
- Now they will agree to take the lands without compensation, later they will claim compensation...
- If we are to give back the adjacent territories, let them return Shahumian.
- The option of exchanging territories is doable. If we utilize that option smartly, it is a feasible solution.
- The adjacent territories should not become a disputable issue even if Baku acknowledges the independence of Karabakh.
- Even if we return the occupied territories in accordance with the fifth scenario, the Azerbaijanis will never be satisfied with that.
- If we submit the occupied territories, what are we going to tell the families of the perished fighters for liberty?
- Scenario 5 contains the same uncertainty as to the final solution of the issue, except for the option that we return the five liberated areas to them, which is not good.
- The lands are our guarantee. We are not giving back anything!
- We are in the middle of a peaceful process, within the scope of which the liberated territories are called “adjacent”. This is a known practice and we should follow that.
- All the same, we are unable to utilize these occupied territories to the full. Nobody knows what will happen to them tomorrow.
- The Azerbaijanis will always try to get back their territories.

- There is a danger of war irrespective of the fact whether those territories are controlled by us or not.
- Without a compromise, war will be inevitable.
- We should take into consideration the position of those people who are living on the disputable territories.
- I am against returning all the territories. They are our guarantees.
- The occupied territories will be returned irrespective of our wish.
- If blood has been shed to liberate a territory, then giving that territory back is not right.
- If we give back, for instance, two regions the tension will not decline. To the contrary, it will rise.
- Even if we give back the adjacent territories, sooner or later Azerbaijan will start a new war for Karabakh. Why are we giving back the territories then?
- The condition about giving back the territories can be acceptable only if they submit Nakhijevan.
- The third scenario is unfair! Compromises are required only from the Armenian party and they are terrible ones.
- The return of the adjacent territories will pose a serious hazard to our safety.
- We cannot decline any of the liberated territories. That is an issue of our security.
- Let us give them back Aghdam and require that Azerbaijan acknowledge the Genocide of 1915. Thus, we will give back those territories one by one and every time will demand something in return.
- As soon as the Turks get back the adjacent territories, they will proceed with getting back Karabakh. As for the peacekeepers, I do not have faith in them.
- All the same, we will be claiming back those territories tomorrow. What is the point of giving them up today?
- We have shed blood for the adjacent territories of Karabakh. Returning those territories is impossible. For example, Kelbajar is located in-between Vardenis and Karabakh. How can we return those territories? To the contrary, we must conquer more areas.
- I have no idea if they will eventually give back the liberated territories. Therefore, I don't know whether I should go live there or not.
- I know people from Jabrail that have 13-14 years-old children. Those children's homeland is Jabrail. A new generation is now growing on the adjacent territories, accordingly those lands are ours.
- Submitting the adjacent territories means strangling Karabakh. And you are talking here about leaving Karabakh with Azerbaijan?
- They want more than we have occupied. But we shed blood on those territories.
- No territories should be returned to Azerbaijan.
- Let them give us back our victims and we will give them back their territories.
- The third option is unacceptable since the question refers to the return of the surrounding territories. Those territories are a mighty base for cannonry. They will restart bombing us.

- No Armenian lands should be returned to Azerbaijan including the adjacent territories.
- Giving back the adjacent territories means going back to the starting point of the conflict and losing everything.
- If we give the adjacent territories to Azerbaijan, that means we are giving the entire Karabakh to Azerbaijan.
- When our sons were going to war, our government should have told them that those lands were going to be returned. They would not have died then.
- Not all the territories can be submitted, for instance, Kelbajar, Fizuli, Lachin.
- Strategically important territories should not be submitted.
- Just a tiny overland connection between Armenia and Karabakh is not sufficient to ensure our security.
- I do not think there are people here who would agree to give back territories. Our husbands, brothers and sons have liberated them. How can we do that?
- If we give back the adjacent territories they will want more.
- It is our conviction that we should not submit the territories we conquered.
- Let us return the areas that belong to the Azerbaijanis, and that's it. We can submit that much, can't we?
- We should be as smart today as to be able to resolve this issue with the least compromise.
- We can give the adjacent territories to Azerbaijan only if it gives us back our Nakhijevan.
- The issue of giving back the territories should be determined by the people who live on those territories.
- We could exchange the adjacent regions with Shahumian and other occupied territories of Artsakh.
- If we give back the territories, very soon the Azerbaijanis will expel the Armenians like Barbarians, and then the Armenians will be left with nothing to claim.
- Easier said than done. Our boys perished at war so that someone says: "Give them, give those lands away to strangers"?
- Giving back the adjacent territories is possible only in the third scenario and in no other option.
- Sooner or later we will have to give back the adjacent territories given that they are their historic areas.
- Eventually, at least some territories will have to be returned because without compromises this conflict will not be resolved.
- If we want our historic territory Karabakh to be ours, we will have to make a compromise and give them their historic areas, i.e. the adjacent territories.
- If we are giving back Azerbaijan's territories, let them give back our territories, for instance Shahumian.
- If we surrender a single piece of land, there will be no possibility for opening any overland roads.
- If we are returning the adjacent territories, then along with the independence of Karabakh we will have to claim back our Nakhijevan.

- If they want us to give back the adjacent territories, let them give back our Nakh-ijevan.
- If apart from Lachin we give back the other territories, then Karabakh will remain in a circle, captured by Azerbaijan.
- Returning the occupied territories to Azerbaijan in an unacceptable option for us.
- I do not agree with the idea of giving back those territories. Giving back strategically important territories is unacceptable because in a couple of years the same fight will be started by the Azerbaijanis within the independent Karabakh.
- If we give them that tiny territory, they will immediately fill it with their Azerbaijanis and capture new lands.
- Surrendering of the adjacent territories will be the defeat of Armenia both in diplomatic, military and economic areas.
- We ought to make compromises to be able to survive and keep our cross high in the surrounding of Muslim countries and to be able to promptly regulate our issues with Turkey, given that Turkey is like a vein.
- We took back those lands with our blood. How can we return them?
- What does this mean? Giving back all those fertile territories to Azerbaijan?
- What will we have to tell the families of the perished soldiers when we give back the territories and those families protest? Do you want a civil war to break out in Armenia?
- We should not claim a single corridor from Azerbaijan. It will be right to give them back their territories, keep Karabakh for us and resolve this issue once and for all. There will be no coming and going, no contacts, but at least this issue will be conclusively resolved.
- We liberated the adjacent territories having something in mind. If we give up an inch of land, no one will stay in Askeran. No one will let his child live there because that area will become a target for bombing.
- If I give back the adjacent territories what will remain?
- When those seven territories were not controlled by us, the Azerbaijanis were moving forward in 20 kilometer steps every day.
- A buffer zone is sure needed. Without that, nobody will even consider recognizing us.
- We can return only those of the adjacent territories that are remotest and insignificant. But that can be done through the means of exchanging only, say with Shahumian, for instance.
- If we give away a single inch of land, the next thing will be a yard of land and so on and so forth...
- A real compromise would be the "land for land" option. We give back Kubatli and get back Shahumian and Getashen.
- There should be some kind of a compromise. It can't be without that! Maybe in those terms Scenario 3 is the best one.
- If we give back Aghdam and other areas, the Azerbaijanis will come back again and will take us in a circle again and will restart the war.

- If we give back the adjacent territories, Azerbaijan will move its army over our cities. How can we live in security after that?
- Giving back all liberated territories is unacceptable. There should be a security zone of at least forty kilometers.
- What are you talking about, man? If we give back those seven regions, what are we going to do when a war starts?
- The southern gateway, Aghdam is the only guarantee for the capital city.
- My God, the minute we sneeze here they hear us there. If we give back those territories there will be nothing else for us to do but sit and shush...
- Scenario 3 implies that we will have the territory of the former Autonomous Region of Mountainous Karabakh plus the narrow corridor of Lachin. This can't be a guarantee for our security at national level.
- What will Lachin do for us if we give back all the other territories that ensure our security?
- Apart from security considerations, I will tell you something: we survive by virtue of those areas. If we give them away we will have economic losses as well.
- Returning lands is intolerable!
- We need a security belt of at least ten kilometers to be able to follow the actions on their front line.
- The negative aspect of the third scenario is that we won't be guaranteeing our security by giving up the adjacent territories. Having a line of direct contact with the Azerbaijanis is hazardous.
- If we approve of giving back Aghdam, be sure that we will give Askeran, too.
- If we give Aghdam back, we will deprive several Armenian settlements of direct communication and of their roads. This way they will be cutting us into pieces.
- By giving seven territories we will not be giving just those seven areas. We will be giving the entire Karabakh. Today's border is like a Lego game: you take out one piece you ruin the whole tower.
- What difference does it make: one kilometer here, one kilometer there? If we continue thinking that way we do not deserve to live...
- If we negotiate about giving back the lands, then the necessary condition should be "Exchanging". We may give the lands that lie far away from our villages and get Shahumian back in their stead.
- Any scenario that involves return of territories or demilitarization should be excluded.
- I think that reciprocal compromises are possible if Karabakh's independence and overland communication with Armenia are ensured (including the region of Kelbajar).
- It was Azerbaijan who attacked us. Should they not attack us, they would not have suffered and would not be demanding "their" lands now.
- Surrendering of territories... this is a provision, the existence of which calls off all the scenarios.
- The territories won at the cost of blood cannot be returned...

- The territories must never be returned. It would be better if the status quo continued for a longer period.
- The land seized with blood can never ever be given back.
- If we give back the territories, what are we going to tell our martyrs? The blood shed by those people will weigh on our conscience.
- If we give back any territories, we are doomed.
- You are asking, i am answering: we are not giving back any lands. Why do you keep asking again?
- If we give away a single piece of land, the Azerbaijanis will pervade this place again. This will be a huge mistake. Our people do not want that. But political circles enforce other things.
- If we give back the adjacent territories, what kind of security can we be talking about?
- We need a security zone: this issue has to be resolved in some other way.
- How can we give back the adjacent territories? Imagine there are Azerbaijanis in Fizuli again. Our towns and villages will be wedged by the Azerbaijanis again. We will return to the same situation as before.
- Nakhijevan or 1988: this is what will happen if we give back the adjacent territories.
- Appetite comes when you start eating. If we give back the adjacent territories, one day they will want to seize Karabakh, too.
- No matter if we compromise or not, we will be facing the same risk. However, there can be no discussion of territorial compromises.
- Now the Azerbaijani snipers are opening fire on our border guards. If we give back their territories they will be opening fire on our settlements and peaceful people.
- We will not return the adjacent territories; that is unfathomable...
- Even now we live in fear and suspense. Do you imagine what happens if we give back the adjacent territories?
- It is too early to talk about giving back the lands. Too early about trusting the Azerbaijanis. We need time.
- The third scenario is unacceptable mainly because of the provision about giving back the territories. We cannot agree to that provision.
- If we give back the territories, the same story will repeat again.
- Our security zone starts with the adjacent territories. It is from there that we secure our peace.
- We do not believe that after giving back those territories the Azerbaijanis will stick to their promises years later.
- We have shed our blood for every meter of Aghdam... let Azerbaijan attack us and take it back... if they can do it.
- Fizuli is only nine kilometers away from here. Will they sit quietly there? Back in the Soviet times they kept repeating that it's safe. Remember what was going on in reality?

- Even if assumed that we keep one or two of those territories, within some time they will use their sly diplomacy to get back all of those territories and we will be left with nothing.
- We seized Shoushi, and we got our peace. If we return them, what is the point of our struggle? What is the meaning of our victory?
- Giving back territories is wrong under any scenario. We cannot afford losing our connection with Armenia, neither in the fourth scenario nor in the fifth one.
- Aghdam and Fizuli are Soviet period towns; that is why they were abandoned so easily. Moreover, Fizuli was a town of Molokans not Azerbaijanis.
- No compromises should let those remote rockets reach us.
- We could give back several territories that are not strategically important for us, but only after they acknowledge our independence.
- The closer the border gets to us, the more susceptible our security will be.
- Returning the adjacent territories is just impossible!
- We should not say "adjacent territories". We should say "safety zone". This is not an arbitrary naming.
- If I give back to Azerbaijanis the adjacent lands, will Azerbaijan give me back my dead son?
- We have conquered strategically important areas, which are too vital for us like air or water. Yielding those territories sounds unreasonable!
- By no means should we be talking now about integrating the adjacent territories with Azerbaijan. We will not have that right for at least twenty-five years, until the generation changes and the issue becomes a political one instead of military.
- Giving back one kilometer would mean retreating several kilometers.
- Today we feel safe thanks to those adjacent territories. What compromises are we talking about?
- The existence of the provision about the adjacent territories is like an omen of war resumption.
- We are definitely not giving back those territories. Let' move on to the fourth scenario.
- We have already submitted Getashen, Martunashen, Chaylu, Shamkhor and many other territories. What else can we submit? The only thing left is my home. I can give it to them and get out of here...
- If they let us use military control over those territories, we could give back those lands and let them graze their sheep or do their sowing; otherwise nothing will be given.
- We can give back only the remotest territories. There is no way to give Lachin, Kelbajar, Fizuli or Aghdam.
- In the event of a compromise, land should be given only for land. Do they want part of the adjacent territories? Fine, but only in exchange for our territories.
- Of course, we need to give back certain territories, but there are regions that are literally pierced into the heart of Karabakh.
- The most intolerable part in Scenario 2 is the question about the adjacent territories and the Lachin corridor.

- If we are to give back the territories, then the issue of the “sub-regions” of Shahumian and Getashen must be returned to the table of negotiations.
- If Nagorni Karabakh is going to have communication only with Armenia, what kind of a state is that going to be?
- Karabakh should have independent communication with Iran. That can be done only via Fizuli.
- I am for the third scenario except for one provision: the one requiring that the liberated territories be returned.
- If we are going to give back the adjacent territories, then the issue of Artsakh’s status should be resolved NOW and not some time in future.
- Karabakh has a soil of gold, which is why it is so important.
- Of course, that’s the only solution: land for land. Only in that case will we give our consent.
- If we want the issue to be solved without a war, we should give at least three or four regions back to Azerbaijan.
- Strategy wise, there are territories that are impossible to exchange. However, it is possible to find other territories that can be exchanged with Shahumian.
- Vazgen Sargsyan also used to write about the possibility of exchanging territories. But only some territories. We can give a certain territories and receive Shahumian instead.
- Armenia can develop using the opportunities of Karabakh and its adjacent regions.
- Well, if it has come to giving back territories, let us claim back Nakhijevan. It is ours.
- In the fourth scenario, there are strategically important lands that cannot be given away. We should think hard before giving them and we should adopt an adequate decision.
- In the fourth scenario, if Azerbaijan breaks the agreement and restarts the war our positions will be weaker because the adjacent territories will no more be serving as protective walls for Karabakh.
- Doesn’t matter if Armenia is a winner in this war. It cannot dictate anything because there are liberated territories and Artsakh itself.
- During the Soviet times there were highly fertile lands around Karabakh. If we are giving back territories, let them return those lands to us.
- Those territories should remain as a neutral zone like in Israel and Syria.
- Any scenario that we adopt should exclude the paragraphs about returning the lands and providing Azerbaijan with a sovereign territory.
- Let us look a little further. If we seek international recognition, we should not treat our neighbor with so much hostility. Yet one thing is true: giving back the territories will put Karabakh’s safety at hazard.

Azerbaijanis

- But again they keep the territories under occupation.

- If it was beneficial they would have returned our territories long time ago.
- We need to return our territories.
- Our population should be prepared for regaining the territories.
- The occupational territories should be returned.
- It is not right to give our territories to Armenians.
- 7 regions without Karabakh option is not very good.
- The territories are under occupation but as per our opinion big states don't agree on returning Karabakh.
- We can not trade with territories that we owe. It means we should not agree to get Nagorno Karabakh back and to leave the surrounding territories.
- Plane trees that are growing in Zangilan and Qubadli regions are treating tuberculosis and all this is now sold to Iran.
- We will not be able to use these territories.
- Now these territories are useless.
- We would not be able to regain these territories.
- Azerbaijan can not present its' territories to another country.
- It doesn't suit us, these territories are useless now.
- These territories will be returned to us.
- Before regaining the territories they should be cleaned out.
- The refugees should be sent back and the territories should be regained.
- The territories should be returned and the people should be sent back to homelands.
- If there is a way of peace we should follow it otherwise the territories should be taken back by waging the war.
- Armenians will not give us any territories back we should not hope.
- Even if the territories are regained there should not be any relations with Armenia.
- We are not stating that let them take the territories.
- The territories are anyway ours.
- The other territories should be returned to Azerbaijan.
- Whatever happens we are not going to live our territories.
- If NK is not returned to us there is no reason in getting back the other territories.
- And as Armenians are Christians they are older and perhaps they have older view on territories – this is my opinion.
- Armenia should return the territories and ask for nothing.
- We should regain our territories only by waging the war.
- All occupied territories will not be returned even if Armenia decides to compromise.
- According to this scenario the relationship between Azerbaijan and Armenia arise and out of Nagorno Karabakh other territories are returned back.
- Getting back some part of the territories is the positive side in this scenario.
- We can agree on dragging the disputes with one term that our territories are given back and we can continue these disputes afterwards.
- We should be eligible to return our territories whenever we want to do it.

- According to us the return of territories can be beneficial for Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabakh Armenians.
- As much as Armenia is involved in occupying other territories it can not join the international projects.
- The territories should be taken back.
- It is very beneficial for us to regain the surrounding territories.
- The remaining the majority of regions under Armenia's occupation is also a difficult issue.
- The surrounding territories anyway should be regained.
- If the development of Azerbaijan economy keeps going like this we will be able to regain our territories peacefully.
- The occupied territories should be regained.
- We should strengthen our strategy on unyoking the territories.
- Armenians should return the occupied territories and also create conditions for our society to live there.
- Armenians will not leave the territories easily occupied. They need some pressure.
- The independence issue of NK should not be discussed now, in the first instance the surrounding territories should get freedom, Azerbaijan society should be returned back, and only after that all the other issues can be discussed.
- We have touched upon this in previous scenarios – of course the occupied territories should be returned – in other case there should be no discussions about the resolution of the conflict.
- The surrounding territories should get free, Armenian army should be removed from NK and surrounding territories.

"Corridor"

Armenians

- Lachin and Kelbajar should not be returned.
- Kelbajar and Lachin should be ours at any rate.
- We should exclude the question of giving back Lachin and Kelbajar.
- The (adjacent) territories of Nagorni Karabakh may be returned to Azerbaijan, those are their territories. We will keep Karabakh and the Lachin corridor.
- We cannot keep only Lachin and Kelbajar. For instance, the same Aghdam is no less important for the safety of Karabakh. How can we discuss the question of returning those territories?
- Lachin's status should be separated from the others.
- Azerbaijani lands may be returned except for Kelbajar and Lachin.
- The areas of Lachin and Karvachar in scenarios 3-5 should certainly be kept within our structure. Fizuli also.
- I can propose a realistic option: we immediately give back their territories, except for Lachin.

- Giving back Kelbajar is just off discussion. It is just in-between us and Karabakh. In any disagreement we will be the ones that are open to attack.
- We won Lachin at the cost of our blood. Now you are suggesting that we leave it to them? Just like that? This cannot be permitted. We can't provide them a corridor through Syunik.
- Having Lachin is not sufficient to ensure communication between Armenia and Nagorni Karabakh. But providing them with an "avenue" through Meghri may have grave repercussions for us. Alternatively, Azerbaijan will have to make big-big compromises for us to agree to such major sacrifice.
- Within the issue of Nagorni Karabakh, Kelbajar is not considered part of the Republic of Armenia. If we are to live together, then we will have to give up that part.
- Armenians must never forget that Lachin and Kelbajar are Armenian lands.
- If we give back Lachin and Kelbajar to the Turks, another war will break out in ten or twenty years.
- Lachin is strategically important for Armenia. Giving back Lachin is totally unacceptable!
- Even if we adopt the fifth scenario, the question of the Lachin corridor will be raised no matter what. For instance, there may be explosions there and the conflict will be restored.
- Ok, guarantees are guarantees. But after the resolution of the issue Azerbaijan will attack again, won't it.
- If the war restarts, it will be very easy to isolate Karabakh by taking the Lachin corridor. Those are very risky conditions for war.
- We need Kelbajar to protect ourselves. It is vitally important.
- We can give them back the adjacent territories, except for Kelbajar and Lachin. But instead, we want our Shahumian back.
- Kelbajar and Lachin should by no means be returned. If they do not find any other solution, everything should stay as it is now. The lands must not be given back.
- The territories that link Armenia with Karabakh should not be given back. We can return Fizuli though.
- Security wise, Kelbajar and Lachin are critical not only for Karabakh, but for Armenia as well. As compared to the other regions they are of paramount significance.
- If we keep Shoushi, Lachin and Kelbajar we can give back the rest of the territories.
- At all cost we should keep Lachin, Kelbajar and a 15 km safety zone. We can think about the rest later.
- The fifth scenario will eventually lead to a reality where we are left with just Lachin.
- From Azerbaijan we want Karabakh, Lachin and Shahumian.
- Lachin, Kelbajar and Kubatlu are never going back.

- The guarantees contained in Scenario 5 are not good enough. We may give up some of our regions, but they may refuse to keep their promise and all the lands that we surrendered will become theirs.
- If even some time in future we do give up our guarantee territories, i.e. Kelbajar and Lachin, we will come back to the point where everything started: to the point where we had nothing.
- There is no need to discuss the question of Lachin and Kelbajar, neither before nor after. If we give back Lachin or Kelbajar, our destiny will be determined.
- Kelbajar is already part of Karabakh, it is populated. Why should we give our territories to them?
- How will we be getting out of here? Through the narrow corridor of Lachin? Through their territory?
- They may close that narrow corridor via Lachin any minute. It is a lie that our security will be ensured.
- Kelbajar is Armenia and Lachin is Armenia, too. We should not tear our country into pieces.
- If we give them the area of Lachin but keep the corridor, nobody can guarantee that the road through Lachin will be safe.
- Giving them Karvachar and the Lachin corridor? What for? In their dreams...
- We can never give back Lachin.
- At all cost Lachin should be ours.
- The occupied territories are not ours. However, I believe that Lachin should be with us by all means.
- Those areas are not in their hands for them to decide, whether they want to give or not to give. Lachin is ours and so is Kelbajar.
- Safe overland communication between Armenia and Karabakh is highly essential.

Azerbaijanis

- We are against of Kalbajar and Lachin regions staying with Armenia
- Neither of the regions will stay under Armenians control during the resolution of the conflict and should be returned to Azerbaijan firstly where Kalbajar and Lachin regions are not exceptional
- Kalbaja and Lachin regions should be also returned to Azerbaijan
- As this option has many positive acceptable features for us, return of Kalbajar and Lachin regions may be postponed as a compromise
- In order not to leave Kalbajar and Lachin regions with rich natural resources to Armenians it should be agreed to leave them more territories
- Anyway there is a connection between Armenia and NK. This is provided with current status. But if we resolve NK issue to our benefit, Armenians can get access via Lachin corridor
- Onshore communication between NK and Armenia will be provided but these territories will be under our control and we will be giving warranty

- Kalbajar and Lachin can not remain under Armenia's control

Other opinions

Armenians

- Scenario 5 should include the issue of Shahumian region by all means.
- I would not want any Karabakh lands to be submitted except for the instances where it is done for Karabakh's own benefit.
- The Azerbaijanis still keep Karabakh under control.
- Let us give the adjacent territories. But the minute we get what we want we will conquer them back.
- Let us give the liberated territories not to Azerbaijan, but to the peacekeepers as a buffer zone.
- If we are discussing the question of the adjacent regions, then why don't we talk about our 14 villages and Shahumyan district?
- Should we have another month, we would have taken Baku as well.
- Azerbaijan also has territories to give back to us: we still have Gandzak and Shahumian to be returned.
- If the Turks want to talk about these lands, we will talk about the whole lot of the Armenian lands. Nakhijevan is a good lesson to learn from.
- For any state its territory is of great importance.
- I do not consider that it will be possible to claim Getashen and Shahumian on any legal basis because they are not part of the Republic of Karabakh. What a pity...
- I am for the status quo, but Shahumian and Getashen should be returned to Nagorni Karabakh by Azerbaijan.
- Shahumian is a purely Armenian region and should therefore remain within the territory of Armenia.
- As for the fourth scenario, I don't see the status of Shahumian and Getashen in it.
- We are discussing only Nagorni Karabakh here; not a single thought about Shahumian.
- In case of the second scenario all Armenian territories within Azerbaijan should be returned to the Armenians.
- In return for giving back the adjacent territories of Nagorni Karabakh we will have to receive our historic Nakhijevan.
- How about our Getashen and our Shahumian? How about those areas?...
- If they want their territorial integrity, we want ours. Let them give us back our Getashen, our Artsvashen and our Shahumian.
- We should have taken Gandzak and Gedabek back then. And we were just about to take them; the authorities did not let us...
- Azerbaijan has occupied Armenian territories like Shahumian and the northern part of Martakert. Let them give back those areas, too.

- If we are talking about compromise, here's my solution: lands for lands. We get back our Artsvashen, Shahumian and Nakhijevan and make clear for ourselves why are we giving back Aghdam.
- We still have Artsvashen to be given back to us, we still have Shahumian and Gandzak... Are they planning to give them back? Then why are you here discussing which lands we should give them back?
- We should clear the territories of the Azerbaijanis up to the river Kura.
- Instead of Kirovabad, let them give us back Nakhijevan.
- The Shahumian region has been populated with belligerent Chechens. Who will be held responsible for that?
- Why don't we discuss the issue of Shahumian and Getashen? Why did you forget about those regions? They are Armenian, too, you know
- Question: does Scenario 3 imply the territory of the former Autonomous Region of Mountainous Karabakh? Shahumian? This should be clarified...
- I think that Azerbaijan's major intention is conquering our Zangezour.
- Those adjacent territories were Armenian regions before.
- When making compromises we should remember Shahumian, Nakhijevan and many other areas.
- In every item here I see the phrase "give back to Azerbaijan". Who will be returning our lands, ha?
- Well, if we are going to give them back their "historic" lands, let Turkey give us back our historic territories.
- We should be returned the territories that we possessed prior to 1914.
- Excuse me, but where did you mention Nakhijevan on this piece of paper? I cannot see it.
- Compromises are really needed but not from us...
- If Azerbaijan gives us Shahumian, what will the Azerbaijanis be doing, the ones that live there at this moment? The Armenians and the Azerbaijanis cannot live together in peace.
- People from Shahumian no longer consider themselves Karabakhi locals. They say that the Karabakhis kept their territories and did not help them to get liberated. How can we leave this question like this?
- The third option talks about returning the Azerbaijani territories but there is no mention about the territories that the Azerbaijanis still have to give back to us.
- If they want territories, we also want our territories that used to stretch from one sea to another...
- They control the greater part of Martakert and Shahumian. Let them sit back and relax.
- Our territories stretched up until Zhdanov. Now we lost them. That is already a big compromise. No more compromises!
- Shoushi was and will always be one of the major centers of Armenian cultural heritage along with Tiflis and Yerevan.
- The only compromise we are willing to make is not occupying baku.

- Why don't we place upon the table of negotiations the issue of our lost territories? The borders of Nagorni Karabakh used to be much wider.
- There were no Azerbaijani villages in the region of Martuni. They founded two villages and ten years later those two villages were the largest ones in the area, with their population and territory.
- There are huge areas in Artsakh that are deserted. We need to repopulate them and use the coming aid for that purpose.
- The former Armenian territories have been repopulated by the Azerbaijanis. As for the Armenians, they just conquered those territories but did not repopulate them. This is a major drawback in the Karabakh struggle strategy.
- After all, every person has to live in his own territory.
- Ceasefire does not imply that we have resolved the issue of Nagorni Karabakh. There are still a lot of regions, the question of which needs resolving.
- Conquering territories is much easier than preserving them.
- Fifteen years ago we occupied some villages, and up to this date we are trying to justify our cause telling them that we won't return anything. But these are negotiations. How are you going to negotiate if you are not willing to compromise?

Azerbaijanis

- The people are living in bad conditions in the bordering territories.
- Armenians could orally justify that the territories are theirs and now we should demonstrate that in reality the territories are ours.
- As a start Armenians have occupied Azerbaijani territories.
- If they keep living here they will try to occupy Azerbaijan territories.
- Armenians bought those territories.
- Let the possessors regain those territories, let them be ours.
- If NK remains the part of Azerbaijan the piece should be provided at all the territories.
- We can announce everywhere that these territories are ours.
- Nagorno Karabakh will become autonomy as a consistent part of Azerbaijan and all the surrounding territories are return back to Azerbaijan.
- We will not be able to give a justification to the new generation that these territories are not yours but ours.
- Historically NK has been Azerbaijan's territory. After the USSR collapse Armenia has occupied our territories.
- If we look to the past Rome used to occupy most part of the world. But it doesn't mean today that all the territories should be returned to them.
- Nobody is giving the territories back.
- If we give Armenia a chance to resolve its destiny itself then they should give us Zangezur territory back.
- The lost territories could have given penitence to comprehensive development of Azerbaijan.

Refugees and IDPs

For return

Armenians

- The question of the refugees is inescapable. We will have to let them return, but in the meantime we will have to try to, how to say, "Suppress" them by means of using their own policies against them.
- Refugees should return to their residence areas, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Let the Azerbaijanis come back, if the Armenians go back, too.
- The return of the refugees does not contain any hazard. Karabakh is already in the hands of the Armenians. As for the new generation, we don't know if they will come or not. There are no more refugees left in Azerbaijan.
- If the option of being in the structure of Azerbaijan is excluded, then the Azerbaijanis may come and live here. I see no problem in that whatsoever.
- The refugees should return only to the Azerbaijani territories. If they want to come back, they may come but not to Shoushi or Martakert.
- According to the international law, we cannot hinder the return of the refugees.
- If we become independent or join Armenia, it will be ok for them to come back. Don't we Armenians go to live in Turkey or Syria?
- Around half a million people came to Armenia, but they ought to realize that this is a temporary measure and they will have to eventually go back.

Azerbaijanis

- We need everybody to return to their homelands from economical perspective
- It is important for our society to return
- Refugees should be returned back
- Rights of refugees living in the territory of Karabakh should be renewed
- Displaced people and refugees of both nationalities should be returned to their home lands
- Refugees and displaced people of both nationalities will be returned to their home lands and their piece and security will be provided
- The major issue is the return of refugees and only when all occupied territories will be returned the status issue can be considered
- Displaced people should be definitely returned back to their home lands
- In the frame of returning program the refugees can be sent back
- Now when the refugees will return back to their homelands in 20-25 years, the referendum may be conducted

- As soon as the refugees will be sent back the social, economical and regulative security should be provided
- It has been 300 years that they are fighting for this. The refugees should be sent back to Armenia and they should participate in socio political works.
- The same level of respect will be devoted to Armenians living here as the same for refugees returned back to their home lands
- The compensation should be paid to the refugees returned to their homelands.
- The displaced return back and obtains the guarantee on the co-living of both societies.
- The 9th clause can be accepted only after sending the refugees back and regaining the territorial integrity. According to the 10th clause there is a possibility of waging the war.
- The refugees should be sent back
- As soon as the territories returned the refugees should be send back
- In reality then can go to other places or may not go
- There are many advantages of this option: the refugees will go back; there will not be a war any longer
- Armenians and Azerbaijanis who used to live in Nagorno Karabakh prior to war should live there now
- Refugees are returned to their own lands
- The major feature in this process is the return of displaced people to their home-lands
- As soon as Karabakh is regained Armenians will be able to live in the territory of Azerbaijan as all the rest nations
- The displaced people should be sent back
- Only after we regain NK Azerbaijanis can be accommodated there
- The rights of refugees should be fully regained
- Even with Status Quo the refugees should be sent back
- There is also the “step by step” resolution of the conflict: the occupied territories are returned; the refugees are sent back. The peace is provided. In some time the status issue may be considered. Perhaps we wouldn’t need anything, and start living as we used to.

Against return

Armenians

- We are against the return of the Azerbaijani refugees.
- We are not interested in the return of the refugees. Besides, who of the Armenian refugees will go back to Azerbaijan?
- This scenario implies that we will be telling the Azerbaijanis: “Please, come live in our towns and villages” and adding in-between the lines: “...and get rid of us, too”.

- If their refugees are willing to return and our refugees refuse to go back, that means that Azerbaijan's everlasting aggressiveness will work and Karabakh will remain without Armenians.
- We cannot give guarantees that we will be able to populate the entire territory of Karabakh and years later will exchange our territories by a referendum.
- The Azerbaijanis must just be prohibited to return to Karabakh. The clashes between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis will be unavoidable.
- To me, the return of the refugees is an absurd idea because they will continue breaking the regulations and the conflicts will resume. Therefore, it would be better to give some territories to the Azerbaijanis but never let them live next to us.
- After the assassinations in Sumgayit we started prohibiting the Azerbaijani kids to attend schools. We gradually cut off the Azerbaijanis from everything so that they had to get their things and leave. How can we let those refugees come back?
- We were saved by the war of Karabakh. This region had only three Armenian villages out of the total forty. This school was mixed; it had three Azerbaijani and one Armenian classes. If it weren't for the war, these regions would have been turned into totally Azerbaijani areas.
- Finally, we got rid of the Azerbaijanis. We are lucky things happened this way; otherwise they would have reached Yerevan by now. The Turks would have overcome us.
- If the Azerbaijanis come to live in Stepanakert, the next day they will turn Karabakh into another Nakhijevan.
- If the refugees return that will mean falling into the domination of Azerbaijan again. This way they will gradually invade Armenia as well.
- Letting their refugees come back would mean replaying the story of Nakhijevan.
- I would agree with the fifth scenario except for the provision about the refugees.
- We cannot repopulate Shoushi again with Turks.
- If the Azerbaijani refugees come back they will reproduce rapidly and the referendum will decide that Karabakh should be given to Azerbaijan.
- We have a concern that the number of the Azerbaijani refugees will be too high.
- I agree to the fifth scenario except for the item about the return of the refugees. There should be no Turks in Shoushi.
- Better be living in a closed country but living with a clear conscience.
- After coming back to Armenia, the Azerbaijanis will settle down here and will conquer the country from the inside.
- There is no one that will accept the Azerbaijanis. There has been blood, there have been assassinations. This scenario is totally unacceptable!
- Let's assume that the former residents of Khojalu came back. The former situation will repeat. Why then did we do all that we did?
- The new generation is not aware of what living side-by-side with the Azerbaijanis means. That will be a novelty for them. Ten years later the Azerbaijanis will get a foothold, they will proliferate and oppressions will start anew.

- The Azerbaijanis burnt Shoushi several times. The minute we forgot about it they burnt the city again. How can we let them come back today?
- Before the war the situation was the following: one Turkish shepherd would come to Karabakh and settle there. A few months later he would bring his relatives, and then his friends and they would receive the status of a village. This way they used to come and settle in our towns and parishes and years later they would outnumber the population of that area. We won't agree to give them another opportunity of doing the same thing to us.
- Azerbaijani Diaspora in Karabakh?... Something's wrong here...
- We hardly got rid of them. Let no refugees come back. What are they going to do here?
- In Turkey everything was theirs. Did our "fidayins" sit back and watch? No, they were quite active in their revolt. What is the difference now? If the refugees return to their lands or ours, war is unavoidable. Old refugees will not come back. We will not let them. What good have they done to us to be able to come back? Why would we accept them?
- Old refugees will not come back, we would reject also.. Did they make any use for us?
- If we allow the refugees to come back, referendum is a lost cause.
- An average Armenian family has four members, their families have ten. It's a simple calculation.
- We cleared our land from mines, and now the refugees will be coming to develop that land? I don't think so...
- The option of refugee return should be excluded.
- Bringing in refugees would mean destroying our home from the inside.
- We have seen that scenario of repopulation in Khojalu. We have seen the results it leads to. The same thing will happen now.
- Thank you very much for the return of the refugees! Let them keep those refugees to themselves...
- Why would the Turks live on our territory?
- Their refugees will come back here to reproduce rapidly and create the same situation for us, meaning destruction of our churches and our national identity.
- Return of the refugees, giving back territories, bringing in peacekeeper forces: all of these are unacceptable provisions.
- Thousands of people born in Aghdam have been officially registered in Stepanakert. This is a dangerous circumstance that should be taken into account.
- The return of the Azerbaijani refugees is more dangerous than war.
- This text contains a serious drawback. You cannot write "the Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh". Who else is there in Karabakh apart from the Armenians? Azerbaijan is still manipulating the idea of an "Azerbaijani community" existing in Karabakh. We can't allow that! We are on our land and there are no strangers here, nor will there ever be.
- I think it would be a big mistake if we let them come back. That is impermissible!

- If they do come back, there will be a serious ethnic hazard. Are they thinking about the quality of their nation or just its quantity?
- If their refugees come back to Karabakh and our refugees go back to Baku, how about the referendum? Our refugees won't be taking part in that referendum, right?
- There is another option, the sixth-five: but the issue of the refugees should be clarified.
- Scenario 5 may be accepted only after removing the item about the refugees, because otherwise any referendum will result in favor of Azerbaijan.
- A referendum should be organized, but without any return of the Azerbaijani refugees.
- I agree that the most substantial achievement in the Karabakh war was sending away the Azerbaijanis.
- The most intolerable thing in the fourth scenario is the repopulation of Shoushi and Stepanakert.
- The positive aspect of all these happenings is that we are now in control of our lands and Armenia has been wiped out of the Azerbaijanis.

Azerbaijanis

- A difficult situation may occur and already such situation occurred , but Azerbaijanis should not go there, this will not bring any benefit
- The government will not be able to provide the security

We will not return/ they will not return

Armenians

- I escaped during the war, I came here and I am not going back even if the Azerbaijani refugees come back.
- The Azerbaijanis will never come back.
- If the refugees come back, we will beat them every day. They will be scared, they won't come back.
- An Armenian from Baku will never go back to Baku, at least now.
- I served in Aghdam. Aghdam has declined so much during these years that they won't be able to return there.
- Proportional return of refugees is impossible.
- Armenians will never go back to live in Azerbaijan.
- The Azerbaijanis will not return to Karabakh and will never live under the rule of the Armenian authorities.
- When did you see such a thing that the Turks return after being beaten by the Armenians? We did not leave them any chance to return.
- Refugees will not be back

- I will not go back to Baku. I left my apartment in the center of Baku and moved here.
- I gather no refugee will think about going back, especially the Armenians. They will all be scared of returning.
- For the international community the most realistic option at this moment is Scenario 5. However, the refugees will not go back.
- No Armenian refugees will go back to Azerbaijan, and we don't want the Azerbaijani refugees to come back.
- Majority of our refugees have moved to Russia, accordingly they are not going back, no matter what the circumstances ...
- I cannot imagine one thing: when the Azerbaijani refugees come back and see their houses broken down, how can they live in peace with their neighbors?
- The refugees from Sumgayit and Baku are in such a psychological condition that they will never agree to go back.
- The refugees will not come back here: they already know that the Armenians can also respond (to cruelty).
- The Azerbaijani refugees will not come back either. They are also people, just like us.
- I have lived in Baku myself and I've seen their attitude. What I mean to say is that our two nations cannot live together in peace.
- It is highly unlikely that the refugees return to their former areas of residence, both Armenian and Azerbaijani.
- The issue of the refugees has been solved. They are not coming back.
- None of them will return: neither the Armenian refugees will go back nor the Azerbaijanis. Maybe some five percent of them will but not more.
- The former homes of the Armenian refugees have long accommodated Azerbaijanis. And they live in clover. How do you imagine us going back there?
- How can the Armenians go back to their former homes and live in peace when we have not forgotten the Story of an Axe?
- Just wait and see if they are going to return.
- Even if the refugees come back, as time passes they will feel the attitude of the Armenians towards themselves and will leave again.
- I do not believe that the refugees who have witnessed the war will ever come back.
- Those who have known a better life will not want to go back to the difficult living.
- Let's assume we give our consent on paper. Who of the Armenians will agree to go back to live in Sumgayit or Baku?
- How do they fathom the return of the refugees?
- Our people will not go back to live among the Turks. Even my grandmother and my grandfather would not go back to Shahumian now. Have we lost our common sense, our instinct of self-defense?
- Repopulating is impossible. Only criminals will agree to come here...

- I don't believe that any refugee will want to go back to his/her home town, after having seen so many atrocities and after having had so many trials and tribulations.
- I think no one will come back here. I think they realize that this is not their land. Besides, they all live in anxiety right now. They are a country that lost in war after all.

Azerbaijanis

- It is impossible to live together.
- Even if the conflict gets its resolution the displaced people will hardly be able to return to their homelands because they have already established in Azerbaijan and different regions of it.
- The refugees will not fully return to their homelands.
- Will the children born in 17-18 years return back to Karabakh?
- In 20 years there will not many displaced people wishing to return back
- It is unreal that refugees will go back.
- The displaced people resigned the offer to return back.
- Azerbaijanis will never go to Armenia to live because they may be frightened.

Attitudes

Armenians

- The return of the refugees is a very dangerous issue.
- Fifth. Let's assume their refugees will be coming back. Has it ever occurred to anyone that very soon they will outnumber the Armenian population? The Armenian refugees that fled from Baku are much more than those that escaped from Artsakh. This means that they will be more than us in number.
- How is the problem of the refugees supposed to be resolved when the Turks have always been swallowing the Armenians alive?
- Karabakh has an issue associated with the refugees. Very soon half of Karabakh's population will be comprised of the Azerbaijanis. A little later, thanks to the refugees the Azerbaijanis will make a majority. Then the question of national self-determination will arise. They will all become Azerbaijanian.
- The return of the refugees is practically infeasible.
- If the Azerbaijani refugees return to Karabakh and live by our rules, we agree. But if they come back and start living by their Azerbaijani rules, we do not agree.
- The Azerbaijanis have always been able to poison their younger generation's minds with hatred against Armenia and the Armenians. Given that, the return of their refugees is very dangerous because they will diplomatically keep silent, but underneath the surface they will carry out their machinations.

- We have around half a million refugees. The liberated territories must be repopulated with those refugees. This would be legally grounded because those people have been citizens of Azerbaijan.
- Azerbaijan should compensate our refugees for all their losses. There is nothing else we want to talk to them about.
- Sure thing, the refugees will want to come and they will...
- In the event of the return of the refugees the hazard of war will be greater. Hostility is more severe in those people.
- A Turk refugee will want to come to our land enticed by the legends about our buried treasures and gold. The government of Azerbaijan will try to use our own legend against us.
- If the Azerbaijanis come back, sooner or later the Armenians of Karabakh will be wiped out.
- We should not be afraid of the rapid growth rate of the Azerbaijanis. We can have a lot of children, too, you know. We will repopulate our lands and then we'll see who will be driving us out.
- I think very few Armenians will go to live in those territories. We should take into consideration the fact that the Azerbaijanis have many children and as of this moment their refugees are far more in number.
- The return of the refugees may create unemployment problems for them and a hazard of new inter-national dissension.
- If the refugees come back, the environment of anxiety will prevail. I do not believe that the Armenians will be able to live side by side with the Azerbaijanis, even having a lot of guarantees.
- Let the Azerbaijanis come back and live among the Armenians, so that they know what it means living among another nation as a minority. Yes, there is a danger of changing the demographic status of the population within one or two generations, but that does not depend solely on the Turks, but us, too.
- If we adopt Scenario 4, in five years the Azerbaijanis will be outnumbering us.
- If the refugees do come back, in five-six days everything will be the same again: the village heads will be Azerbaijanis, they will be managing everything and that will go on forever.
- If the Azerbaijani refugees come back to the Armenian territories, in a little while more than fifty percent of the population will be Azerbaijani.
- Even if the refugees from both nations return to their homes, there will be no respect as before.
- If the Azerbaijanis come to live in Armenia, in time the Armenian culture will be destroyed and the national heroes will be forgotten.
- We have lived together for many years. If they were to return to Masrik, there would be no Armenians here in ten years. There is no point in talking about their return to those territories.
- I cannot persuade myself to build a house in this region. Who knows, maybe tomorrow some Azerbaijani will come and take it away...
- If the refugees come back, in ten years they will outnumber us.

- There were Azerbaijani villages in Yeghegnadzor and we used to live side by side with the Azerbaijanis without any conflicts, because we were living under a common powerful ruler called the USSR. Now we want that powerful ruler to be Armenia.
- The Azerbaijanis reproduce very quickly. In a couple of years we will become the minority in this area if the refugees come back ...
- We will not be able to control that the number of the returning refugees not exceed the level of 1988.
- Even if we give our consent to the return of the Azerbaijani refugees, we will have to realize that they won't be coming all at once. It will need time.
- Oh, dear, you don't know them, that is why you hesitate saying "they will come" or "they will not come", "this thing will happen" or "that thing will happen". I'm telling you, they will certainly come back.
- It is impossible for the Armenians and Turks to live together. I cannot picture that in my mind. Therefore, ensuring peace in such circumstances is unfathomable.
- Our current repopulation plans will be closed after providing a single home, whereas the Azerbaijanis will move here, step by step, crawling and swarming right before our eyes.
- Can you imagine what happens if the Turks come back and the Turkish guys start serving in our army?
- If the refugees do come back, they will claim that they are ethnic minority and will require opening a new department for them at the universities. If we do open, that would be bad, but if we don't open, there will start these conversations about human rights, international community, blah-blah-blah-blah...
- "Refugees come back and steps are made towards peaceful co-existence". What is this, a new joke?
- That woman has lost both of her sons in the war. What do you think she'll do if she sees a Turk walking down the road. She will scratch his eyes out no matter who he is.
- You are calling them refugees; what if they are saying that Karabakh is within their borders, so what kind of refugees are they?
- But those territories are inhabited by our families now. Where are they going to go?
- The question of the refugees should be removed from the negotiation procedure. This has been the situation for the last eighteen years. Armenian refugees will not be going back to Baku.
- Thirty thousand Azerbaijanis left Karabakh as refugees. Now 130 thousand of them will come back.
- If their refugees come back here, their number will be so great that if we kill two of them, three will still remain.
- Up until 1917 the Armenians constituted majority of population. And now?
- If their refugees do return, do you have any idea of how quickly they will reproduce? Years later the demographic picture will be totally different. They will arrange for a new referendum and will get what they want.

- The Azerbaijanis proliferate very quickly. I imagine what will happen if they decide to organize a referendum.
- There are no refugees from Karabakh. That is only a result of the Turkish ethnic purification policy.
- When he was the head of the Mejlis, Aliyev once declared the following: "When I first came to power, the proportion of the Azerbaijani population in Nagorni Karabakh was only 4%. Now it is 27%. In some ten years we will resolve the issue of Nagorni Karabakh." Now I am asking you: how can one trust the Azerbaijanis?
- If the refugees come back, in some ten or twenty years all these territories will become Azerbaijani.
- If land is concerned, the Turks will always come for that. The lands here are very fertile. They will even leave Baku to come here.
- The Azerbaijanis reproduce very rapidly. If they come back here, in a couple of decades they will outnumber us.
- The Azerbaijanis proliferate with the speed of light. Nobody can fight that.
- Even from the point of view of the Azerbaijanis, there is no such concept for them as "refugees". Those people just moved from one region of "their" country into another.
- The Turkish females deliver twice a year. If we give our consent to the return of their refugees, we are doomed...
- It is unfathomable how the Karabakhis residing in Armenia will go back to the Republic of Karabakh.
- We accept the fourth scenario. The Azerbaijanis may come and live here. But we also have our preconditions, you know.
- Aren't we going to claim compensation of property and losses? How many Armenians, and wealthy Armenians have fled from Baku?
- The issue has to be placed on a proper scale: in this particular case it is Azerbaijan that owes us a lot of things, not us.
- The Azerbaijani opposition blamed their president for speaking about the refugees because they think that it meant de facto acknowledgement of our independence.

Azerbaijanis

- The refugees cause us problems.
- Azerbaijanis are historical population of NK.
- Azerbaijanis are now as displaced people.
- All the needed security conditions should be established for displaced who returned back.
- As soon as the conflict resolves any other issue that will arise between two societies in NK should be resolved in the frame of human rights.
- The status of refugees from Armenia has not been considered anywhere, how will this be resolved?

- As soon as all the refugees will return back it will be possible to give NK any status.
- No lessons should be taught in Armenian language in NK. As per the previous clauses the same level of respect will be devoted to Armenians living here as for the refugees in NK.
- The remaining left villages are full of Armenians.
- They will start living in NK only after being confident that the security has been obtained.
- Nobody gives an answer on where will the displaced people live.
- In 1988 during the war Armenians left Azerbaijan. In 1989 they returned back and our government protected their rights.
- Big means as well as districts are built for refugees each year.

Return of Refugees: political pretext and externally driven process

Armenians

- The Azerbaijani refugees may not want to return either, but they may be repopulated by force...
- This is an Azerbaijani scenario: they will return their people, grown in number, then they will arrange for a referendum and the results will be totally foreseeable. Their population growth will be threefold and they will get the desired solution through the referendum. This should be excluded.
- Twenty years have passed and the refugees have gone in different directions, some are here and some are there. They are living a new life today. The issue of the refugees should not be discussed any longer.
- The Armenian refugees will never go back, but the Azerbaijanis will return with long-term intentions and will even get big moneys to return to Karabakh.
- If we let the Azerbaijani refugees come back, in a short while the Azerbaijani government will arrange everything in a way that they all automatically become part of Azerbaijan.
- The Azerbaijani refugees will not come back to their former residences if their government does not compel them to, in order to ensure their triumph in the future referendum.
- There is a trick here: if repopulated, the Azerbaijanis will proliferate very quickly.
- Thousands of registered and unregistered families will arrive, but we won't be able to live side by side. They will know that the Armenians never strike first. So what will happen? We will lose again?
- Even more disturbing is the issue of the returning refugees. Apart from the refugees there will be a lot of other elements arriving in this area.
- They will send anyone to come and repopulate Artsakh. Who will be compensating our refugees?
- Any idea about the return of the refugees is pure utopia.

- The return of the refugees is perhaps dangerous for us, because we have no idea what number of them will be coming.
- I think that the Azerbaijanis will be presenting artificially increased numbers for their refugees. That is why they have not taken care of their refugees but have created refugee camps and are showing them to the international community.
- So many people will arrive in Karabakh under the name of “refugees”...
- The Azerbaijanis will compel their refugees to go back and they will come back here. They have this polygamy thing; they multiply very rapidly. We are satisfied with one kid. Years later their votes will outnumber ours and the outcome of any referendum will be predefined.
- They may create unbearable living conditions for the Turks in another part of the world and make them come and live here, but the Turks from Karabakh won't come back.
- The Azerbaijani government has sufficient financial resources to fund the Armenians' migration from Karabakh.
- The Azerbaijani refugees are not as many as they claim. They have mixed other Turks and nomads with the refugees. How can there be a village with six thousand people?
- The Turks will not come back to live here upon their own wish. They will be forced to.
- Azerbaijan will give tons of money to every refugee who will go back to Karabakh. With that money they can build hundreds of houses here. We cannot afford doing that for our refugees.
- Under the pretext of the refugees, they will bring their people and repopulate here.
- Azerbaijan's utilization of the refugee factor is highly knowledgeable. They keep their refugees in poor conditions and bring in international organizations to show them. In Armenia the concept of refugees is long extinct. Nearly extinct.
- If the Turks were not sure that their refugees would return, they would not be screaming everywhere: “Refugees, refugees”. This is a thoroughly developed strategy they are using.
- I am more than confident that they are running a special policy of bringing thousands of people in here as “refugees”.
- It is one of their typical scenarios: they bring the Azerbaijani refugees back, they protect them by the peacekeepers and then they forge the referendum in their favor.

Asymmetry and Bias

Armenians

- If given a chance the Turkish refugees will return immediately, but the Armenian refugees will not want to go back.
- Aren't we going to discuss the issue of the Armenian refugees?

- If you agree to the Azerbaijani refugees returning, how about the Armenian refugees? Where are they supposed to go?
- Our refugees will not go back. For them to go back, there should be favorable conditions, there should be Armenian schools, cultural centers, and they should be provided jobs.
- Talking about the refugees would mean corroborating that only Azerbaijanis will be returning to the Armenian lands and will grow in geometrical progression.
- If we are addressing the issue of the refugees, what is going to happen to our refugees?
- The Azerbaijani refugees are going to come back, if not on voluntary basis, then surely driven by force. But our refugees will never go back.
- In the fourth scenario we do not commend the return of the refugees. Armenians won't go back to Azerbaijan, but the Azerbaijani refugees will come to Karabakh and will proliferate there.
- The issue of the refugees is not beneficial for us because no Armenian refugees will go back to Baku or Sumgayit. Our losses will be huge.
- The Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan were mainly urban residents, while the Azerbaijani refugees were primarily cattle-breeders. This is why they will come back and we will not go back.
- If we weaken our positions even a little, the Azerbaijanis will come and fill Armenia. But I don't think that the Armenians will ever go back to Azerbaijan.
- Today the refugees that moved to Azerbaijan continue living in Azerbaijan. That is why they will return easily and quickly. Our refugees left and no one is coming back.
- We want to go back to Kirovabad. Will they let us?
- If they want to come back to their birthplace, why did they take the birthplaces of our grandfathers?
- The refugees should go back and live in their homes. But not the Azerbaijanis.
- The proposition about the return of the refugees is just for Azerbaijan. The Armenian refugees will not go back to Azerbaijan. We should eliminate that question.
- The requirements and suggestions of these scenarios do not express the interests of the Armenian people or of Artsakh, in particular. On the one hand they consider the factor of the Azerbaijani refugees' return; on the other hand they ignore the return of the Armenian refugees to Getashen, Shahumian and other settlements. I do not agree to any of those scenarios.
- If we are discussing the issue about the return of all refugees, then how are we going to resolve the issue of the refugees that fled from Baku and Sumgayit?
- The majority of the Armenian refugees were educated people living in the cities. As opposed to them, the Azerbaijani refugees were primarily from rural areas. Therefore, the Armenian refugees will not go back, but the Azerbaijanis that are used to nomading will.
- What do you mean by saying "refugees"? You mean only the Armenian refugees or the Azerbaijanis as well?

- When talking about refugees, we should not forget that our refugees are going to stay in Armenia because they were barely saved from being massacred in Baku. As for the Azerbaijani refugees, yes, they will come back and there will be thousands of them. What's going to happen to our refugees?
- The Azerbaijani refugees left Armenia with their blankets and pillows and everything. We even saw them off towards the border. They will be happy to return here.
- The UN has a principle of national self-determination. What new principle can Azerbaijan think of? Besides, in all of these scenarios we did not see a word about the region of Shahumian. Where is your concern about that region? Where is your alarm about our refugees? It is true, we took care of those people, but they have lost their homes, their property. Why do we not talk about ensuring their return to their homes?
- I am a refugee and I will never ever go back. I am sure that no Armenian refugees will go back where they came from. But the Azerbaijanis will come. They will come to Shoushi, Askeran and other towns. We won't go back because we hardly escaped death. They wanted to kill me in Baku and if I did not run away they would have certainly murdered me.
- The Azerbaijanis are such blockheads (we call them "tulash") that they will definitely come back here. But we have our pride, our dignity and our homeland.
- The Azerbaijani refugees will come back because they have not been humiliated and harassed here. When they were leaving they took all of their property with them. Our soldiers even escorted them to the border line. But we hardly escaped death... and we are not going back.
- Those who escaped from Baku will never go back there. But the Azerbaijani refugees will come back for sure.
- Before the war the Azerbaijanis were 25% of the population. Now if we say that the refugees can come back, they will return with their children and our refugees will not go back. In case of a referendum everybody knows what the results are going to be.
- The issue of refugees is not in our favor. Our refugees will not go back to Baku, but their refugees will come back here.
- Thousands of people escaped from capital city Baku and moved to Russia and are now breeding cattle in the villages. Who will be held responsible for that?
- If it comes to the question of refugees, I can assure you that the Azerbaijanis will come back here, but no Armenian refugees will want to go back. Let us cross that question out.
- Let the Armenian refugees come back here, inhabit the land and prosper. That would be sufficient for us.
- Why is it mentioned here that "the refugees will go back to Shushi and Stepanakert", but there is no mention about Baku and Sumgayit?
- The Azerbaijani refugees will sure come back. With greatest pleasure... but we will never go back...

Looking at the future and postponement of the resolution

Future is uncertain conflict is unsolved

Armenians

- The present situation is auspicious for Armenia, I think. I have no doubt whatsoever that eventually Azerbaijan will have to reconcile to the thought that Artsakh (Karabakh) should be part of Armenia.
- The most distressing thing is that so far Armenia, too has not recognized the independence of Karabakh.
- Separation of Nagorni Karabakh was been the objective of the greater states; that is why this situation will persist for some time.
- We just want to be in control of our property. We do not have a droplet of aggression.
- The most convenient option is the first one: this is what we want, the same currency, the same language, the same passport. Nothing is uncertain.
- This is the least of evil, but it does not have future.
- I cannot maintain that this may be a long-term situation.
- No uncertain situation can last forever, but this situation is really becoming ambiguous.
- We should go for a compromise by all means...
- The Republic of Nagorni Karabakh is de facto an independent state: de jure we do not want anything else.
- If the independence of Karabakh is recognized, the hazard of war will permanently hang over us.
- The question of Karabakh will be resolved in some way by 2015 the latest.
- I do not fathom the independence of Karabakh.
- We base our reasoning on the right for self-determination; the Azerbaijanis base their claims on territorial integrity. This may go on forever.
- The good thing about this particular scenario is that the territories remain under the control of the Armenian forces; therefore gradual economic growth becomes possible. Unfortunately, that process goes on very slowly given that there are issues associated with documents, international recognition and so on. However, if the negotiations are moving towards a dead-end, then maintaining this status is not so bad for us.
- Recognition is not essential, we better preserve this status.
- Like Cyprus, we could go on forever despite the fact that there is no recognition by the world.
- As of this moment, the best thing is this, the status quo!
- The most realistic and optimal option for us Armenians is the status quo.
- This status of no peace no war is better.

- If time passes and Karabakh remains in this status, everything will go more smoothly in future. We should try to maintain this status in peaceful ways.
- Let it continue like this: we will try to work towards the de jure recognition.
- The sooner the issue of Karabakh is resolved, the more correct it will be.
- In reality, the issue of Nagorni Karabakh has already been solved in our favor, we just have to wait until the powerful states sign under that decision.
- If this goes on longer, Azerbaijan will want to strengthen its military potential and start a war. We should not forget that, and we should be able to find a solution.
- We are fighting over a map. Do we really need that? You are asking the people of Karabakh if they need recognition of their independence or not. The people of Karabakh could not care less.
- It is critical that Karabakh be recognized by international organizations.
- What is independence for us? For example, our today's status is "independence" if we want the international community or Russia to acknowledge the independence of Karabakh, like they did with Abkhazia, Ossetia or Kosovo.
- Karabakh is a tiny territory. No one will acknowledge it as an independent state.
- Unless there is a pressure on Baku from international organizations, Azerbaijan will never recognize the independence of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Why is the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh not considered as a disputable territory with its real territories?
- The issue of Nagorni Karabakh is already resolved. In time the world will just have to take into consideration the position of Karabakh.
- Artsakh must become party to the negotiations and we must be the presiding party in the Minsk Group. Let Azerbaijan and Artsakh discuss the issue and we will contribute to the fair settlement.
- Today Artsakh is de facto under the dominion of Armenia: the same money, the same army, just one piece of paper is left to be signed.
- It is even good that they don't recognize Karabakh because recognition will come only when we submit the adjacent territories, and THAT will be destructive for us.
- Azerbaijan will never let Artsakh be recognized internationally.
- They kept saying that our problem will find its solution after Kosovo. Yet, that did not happen. Probably, we are not representing our demand firmly enough.
- Our Artsakh is independent de facto. Is it Azerbaijan to let us be independent?
- Why don't we consider repopulation of the territories when we talk about re-integration?
- The population of Nagorni Karabakh will prefer to be a sovereign state than to join Azerbaijan. This policy should be made use of, because even if Azerbaijan becomes an ideal state, it won't be perfect for the Armenians.
- Let me recall a comment that I heard from an Azerbaijani: "If I were a Karabakhi, I would never agree to be in the structure of Azerbaijan". What more do you want?

- I believe that the people of Karabakh have not decided for sure yet, whether to join Armenia or not.
- If Karabakh joins Armenia, our government will have to make substantial investments in there. Today our government can hardly afford supporting Armenia. How can it support Karabakh?
- As soon as Nagorni Karabakh becomes an independent state, the next day the Azerbaijanis will attack and devour it altogether!
- Does the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh want to be independent?
- Karabakh was Armenian long ago, but it can never be independent.
- This issue will not be resolved unless the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh has an officially established and recognized border with Azerbaijan.
- We should have acknowledged the independence of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh back in 1994 and be done with it.
- Ok, we acknowledge the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh. Then what? Azerbaijan will stop shooting?
- Today Nagorni Karabakh is just a play card in the hands of the powerful states.
- The international community will decide to resolve the Karabakh conflict in favor of that nation, which can be used in future for its own purposes. For instance, in case of Azerbaijan that may be the oil storage.
- Karabakh will not agree to be in the structure of anyone, neither Azerbaijan nor Armenia.
- Karabakh is ours and it will always be.
- Sadly, we cannot resolve the issue of Nagorni Karabakh today. It is the powerful states of the world that can do it.
- Let's think real, people. The government of Azerbaijan is also accountable to its people. It has to explain to them what happened to Karabakh.
- The Soviet Union did not care whether Karabakh was within Armenia or Azerbaijan. Now it is a critical issue.
- With the successful conclusion of the political games between the two powerful states, Russia and America, our issue will be resolved, too.
- We should realize that every powerful state pursues its own interests. If a powerful country supports Armenia, the dominance will be on our side. And vice versa...
- Who will acknowledge the independence of Karabakh when we have not done so?
- Even Armenia has not officially recognized Artsakh's independence. When it does, along with other countries, Nagorni Karabakh will develop more rapidly.
- Let us give an opportunity for Karabakh to act as an independent state in the negotiations. That would be a huge leap forward.
- We have a lot of work to do within the international structures to represent our views before the powerful states and pursue our cause.
- Let the people of Karabakh decide their future. We live in peace here in Armenia. They are in danger. Let them decide how to act.

- Of course, it is bad that there is no international recognition and, respectively, no international assistance. Besides, Azerbaijan keeps violating the ceasefire.
- I think that Karabakh does not want to live with Azerbaijan or Armenia. It wants to become independent and live in peace and quiet. Let it be so.
- If Azerbaijan insists on its territorial integrity, we must also maintain the integrity of our territories.
- Both parties are just talking nonsense and fooling us around without resolving any issues. Karabakh must decide its fate independently.
- We must make the international community realize that Karabakh is not Azerbaijan.
- The conflict of Karabakh will be resolved more easily if the circle of the negotiating parties is reduced. The less international entities and factors interfere, the less interests will be involved, and accordingly the issue will be resolved without delay.
- Because of the fact that there is no international recognition there are no economic investments.
- Karabakh wants to prove everyone that it can and it deserves to be an independent state.
- For Nagorni Karabakh to be ours, the international community would have to acknowledge it.
- After all, the international community should also be interested to end this dependency status of ours...
- We shed so much blood; we wanted to see Karabakh in the structure of Armenia. But that may only make the situation more complicated.
- Our young people died for Karabakh. We do not need war, yet the international community seems unable to propose specific solutions. We must do our best to resolve this issue peacefully, so that Karabakh becomes part of Armenia.
- We conquered those territories and now they belong to us. But who accepts that as a fact? Only we do.
- Let the situation become more complicated but let Karabakh be in the structure of Armenia.
- This situation will remain unsolved. Nothing is going to change.
- What do we want now? Do we want the people of Karabakh to live a decent life or we want Karabakh to eventually join Armenia?
- If they were able to reach a final solution, they would have reached it. The governments are unable to change anything.
- Even if Karabakh joins Armenia, the UN will not change its maps for us.
- Every moment we think that something is going to change. Our lives are full of suspense and anxiety.
- The entire issue is in the conflict of two basic international principles: peoples' right for self-determination and the right for territorial integrity.
- Why do we keep chasing Azerbaijan to make them acknowledge the independence of Karabakh. We should work on other countries.

- With today's ceasefire we owe to Russia and Turkey. They are the ones that play a key role in this region.
- There is a major conflict between the concepts of national self-determination and territorial integrity.
- The international community is trying to preserve this situation in order not to irritate the parties to the conflict. They want the emotions settle down a little so that they can find a solution to this issue.
- The most important thing is the will of the people of Karabakh. Why are we trying to decide anything?
- This is a conflict between the super states and not between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis.
- Kosovo was created on the Serbian land, while we are unable to protect our own state on our own historic land.
- Why don't the international entities recognize the independence of Nagorni Karabakh when Karabakh really wants to be independent? Don't you see that this is an issue for those international entities.
- The fact that we are not sure about what kind of solution we are specifically seeking for this issue today, comes from the fact that we are receiving incomplete or inaccurate information from the upper circles.
- If the UN acknowledges that the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh is independent, then acknowledgement by Azerbaijan will not be important. Unfortunately, the UN will not do that without Azerbaijan.
- Was Kosovo so powerful? Why did it attain what it wanted? Yet we are independent but trying to persuade Azerbaijan...
- Let Azerbaijan represent Karabakh within its borders on the maps. We don't care! The important thing is that we keep those areas under our control while they draw new maps.
- Researching into everybody's interests and identifying our own interests within that context... this is the only solution.
- Today's situation is leading to a reality where Nagorni Karabakh will eventually compel everybody to recognize its right for self-determination.
- Today's situation is the least of all evils. I think this situation will go on for at least five years.
- We will have to try to go further than the status quo, i.e. return our historic lands.
- How can we go to negotiations if we don't know our status?
- Azerbaijan will never accept our independence. Scenario 5 is not even being discussed at the table of negotiations. But the question of status should be established internationally.
- If we want to join Armenia, there is nothing bad in it. There are a lot of examples of various nations and people who do not wish to live within a certain state and they separate without any conflict.
- Zhirinovskiy once said that it would be better if Nagorni Karabakh were appended to Russia instead of Armenia or Azerbaijan. To me, it would be much better if we joined Russia: we would be a neutral territory and would live a better life.

- Any deviation or change from today's situation is quite risky.
- Let's assume that Armenia officially recognized our independence. What happens then? A war? Will the powerful states let them destroy us? They did not let Abkhazia to be beaten, did they.
- You are saying that they are mustering their forces? But we are not fast asleep either. Our issue will be resolved as time goes by.
- We would rather live in an unacknowledged state for ten more years than be caught in the chaos of war again.
- If this goes on, in a certain time we may arrive at a resolution and, as a result, gain international recognition. There are already two examples in the world: Kosovo and Abkhazia. But we will probably be the third example, as the English like to put it, "the unique one".
- Even this situation when you don't know what to expect tomorrow, is better than making the wrong decision and throwing ourselves into the crater of disaster.
- Given that we cannot resolve this issue in our favor at this point, and given that the international community is using the principle of so-to-say "fifty/fifty", the current situation is much more advantageous for us than for Azerbaijan.
- Was it better ten years ago than now? Of course, not. Now our situation is better, we are in peace, we live in our homes.
- This situation cannot go on for long.
- There should be some solution but I cannot see it in the perspective.
- Historically, we used to have two Armenian states and one of them was abolished. If we do not unite as soon as we can, the same thing will happen. We cannot delay the solution of this problem.
- I believe that if we go on like this, the war will restart again. But war is unavoidable anyway, even if other states intervene.
- Staying in a situation of uncertainty is not good. The longer it continues, the more difficult the solution of this conflict will become.
- The negotiations around Karabakh must render some results. This situation cannot go on forever.
- This situation will not provide any advantages for us if we do not use this time period to become more powerful.
- The worst thing is uncertainty. I cannot travel anywhere with my documents unless I turn to a hundred of higher authorities to get a permission.
- For ten years they have not given us our status. Have we not been able to live our lives?
- Let us live a difficult life but let us be free! This should be our principle.
- It is high time for Armenia to undertake measures towards the recognition of Nagorni Karabakh. Who are we trying to persuade if our brotherly state has not acknowledged us yet?
- From the moral point of view, Armenia is waiting for other states to acknowledge the independence of Karabakh and only after that will it acknowledge the independence of that state. But this is wrong. Armenia should be the first to recog-

nize our independence. In that case the other countries will follow Armenia's example.

- If Nagorni Karabakh is not yet part of Armenia, that is already a huge compromise on our behalf.
- We certainly realize that there are negative aspects in this situation, but our achievements are more important. There was a time when the Soviet Union was not internationally recognized, too, you know.
- In any other scenario the hazard of war will be more palpable if we continue giving Azerbaijan a lot of opportunities and privileges.
- I am sure that we will gain recognition in time.
- What we have achieved today is more important than any other solutions.
- There is no way out: this situation should be maintained for as long as it is possible.
- If we have a status we will be living on a barrel of gun-powder. If we do not have a status we will be facing the risk of coercion any moment, apart from the problem of physical safety. In other words, we are left in-between two evils.
- It is true, we attained this status through the power of weapons, but it cannot go on forever.
- This situation is too inconsistent. Who knows how the balance will change and who will benefit from this and how. This is not a solution, and we need a solution to this problem.
- We must take specific steps towards the acknowledgement of Karabakh's independence by the international community.
- Yesterday we had more opportunities than today. Tomorrow the chances will be even less.
- We need a final solution: this situation cannot go on forever.
- We need a final solution: this situation cannot go on forever.
- This is not a situation that we chose or did not choose: this situation was due to evolve as a necessity.
- What international community? Does Ossetia need recognition by France, England or China to exist? Not at all! Recognition by Russia is more than enough for them.
- The resolution of the problem of Artsakh is this: we create a status similar to that of Vatican in this region.
- The conflict is going on between Armenia and Azerbaijan, while the people of Nagorni Karabakh seem to be awaiting the resolution of the conflict and remain passive.
- For now this situation is good, it is a ceasefire.
- America supported Kosovo and Kosovo became independent. This means that we will have to continue our fight for the acknowledgement of Nagorni Karabakh's independence by the powerful states.
- Uncertainty is everywhere. For instance, you cannot formally register your business trip to Nagorni Karabakh because officially there is no such country. The independence of Nagorni Karabakh should be recognized.

- Karabakh people have a hard forehead (are too stubborn). Let them stay like that.
- Our main purpose is our security. Better be unrecognized than have a lesser territory.
- In my personal perspective, Scenario 1 has a sole positive aspect and that is the time factor. A change of generation will bring a more positive (positive for us) solution to the Nagorni Karabakh problem.
- The situation is getting protracted; therefore I see extensive opportunities for compromises...
- The world will eventually have to accept the present situation as normal. The status quo must continue.
- Let us wait, so that we do not become the initiators of war.
- We are fine with the present situation. Negotiations should be terminated and we should continue living...
- I believe the factor of time is playing against us.
- The only solution I see to this problem is waiting for the day when Armenia becomes really powerful, bangs on the table with its fist and says: "It's gonna be my way!" and everybody obeys.
- Status quo is good for Armenia and Nagorni Karabakh. The longer it continues the better.
- Status quo is a highly explosive situation, but if it does not explode, then time will work in favor of us. We will have a Republic of Karabakh that has been in existence for a longer period.
- Scenario 1 is always there. It is more about pretending to negotiate than really giving up Karabakh.
- I support Scenario 1 because we at least have peace....
- I believe the status quo is an acceptable option but it implies no progress, no development.
- The best option is the status quo, no doubt. Let us not take the nail out of the patient's head. He may die.
- In time the Turks will reconcile to the thought of losing Karabakh; we will just have to extend this situation as long as we can.
- Perhaps it will be possible to prolong this situation for a certain period but not for long.
- This situation will go on until the time when the Azerbaijanis reconcile to the thought of losing Karabakh.
- Negotiating requires a great deal of patience, we will have to buy time, and I mean really buy time. The passions will settle and we will become more powerful.
- This situation is advantageous for us, for the time being.
- At this point the status quo is convenient for us. The rest is a matter of time, which will eventually play to our benefit.
- Let the status quo keep on. Just as they would not accept the Genocide but started accepting it little by little, the same way they will start comprehending/conceiving the independence of Karabakh.
- The later the better. We will wait a little more.

- The roads are closed, development is hindered, but if they are going to insist on their position, then we are not giving up our achievements. Maintaining the status quo is acceptable for us. It would enable winning time and living to develop.
- Maintaining of the status quo is important. It's just a matter of time, resolving the problem in favor of the Armenians once and for all.
- We need to keep and preserve whatever there exists and whatever we have today. Not an inch of land should be given from the liberated territories. Therefore, as of today, yes, status quo is good.
- If compared to the war situation, the status quo is no doubt better, but this is just a temporary status, the minimum.
- This scenario will have prospects if every Armenian has national mentality and feels that he is the master of his land, not a stranger or a slave.
- We can make the status quo serve our cause by bringing people to live in Karabakh.
- At this point the status quo is advantageous for both countries. However, a woman cannot stay pregnant forever: sooner or later she will have to deliver.
- Posing new claims may be dangerous for us; therefore we should reconcile ourselves to the status quo.
- No two good things come simultaneously and together: if we adopt the status quo, then we will have to put up with economic hardships and live on with the fear of war in our hearts.
- We've been living in this situation for 15 years now. That's enough! There should be an agreement signed but on condition that Karabakh takes part in it.
- The status quo scenario is good if we can maintain stable peace.
- Today's situation should be maintained; however every Armenian has to make his own investment in the development of Armenia and try to make his country more powerful.
- Our struggle is of legal nature; therefore we should extend this situation till the time when the question is resolved in our favor. The only amendment should be that Karabakh take part in the negotiation process at least with a consultative vote.
- This status will eventually bring us to the Arabian-Israeli situation. Nothing good can be expected from that.
- If we initiate proper diplomatic actions, the maintenance of status quo will not matter as much. I mean this situation is not very advantageous and we have to think hard to be able to register specific progress that is better guaranteed and ensures security and peace.
- We have grown accustomed to the status quo. We live our life calmly and peacefully, but in the meantime the enemy is growing stronger.
- This situation will remain like this for a long time until the greater states find someone to exercise full influence in this region.
- Status quo is good on the one hand because there is no evident war. On the other hand, there is no economic development. If it goes on like this Artsakh will fall behind.

- If the status quo is maintained we will feel much more secure.
- May be it would be better for the status quo to linger for some more time until the conditions are improved; and then we will think.
- Today's situation, I mean the status quo cannot last long. The causalities on the borders of Armenia and Karabakh may end our patience and the people may want to resolve the problem.
- As the status quo goes on, our boys continue to die on the borders in these non-circumstances.
- The status quo is not advantageous for Armenia, but we are compelled to sustain this situation.
- This situation is better for Armenia and Artsakh because in any other situation war might break out. We better stick to this option.
- This situation should be maintained for as long as it is needed for the development of our economy, for the strengthening of our position with international entities and for the improvement of people's living standards.
- In the scenario of the status quo everything is more peaceful and quiet. If we change anything the situation may become much more complicated.
- The long-term preservation of the status quo will one day lead to Karabakh being recognized as part of Armenia and not as an independent state. This is exactly what we want.
- The longer the status quo, the better for Armenia and Artsakh.
- Preservation of the status quo is perhaps the least of the evils.
- The meaning of the status quo is just to gain some time so that the Turks do not unite and massacre us again.
- The status quo is good as long as the peace persists.
- Preserving the status quo makes sense only until the time of our upsurge, when we are able to find a solution ourselves.
- It would be better if the status quo continued until a reasonable solution is found for us.
- Of course, the status quo is not good, but on the other hand we should not rush and do irrational things to resolve the problem.
- Maintenance of the status quo is the right thing to do until the point when they acknowledge the independence of Nagorni Karabakh.
- I believe that only in some 15-20 years it will be possible to find an acceptable option for a trilateral compromise. That is why the status quo of the present moment is acceptable both for the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis.
- The scenario with the status quo is good. We just need to transform that status from de facto into de jure.
- It would be more reasonable if we kept the liberated territories and did not submit them because if we do, the length of the borderline will increase by three times and the costs will rise respectively. We should not be afraid of war. War is just as much horrifying for us as it is for our adversaries. Whatever we say, today's situation is the most advantageous option.

- For as long as there is blood on Aliyev's hands as well as our hands, there will be no compromise... The status quo must carry on until the new generation takes over.
- The status quo may be extended to the point when Azerbaijan decides to resolve the issue through military action. That is why Armenia should be an initiator in the solution of the status quo.
- An item should be added to the status quo: the territories should be repopulated.
- It's all too complicated, kids, too complicated... Nothing is better than the status quo.
- If we manage the economy effectively we can develop through the status quo. Our problems are an internal: tax policies, corruption, gas prices, monopolies and so on and so forth.
- To a certain degree the status quo is definitely beneficial for us because now we can make economic use those territories.
- We are in a very beneficial position right now. Let's look at the actual facts: we are holding 20% of Azerbaijan in our hands.
- Option 1: time is working in our favor; if the status quo continues, sooner or later they will have to reconcile to this status; Artsakh is ours.
- The only negative side of this scenario is that Nagorni Karabakh does not have a status of a separate state. But never mind; part of Cyprus is also unrecognized, but people live their lives quite alright...
- We are for this option. We'd better be hungry but let the situation stay like this.
- The status quo is good for us. It has been going on for years now and everything has been fine. Let it stay like this. Time will regulate everything.
- Ceasefire is beneficial both for Armenia and Azerbaijan.
- At his point the status quo is the best option for us. We have resolved our issues for the most part. The lands are Armenia's. There is yet one issue to be resolved and that is international recognition, but that will come in time.
- The fact that there is no war today is a major positive aspect of this scenario.
- The status quo will not lead to war, I am confident. Let everything stay like this.
- We benefit from the status quo.
- None of the proposed options is satisfactory. Neither for us, nor for the Azerbaijanis. We have a problem with two equations and eighteen unknowns. This is a highly complicated issue. Now that Karabakh is independent. Let us continue like this until the day when new solutions evolve that are more acceptable for us.
- War is intolerable not only for us, but for the Azerbaijani party as well. Therefore, the first scenario is a very convenient option.
- The status quo will allow establishing relationships between the two nations.
- We will benefit in time.
- The status quo should be extended, provided that concrete guarantees are given.
- We will hold on. The status quo is nonetheless good for us.

- The good thing about the status quo is that we are living in a state of ceasefire and that has been going on for 15 years now.
- From the political point of view, the current uncertainty is probably useful for us because any hasty solution may lead to war, whereas if we move slower we may come to a sustainable solution some day.
- Our achievement today is that the Armenians live in Karabakh in conditions of relative tranquility and there is no war.
- People live quietly and peacefully in Artsakh today and although the republic has been acknowledged only by Armenia, nonetheless it is a major achievement.
- Perhaps we could extend the status quo until the time when Azerbaijan runs out of oil and, subsequently, the international community loses interest in Azerbaijan.
- Nagorni Karabakh is independent now. If they don't want to acknowledge that, the status quo should continue until the time they do.
- As for the recognition of independence, it is not the right time yet. We still have the problem of Genocide to resolve, and the Diaspora cannot solve two issues at a time.
- This situation is advantageous for us because we do not surrender any lands but we are gaining time.
- The status quo is advantageous for us to the extent that there grows another generation in Azerbaijan as well, and they are accustomed to this situation.
- A generation later, the Azerbaijanis will have less wish to regain their losses.
- We should maintain the status quo till the time when Azerbaijan is out of oil.
- At any rate, the main territories are under our control and that is the important thing. That is an advantage in the negotiation process.
- We are not going to leave this as a burden for the coming generations. We will give them tranquil existence. Opinions and approaches will change and in time the solution will be found as well.
- Everything should stay as it is until the issue of Nagorni Karabakh is resolved in a positive manner.
- The more this status lasts, the more time will work against us: we may lose whatever we have gained so far.
- This conflict should be resolved in a peaceful manner. Extending this situation may be really hazardous:
- The more we delay the solution of this problem the more inefficient that solution is going to be...
- When the settlement of an issue is delayed, new generations come and people get accustomed to their situation.
- We talk about change of generations, but let us not forget that love and hatred are transferred to the younger generation through blood.
- Time will be working in our favor.
- The situation requires solutions. There is neither potential nor any result in maintaining this first scenario for long.

- This situation has to be resolved eventually. Even if we carry out like this for five more years, sooner or later we will face the need to resolve it. Why waste time?
- In my perspective, sooner or later we will have to open the borders, regardless if we want it or not.
- We will hold on. With or without development, but we will hold on. No surrendering!
- I think we ought to find some kind of solution. How long can this situation last?
- How much longer can we hold on? How much time is still needed? How much patience is required? We must find a solution at any cost.
- Many things may change in future. We cannot really do anything today.
- The solution of this issue should be delayed until better times when adequate preconditions are created. Until then, Armenians will have to unite and grow powerful.
- At any rate, an option for compromise must be found because the present situation can't go on for long.
- We must act quickly: the more time passes, the more complicated our status becomes.
- Today's situation is providing an opportunity for us to acquire new friends, by which we will be able to make our "gambit" in future and secure our victory.
- Time works in our favor now. We are more or less in a normal situation now.
- Time passing is beneficial for us; likewise the status quo is beneficial for us. The only hazard is the war. If we can avoid it, today's scenario is the best.
- Time works in favor of our adversary. We are working on quality, Azerbaijan is working on quantity.
- Change of generation will no doubt have its effect on this process: those who fought themselves will have different views on the issue. Nevertheless, the new generation will have other powers that we don't.
- The international community will gradually take our side. Time is working for us.
- If we maintain strong relationships with the families of the perished soldiers, that will have a positive impact on the upbringing of the younger generation.
- We should change the mentality of our younger generation and increase the level of their knowledge. We should do every possible thing to educate our youngsters so that the number of the educated young people (that know the history of the Armenian people) becomes prevailing.
- There was a time when nobody would acknowledge the Genocide, right? But now many countries have admitted that, right? We should pursue the same practice with the international recognition of Nagorni Karabakh.
- It can't be said that time is playing in our advantage because situations and interests keep changing day by day.
- If a lot of time passes by, there won't be any war because the new generation won't take it all as close to their heart as we do.
- If Azerbaijan does not use its rifle for a long time, it will become rusty. Therefore, time is working in favor of us.

- In some ten or twenty years everything will be fine. There is no need to give back any territories.
- Oil is not everlasting. Azerbaijan will run out of oil some day. Besides, in certain areas of Azerbaijan ethnic minorities are raising their complaints demanding that they be left alone. Those areas will soon decompose themselves.
- This problem will be resolved when this two-year-old child here grows up and becomes a president, and when the same happens in Azerbaijan as well.
- Young people must inhabit these areas for a longer period; but to be able to do that they will need peace and quiet to keep our lands.
- The resolution of this conflict lies in ourselves: if we are able to revive the spirit of the initial stage of our Movement, we will be able convince everyone in the righteousness of our cause.
- Time works in our favor: someday Azerbaijan will run out of its primary play card – its natural resources, and will cease representing any interest for the international community.
- Our people have always wanted to find a nice place to live. We will be patient and we will wait for as long as needed...
- The resolution of the issue will depend on the younger generation. The ideas a child is brought up with will further formulate his/her prospective views. In order to be a winner, triumphant behavior has to be fostered in the younger ones at government level.
- I believe that we can achieve international recognition if we are able to maintain this situation for a long time.
- In time the sense of danger declines. With the change of generation, we hope the next generation will not be so aggressive.
- Let us leave the question to the future. It will resolve consequentially.
- Scenario 4 reminds me of a method to persuade a child: "Listen to me, darling, some day when I get free, we will go to eat some ice-cream, remember? **SOME DAY...** one day some time in future ..."
- The problem will be resolved when the power of the Aliyev clan ends.
- In time we might make compromises, but very insignificant ones.
- Scenario 4 is a symbol of uncertainty.
- We are trying to act like in the proverb where they want the sheep safe and the wolves replete.

Azerbaijanis

- If the conflict resolves peacefully more sustainable piece may be obtained
- One of such examples is 8.5mln of military provision to Armenia from Russia
- Russia is influencing Turkey via Armenia
- As soon as our natural resources exhaust it will be more difficult to resolve the issue
- It means that NK is like a tool in their hands and it is used against us
- Their first need is economical development

- I think that the difficult economical situation in Armenia will make them to cooperate with us
- We can justify that we cannot live together with Armenians.
- If we want to resolve this peacefully we should compromise.
- There are many discontents on remaining of Armenian currency and language in NK
- It is not right to use Armenian currency (dram) in NK. Therefore we should prepare the population to this
- Why Armenia should interfere to our business on different levels
- The development of Armenia fully depends on Azerbaijan
- One of our major issues should be human rights
- If our security is broken whilst we are in neighbourhood with Armenia then we don't need it
- We need integration
- The most beneficial for Armenia in peaceful resolution of the conflict is opening the borders with Turkey
- Military services of Nagorno Karabakh doesn't provide the security
- Another proposal is to build Berlin Wall in Nagorno Karabakh which will let Armenians to live from one side and Azerbaijanis from another side
- Language and money should be Azerbaijani
- Nagorno Karabakh is managed by illegal regime
- Nagorno Karabakh has rich natural resources which are used by Armenians
- In reality the Armenians living in Nagorno Karabakh should be issued Armenian passport
- The straight contact between Armenia and NK contradicts to international standards
- Even if Armenia wants it won't be able to get an agreement with Azerbaijan on the resolution of the conflict
- It is economy standing behind any type of monetary base. The monetary system should be single
- If each and every ethnical group gets interested in governing there may born a chaos in the world
- If Karabakh returns to us and everything stands back to its places it will mean that we have forgotten about our victims
- We may achieve the resolution of the conflict by establishing the democratic society
- The social injustice causes difficulties in resolution of the conflict
- The development of each country depends on its economy
- Azerbaijan and Armenia have to live in peace we want peace
- For instance the peace resolution of the conflict creates conditions for economical development of Azerbaijan and implementation of strategic projects
- There may be one day when Azerbaijan is not interesting to international world at all

- The current situation will lead to history distortion in future and the problem will remain unresolved
- As the time passes people are getting colder to this and forgetting this problem
- We are almost late
- If Azerbaijan is not able to justify the independence of NK from legal prospective then neither of the countries will be able to do this
- I think we should now resolve this issue as we have more chances now
- This issue should be resolved as soon as possible in the frame of Azerbaijan's interests
- The time is working for the benefit of Azerbaijan
- This matter will not be resolved so easily
- Azerbaijan should keep up the process of territorial integrity
- It will be beneficial to Azerbaijan and whole region if the conflict is resolved peacefully in the frame of territorial integrity
- The prolongation of Status Quo position realizes the possibility of loosing these territories by Azerbaijan
- As our development depends on oil industry it won't be sustainable
- As time passes this topic loses its urgency for future generations
- We are waiting for international conditions change
- There should be a generation change in order to resolve this conflict peacefully
- The change of president also drags the issue
- We are very late
- Neither Armenia nor any other country supporting it would like Nagorno Karabakh being returned without any terms
- Our waiting position is linked to peaceful resolution of the conflict
- As much as time passes the resolution of the problem becomes more difficult
- The time passes and we have certain debates but again time works for them
- It requires some time
- The old generation passes away but the new one forgets about it
- The timeframe should be determined for peaceful negotiations
- We cannot run the negotiations with no limit
- The time works for us and in comparison with Armenia we rapidly develop and get stronger
- The sooner we resolve the problem the better as the upcoming generation absolutely forgets that NK is referred to us
- In reality all the issues should be shortly resolved it has been so many years that the resolution is dragging for.
- By postponing the resolution of the conflict we don't get anything – we return back to Status Quo-what does it give us? NK and 7 occupied regions of Azerbaijan. Therefore we should resolve the issue as soon as possible
- One of the offers for resolution of the conflict is establishment of "Caucasus State" which will be managed together by Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians

Nagorno Karabakh as independent state or part of Armenia

Armenians

- If I have an opportunity to be free, why would I live under someone else's yoke?
- It is a known fact that Karabakh belongs to Armenia. Therefore, there can be no compromises. There have been instances where Nagorni Karabakh received assistance, but all that assistance came through Armenia. It would be much easier to join Armenia and Karabakh and close the issue once and for all.
- Karabakh must never be within the structure of Azerbaijan, never again. You should never let a wolf guard the sheep, even if the wolf says he has become an herbivore.
- Not for a minute should we ever conceive the possibility of Nagorni Karabakh being within the structure of Azerbaijan in any status.
- Karabakh must exist as an independent state.
- Let Azerbaijan recognize Karabakh and let Karabakh have its army, and if that requires surrendering the adjacent regions, so be it...
- We have struggled for Karabakh, them too, although we had more victims. Therefore, it would be better for Karabakh to join Armenia as its 11th Marz (province).
- Karabakh should be in the structure of Armenia.
- The conflict of Nagorni Karabakh is an issue for all the Armenians across the world. In the meantime, I do not imagine Karabakh being part of Armenia. Nagorni Karabakh should be independent.
- Karabakh, be it independent or within the structure of Armenia, is quite an acceptable option and an adequate formulation of the issue.
- Nagorni Karabakh is a sovereign state; therefore it should decide for itself what it is willing to surrender.
- International community must recognize the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh.
- International organizations must recognize the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh and provide support.
- Karabakh is considered a part of Armenia and all of that has been corroborated in the joint Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Region of Mountaneous Karabakh, which means that the question is resolved and no negotiations are required.
- If the national language in Karabakh is Armenian and the national currency is the Armenian Dram, then it would be appropriate for Karabakh to join Armenia.
- Kosovo could serve as a precedent, although Russia was unable to arrive on time during the intervention. It was too late.
- In fact, Karabakh has never been in the structure of Azerbaijan.
- We have to strengthen our diplomacy to an extent where we can make transfers of issues from the political field into the legal.

- Nagorni Karabakh has never been in the structure of Azerbaijan, and the USSR itself was the result of a politicized decision.
- Karabakh has never been “Azerbaijani”, it has always been Armenian.
- Karabakh should be an independent country and have its state. It should not be part of Armenia.
- Karabakh must be part of Armenia. There is no need for our nation to bifurcate and become two. We should stay united.
- Both parties should understand certain things. The Azerbaijanis must reconcile themselves to the thought of relinquishing Karabakh.
- The only option is that Karabakh be part of Armenia.
- I agree that Karabakh can never be independent, if only as part of Armenia.
- For three thousand years Karabakh was ours. Such it must remain.
- Only the options about the independence of Karabakh and the one about its being in the structure of Armenia are acceptable, with the provision about the deployment of Russian troupes within the safety circle.
- If a single Armenian lives on the territory of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh, he must live on an Armenian land.
- At present Nagorni Karabakh is in the same position as Abkhazia. The Karabakhis have been issued Armenian passports, now the next step is due. That’s exercising the right of autonomy.
- Armenia must acknowledge the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Scenario 3. Independent or within the structure of Armenia.
- How did they recognize Kosovo without Serbia? The same way they will recognize Karabakh without Azerbaijan.
- Karabakh is already part of Armenia; it just has to be formulated legally.
- Karabakh should be given the status of an autonomous region of Armenia. That’s it!
- All the Karabakhis will get Armenian passports and the time will come when Nagorni Karabakh is automatically incorporated to Armenia.
- If it would be good if everything went on according to Scenario 1 but Nagorni Karabakh was acknowledged. This would be the best option.
- We are supportive of not this status but of the reality that a resolution be adopted about joining Karabakh with Armenia, given the fact that we have the same passports, the same currency and the same language – Armenian.
- For integration, recognition is a necessary requirement.
- When the movement for Nagorni Karabakh began we wanted to join Armenia. We don’t need for Karabakh to become an independent state.
- Karabakh has never been part of Azerbaijan and can never be.
- Here, we finally are where we wanted: independent Nagorni Karabakh or Karabakh within Armenia...
- It is the people of Karabakh who have to decide whether they want to join Armenia or not.

- This is acceptable because Nagorni Karabakh will obtain an independent status, we will come out of the blockade, and the hazard of war will decline. We will open the road, whoever wants to come will be able to come.
- Let Karabakh be an independent state and we will support it in a brotherly effort.
- The Republic of Nagorni Karabakh has never been in the structure of Azerbaijan. Why are you departing from this fact?
- The people of Karabakh have to decide for themselves whether they want to be with Armenia or within the structure of Armenia.
- Azerbaijan acknowledges the independence of Nagorni Karabakh, after which we keep Lachin and return the rest.
- Nagorni Karabakh must become independent or join Armenia at once. As for the rest of the occupied and liberated territories, they may stay with Azerbaijan.
- They used to say "Karabakh, join Armenia"; now they are saying "Armenia, join Karabakh".
- The will of our people is one: Armenia adopts a law and Karabakh enters the structure of the Republic of Armenia. That will be a real status quo.
- Nagorni Karabakh should be recognized as an individual unit.
- Nagorni Karabakh should be a sovereign state, totally autonomous. It should even aid Armenia.
- If Nagorni Karabakh becomes independent, Armenia will have a chance to develop easily.
- We want the international community to recognize the independence of Nagorni Karabakh. This is what the Karabakh people want, too. They want to be independent.
- If Nagorni Karabakh becomes independent there will be like two Armenias. I don't think this is reasonable either.
- Karabakh ought to become a structural element of Armenia. Whatever name they choose for their formation, marz or province, is fine with us. Let them think about it.
- We like this first scenario. Karabakh should be independent or within the structure of Armenia.
- I want Karabakh to be with Armenia. I am a Karabakhi local and I want that to happen.
- I am against Karabakh being a separate unit because there won't be any protection or sponsorship without Armenia.
- Nagorni Karabakh will not be able to ensure its safety without Armenia; therefore Karabakh should immediately join Armenia!
- Without any doubt, we should create such conditions that would allow the union of Karabakh and Armenia.
- Let Karabakh be an independent state, not necessarily in the structure of Armenia. Karabakh is practically independent now.
- During the negotiations, we should highlight the point that in the times of the Soviet Union Nagorni Karabakh was recognized as a state.
- We need to negotiate only about the legal formulation of the Status Quo.

- We don't care for the opinion of the international entities; we just want to unite with Karabakh and that's it...
- Nagorni Karabakh should be one of Armenia's marzes (provinces), no matter what the Karabakhi people think.
- First of all, Azerbaijan should acknowledge the independence of Nagorni Karabakh; after that Karabakh and Azerbaijan will discuss the issue of the territories.
- Karabakh is Armenia and Armenia is Karabakh.
- We need one more Armenian state. Only in that case can we proceed to the discussions about submitting lands.
- Nagorni Karabakh should become an independent state.
- Is it proper to have two Armenian states? This is where we should begin when discussing this issue.
- Armenia should officially acknowledge the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh as an independent state and a party to the negotiations.
- The Republic of Nagorni Karabakh must be independent and that's it!
- This is the right time to officially recognize the independence of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Nagorni Karabakh is one of the provinces (marzes) of Armenia.
- When Yeltzin came to power, he declared that the Russian Federation recognizes all the agreements executed by the Russian Empire under the rule of the Czar. Therefore, Nagorni Karabakh is recognized as part of the integral territory of Azerbaijan. Now the Azerbaijanis should provide the people of Nagorni Karabakh with a right for self-determination.
- For Armenia, it is more desirable that Karabakh become part of Armenia and not independent.
- Karabakh must become independent or be with Armenia along with all its adjacent territories. But the Azerbaijani refugees should not come back to their houses. Let them stay there and gulp down in other.
- We want our Karabakh to be in the structure of Armenia. Our compromise is that Karabakh become independent. We should arrange for a referendum right away while there are only Armenians living in Karabakh.
- We must try hard to incorporate the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh with Armenia. We have liberated our territories. We are not invaders.
- Scenario 1 is wrong altogether. Nagorni Karabakh should be with Armenia and not stand separately.
- We like both options: independent or within the structure of Armenia.
- If Azerbaijan agrees to Artsakh being within the structure of Armenia, then we may submit them some territories.
- The international organizations and foreign countries should accept Karabakh in the structure of Armenia.
- Nagorni Karabakh has never knelt in front of the enemy; therefore we should all become a fist and not distinguish between Karabakh and Armenia.
- It is us who are supposed to acknowledge the independence of Nagorni Karabakh and make others do so, too, following our example.

- From time immemorial Karabakh has been part of Armenia. This is the foundation of every issue.
- The issue of the status of Nagorni Karabakh should be resolved by the people of Nagorni Karabakh. No one should interfere.
- Who is Azerbaijan to decide whether Nagorni Karabakh should join Armenia or not?
- Our objective is not the formalization of this issue. Our goal is the unification of Karabakh and Armenia.
- The issue of Nagorni Karabakh is already resolved. No more discussing. Nagorni Karabakh belongs to Armenia.
- Nagorni Karabakh is the primeval homeland of the Armenians with its Argakh and Khachen. It has never been Azerbaijanis'. Azerbaijan has no right to control the Armenian land and historic culture.
- Karabakh must be within the structure of Armenia. What do you mean when you say: "within the structure of Azerbaijan"?
- I want Karabakh to join Armenia.
- I am for the independence of Karabakh.
- We have already made our choice. Our lands belong to us and that's it!
- We all want Karabakh to join Armenia or at least become independent.
- Karabakh does not want to be in the structure of Armenia. Karabakh wants to be independent.
- Legally, Nagorni Karabakh should belong to Armenia to put an end to this situation of anxiety and suspense.
- First we will have to demand that Armenia recognize the independence of Nagorni Karabakh and then demand the same thing internationally.
- Maybe Karabakh wants to joint Armenia but they do not let it happen? Maybe it's the president of Armenia that does not let it hapen?
- We want Karabakh to be in the structure of Armenia. But then the residents of both areas should have similar rights and serve in the army on equal basis.
- We want Karabakh to enter the structure of Armenia just the way it is right now.
- First of all, we have to make sure that the people of Karabakh really want to join Armenia. It is possible that they prefer staying within the structure of Azerbaijan.
- The most important things for Nagorni Karabakh are its status and international recognition, so that our flag also rises at international forums and squares.
- We should try to achieve our goal of uniting with Armenia or acquiring a status of independence without a war.
- If they are eventually going to acknowledge the independence of Nagorni Karabakh, let them do it at the beginning. After that we will think how we are going to reconcile.
- Back in older times Arkady Volsky told us that there should be two Armenias. Why are you striving to unite with Armenia, he used to ask, let there be two Armenian states. It will mean that two voices will be heard and you will be much stronger. I think the same way now: if we unite with Armenia we will harm Armenia, too. We should become an independent state today.

- I am for independence, too, but not through uniting. Once the Soviet Armenia betrayed us. Now I do not trust even Armenia...
- Independence is beneficial in every respect. It is good for us; it is good for Armenia...
- Why do we decide to unite with someone at the break of every century? Can we not live through that century on our own?
- Who is the resident of Karabakh today? If we need a passport of a citizen of the Republic of Armenia to travel somewhere, it means that we are the same citizens of Armenia as the residents of its various areas like Kapan or Lori.
- The only salvation for our people is recognition of their state. There are no other guarantees for our safety.
- A nation must live in liberty and independence. There is no other issue.
- Our priorities should be: borders + status. Only in that case will everything be alright.
- Russia has recognized Abkhazia and Ossetia, right? Why doesn't Armenia recognize the independence of Nagorni Karabakh?
- What right do they have to write "Nagorni Karabakh"? We are a state and not a geographic region. It should be "Republic of Nagorni Karabakh".
- This is not "NK Conflict". This is a conflict between the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh and Azerbaijan. We don't know why, but Armenia is trying to resolve our issue having left aside and forgotten the problems of Nakhijevan and other territories. This issue is just between us and Azerbaijan.
- I am not interested in Azerbaijan's wishes. No matter what Azerbaijan wishes, it will have to reconcile to the reality of our independence.
- Back in 1918 only the "Khnus" squad from Karabakh was protecting us against the Turks. Now look what you are talking, people... You cannot segregate Karabakh and Armenia. How are you not ashamed...
- In the third scenario it is only the heading that is attractive. All other items are unacceptable. Appealing name but unappealing contents.
- With the third scenario we will go back to the pre-war situation.

Azerbaijanis

- We will never be able to recognize Nagorno Karabakh as a consistent part of Armenia
- NK can't be a state
- The phrase of independent NK should be fully eliminated because this contradicts with unitary principle of Azerbaijan and also makes the future difficult
- Independence of Karabakh and remaining as consistent part of Armenia is even more dangerous for Azerbaijan
- This scenario is one that Armenians would like to see
- This scenario is not suitable for us at all and there is not a reason to discuss it further
- In general adding the territory of NK to Armenia states about our loss

- This is the option that suits Armenians
- Only the opening of the borders is meeting our interest in this scenario
- We and Armenian part can agree on the 3rd scenario. The development of events according to this scenario is beneficial for us.
- The 3rd scenario is Azerbaijan's loss
- We agree on the 3rd scenario 50/50
- The 1st clause in the 4th scenario is no way acceptable

Nagorno Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan

Armenians

- What does it mean: "Highest status of autonomy?"
- If Azerbaijan does enter the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh, that will create new problems for us.
- As for the second option, i.e. within the structure of Azerbaijan, it is absolutely unacceptable.
- Artsakh as part of Azerbaijan? This is intolerable! It shouldn't be discussed even theoretically.
- Absolutely unacceptable! There are no prospects of development for Nagorni Karabakh within the structure of Azerbaijan.
- We have given too many victims to agree to Nagorni Karabakh's "return" to Azerbaijan.
- I agree, within the structure of Azerbaijan Nagorni Karabakh will prosper, but without Armenians.
- Nagorni Karabakh's future is only within the structure of Armenia. How can we even assume going back to the system of Azerbaijan?
- The option of Nagorni Karabakh in the structure of Azerbaijan should be excluded from discussion.
- Nagorni Karabakh should never be within the structure of Azerbaijan because no promises will be kept.
- Two generations have grown in independent Karabakh. Those generations will never consent to seeing those lands in the system of Azerbaijan.
- I don't believe that you can find a single resident of Karabakh who would agree to become a part of Azerbaijan just for the sake of being able to travel freely across the world.
- Underlying all this is Azerbaijan's will. Sure thing, no one of us will accept this! This is intolerable!
- If Karabakh is in the structure of Azerbaijan that means that the Armenian boys will have to serve in the army together with the Azerbaijanis, right? They will kill each other with axes, right?
- Karabakh has now been liberated from the yoke of Azerbaijan. It will never be under Azerbaijan again.

- If you even give mountains of gold to the people of Karabakh they won't agree to be in the structure of Azerbaijan. Same with the Armenians.
- Historically, Karabakh was part of Armenia; therefore we cannot tolerate it being returned to Azerbaijan.
- The Azerbaijanis won't take account of the facts. Our Artsakh has never been in the structure of their free Azerbaijan. It has been in the system of the Soviet Union.
- The second scenario may not last long because Karabakh will gradually be absorbed within the system of Azerbaijan.
- There are no legal bases in the second scenario given that Baku will never be able to prove that the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh has belonged to them. And if it has not belonged to them, how can they possibly take it back?
- If we go back to the Soviet period, the autonomy of Nagorni Karabakh will be an absolute formality.
- The environment in Azerbaijan is not one that would allow the people of Karabakh to survive. The Republic of Nagorni Karabakh may become something like appendicitis for Azerbaijan, which Baku will try to get rid of.
- Absolute autonomy language wise is not realistic because Baku will demand that all official documents be in Azerbaijani language.
- We have raised the issue of Karabakh so that Nagorni Karabakh was with us. The adoption of the second scenario would mean failing the whole struggle. This is not a solution to the problem. To the contrary, this is instigating a problem.
- Karabakh was an Armenian territory from the very start. What kind of territorial integrity are we talking about?
- There is a scenario about leaving Karabakh within the structure of Azerbaijan. That is the only Azerbaijani scenario, no turning to the left or right! Yet we are discussing a variety of options.
- The second option is just intolerable! We fought for many years for Karabakh to join Armenia and today we are giving Karabakh to Azerbaijan. That means that our entire struggle was in vain?
- Whichever of these scenarios contains a provision about Karabakh being within the structure of Azerbaijan should be crossed out of discussion!
- Will Karabakh receive a status of an autonomous region tomorrow?
- A traitor is he who says that Karabakh is within Azerbaijan!
- When has the international community supported us ever? Then why should it support us now? How can it guarantee our safety within the structure of Azerbaijan? No manna comes down from heaven. Nothing has changed...
- If Karabakh is given to Azerbaijan, the Armenians will either assimilate or start a new war.
- The second scenario is totally unacceptable and absurd. If Karabakh was to remain with Azerbaijan, what was all this commotion for?
- No Armenian will sit back and watch how an Armenian land is being appended to the structure of Azerbaijan.
- The Karabakhis will never agree to live within the system of Azerbaijan.

- Even if democratic processes are established firmly in Azerbaijan, Karabakh's prospects of being with Azerbaijan are excluded, given that the conflict has genetic roots.
- This scenario is written for Azerbaijan...
- Javahq is living in destitute conditions within the structure of Georgia. Can you imagine the conditions of Karabakh within the structure of Azerbaijan?
- Even if millions of them come to Armenia, we will not give Karabakh. Karabakh is not for them to bargain upon.
- Even if Azerbaijan keeps Karabakh in silk and cotton, we cannot agree to give them our historic territories.
- We already have the autonomy they are proposing. What do they want us to do? Decline our own autonomy and accept a new one?
- We were autonomous before the war, but we gave victims, the second scenario is intolerable for us.
- The option within the structure of Azerbaijan is in the past tense for us.
- If the second scenario is implemented, Karabakh will find itself in Nakhichevan's status.
- I read the heading: "within the structure of Azerbaijan" and I don't need to go any further, no matter what kind of manna from heaven you promise me...
- Karabakh will never be part of Azerbaijan. That is impossible!
- There are no circumstances, in which a people's right for self-determination could be exchanged for gold or oil or anything else.
- After so many losses the scenario "Within Azerbaijan" should not be discussed. It makes no sense.
- Why would Artsakh want to join Azerbaijan? In that case, let Azerbaijan join Russia.
- Finding a solution is possible; likewise it is possible to make compromises, but seeing Karabakh within the structure of Azerbaijan is impossible!

Azerbaijanis

- We don't agree with the fact that Armenians would live in NK
- I always did not want Armenians to be in any governmental positions in Azerbaijan
- Armenians should get Azerbaijani education. For example in Iran they are not teaching Azeri language
- I also would not like Armenian language to be taught in Azerbaijan
- Armenians can occupy the positions in Karabakh
- We should not permit the learning of languages...this is not proper
- I work in Shirvan-oil organization and reckon that it should be spoken our native language in our country
- Azerbaijan language should be taught by force
- If they don't want they may live in other country
- If they are living with us they should obey our rules

- The laws that are accepted in NK should be in compliance with the Azerbaijan legislation
- I am happy with all the clauses except of the one related to schools
- The security should be provided based on the agreement of both sides
- It should be only Azerbaijanis living in NK
- In general we would like no Armenians in our country
- They should live the same way as other ethnic groups in Azerbaijan
- As soon as the independence provided they should be provided with languages
- As soon as there is a peace they will again live comfortably as they used to
- We should not agree on Armenians to live in NK
- Armenians are very close to us
- In future Nagorno Karabakh as an independent economic zone should be regulated based on Azerbaijan legislation, and all the taxes should be proceeded to the budget of Azerbaijan Republic
- It is impossible for 2 societies to live together
- 2 societies can only live separately – shops separate, schools should be separate
- In any case co-living is possible
- Armenians who are citizens of Azerbaijan are using the general rights
- Azerbaijan is juridical state. State system is guarantee of our security and also is guarantee for other ethnic groups living in the territory of Azerbaijan.
- Repressions and violence and other cases breaking human rights are not acceptable
- In the frame of constitution all the rights should be used
- Azerbaijan guarantees the observance of human rights to Armenians
- There are Armenian language schools in the territory where Armenians compactly live
- Azerbaijan language should be taught as national language, Azerbaijani and Armenian history and literature should be taught on parallel to each other
- On the basis that Nagorno Karabakh is consistent part of Azerbaijan the economical, political and social institutions will be renewed
- The financial means spent on military influence to economic potential of the country
- Why Karabakh should get high autonomy being as a part of Azerbaijan?
- It is very well known since the ancient times that if we give Armenians free space then they will do the same things
- The ones that are studying in Armenian language will not learn Azeri language
- Armenian can study in Armenian language if he wishes but the major native language should remain Azeri language
- If we look back to the past we should not re-live such problem again
- Armenian societies should have radio, newspapers
- It may also be that it will be dangerous to live there
- We are not happy with accepting this territory as autonomy
- And also Armenians should not be admitted to legislative or regulative positions
- Nationality is not taken into account during our current parliament elections

- NK Armenians should not have a chance to determine their fate themselves
- We have Russians and Jews in parliament but there is not any regulation on election of Armenian to the parliament
- There are 76 ethnic groups in Azerbaijan
- Why do they not do a revolution?
- Azerbaijan is very tolerant country
- Kurds with Armenian roots are causing danger
- Armenians are getting used to our traditions
- The citizens of NK are Azerbaijanis and from this point of view there is not reason in giving them independence
- The state is ready to provide the high autonomy-the subject matter is not like that
- Society is the group of people who share one territory, culture and traditions and have the same problems
- There should be the same rights for all the citizens notwithstanding the religion and ethnic origin
- All the nationality oriented organizations should cease their activities in the territory of Azerbaijan
- NK should not be given the high autonomy. NK is not a food that we should share with our guests.
- Only after this it will be possible to let Armenians participate in socio-political life of Azerbaijan
- Military forces and police are the major strength of the state. Therefore Armenians can not occupy these kinds of positions.
- This satisfies our position. I don't agree only with clause 4. The state should give guarantee to Armenians.
- One of the disadvantages here is to hand over the regulation to Armenians.
- Azerbaijan state guarantees the Armenians in the whole territory of Azerbaijan that there will be no violence, repressions and their security will be provided.
- Armenians in Azerbaijan as well as population of NK are getting the highest ethical and human rights.
- The population gets the opportunity to choose the language of learning which may be Armenian or any other in NK.
- The legislation provides the participation of Armenians in the management system. The legislation of military services and police meets the interests of Armenian society.
- The proportion should be obtained in elections and in general management.
- Even if NK is regained Armenians in this territory will be using Armenian passport
- If NK will get the same level of sovereignty as Nakhchivan, it will get support from Russia and Armenia and again will run their own ideas
- NK can get high level of independence remaining as a consistent part of Azerbaijan
- Armenian language can not be the language of studies

- Let them have their own schools, television and programs but be as a part of Azerbaijan - Tatarstan Model
- If there is a peace high ethnical and human rights can be provided
- If we are providing the cultural independence we should agree with this
- A few young people claim that they would not like the schools in Armenian language exist
- If there is a peace we are not against of Armenian representatives in Azerbaijani political elite
- The conditions for living should be prepared for both societies
- Armenians should only come and go as guests
- There should be a separate school opened for Armenians
- We don't want them to be at the regulative positions of Azerbaijan
- In general the ethnical rights should be provided
- Cultural independence
- Azerbaijan is unitary republic. We can not give the same level of independence as in Nakhchivan to NK
- In education everyone can make his own choice
- It should not interfere to internal matters
- Every citizen can make his own choice of language
- I will never ever study together with Armenian
- Another participant mentioned that this position is not beneficial and if Nagorno-Karabakh would have been a part of Azerbaijan our profit would have been more
- Also our co-living with Armenians is impossible
- Our generation will accept it with difficult
- After a while the co-living may be possible
- The Armenians that are in Karabakh should get Azerbaijani citizenship
- The Nakhchivan option can be used for Karabakh
- The establishment of Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Republic option may be acceptable for us
- But receiving the high autonomy is not true and is not acceptable for us
- We can let Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh to get the education in their own language
- Baku may become lost if we forget about them after this
- Armenians can occupy the appropriate positions in Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabakh but they have to be citizens of Azerbaijan
- If Nagorno Karabakh becomes autonomy then may claim for independence
- There should be a state system in Azerbaijan
- We should make the educational development
- Let Armenia admit our territorial integrity and we in our turn will create conditions for them to live in Nagorno Karabakh
- After such an issue Azerbaijanis will not be able to live together with Armenians
- As Nagorno Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan the regulation should be from Azerbaijan side

- The highest level of ethnical and human rights can be given to Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh
- If Nagorno Karabakh is returned the unemployment problem will decrease. There will be economical promotion for Azerbaijan as well as development
- But in such case this can again lead to conflict
- Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh may get the same rights as other small national parts of Azerbaijan
- In Baku State University, the faculty in Armenian language will be opened
- The human rights of Armenians should also be protected there
- The preference should be given to Azerbaijan language
- The internal and external politics of the country should be regulated only by the president
- NK being a part of Azerbaijan can not accept any official documents neither from Armenia or any other countries
- There will be a government guarantee of the security and human rights protection of the population of Karabakh which will not lead to any repressions or violence
- Armenians as all the rest ethnical groups living in Azerbaijan will have the same human rights
- The education in secondary school may be self choosing but only in the frame of the educational legislation of Azerbaijan Republic
- The increase in population of NK may allow them to take the regulation in the country on their own again
- Security issue of Azerbaijan population with Armenian origin remains to their own determination
- If Karabakh remains as a part of Azerbaijan the social and economical situation in the country may rebirth
- It will be impossible to live together
- There should not be a society of NK
- Why should we go back to separate societies? Elementary society period
- State language should never be Armenian. However Armenian minority population can use their language. But not at the State level
- Armenian currency is not acceptable. Manat should be in place
- Azerbaijan had has a preference upon Armenians all the time
- and the idea about the Highest autonomy should be clarified
- Azerbaijan should use the models of other states where the minority pupil are present
- And the ways these states are managing and operating
- legislations and mechanisms should be agreed and then the decision regarding the Highest autonomy is to be implemented
- Will be used as a foreign language in schools
- Religious factors and human rights of Armenian people are to be in place
- We should agree to education

- Because this contradicts with principles of Azerbaijan and can cause danger in future
- Have to go back and live together.
- The discussion here is about the high autonomy. But till today nobody has explained what does this "high autonomy" mean.
- Before the conflict NK used to be region but now will become Autonomy Republic.
- The participation of Armenians in legislative leg of government is impossible.
- Armenians as a part of NK can be our citizens and be provided with all the rights.
- NK issue should be resolved even de facto – it means being a part of Azerbaijan. National government should arrange and provide people of that territory with equal rights.
- Nagorno Karabakh should remain in the territory of Azerbaijan undoubtedly.
- Territorial integrity of Azerbaijan has to be in place first of all.
- Armenians would never like NK remain as a part of Azerbaijan, this is not real.

Resolving refugee and surrounding territories affairs and leaving the status for the future referendum

Armenians

- The issue of the status will in future endanger the resolution of the conflict through compromise.
- Scenario 5 is acceptable for the most part. At least, it is better than the status quo option.
- What kind of guarantees can we have for the ratification of the status of Nagorni Karabakh?
- Azerbaijan admits that Karabakh has the right for self-determination.
- A nation that is already self-determined needs no autonomy.
- First of all, Karabakh's right for self-determination should be recognized, after that Karabakh will think about compromise. And we should always remember that it is Karabakh that is a party to the conflict, not us.
- First of all, we will have to understand what we exactly mean by saying Nagorni Karabakh: the territories existing during the Soviet period or those territories together with the liberated lands.
- The option about simultaneous recognition of the Karabakhi people's right for self-determination by Azerbaijan and the return of the adjacent territories does not inspire any confidence. The order should be maintained: first recognition and only then submitting of territories.
- Let the issue of the status be resolved in the first place, only after that can the Azerbaijanis come back. In that case they won't represent any hazard for us.
- Let Azerbaijan acknowledge the status of Nagorni Karabakh first, then we will discuss the rest of the issues.
- What is the reason that the issue of self-determination cannot be solved now?

- For the time being we could provide Karabakh its right for self-determination, after that Karabakh will decide for itself whether it wants to join Armenia or remain independent.
- The Republic of Nagorni Karabakh has self-determined; international observers arrive on periodic inspections. Self-determination is an international principle, so the international community is supposed to observe the principles it declares.
- Nagorni Karabakh has already voiced its position in 1988, for instance, when a decision was made about entering the structure of Armenia. Why did we have to wait for another ten years and ask for the opinion of the people of Karabakh once again?
- We must do everything for Karabakh to become a member of the Minsk Group and for us to recognize its independence.
- The representatives of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh must be present at the negotiations with Azerbaijan in regard to the status of Karabakh.
- In follow-up of this scenario, when they conduct a referendum in Karabakh about the status, the proportion of the Azerbaijanis living there may be greater and the question of Karabakh's self-determination will not be solved. Therefore, no more than fifty thousand Azerbaijanis may be allowed to return to Shoushi, if ever.
- The right of self-determination should be carried out immediately. If there is a referendum, say ten years later, then who will "jump down Azerbaijan's throat"?
- We are not giving any territories before the establishment of the status. The important thing is the status.
- The mid-term solution of this problem is possible since the international community needs to be proven that Karabakh has never been within the structure of Azerbaijan except for the Soviet period, and that it can never be, because the Armenians living in Karabakh will be endangered.
- We will give the lands only when the issue of Nagorni Karabakh is conclusively and factually resolved.
- The Azerbaijanis should acknowledge the right of the people of Nagorni Karabakh for self-determination.
- Karabakh is self-determined now. What difference does it make if its neighbors acknowledge that or not?
- Even if Karabakh becomes independent or joins Armenia, the minute we give back the adjacent territories they will have a chance to seize back Karabakh.
- Even if Karabakh is self-determined per Scenario 5, how is the international community going to guarantee that Azerbaijan will not attack later on and win back Karabakh?
- Azerbaijan will never acknowledge the right of Nagorni Karabakh for self-determination.
- Azerbaijan will never afford Karabach its right for self-determination. I don't believe that.
- Let the people of Karabakh decide through a referendum whether they want to be with Azerbaijan or Armenia.

- If Karabakh becomes part of Armenia or Azerbaijan, war will continue. Only the independence of Nagorni Karabakh can ensure peace.
- Karabakh cannot determine its own status independently.
- Karabakhis also have their own opinion: it needs to be heard.
- First of all, we have to resolve the question of Karabakh's status. After that everything will become possible. Status is needed NOW and not some time in future.
- One of the primary conditions is Karabakh's participation in the negotiations.
- Why are they negotiating over my land without me? Karabakh should also be a party to the negotiation process.
- Let Azerbaijan acknowledge our independence first; after that we will listen to their opinion. Instead, they are requiring that we compromise and then they will decide if they are willing to acknowledge us or not.
- We have had our referendum and we will not be conducting any new ones.
- We want our status without giving back any territories.
- Let them give us our status, then we will decide if we want to give them any territories or not.
- The most important issue today is the independence of Nagorni Karabakh. If they want to continue the negotiations in an appropriate way, let them resolve this issue in the first place.
- Artsakh has observed all the norms of the international legal documents; accordingly, the problem of international recognition is hidden somewhere else.
- There is one single solution: Azerbaijan acknowledges our status and we begin bilateral economic cooperation. This may be able to overcome the environment of hostility in future.
- First of all, Armenia should recognize the independence of Karabakh. After that we will arrange for a referendum and will become a province (marz) of Armenia. When they see that we want to live, they will support us; but if we don't want to live, nobody is going to help us.
- Who is Azerbaijan to be giving us our status? WE should do that.
- Let Azerbaijan admit that it acknowledges the independence of Karabakh and if somebody wants to go back, he may go back. We will then use their own policies towards them.
- There is a joke about a man from the province of Moush who hangs his mother-in-law out of the balcony of the ninth floor and says to her: "There are other sons-in-law who kill their mothers-in-law or burn them. I am setting you free". Scenario 4 reminds me of that joke. They are "setting Karabakh free".
- The fourth one is a scenario for Turkish diplomacy.
- I am against Scenario 5. It is not convenient for us.
- The fifth scenario is the right one because in that case we will have the trump card.
- The fourth scenario is the prerequisite of the second one.
- The fourth scenario is fabrication.
- Conducting a referendum in some fifteen years will be highly dangerous. The decision will be against us. That's for sure.

- I see a major risk in referendum. It won't be in our favor.
- If the refugees come back they will outnumber us before long and secondly, they will exercise force and we will lose the referendum.
- If the Azerbaijani refugees come back to Karabakh, the results of the referendum will look totally different.
- We have done our own referendum already. If there is another referendum, we know quite well how the Azerbaijanis will "paint" (fabricate) the results of that survey.
- In my opinion, the rational root in the first and this last scenario is keeping the territories as a guarantee. That will be the best option.
- First of all, the question of status should be settled; afterwards the remaining issues can be negotiated upon. To be more exact, all questions should be settled simultaneously. If we leave some questions to be resolved in future, they will never be.
- The scenario of specific guarantees may in time become the best option.
- If they are really thinking of giving us our independence, let them give it now. Why did they have to wait for twenty years? Because they want the territories to acknowledge our independence?

Azerbaijanis

- We want the guarantee of the security
- Azerbaijanis will not go for living to the places where Armenians lived
- Armenians can think the same. Therefore it is impossible to live together
- We are not ready to live together with Armenians
- We used to live with Armenians in previous times and to be in conflict at the same time
- The main reason of it is provision of our security which seems to be unreal
- Only in foreign countries we can live peacefully together
- We can not believe that even if the peaceful agreement is signed the process of living Armenians with Azerbaijanis together peacefully is a very difficult issue
- It is not right to accept the official papers from each other in Armenia or Karabakh
- This may cause anarchy in future
- If the elections are carried out transparently then there can be an immediate agreement
- The economy of Karabakh should be strengthened so that people are directed there
- If this is real independence then we should not cheat ourselves, the only remaining is to humble with the fact of lost NK
- I don't agree with the fact of providing Armenians in NK with fortune self provisioning – it should be only as it used to be – they can live there, private and exception rights shouldn't be given

- NK is a part of Azerbaijan – I don't agree neither with the fact of being the part of Armenia but also with fortune self provisioning
- Azerbaijan government is accepting the right of NK citizens to determine the fortune of Armenian society. This is guaranteed on international level
- Postponing the resolution of the conflict for future is not beneficial for us and it should be resolved shortly
- As a result of referendum NK will become their
- We should not let everything to be built based on referendum
- The 5th scenario is better
- Armenians as well as Azerbaijanis should go and live there together and only after that the fate of the country may be determined
- In the frame of Azerbaijan territorial integrity and Constitution Armenians from Nagorno Karabakh can determine their destiny
- The separation the territory of Azerbaijan during the short period by any kind of voting is unacceptable
- The population of Nagorno Karabakh can determine its destiny according to the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and constitution
- The occupied territories should be returned and afterwards the problem of status determination of Nagorno Karabakh will be possible to resolve based on mutual understanding
- The referendum on independence will not be conducted
- If there is a referendum run then all Armenians will vote for independence and there will be no importance of these type of debates and efforts
- Azerbaijanis don't live in NK for 20 years, and they need additional 20 years in order to collect the votes at the referendum
- Referendum will not be conducted
- Who will lead and referendum here?
- Another 10 years level is opening
- The date doesn't find it's reflection over here
- Should be proved more strictly
- Azerbaijan can not accept to give Armenians a chance in deciding their fortune
- There is no chance to win during the referendum
- Today the determination of the fate can be achieved only in the frame of Azerbaijan
- We are not accepting the principle of determination of our fate
- Even if Armenia returns 7 regions, NK should remain as a part of Azerbaijan
- The principle of determination of their personal destiny of NK is not acceptable
- Azerbaijan has joined the international convention and therefore without forgetting its pain should compromise in the frame of territorial integrity
- Azerbaijan Republic can not let NK population understand that they can determine their own fate
- But there is no guarantee that it will be returned
- Everything should be done in time. The resolution of this matter in 15 years is under big question

- The split between votes may be 50-50 during the referendum
- But this is also a risky scenario because due to everything being taken to future conducted referendum
- Return of the surrounding territories of Nagorno Karabakh to us can be called "step by step" resolution of the conflict
- As soon as everybody returns to their place it is required to conduct referendum
- Two societies will live together for 8-10 years and at the end they will conduct referendum if they want.
- We can agree with this scenario because the number of Armenians is more than Azerbaijan and if the referendum will be chosen the more complicated situation will exist.
- The political situation with Azerbaijan is formulating because during the referendum Armenians will not vote for Azerbaijan.
- According to this scenario by completing certain works in Nagorno Karabakh to resolve the issue to the benefit of Azerbaijan as a result of a referendum.
- As soon as the territories are regained it will be possible to discuss the status issue.
- As soon as the territories are returned without any terms and conditions other matters like status will be considered by Azerbaijan government.
- The government of Azerbaijan should think about the increasing the population in the Karabakh so that to collect the proper number of votes during the referendum.
- The major issue in this conflict is not giving the Armenians the chance to determine their destiny as they will consider it as autonomy and independence.
- Our officials agree on leaving 2 regions under Armenia's control but the time works for us.
- It is not beneficial to have the peace forces return after the referendum.
- If we give them a change to decide their destiny.
- They may require other unaccepted things tomorrow.
- Please imagine that the referendum will be in 40 years, at that time this scenario will be beneficial for us.
- There are various views on fortune self provisioning: one part agrees with its existence; others – don't.
- Only if the surrounding territories of NK are returned the status issue can be considered.
- This scenario is acceptable in case if referendum is run with the term of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.
- Nobody knows what will happen in 10-15 years, therefore we can agree.
- During this period we should work with Armenian society and also the placement of funds should be done.
- We should justify them that it is beneficial for them to remain as a part of Azerbaijan.
- Partially agree with the 5th scenario. Because there were economical benefits about the Azerbaijan

- There were a lot of people moved from Armenia to Nagorno-Karabakh and according to this scenario even if as a result of it Azerbaijanis will become the winners, there is a possibility that Armenians can get high autonomy
- Another disadvantage of this scenario is the risk possibility of Kalbajar and Lachin regions not being returned
- For peaceful resolution of the conflict the IV scenario is the best
- The disadvantage of this scenario is that Azerbaijan will not have an opportunity to interfere to internal politics of Nagorno Karabakh
- The 4th scenario is the most inconvenient for us
- This scenario may reckon acceptable as soon as the statement of independent NK will be eliminated.

Trust

Armenians don't trust Azerbaijanis

- We are already familiar with Scenario 2: expulsion of Armenians, depriving them of their legitimate rights.
- History tends to repeat itself. Nakhijevan was cleared of Armenians in violation of the Constitution. The same story will recur in Karabakh if we adopt scenario 2.
- Who will guarantee... Azerbaijan? I can't believe that... I don't trust that...
- Scenario 2 does not guarantee that massacres like those in Sumgait will never repeat again. The powerful states assure us that they will support us, but when will they support us and how? ...That's a question yet to be answered.
- The disadvantage of Scenario 3 is that even in this case there will be no guarantees that Azerbaijan will not resume the war.
- I believe that talking about security is just a means of self excuse. I am confident that even if we have all the guarantees we need, even if manna comes down from heaven every day in Karabakh while it is within the structure of Azerbaijan, we will still say "NO". We want to keep our land.
- Hey, people, what do you mean by saying Armenians and Azerbaijanis shall live peacefully side by side, eh?
- It would be a good thing that Azerbaijanis accept the Karabakh people's right for self –determination, that Karabakh become part of Armenia or gain independence. However, there are no guarantees that even after surrendering the liberated territories the border zones of Armenia and Karabakh will not find themselves under the fire of the enemy.
- You think that anybody who fled Sumgayit would go back to Sumgayit? Of course, not.
- They have plans and prospects for our property, which we do not for theirs. This is the difference between us.

- Azerbaijanis will never stick to their promises. It is possible that neither will we stick to ours.
- We are confident that there will be more Sumgayits if our refugees return.
- We do not trust Azerbaijan. We will not go for a compromise if they don't.
- Scenario 5 is dangerous: Azerbaijanis will come back and the Armenian refugees will not be allowed to return.
- We have lived within the structure of Azerbaijan (we know what is it like)....
- We have an issue of lack of trust.
- That so-called autonomy is familiar to us. And that was in the time when Moscow still used to control everything...
- The guarantees set forth in the second option do not inspire any confidence. We don't trust the Azerbaijanis.
- No declaration from the Azerbaijanis should be taken for granted. They are unreliable partners in every respect.
- Trusting the Turks is unimaginable even after their making compromises.
- Obvious antagonism has never been manifest, but it will always exist between us.
- We do not agree with Scenario 2: the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians cannot coexist.
- We have an issue of trust in the second scenario: there is absolutely no trust at all.
- This is the classical scenario of cheating us.
- When Karabakh was with Azerbaijan, it was totally deprived of Armenians: we cannot trust Azerbaijan.
- The Armenians and Azerbaijanis will never be able to live in the same village: that possibility should be excluded.
- We have seen what kind of guarantees the Turks and the Azerbaijanis can provide...
- Ok, let us suppose we are in the structure of Azerbaijan: but this scenario is not answering any particular question. They killed so many Armenians in front of the world, and now we are telling them: "let us try once again"...
- This has happened already. We have seen it already. They keep declaring the same things today, but we have seen this in the past. This is an unacceptable option.
- No discussions. The return to the past is deplorable.
- Scenario 2 is off discussion ... The story with Nakhijevan is the testimony.
- They will not give any managerial positions to the Armenians. The Turks are very flexible: they are the best specialists in bypassing human rights.
- We don't want new Sumgayits. Armenians should rely exclusively on themselves. Karabakh can never be part of Azerbaijan.
- Economic progress with Azerbaijan? This is a myth, nothing else...
- Azerbaijan will bring its savages and will settle them here by force. A few generations later they will say: "There never lived Armenians in Karabakh".
- Azerbaijanis are not to be trusted. Never ever.

- Azerbaijan has been preparing for war since the first day of the ceasefire. We should get ready for war, too, but in the meantime we must use our diplomacy to prevent war.
- No promises are going to be kept... this a big LIE!
- We would never trust the Azerbaijanis' assurances that they will let the Armenians prosper, develop and live in peace in the structure of Azerbaijan.
- Sly fox-like policies have always been in Azerbaijan's ammunition store. Yet we still believe it. We are the ones that have no brains.
- How can they be trusted again? How can we think that there will not be new Sumgayits? We have hardly cleared our lands of the Azerbaijanis...
- The Armenians and Turks will no longer be able to coexist. The new generation is more intolerant. It does not believe the notorious slogan of the Soviet times: "Friendship of all the peoples". The younger people live by other credos like "I am gonna break the head of my offender"...
- We have had very few Azerbaijanis as buddies. So living together is not an option.
- We will have to hold some firm guarantees in our hands. We don't have much trust in the papers written by Azerbaijan.
- The Karabakhis and Azerbaijanis can no longer live peacefully side by side.
- Where did this hostility start from? See this woman? She used to work as a pedagogue back in Azerbaijan, but she was compelled to leave everything, to take her little kid and run away. This is where the hostility started.
- When somebody comes to seek in marriage, he promises manna from heaven, but when he actually marries the woman ... Man oh man!
- The Turks are talking about guarantees today but in the meantime they are awarding a national hero to a guy who kills an Armenian officer in sleep. Why are we discussing all this...?
- Let us not forget that the Turk killed our Armenian officer.
- Azerbaijan will encourage teaching Armenian at its schools as the language of the enemy. And the enemy has always been chased.
- After shedding so much blood, how can we exclude the possibility that everything may happen again?
- The Azerbaijanis have this habit of proliferating: they come and go, they stay little by little, they start prospering and then they start telling everybody that this tree is theirs, this mountain is theirs and so on and so forth...
- What can you expect from a people who can easily kill a sleeping soldier with an axe? They are butchers, that's what they are...
- "Turks have passed here"... It is not the Armenians who invented that... So whatever scenario you choose, it should exclude the option of the Turks accessing Karabakh.
- Gabriel Soundukyan wrote: "Who told you to walk around in a pack of wolves wearing a sheep's mask? They will tear your fleece apart..." What can we do now? We are in a back of wolves and we need a fox's mask...

- Azerbaijan is a Muslim state. It is written in their Koran that all Muslims are equal and the rest of the nations and religions are nothing. Azerbaijanis will do everything to get control of those territories. Nothing else will they recognize.
- What should we give to the Azerbaijanis, when and where? It's all theirs anyway.
- All the same, we know quite well that Azerbaijan will never acknowledge the independence of Nagorni Karabakh.
- We are absolutely against this scenario. We have seen once what may come out of that. We will not fall into the same trap again...
- The second scenario is an extremity altogether. It is unacceptable for all of us. Azerbaijan cannot be trusted and the history has proven that many times.
- A Turk will kiss your legs until he goes up to your neck and cuts your throat.
- They have shown their true colors once. Now we are supposed to trust the Turks again?
- The Armenians and the Azerbaijanis have always been foes. A lot of time will be needed for the people to reconcile. There have been so many victims; so much blood has been shed...
- If we do discuss Scenario 2, the Azerbaijanis will say: "See, they are considering that scenario, so it is also a possible option". We should not discuss that scenario at all.
- We cannot agree to this scenario because it has been played once in Turkey. We can still feel the repercussions.
- Guarantees are untruthful especially when we are dealing with the devious authorities of Azerbaijan.
- Development? Are we talking about development? Look at the district of Kirovabad that is in their structure now: no changes, no economic growth, no combating the expulsion of the Armenians.
- We already know what being part of Azerbaijan means. Who said that some things have changed?
- Any proposition from Azerbaijan is totally unacceptable for us.
- Years later the same thing will happen again, and even worse.
- There is no trust for the second scenario. He who is born a fool is never cured. A Turk will always be a Turk.
- How do you imagine the Armenians and the Turks living together side by side? That is an unfathomable scenario.
- In a couple of years they will have so many children that we will fall far behind.
- Aliyev is carrying out the same "Narimanov policy"...
- If some fifty more years pass and the Armenians go back, very soon the same atrocities will happen again.
- We must resolve our own issues with our own resources.
- I remember, as a kid we were traveling to Yeghegnadzor via the territory of Azerbaijan, and I saw a cross-stone that was laid in the foundation of a bridge. Is that their so-called "Azerbaijanian territory"?
- Each of these scenarios supports the Azerbaijani interests.

- Today, the Azerbaijanis do not make any compromises. They are telling us that Karabakh is theirs and that they should clear that land of Armenians. These scenarios have been invented by the European states.
- We know that even if they open the borders, I personally will not be able to return to my birthplace (in Western Armenia). Some Turk or his bullet will ambush me.
- At first Azerbaijan will accept Karabakh's status but the next moment it will attack again.
- The Azerbaijani sheep farmers used to come to us crying and asking for lands so that they could graze their herds. The next year they would stand firmly and declare that is was their territory.
- There are no such guarantees that would prevent the killings between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis, no matter if the English peacekeepers are here (having their tea) or the French peacekeepers are on guard (drinking their cognac).
- They say "a cheater does not live long". I wonder why the Turks are still living...
- We should always be very careful with the Azerbaijanis, even in conditions of peace.
- Even after my husband's death, after all these losses and the hardships of our everyday life I imagine a brighter future for us in these conditions than in our coexistence with the Azerbaijanis. That one is impossible!
- Expulsion of the Armenians by the Azerbaijanis is the continuation of the events in Jugha. If it were not for Syunik, we would be witnessing expulsion of Armenians throughout the entire territory of Armenia. What I mean to say is that they have always wanted to get rid of the Armenians, be it "with honey or by sword"...
- I cannot fathom how we can accept our enemy...
- Whenever I listen to the radio or watch the TV, Aliyev is shouting "I want our lands!" but those are our lands and they know it. They are just trying to keep their people misinformed.
- For thousand years we won't need Azerbaijan...
- We are not poisoning our children with hatred, whereas they feed their children intolerance with mother's milk. They scare them with bloody images and implant abhorrence in their brains. And you know, even if the government fails to do so, the society will...
- We should trust neither the Turks nor the papers they sign. We should smile at the Turks but never throw away the stick we are holding...
- Two nations that have killed each other cannot reconcile easily. This issue cannot be resolved soon.
- There is a difference between Ilham Aliyev and Heydar Aliyev: Heydar would be able to resolve this issue in a heartbeat.
- They cannot like us just for the sake of our "beautiful eyes". If Turkey wants to talk to us right now, it means that communication is in their interest.
- No guarantees will make us trust Azerbaijan.

- Scenario 2 is a myth. For seventy years the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Karabakh was in the structure of Azerbaijan, and there have always been ethnic problems and even massacres.
- We have no ethnic, religious or national similarities with the Azerbaijanis. That is why the reconciliation between Karabakh and Azerbaijan is just unfathomable.
- The second scenario is like reading the Gospel to a wolf, like in the fable.
- History has shown that the Armenians cannot live under the rule of the Turks and that's it!
- We had a neighbor from Getashen. The mere recollection of those events would make him horrified. If they killed in the time of peace, how can we be sure that it won't recur?
- The Armenians and the Turks are irreconcilable!
- We do not trust the Azerbaijanis.
- We should not forget the lessons of history: the Azerbaijanis cannot be trusted.
- If you agree once to provide a corridor to the Turks, they will not ask for permission next time. That would be the same as if I ask for permission from my father-in-law about my wife.
- No matter how many years pass, we will not be able to forget the blood that was shed and will not want to go back to Azerbaijan. It is a totally different matter that the Azerbaijanis are hoping to change the demographic situation and thereby amend the results of the referendum. We must not fall into that trap.
- What kind of peaceful coexistence are you talking about when assassin Safarov has been declared national hero of Azerbaijan?
- The Turks have always been walking a step ahead of us in their reasoning. The same refers to the Azerbaijanis as well. Their diplomacy works better than ours.
- No matter how well we treat the Turks, a Turk will always remain a Turk and do its Turkish thing, and the Armenians will carry on trusting them like blind people.
- In the book "Chaos" there is an episode where an Azerbaijani passes by an Armenian and exclaims: "You, dirty Armenian, touched me and tainted me..." Their hatred comes in the blood.
- They want to conquer our historic Syunik; they have always wanted that.
- Discretion is good. The Turks will devour us following the opening of the border.
- You cannot trust the Turks. As soon as we give them territories their position will strengthen, and they will proceed with their final program.
- For sure, Azerbaijan has some internal secret plan. Maybe it is waiting for Armenia to get into a state of contention and susceptibility and then attack.
- The guarantees Azerbaijan proposes are big enough, but a Turk is always a Turk. I think all those guarantees are not worth a penny.
- The Turks are different from all other nations. A Turk never keeps his promises.
- Giving them Karabakh would mean giving them Armenia. And years later that may happen.
- No matter what kind of guarantees they give, our territories should remain within our territories.

- The guarantees of the Azerbaijanis are not reliable at all. Ten years later Karabakh will be totally populated with the Azerbaijanis.
- We have seen a similar thing when in front of the whole world and in a peaceful time the Azerbaijanis wiped out the Armenian population of Nakhijevan.
- There is no need to even read the second scenario. It is clear that Azerbaijan is not to be trusted!
- Half of the population in our village was Turkish. If it went on for some more time, they would soon outnumber the native population and start removing us. It's good that they left.
- People learn from their mistakes. We have seen our compatriots being moved out of their native areas, we have seen Armenians being massacred. We should not make the same mistakes...
- I do not believe in any of the promises contained in Scenario 2. You cannot trust the Turks. History has abundance of proof.
- Our people are so wise; they always used to say: "Be friends with the Turks but never put your stick aside".
- With the third scenario there are no firm decisions; it will be easy for Azerbaijan to infringe any agreement any minute.
- I don't think that Aliyev will make a decision in favor of the Armenians.
- History has shown many times that the Turks do not deserve to be trusted. A Turk is always a Turk.
- The Azerbaijanis will proliferate very quickly. We won't be able to win the referendum.
- I personally read under Scenario 4: "Providing an opportunity for Azerbaijan to organize a new Sumgayit".
- Historically, it has been proven that Azerbaijan should not be trusted. We don't believe them.
- The best option is for the Armenians to live on their lands and the Turks, respectively, on their territories. Coexistence is no more possible.
- The former presidents of Azerbaijan used to see in their dreams that they were swimming in the waters of the Lake Sevan. If we give Karabakh their dreams will come true.
- People, people, they deliver children even without thinking...
- The relationships between the two nations will remain hostile. Both nations are nationalistic and patriotic.
- Hatred has already settled in our heart. We cannot treat them as we used to. But they can. They are cattle-breeding tribes with no homeland. No matter where you throw them, they will survive.
- The people have a good saying for situations like this: "they are trying to put a soft pillow under our head".
- After all these years of suffering how can we return to this scenario? How can we forget our anguish and pain?
- This scenario is a distorted version of our traversed path. We understand that perfectly.

- Armenians and Azerbaijanis can no longer coexist.
- Let us recall here the words Garegin Nezhdeh once said: "Believing the Turks means sanctioning them for bigger atrocities"!
- Armenians don't even trust Armenians. Why are we talking about trusting the Turks?
- None of the items contained in Scenario 2 are acceptable. None of the words from Azerbaijan are trustworthy. Those scenarios will never come true.
- Let Azerbaijan propose this option as many times as it likes. We still remember our past, and quite vividly. Going back to all those horrors is intolerable!
- The Azerbaijanis are bloodthirsty. They will never calm down.
- We have trusted them too much and we have seen the results. We have been deceived and that's more than enough. Even in the Soviet times Azerbaijan used to give promises that everything would be fine in Karabakh. But that was just another lie!
- Girl, you are still young but you realize that the Turks are not to be trusted, don't you.
- We are not discussing Scenario 2. It is totally unacceptable. Let us move on to the next scenario. There is no one here that would believe in this option. All of this may turn into another Nakhijevan.
- The Turks continue lying to us. First they told us that they want negotiations without any preconditions, now they are putting forward their preconditions. How can we ever trust them?
- We should leave out the third scenario. We won't be deceived by Azerbaijan's promises.
- This is bait, and the international community is waiting to see if we swallow it or not. If we do give back those liberated territories, they will say: "See, they agreed to give back, which means that they really had conquered and subjugated those territories".
- This whole thing is in favor of Azerbaijan. We think that we are gaining from it, but it's a very tricky business.
- We can see that this is bait for us.
- We don't care if it is a third scenario or fourth. We don't want to acknowledge Azerbaijan.
- The Armenians and the Azerbaijanis have lost their trust towards each other. They will never be able to live side by side within the same territory.
- How do you picture to yourself the friendship of Armenians and Azerbaijanis? For fifteen years already our new generations have been brought up on hatred and intolerance towards each other. What you are talking about can happen only some five generations later, when people will not even remember about the victims of war.
- None of the Armenians want to open the borders to the Turks.
- Whatever we have seen must serve a lesson for us. Whatever has been won by blood should not be returned
- Look at Palestine. We should not be too straightforward and naïve.

- There is no trust whatsoever. I do not trust the promises that come from the Azerbaijanis.
- What? Peaceful coexistence? What is that? Is that when you smash the head of your neighbor smiling in his face?
- All the propositions that come from Azerbaijan are like delusion. The Azerbaijanis have never been friends with the Armenians and they will never be. They will destroy Artsakh.
- Having seen the assassinations in Baku and Sumgayit, no Armenian refugee will dare to go back there. As opposed to them, the Azerbaijani refugees will be pleased to come back to Karabakh and Armenia.
- I think that any compromise at this point will not make sense. Azerbaijan is too unreliable. We should be strong and protect our territories. No compromises!
- The self-confident talk of Azerbaijan does not have any relevant bases.
- I have three sons. If they were adult back then I would have gone to war with them. Not now though. A lot of things have changed... there is no trust that ten years later they will not talk about giving back the lands.
- We will never forget what we saw and what we experienced. However, it is hard to say what the coming generations will think or do. Let us recall World War II. We gave so many victims and after that we gave them Eastern Europe as a gift. This is the result of the change of generations.
- The Azerbaijanis and giving promises are two incompatible things. Not for a second should we believe them!
- I am tired hearing those conditional "if"s from the Turks.
- An unsuspecting reader might read this and think: "Well, autonomy is good. You can do a lot of things with your autonomy". But we have seen this before; we have heard all this and we know what promises can turn into. Our own history has proven that truth to us many times through our pain and suffering. We know it is impossible.
- We do not believe that Azerbaijan will give Karabakh guarantees for autonomy or safety. All of these are empty promises.
- If the second scenario comes true, the same events as in Sumgayit will take place, as well as other painful developments.
- We cannot believe Azerbaijan's promises; they will gain control over Karabakh through deception and trickery.
- Autonomy of Karabakh was guaranteed in the times of my grandfather, too. But we saw what happened during that so-called autonomy. Now, has anything changed since then? Why should we, all of a sudden, start to trust the Azerbaijanis?
- Many times in history has Azerbaijan broken its promises. We don't trust the Azerbaijanis.
- Becoming brothers with your enemy is impossible.
- Today's Azerbaijan is not different from the former one. Those were Barbarians, and these are, too.

- The second scenario was run during the Russian-Turkish war, before the Genocide. Now the word Turkey has been replaced with Azerbaijan. Do you get it?
- We were in Karabakh when several Russian speaking Azerbaijanis drove up and told us that they would burn our buses if we tried to park them there. Now those same Turks are talking about guarantees...
- They are deploying forces in the borderline zone and are telling us to demilitarize? Where is our common sense? Are we supposed to consent to our enemy getting armed and be prepared to be massacred like some flock of sheep?
- Ensuring coexistence will be impossible given that there will always be clashes and casualties and the Azerbaijanis will tell that it was some household level quarrel.
- We will be going back to 1988 with this scenario, exactly to the point where we started...
- Coexistence of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis? This is very romantic, you know, very romantic...
- If glass is broken, even if you glue it back together it won't be so strong. Likewise, we cannot "coexist" with the Azerbaijanis again. Let them stay in their country, and we will live in ours.
- I don't trust Azerbaijan: they will not stick to their commitments.
- I do not agree with this point because I do not trust the Azerbaijanis.
- Frankly speaking, I think they are trying to make us swallow their bait when they are saying that they will officially acknowledge the Genocide of 1915 as a compensation for our submissions. They intend to take away our historic past.
- If we agree to this scenario, we will be giving everything to them as a gift. A couple of years later they will declare war and that will be it...
- Only grave can change a hunchback...
- If they keep breaking the ceasefire agreement, what are the guarantees that they will not break other agreements?
- It is quite difficult to assess these scenarios when you cannot trust your vis-a-vis.
- Do you remember how they drove out our Armenians from Sumgayit? We did not cut the heads of the Azerbaijanis that used to live here. To the contrary, we escorted them to the border, safe and sound, with all their property and belongings.
- Once again, we come to the point that we cannot trust the Azerbaijanis.
- The Azerbaijanis are not people...
- We are sick of Azerbaijan's assurances. Enough is enough.
- We have seen it... Excellent scenario... But we have seen the eyes of the wolf...
- Sumgayit is a known fact. We don't want a collection of such facts.
- Azerbaijan wants the second scenario to come true. In that case it will be easy for them to muslimize us and the history with Nakhijevan will be replayed.
- How well were they able to stop the expulsion of Armenians or the repressions during the Soviet times? We cannot believe them.

- How can we trust Azerbaijan after the destruction of the khach-kars (stone crosses) in Old Jugha and the total expulsion of the Armenian population from Nakhijevan? You do not put a sheep into a wolf's mouth.
- First, Azerbaijan will repopulate us and then punish us for recalcitrance.
- Christians and Muslims cannot live in peace as neighbors, especially within our region.
- We scarcely salvated our children from the hands of the Turks. They wanted to kill even them. How can you trust such a nation?
- In no way should we agree with the Turks. No matter how numerous the Armenians in Nakhijevan were, they forced all of them out and repopulated the area with Turks. After that, they organized a referendum. Given the above, we have to realize that no Turks should be allowed to come and settle here.
- We will not be able to reconcile with the Azerbaijanis. If they come back there will be a new fight.
- It was the Turks to start the killings; therefore there is no forgiveness.
- Under their rule Karabakh will be cleared off Armenians and repressions will start against our activists.
- Being in the structure of Azerbaijan is unacceptable. We don't believe in any guarantees they give. Azerbaijan is the same Azerbaijan. Their policy is expulsion of the Armenians.
- We don't trust the Azerbaijanis. Everything will be replayed the same way as soon as we appear under their domination.
- Living together in peace? When I was a kid, I used to come home from school beaten every day, until we moved to an Armenian area. I will never expose my child to such an abuse.
- Where are the guarantees for us that the Turks will not be bombing us?
- The Azerbaijanis can change their location but not their mentality.
- Azerbaijan wants to assure us that it is giving certain things to us, but in fact it is giving us what we already have. Why should we make any compromises?
- The Turks are our enemies. No foe shall become a friend, but friends may become enemies.
- I used to work as a director of a collective farm and I have had an opportunity to communicate with a number of higher authorities in Azerbaijan. They would tell me: "You are a good guy, but you are Armenian".
- If you tell the Muslims "go hang yourselves", they will go and hang themselves. That's their law.
- Even now Azerbaijan puts out different declarations every day: one day it says this, the next day it says that, that is why we cannot trust them.
- No matter how many generations replace each other, vindictiveness is in the blood of every Muslim.
- Who said that the Turks are playing fair now? They are as unfair as ever, and will always be. If we are able to use the status quo in our benefit, then this situation is fine.

- For eighty years we lived and worked with the Azerbaijanis. But that peace was ostensible. The Azerbaijanis have always run a policy of hatred towards the Armenians.
- You killed my baby and I killed yours. How can we ever coexist or trust each other again?
- It is an unacceptable speculation that we will ever be within the structure of Azerbaijan. We have already seen a situation like that. It can't be.
- Are we claiming guarantees from our age-long enemy here?
- What are we, some rabbits to experiment on? How can you expose an entire nation to such calamity again?
- We do not believe in the colorful promises of the Azerbaijanis.
- Are you trying to fool us around? The people of Karabakh can never be deceived.
- This options is bullshit... you won't trick me.
- The Azerbaijanis are real aggressors. In reality they do not want any peace. We cannot trust the Turks.
- We know from our own experience that the Azerbaijanis are never to be trusted. We still remember the Soviet times when we had no freedom. We are sure that the same thing will happen again.
- The Turks have done every possible thing so that we never live in peace again.
- During the Soviet period my kids were going to a Russian school: that was the only alternative to the Turkish school.
- So much blood was shed, how can we forget that? There is not a single family here that would have not lost a member. How can these people forget that and continue living side by side with their enemy?
- Living side by side with the Azerbaijanis will not be possible. We cannot forget the loss of our closest ones.
- The second scenario literally reads: "We are sorry, we won't be naughty again. Let us forget the past. Trust us and we will live together in peace". Yet we are forgetting that a Turk is like a "brat". If you forgive him once, he will do the same thing again and again.
- Within the structure of Azerbaijan? Just as we used to: when we were not studying our own history, when our children were not able to learn Armenian at school? Why?
- You should not trust a Turk's words. They will say something today and will do a completely different thing tomorrow.
- People say, if the bald man had some medicine for hair, he would use it for his own hair in the first place... Are you trying to tell me that Azerbaijan is so democratic that it will try to develop us the same way?
- We do not trust their guarantees. We just don't trust them.
- Within the structure of Azerbaijan there will be so much pressure and repression that we will prefer being killed. If they don't kill us with arms, they will destroy us morally.
- There is no way for us to trust the Azerbaijanis.

- What are the guarantees that “Within the structure of Azerbaijan” our existence will not be endangered?
- In a couple of years the same horror and shock will occur again. Does it make any sense to anybody, I am asking?
- During the Soviet period, the discipline of the History of Armenia was withdrawn from the academic curricula of our schools. The Azerbaijani language was mandatory, TV broadcasting was limited. Our seventy-year experience has shown us that the Azerbaijanis are never to be trusted.
- The Turks are not a civilized nation. They cannot restart their history by turning a new page. The Turks are not Germans and we should keep that in mind.
- Even in the time of peace the Turks would burst into our homes and do killings. How can we give them our lands and let them get closer to us?
- A Karabakhi donkey will not go the same way twice.
- There is no trust towards the Turks.
- Today it is absurd talking about the peaceful coexistence of the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians.
- We can no more live in peace with the Azerbaijanis. What kind of repopulation are you talking about?
- We have lived as neighbors with the Azerbaijanis for a long time. We are familiar with their character and that is why we don't trust them.
- We do not want to have anything in common with the Azerbaijanis. We don't want to communicate with them.
- Baku, Sumgayit, elsewhere... the listing could continue forever. How can we forget all that and trust the Azerbaijanis again?
- Our contact with the Azerbaijanis within the borders of Nagorni Karabakh is unthinkable!
- We still live with the horror of war in our hearts. We won't be able to forget that. We cannot live together ever again.
- There was a time when we really used to trust them. Now everything has changed. Trusting them is impossible!
- Within their homes the Azerbaijanis foster hostility towards the Armenians. How is it possible to get any guarantees from them?
- Even if you don't give the Turks a thing, they will nevertheless go to any territory and take root there. They will rapidly create everything they need.
- No matter which scenario it is, fourth or fifth or sixth, we don't trust the Azerbaijanis.
- We don't believe in any of their promises. Nobody will go back there!
- We don't trust the Turks. If we give them a tiny piece of land, they will claim all of it.
- The Turks have specific anomalies: they are mutineers by blood and by birth.
- The multiple efforts on our side and by the Azerbaijanis towards peaceful coexistence have failed and always will.
- All the promises of Azerbaijan about changing their attitude towards the Armenians are absurd.

- Back in the Soviet period the Azerbaijani shepherds used to come and say: "It is not suitable for you guys to graze sheep. We will do that for you". A couple of years later the entire Armenian settlement was getting filled with Azerbaijanis.
- We have already experienced this. They missed the moment. Let's keep on going!
- We should be ashamed of discussing this second scenario. It is not suitable for us to discuss the ravings of the Azerbaijanis.
- Wasn't it Azerbaijan to turn Shoushi with its 40 thousand Armenians into a settlement of two thousands?
- Let the Azerbaijanis keep their promises to themselves. We don't want them!
- We are far-far away from "democratic" Azerbaijan.
- Living with them is impossible. Just impossible! We don't want that.
- We don't trust our adversary.
- In order to determine whether one can trust the Azerbaijanis or not, you don't need to go very far. Just recall the tragic episode with our officer Margaryan. Can anyone trust a nation of Safarovs after that?
- They won't give up their plan of destroying us.
- For seventy years we have not been able to find a common language. The same will continue now. The Turks have not changed.
- For seventy years we have seen what we have seen. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, one today is worth two tomorrows.
- First of all, we have already made our decision. We are independent now. Secondly, emotions wise, we don't trust them!
- Let Azerbaijan give guarantees to own nation. Later they can talk to us about guarantees.
- When this scenario was being discussed, Armenia claimed 100 % guarantees from Azerbaijan that this option would not impair the safety of people. But it was Azerbaijan that did not accept this scenario.
- The Turks do not believe each other; why should I?
- If only five refugees come back, that would be enough for us to be doomed...
- If there is someone here that believes that a signed document may ensure peaceful existence, he is quite wrong. Did Germany maintain its prior arrangements? So will the Azerbaijanis.
- It is not possible! The Armenians and the Turks won't be able to live in peace!
- Yes, brother. I have a personal dislike for that nation. I feel kind of "uncomfortable" when I know they are somewhere near.
- There is a saying: "A Turk will always remember its tail that was cut off, and an Armenian will always remember the blood that his child shed". It will be true in all the times and for all the coming generations.
- What I witnessed in Baku is enough for my whole life! Even if you promise me manna from heaven, I won't go back.
- We do not believe in any of Azerbaijani promises. In a short while everything will be run the same way.

- My Azerbaijani neighbor helped me escape from Baku, but I had to leave all my belongings there. I brought my son, though, but he perished at war. Are they going to give me back my son or my belongings?
- Let' assume we seized the shotgun from an Azerbaijani soldier. How are we going to seize the rifle from an Azerbaijani shepherd's hand?
- Their entire nation has been turned into zombies. Young people are so blood-thirsty...
- The Azerbaijani youngsters are brought up in a hostile spirit. No good can come of that...
- I remember when back in 1975 we were watching a movie and an Azerbaijani kid was calling the Armenians "enemies".
- Even in a hundred years I cannot forget my losses. My father and my grandfather had not forgotten 1915-1916.
- Is it Azerbaijan that is going to decide whether we live free or not...?
- Azerbaijan wants us to make the first move. But will they do the second?
- Oh, man, they lie openly and insolently.
- A regular European would perhaps be able to forgive his offender, but we have a too resilient national character, we cannot forgive our enemy.
- At what cost will we get protection of interests? The Turkish sword?
- A Turk is always a Turk. We are sure of that...
- Scenario 1 is an unacceptable option. Azerbaijan is never to be trusted.
- Giving Nagorni Karabakh to Azerbaijan with nice hopes for the future is just childish.
- Agreements are not giving any guarantees; only Armenians can defend their land.
- This scenario was probably proposed by the Americans who have seen no Turks in their lives.
- If the second scenario is adopted, a civil war will start in Armenia and we will lose Armenia, too.
- Russia and the United States are supporting the interests of Azerbaijan. If the second scenario is adopted, that would mean betraying our history. No preconditions, no compromises!
- Scenario 4 assumes sacrificing everything to the possibility that some day the Azerbaijanis may condescend to discussing our right for self-determination. They will either acknowledge that right or they may say, "Ok now, we kept our promise: we discussed your right for self-determination"...
- Scenario 5 is just a major trap. We must dictate our own conditions instead of reacting to their conditions.
- If we yield to them once, they will keep coming forth and we will have to yield again and again.
- The last scenarios remind me of the fable about the cuckoo and the fox. The cuckoo will drop its nestlings from the nest and the fox will grab them and eat.
- There must be compromises. They will not keep their promises. They say that they won't shoot, but they keep shooting over and over again.

- Scenario 5 is not trustworthy.
- If we allow some 25% of the Azerbaijanis to come and settle on our territories, in seventy-five years their number will increase up to 75% and they will win any referendum.
- We are a tiny nation on the map. We can get extinct very easily.
- The Muslims are never going to get extinct; they will be growing continuously. We must beware of that.
- There is a conflict, there are bad recollections and that fear still lives in us.
- If we adopt the third scenario, Azerbaijan may think of an excuse and close the corridor. In that case Karabakh will again find itself encircled in a blockade.
- In case of the third scenario we will be surrendering much more than them. To be more exact, they are not giving up anything. Considering that we already have our independence and the corridor as well, what are the advantages of this scenario for us?
- Its' good, isn't it! They are pretentiously giving us some independence and we are giving up all our achievements!
- We will get empty words for the lands we give! What for? Just to be declared independent by them?
- Let us listen to our inner reasoning: we don't want the former normal relationships with the Turks.
- The Turks think that they can get part of what they want through a compromise and later they will occupy the rest. Our submissions will not lead to anything good.
- The so-called "bilateral compromises" are in fact our defeat.
- All of these scenarios envisage only unilateral compromise and the one to compromise is always Armenia.
- I can speak the Azerbaijani language and I understand every word. When I watch the Azerbaijani TV channels I can see that they are teaching that Karabakh is theirs.
- Even if we sign a peace agreement, the issue will not be closed. War cannot be ruled out altogether.
- There is nothing pro-Armenian in any of these scenarios. All of them "smell like pro-Turkish".
- All the scenarios talk about compromises by the Armenians. How are the Azerbaijanis going to compromise?
- If there is any submission of lands, the war will restart.
- Increase of birth rate is a key element of Azerbaijan's strategy. If we open the borders we will get into a worse situation than France.
- If we give Nagorni Karabakh to Azerbaijan, they will conquer Armenia as well.
- Armenians have a saying: literally it translates into "I won't love you until you're dead". I do not wish to love my country when it is dead, I don't want to look at Karabakh the way I look at Ararat.
- As a kid I heard a story about the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians: the Azerbaijanis were short of land for their cemetery, so they came to the Armenian village

head and asked to exchange one hectare of land. And the Karabakhi village head answered: "We will provide the land for your cemetery if you provide the dead people". You cannot just give lands!

- The Azerbaijanis will always be saying one thing and doing another. Historically, that has happened many times and we know for sure that Turkish diplomacy is full of lies. My grandfather used to say: you must always let a Turk walk in front of you because you never know at what point and why he will decide to strike you.
- This scenario should be excluded. Even during the Soviet period the people of Karabakh were being discriminated against in Karabakh. Why would the Azerbaijanis provide them with more autonomy now?
- The reason why we cannot trust the Azerbaijanis is their backwardness.
- This scenario would be acceptable if it weren't for our past experience with the Turks.
- No matter how the events develop, we must not agree to submit the adjacent regions. Otherwise, the border will again come closer and we will find ourselves in a zone of danger.
- In some fifty years Azerbaijan will run out of oil, but the inclinations of Turkish women will never end... We cannot open the border.
- If we allow for the buffer zone to be created, the Turks will benefit. That will become their next tiny victory.
- If we (people of Armenia and Zangezour) keep our mouth shut today, we will be facing the same problems again in future.
- The Azerbaijanis will not be satisfied with the adjacent territories. They have a bigger appetite!
- The Azerbaijani diplomacy is that of a whiner. First they come crying for something, and then they do whatever they want to do.
- After shedding so much blood the former state of peace will never be restored.
- Even if all the countries invest their efforts towards the resolution of the Karabakh issue in peaceful manner, the hazard of war will always be there given the fact that one of the parties will always disagree to one provision or the other.
- If Karabakh is left within the structure of Azerbaijan, all guarantees will fail. There are no guarantees for the Turks.
- From Azerbaijan's point of view, this is an advantageous option. It coincides with their program of getting hold of Nagorni Karabakh.
- Back in those times, the Soviet Azerbaijanis were using this particular scenario.
- A mole digs in the earth until it reaches solid rock. The Azerbaijanis are the same: if you yield once they will be demanding more and more.
- Scenario 2 is not beneficial for us. After using the corridor for a certain time, the Azerbaijanis will tell us that it is too narrow and will want to widen it. How can you trust an Azerbaijani?
- We should be tough and continue dictating as the winners in the war. All guarantees are just trickery, as well as the hope that some day there will be a referen-

dum and the people of Karabakh will change their attitude seeing how good the Turks are. We should not trust the Turks.

- The current anti-Armenia hysteria of Azerbaijan is true evidence that the peaceful coexistence of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis is a myth.
- We do not have the right to surrender an inch of land. That is a fact proven by our history.
- I do not want the borders to be opened. The Genocide will recur.
- Any solution is impossible as long as we, as one nation, speak to each other "in different languages".
- The provision in the agreement about peace is too weak, because the Azerbaijanis may start a war any time.
- The Azerbaijanis got hold of Nagorni Karabakh during the Soviet period. If we give them any territories they will not leave a single Karabakhi in entire Karabakh.
- In the second scenario Azerbaijan will haste to populate Nagorni Karabakh with the Azerbaijanis.
- If the Azerbaijanis are going to have military forces in Artsakh's adjacent territories, then we will be in the same situation again. Their snipers will be shooting us down again.
- The fourth scenario will be acceptable if our safety is guaranteed by the international community and not by Azerbaijan.
- If they open the border we will be depending on Azerbaijan. They have their sea, they don't care. There will evolve an issue of power again.
- For us, the first scenario is acceptable. We should not give back our buffer zone; otherwise we will be under the constant fire of their cannonry.
- This option is unable to ensure peace to the full. Young people are being shot and disabled on the border every day.
- Those who witnessed the atrocities in Sumgayit will never trust in the Azerbaijanis.
- Developing relationships with Turkey will be much easier than with Azerbaijan.
- An eye gives light only to its master. Other people's eyes will not light your sight. We can live peacefully only on our lands.
- As long as there are Armenians and Turks, the issue of war will never be crossed out of the agenda.
- Azerbaijan periodically breaks the ceasefire and those actions are always accompanied by human casualties.
- What is the meaning of all this? After so many casualties, after so much blood they still think that we have departed from our instincts so much that they can make us live in the trap they made for us? That's impossible!
- With the second scenario, we will lose our national identity inside Karabakh.
- If this scenario is carried out, there will be war.
- With the fourth scenario they will be resolving this issue right away, and in their own favor.
- Carrying out a referendum in fifteen years will allow for the Azerbaijanis to significantly increase their population in this area and win the referendum.

- At this point the issue of reopening the border is advantageous for them.
- Whatever you do, even in case of coexistence, the Armenians deliver two babies and they have twelve. In some ten years the demographic situation will totally change.
- Scenario 2 is a hoax. A thing like that may never happen. We have already been autonomous and where did it go? Have you forgotten?
- In case of the second scenario Karabakh will be totally deprived of Armenians.
- Their plans for the expulsion and destruction of the Armenians are still there. How is the international community going to oppose that?
- We are suffering casualties to this day. If this is the situation at ceasefire, what happens after we give back those territories?
- We cannot consent to recognition at the cost of banishing the Armenians from Artsakh.
- If there is a serious need for help from Armenia, by the time our compatriots get here, the Azerbaijanis will have attacked us and strangled us.
- The Armenians that came to live here from Armenia have considered those adjacent territories as a guarantee for their resettlement.
- If their army lodges at a distance of ten kilometers, how can we be safe? We know them very well and we know for sure that we cannot be relaxed in such circumstances.
- Conflicts on the border will always go on and there will be no prospects of peaceful life.
- Don't forget the history: there will be new clashes; new assaults and it will all grow into a new war. But the adjacent territories are like a buffer zone for us, an essential element of security.
- The Turks can be bribed easily: their authorities will give them money and a couple of false promises and the people will flow in here.
- Genetically or by call of the blood, even centuries later Armenians and Turks are not going to like each other. They will be fighting upon every single occasion.
- I do not believe that the hasty resolution of the problem will eliminate the hazard of war.
- If you watch the Azerbaijani TV stations, you get the message that one of these days they are all coming back to live in their homes as if they are going to liberate "their own" lands. This is the Azerbaijani propaganda, which unfortunately is much stronger than the Armenian one.
- We have been under the Azerbaijani domination for a long time, watching how our Armenian traditions and history were being neglected. We will have to fill this gap for the new generation.
- The Turks are our ancient enemies. No solution will last. Sooner or later war will be unavoidable.
- There is an Azerbaijanian saying: "Put your own calculations aside, watch how the lion is doing his calculations". In the same way, we have to look at the problem from the opponent's perspective.

- At the beginning of the 20th century Karabakh's "orientation" was turned towards Azerbaijan because of the oil. Even today, they are trying to use the economic incentives to incline people towards that option.
- The new generation does not know anything about itself, how can it know anything about the enemy?
- During the negotiations Azerbaijan talks and talks nice things but in reality injects poison into the veins of its younger generation. This is a distinct evidence of their intentions.
- Even the Azerbaijani commercials are full of anti-Armenian propaganda, but we do not use any campaigning resources.
- The Azerbaijani TV stations keep broadcasting coverage of the Khojalu confrontation but they never mention that it was something organized by Jevanshir.
- We were a peace loving population. We have always been one. But the Turks have always attacked us, and then they have left taking our property along with theirs.
- The confrontation between the Armenians and Turks is not like that between the Germans and the French. It is true that in order to scare our kids we use the image of our enemy, but our mentality is totally different...
- Their diplomacy is like the conduct of a fox...
- We will have to nudge into our children's heads that the Azerbaijanis are our enemies, like the Azerbaijanis do with their children. That vigilance will save us.
- There is a joke. The teacher is telling the kids about the World War II and says that the fascists attacked the Soviet Union, they killed and robbed and did this and did that. And at the end the teacher asks: "Children, do you understand now who our enemies are?" A kid stands up and says: "Yes, teacher, the Turks of Aghdam"...
- It something like that happens, that will be the end of our victory. We will be defeated. Our blood and our victims can never be forgotten.
- They are manipulating their oil, trying to entice the international community. But deceptive proposals like that have been numerous and all of them have resulted in massacres and wars.
- Scenario 2 has no positive aspects whatsoever. The Azerbaijanis will arrive and fill our territories again.
- Karabakh will be deprived of its Armenian population immediately. There will be some people who will stay, of course, but with the slightest opportunity they will flee, too.
- We should not return to the times when we used to live in an atmosphere of humiliation and fear.
- We overcame a lot of things during those years of hardships. Do you want us to go back to those times again? Never...
- The aid that Azerbaijan used to provide for Karabakh was being used in fact for the development of the borderline Azerbaijani villages.

- Today, when the Turks want to curse somebody they call him/her “Armenian”. How can they change now and say: “Come, brother, let us plough this land together”?
- Only a tiny little portion of the Old Historic Armenia is left in our hands. Do you want us to give that to the enemy, too?
- I am thinking of the future generations. If I lost my parents because of the Turks, how can I trust my child to the same assassin?
- Is it necessary that they kill us to be allowed to say “No”? Possibly, they may not kill us but they will exercise pressure on us, that’s for sure. And that is enough.
- Around twenty years have passed, yet we do not observe any differences in them.
- We do not need Azerbaijan’s guarantees. We need our land. Let them go far away and leave us alone. We, Armenians are on our own Armenian land. Why should we be within the structure of Azerbaijan?
- Accepting the third scenario will mean entering the same river twice.
- What’s the catch here? What is Azerbaijan’s interest? If they are promising that we will have our own Armenian schools, our own coat of arms, our own flag, where is Azerbaijan’s benefit in that? Isn’t it clear that they have other long-term plans?
- I used to live in Sumgayit and up till now I do not know what being a hundred percent Armenian means. They have never allowed us to feel that.
- Back in the Soviet times I brought furniture and accessories for this theatre. You should have seen the pressure on me by the authorities...
- Providing any kind of corridor to the Azerbaijanis will be a fatal mistake. Our people will never agree to that.
- During the Soviet period, when I was a high school student, I had no idea about the cultural legacy of my people. It would stay the same way hadn’t we changed the situation. It will be the same if we go back to being part of Azerbaijan.
- You cannot give territories or provide corridors in return to your status.
- What kind of development are you talking about? They will immediately introduce their language at schools and will start exercising pressure on us with the same methods. The same story will recur.
- They will return to the strategically important territories and will add more fuel to the fire...
- No child that has seen the war with his own eyes will reconcile to the idea of peaceful coexistence with that enemy. There can be no more peaceful coexistence. The calamities of war can never be forgotten.
- We will not go back but they will come back here like a herd of sheep.
- What are we talking about after so many losses? We have become enemies with the Azerbaijanis.
- If Azerbaijan sets foot on the adjacent territories, they will seize Karabakh by all means.
- Scenario 4 does not guarantee our peace. It is no longer possible for the Armenians and the Turks to coexist in peace. At the end there will be another war.

- The Soviets gave our lands to them once, back in the 1920s. You want to give them again? Let us resolve our own issues the way we can do it, man...
- We have seen that war. If there were no war, if there were no bloodshed, we might perhaps agree to the terms of making certain compromises and being independent or within the structure of Armenia. But now... it is impossible...
- All Azerbaijan is doing now is putting new traps for us.
- At the talks with Sargsyan (the Armenian president) Aliyev says one thing and when he returns to his country he says a totally different thing. How can one trust him?
- When a child is given a toy, he does whatever he wants with it: he plays with it or breaks it. In the same way Azerbaijan started treating Nagorni Karabakh when with a stroke of a pen it was donated Karabakh.
- Many of us lived through the Soviet period. We are people brought up on the ideas of brotherhood and peace. But what we saw in reality had nothing to do with those noble ideas.
- I do not want to be deceived, yet the chances for that are numerous. The Turks are wonderful diplomats, you know.
- We had a Turkish neighbor who told me literally the following: "I will not kill you but that is because I have a bad blood. I will send someone else to kill you..."
- We don't want feudal society...
- The Azerbaijanis lost the war and are now bringing up their children trying to foster aggressiveness. That is a complex specific of all losers.
- If an Azerbaijani is making barbeque, no Armenian should touch that... Do you want me to continue?
- The examples that we bring today are not just historic facts. They represent the pain that we have felt on our own skin.
- If two people do not trust each other, there is always a risk of conflict. Same with nations.
- The further they are from us the better. Instead of letting them get closer, we should keep them at a distance: the further the better.
- We used to know nothing about our own history. We were introduced a totally different history.
- Even back in the Soviet times the Azerbaijani kids used to say: Armenians are "dushmans" (enemies).
- Hearing the phrase "Karabakh is becoming part of Azerbaijan" can make any Armenian mad.
- There is no need for us to become part of Azerbaijan. In order to support their vital needs, to live securely and to be happy, people have already driven the Azerbaijani element out of their settlements.
- The second scenario reminds me of the fable about the wolf to whom they try to read the Gospel.
- Call ourselves independent and get lost? This scenario makes no sense!
- Within the structure of Azerbaijan no Armenian can ever feel really Armenian.

- Language, faith and lifestyle: these are the primary factors that should be taken into consideration when correlating these two ethnic groups. By all three factors we are incompatible.
- I am a refugee from Baku. Bagirov used to say that the lands earned with blood should not be returned. Why should we be giving back our lands, I am asking you?
- As an autonomous region within Azerbaijan we used to be told that we would receive everything. But did we really receive anything? Back then they used to give us promises, too. But reality was totally different.
- With the second scenario adopted, they will deprive Karabakh of its Armenian population. And that will be done with more enthusiasm than ever.
- Before the movement began, all our communication in Armenian was just one hour of radio airing. All the rest was in Azerbaijani.
- The meaning of the second scenario is assimilating us with the Azerbaijanis and getting us lost. That's what it is...
- If I were sure that a single refugee would come back to Shoushi, I would take my family and get out of there on the same day.
- There is a hidden risk of migration if we give back those territories. People will feel unsafe and will leave those areas.
- Ten-twenty years will be enough for the Azerbaijanis to become majority in any area they live in.
- At first we wanted this issue to be settled peacefully. Had they agreed to pass a referendum, we would have done so long ago.
- Today we cooperate with the Azerbaijani organizations for refugees. They do not conceal that they will take every possible measure to "end that referendum in their favor".
- The greatest hazard hidden in scenario 4 is the issue of the refugees. They will come and reproduce here and will seize Karabakh by a referendum. And the Armenians (who are well familiar with the Turkish nature) will abandon their homes and leave.
- Before we started the movement, they brought their Turks here, built houses and settled them down. Now they are telling us that those people want to come back to their homes? What business do they have in this area?
- The fifth scenario is like placing your house in a bank as collateral for a loan. If the Azerbaijanis do not keep their promise, what will happen to my house? It will be gone forever?
- The efforts to restore the so-called "Friendship" between our nations will give rise to a new wave of hostility.
- In time the psychology of our children changes, too, you know. We foster tolerance in our children and they foster intolerance.
- During the negotiations we keep consenting to compromises, not realizing that Azerbaijan becomes more and more insolent.

- Azerbaijan is trying to diminish our conflict to the level of communities, and if the Armenian media publishes such materials, then I feel sorry for the Armenian media.
- We keep hearing over the Azerbaijani radio stations that they intend to come back and that they are preparing for war.
- The new generations of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis are being brought up in totally dissimilar backgrounds. In such circumstances there will be no end to this conflict. International structures should study our history and try to clarify the true story of this war.
- These demands have been written by nationalists and the leaders of Azerbaijan. The regular people couldn't care less about all this.
- It was in vain that our husbands died protecting their land... WE don't want anything from them. Let them leave us alone, we can work using our own brains and make our living with it.
- The Azerbaijanis will cheat us and wipe Armenians out. We have the example of Nakhijevan.
- In the Soviet period we were living in the second scenario, weren't we. What has changed now? Why should we consider believing the Azerbaijanis again?
- If we give our consent to Scenario 4, Azerbaijan may think that we have yielded once and we will give in every time, so they will put forward newer and bigger claims.
- In time Turkey will be knocking on our door, given the fact that the route to the west lies through winning over Armenia.
- Our children must go to Armenian schools. They must grow up to be Armenians. Doing that within the structure of Azerbaijan is simply infeasible.
- In all of their scenarios we see the issue of overland communication. Why should we provide Azerbaijan with overland communication with Nakhijevan? For them to strike us from the back?
- This not an appropriate approach: in time we will lose everything. Not to mention that if we provide a corridor to Nakhijevan we will have to expect a blow from the back any moment. What are we left with? A tiny overland connection?
- This is a trap for us!
- If a Karabakhi loses his faith, restoring it will be tooooooooooo difficult...
- The stress of bombing is quite enough for us. Our guarantee is our army.
- Even in the Soviet times the funds allotted for Karabakh never served their target.
- I have relatives in Karabakh. Man, they can't stand the Turks at all. They cannot live together with the Turks...
- Our neighbors have tried to violate our rights by exercising force. Apparently, they have had no success.
- During the negotiations they do not maintain that they refuse to recognize our independence because we are not offering anything in return. They just lack courage to say that those are our historic lands.

Azerbaijanis don't trust Armenians

- Armenia breaks the ceasefire very often
- Armenia doesn't keep the ceasefire
- The neighbor country doesn't keep the ceasefire
- Armenia recognizes NK as an official state
- They always break the ceasefire
- When we compromise they require more
- I will not be able to live with them
- We used to compromise from ancient times
- Armenians also want to establish independence in Crimea, it is their feature
- It is their feature
- The conflict will be still there even if Armenian army will be from this side and Azerbaijani from another
- We need our nation to live there comfortably
- There is no guarantee
- But it is dangerous
- The Armenians are educating their children against us
- They also justify it when their soldiers are coming to our side
- Genocide has been used towards us
- Even if we sign an ceasefire we are losing victims of our army and therefore peaceful way is not acceptable for us; by strengthening the army we should free our territories
- But we should remember historical events; Armenians can wage the war with us any minute
- This is not the resolution it will bring us to catastrophe
- Being unattended zone of NK is used for terrorist trainers base and also as drug trafficking zone
- We have devoted cold relationship to this issue
- I wonder whether Armenian youth is discussing this or not?
- We can not escape the war. It is very harmful to have radioactive means in NK
- The fact is that Karabakh is under Armenian's influence. Minsk Group can not influence Armenia
- According to Armenia legislation NK is a part of Armenia
- If we pop into the past – problems occurred many times between us and Armenians
- Azerbaijan doesn't recognize it's right in determining the destiny of NK. It's independence and the right of remaining under Armenia can not be supported by neither international organizations nor Azerbaijan
- We should not show our kind faces
- Azerbaijan doesn't realize it's right in determination the fate of NK
- Do we have a guarantee that Armenia will not attack us again?
- We will not be able to accept the reconciliation of negotiations after what Armenians did to us

- Millions of people became victims in NK
- The genocide that Armenians did to us they are trying to relocate to us
- No peace and no war situation can be
- Armenia wants Azerbaijan to weaken
- Even if the peace is regained the trust between the nations will not be rebuilt
- The Armenians will remain our enemies till the end
- At the moment the strength regulates the fair
- Occupation factor introduces Armenia as an aggressor
- If everything was resolvable on Azerbaijan and Armenian level we would have resolved it long ago
- Even if we live with Armenians we should not forget the past and what they have done to us in the past
- We know that Armenians are tricky
- We should accept Armenians as they are and influence them the same way
- The negotiates with Armenia doesn't give any result
- Simply Armenia Republic will not agree with this
- Armenian Republic is wishing to build big Armenian Republic
- land relations can be build with Armenia
- According to this offer we should forget about the past
- Armenians always escape of the discussions
- The society of our country is not prepared for this
- It is impossible to change the opinion of Armenians living in Karabakh
- If we decide to do everything peacefully Armenians will keep doing what they think
- There are no monuments of ours left there
- Because they cannot live with us peacefully
- Azerbaijanis can never live in Armenia
- We gave them everything but they were cheeky and will be staying cheeky
- Trust and mistrust is an issue in involvement of army and in this army no Armenian solders can be trusted.
- We lost our trust in Armenians in this matter
- I reckon we would not be able to live with Armenians together again. This is impossible.
- They have spilled so much blood. They also wouldn't like to live with us.
- In resolution of NK conflict we may not accept and agree neither of Armenian term. We are stronger and should show our strength if needed.
- English diplomat ones told that even if the Armenians are very polite and have a high culture they should never have a regulation on any other nation. This would be a tragedy for that nation.

Armenians trust Azerbaijanis

- Armenians and Azerbaijanis have lived like brothers... It is other people that made them fight.

- On the other hand, I don't believe that we cannot coexist in peace. Azerbaijanis have lived here and we have lived quite peacefully.
- The mothers of Armenia and Azerbaijan should start a dialogue since they are the ones that suffer most from the losses of war.
- Dialogues should be initiated not only by the presidents of the states, but also by public and cultural organizations. It is important that the peoples of our countries and not their leaders find a common language in the first place.
- We used to live as neighbors, didn't we?
- If Azerbaijan makes commitments and breaks them, it will lose its reputation in the eyes of the international community; therefore you cannot insist with 100% confidence that they will not keep their promises.
- In fact, we used to live quite peacefully with the Azerbaijanis. It's the government leaders that made all this mess: the people do not have anything to do with it.
- The people of Azerbaijan (and not Azerbaijan) do not want to restart the war.
- Why are you saying that we are incompatible? At the youth camp we were together with the Azerbaijanis and we communicated just fine...
- We are not against the Azerbaijani people, we are against the Azerbaijani policies that cultivate hostility between our peoples.

Azerbaijanis trust Armenians

- I would like them to live close to us.
- The previous relations should be rebuilt with Armenia.
- We should live with them.
- We should rebirth warm feelings toward Karabakh via social opinion.
- Due to them being neighbor nation we should get closer to them.
- I would never be aggressive if I meet with Armenian.
- Anyway Armenian is also a human.

There can be trust if ...

Armenians

- There is no unilateral solution to this problem: negotiations and compromise – that is the way.
- We have to have a clear understanding of what “compromise” means. We do not have guarantees that after our return we will live in peace, do we.
- I am unambiguously for negotiations, but negotiations should have their objective, and the objective should not be exclusion of war solely. It should be clear what we are giving away and what we will be gaining in return.
- Time is needed for the regular people of Azerbaijan to treat Armenians the way they used to, i.e. not with hostility.
- A hell of a time will be needed for the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis to live side by side.

- The time of compromise will come because we cannot resolve any issues without that. But we need guarantees.
- There was a time when the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis used to live together in good relationships as friends. This status could be resumed if the authorities did what they had to do.
- I am for good-neighbor relations.
- Has Azerbaijan ever tried to guarantee something in action but not in words...?
- We will agree with Azerbaijan only on one condition: that an Armenian area be created in Baku to accommodate the refugees, and that the refugees receive compensation for all their material losses.
- Whatever happens, we are neighbors and we are bound to live on together. But the decision of this issue will not be found for a long time...
- If I were a negotiator, I would say: "First of all, you must implement the Sevres Agreement. Later, we will decide whether we can trust your guarantees or not..."
- I believe if there are business relationships, breaking the ties with the Azerbaijanis altogether is impossible.
- There needs to be a dialogue between our young people.
- People say: "No matter how bad your neighbor is, you will have to put up with him".
- The minute we start trusting ourselves all the issues will be resolved! Our leaders should realize that as long as we have no trust in ourselves, our enemy will always defeat us from the inside, not the outside.
- We need several new generations to be able to communicate with the Azerbaijanis.
- We can be neighbors with the Turks, but never friends.
- The first condition for the amendment of the status quo is the establishment of trust between the two parties.
- Neighbors should be able to coexist. That is perceivable, and compromises will be needed. But their extremist views stand in the way of that. The international community must find a neutral solution to this conflict, even if it is a temporary one.
- We can be neighbors but we can never live together again...
- If Armenians were still living in Nakhijevan today, I would agree to trust Azerbaijan.
- Armenia and Turkey live in peace today, side by side, a hundred years past the massacres. The same period needs to pass in this case.
- Children leave their parents and go to live on their own. Why is it so complicated that we just want to live like neighbors?
- In foreign countries the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis are wonderful neighbors and maintain very good relationships. It is only on this piece of land that "our waters flow in different directions".
- We must try to normalize the relationships but we can't forget that the enemy is waiting for us with his jaws open.
- In order for this hostility to settle down we will need several generations.

- Actions are more important than words...
- If we are neighbors, if we are to live side by side, then we ought to make compromises
- For 96 years they have kept our lands for themselves. Let us keep our achievements for another 96 years and then we'll talk.
- You don't choose your neighbor. You reconcile yourself to your neighbor. Whether we want it or not, we will have to make a compromise.
- According to the fourth scenario, the lands should be returned gradually in order to have sufficient guarantees.
- This is our demand: if they guarantee that all our demands will be met, then we may give back some portions of those territories.
- Not even the Azerbaijani people's voice reaches the negotiation table. This is why we are so far from the solution of this problem.
- Aliyev should be told to plant good seeds on his land instead of fostering hostility.
- Because of the aggressive campaign launched by Azerbaijan two or three generations of Armenians and Azerbaijanis will still stay in hostility. We should do our best for peace to be preached in Azerbaijan as well.
- If two neighbors are not willing to greet each other in the morning, what kind of neighbors are they after all?
- Any problem is possible to resolve through negotiations and with compromise, but the resolution of this particular issue depends primarily on the compromises of the Azerbaijani party.
- The question is who will be the first to compromise.
- We are willing to make reasonable compromises.
- No results shall be attained without a compromise.
- I understand: we have shed blood, we have suffered, but we have to look at the situation realistically. Nothing is possible without a compromise.
- In terms of business, there is no more national discrimination in foreign countries.
- We are moving towards the resolution today. We are sitting here, discussing the issue, which means that we want our young people to be aware of the situation. We have one issue: how to make the Azerbaijani young people want to know more about us, too.
- Naturally, there should be compromises brought to the table of negotiations. If we do not yield anything, this problem will never be resolved.
- At any rate, both parties should make compromises. But in order to be able to do that, both nations should be aware of each other's pain and sorrow.
- We all know that there will be no solution without a compromise. But there needs to be definite understanding as to what kind of compromise that should be.

Azerbaijanis

- If he is an Azerbaijan citizen it doesn't depend on where you live the government of Azerbaijan should defend its citizens
- The time is required for emotions to get calm
- Armenians should see that we are tolerant
- Democracy means that the rights of society should be provided
- In order to extend the development of the country we should compromise
- There shouldn't be aggressive approach
- If we would like the resolution we should compromise
- The relationship between Azerbaijan and Armenia should be build on mutual understanding
- International Organizations are putting financial means aside in order to learn the folk's opinion to this problem. This is done massively so that people get colder and forget about this tragedy.
- In order to establish the peace we should compromise
- I reckon that the compromise with Azerbaijan should be based on wide cooperation
- If the cooperation if Armenia doesn't give us any use we should not be dependant on this cooperation
- This cooperation should be appraised by Azerbaijan from economical use perspective
- There should be a compromise
- But only after finding the needed resolution to the conflict we should start using the tolerant approaches more in resolution of the conflict
- Economical initiatives that should be triggered by Azerbaijan towards Armenia
- If we don't compromise for the certain level we will not be able to get a result
- If there is a peace Azerbaijanis and Armenians can live together
- As soon as Zangezur region was given to Armenia we again reconciled relationships with them
- There should be an attempt of compromise from both sides
- I am interested in social opinions of Armenia
- The capacity of this lies upon the young generation
- If we say that it should be only Azerbaijanis who should live in Karabakh that will not be correct
- The outcome is that each of us should develop himself and Armenians should have the same rights as we do
- Armenia has established relationship only with Azerbaijan and can discuss these cooperation opportunities
- Minsk Group should play the main role in resolution of the conflict and should present the precise method of resolution
- If Minsk Group can do nothing about it then it should be eliminated
- If the idea of Armenians change it is beneficial for us
- We want it to be as in 1987. We want the peaceful atmosphere.

- If there is a peace we should also give something
- The certain demands of Armenians should be accepted
- If the Armenian side compromises it means it will be possible to cooperate with them in different spheres as it used to be
- We should not negotiate with Armenia but directly with NK

Our trust and mistrust towards other actors

Armenians

- Guarantees will go no further than the paper, on which they are written down.
- I know one thing for sure: you have to rely on yourself. No international community will take care of you. In our days everyone is thinking about watering his own garden.
- Serbia won the war but the international community did everything to make them lose everything. Let us resolve this issue as quick as we can and not leave it for the international community to decide.
- We do not have any trust in the peacekeepers; we will have to protect our land ourselves.
- The role of the international institutions is very important to me, but their current operations should be reviewed.
- Those guarantors from aside are nothing. Agreements are often signed but they remain on the paper.
- We should not trust even the powerful states. Each of them has interests of its own that have nothing in common with our interests.
- I do not believe in international law or international community guarantees. My mistrust is proven by history.
- There used to live a guarantee and his name was Bush. Like Bush like his guarantees.
- We are letting the peacekeepers into a disarmed, demilitarized territory. This whole thing is gonna turn into another Abkhazian conflict. There are no guarantees.
- I particularly do not have any faith in other nations or peacekeepers.
- If the international community adopts a favorable approach to this issue, then the Armenians and Azerbaijanis will be able to coexist in peace side by side. But the thing is that the international community has adopted a policy of causing the neighboring nations to quarrel, so that the peoples of the region destroy each other.
- No higher guarantee can make this scenario tolerable.
- We cannot trust the international community because they have broken their promises many times. For instance, Stalin had signed an agreement of non-aggression but two months later he broke it. So how can we trust them?
- This was all organized by the government of the United States, I mean this discussion.

- We have come to the conclusion that the people of Karabakh and America cannot be trusted.
- No guarantees should be trusted.
- Frankly speaking, we need no NATO, no KATO. We are our own power.
- We have to hold tight “the tail of Ivan”, I mean Russia. I have no trust in the fifth scenario either. There is nothing acceptable in it.
- If the English ships did not climb our mountains... Now what? The mountains got flatter? The mountains turned into sea? No, brother, we should rely only on ourselves and not on foreigners...
- The stronghold of the Republic of Armenia can only be Russia. The current situation should be maintained. Nagorni Karabakh is already an independent state and a peace agreement should be signed. The international organizations as well as the governments of foreign countries are interested in Nagorni Karabakh, which means that its development is possible.
- It has always been in the interest of the greater nations to “kill an entire bull from the herd of the smaller nation just to make a mouthful of barbeque”.
- We have not learnt our lesson. The powerful states have always acted in their own benefit but they have tried to assure us that they care for us. Nonetheless, we still stretch our hand out for help and expect that Europe will help us.
- We have seen what happened to Serbia. How can we trust the international powers?
- Trusting any kind of guarantees is simply foolish.
- Even if Azerbaijan accepts the status of Nagorni Karabakh, there are no guarantees that the war will not recommence.
- Phony policies, fake promises... you shouldn't believe anyone of those.
- The conflict of Nagorni Karabakh will be solved the way America and Russia want it. What's the point in expressing our views and opinions? We are not the decision makers anyway.
- The greater states will always support Azerbaijan because of the oil.
- Three people annihilated a powerful empire overnight turning socialism into capitalism. Why would we then rely on others...
- Even the signing of a peace agreement will not eliminate the risk of restarting the war. We should always be prepared for war.
- Turkey will always induce Azerbaijan to start war.
- There are no guarantees that the powerful states are going to support us.
- History has given us an exactly similar situation when in the face of the international community they recognized our sovereignty, but in reality it turned out to be a totally different situation. We cannot trust them.
- The events in Sumgayit took place when we were still within the Soviet Union. They just massacred those people. No promise, no guarantee should be trusted.
- We will have the same scenario replayed again. We cannot weaken our safety zone.
- International powers are in no circumstances to be trusted. It would be better if the supervision were carried out by the forces of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

- The powerful states normally support the stronger one in a fight. The weaker one is always at fault.
- Has Turkey paid its dues for our lands? Why would we believe in any kinds of guarantees now?
- What guarantees? Which one of the guarantees has been kept so far?
- The international community has given a lot of promises but has never kept them and will never do.
- You can't trust the international forces either. Let us recall the precedent of Cyprus. They will close their eyes because it is the oil interest talking.
- Excuse my French, Turkey and Azerbaijan are the same shit for me. But I'd rather Turkey not interfere with this issue.
- There are no guarantees that the roads will be opened.
- Scenario 4 is the replication of 1918. There will come another Russia and within one night will append Karabakh to Azerbaijan by force.
- What powers will back up the aforementioned guarantees? It is impossible.
- Experience has shown that the international community is unable to stand as a guarantor in a conflict like this.
- We trust neither Azerbaijan, nor the peacekeepers. The peacekeepers are not going to protect us. They will support Azerbaijan. Remember the operation "KOLTSO" (Circle)?
- This will eventually become Scenario 3. We don't need our neighbors to be the Turks. Neither the peacekeepers are going to protect us.
- We have seen the benefits of international peacekeepers once. We haven't been able to overcome those "benefits" so far. Enough is enough.
- Russian peacekeepers have done nothing to prevent Sumgayit massacres
- We don't trust the peacekeepers. Our protector is our army.
- Even with international guarantees the Azerbaijanis' tribal instincts will prevail. Their ethnic character will never change.
- The Turks are developing their policies towards the possibility that if the peacekeepers arrive here they will bribe them immediately.
- We do not trust the international community either. They do not possess the power to protect us. What are you suggesting; that we give up our army? Who is it that resolves his family issues through the help of his neighbors?
- The fourth scenario is a completeeeeeee fox-play.
- We don't need the international community or their opinion!
- Legal recognition or independence? These two concepts are in conflict, but only apparently. If we give way to this deception, we will fall into the trap.
- This is reminiscent of the Zeytun Treaty of 1862. Where are the Armenians of Zeytin now?
- The Russians have once acted as peacekeepers. We saw exactly what happened.
- Weren't those peacekeepers located in Turkey back then when they carried out the massacre of the Armenians?

- We had peacekeepers here some time ago. I don't remember the color of their caps. They would capture our youngsters and throw to jail. Instead of helping us they were harming us even more.
- We have suffered every time when relying on foreign countries. Let us take care of ourselves this time and we'll see that everything will be just fine.
- Global humanistic development is unrealistic. That cannot support us.
- Historically, we have always lost when relying on external assistance. But if we have trusted in our own powers we have won. This war was also won that way.
- Scenario 4 is acceptable, provided that safety be guaranteed by the international community and not by Azerbaijan.
- The contradictions between the powerful states are great. Karabakh is determining the pro-Russian or pro-American orientation of Armenia.
- We should not trust the peacekeepers. Our forces, that's who we should rely on.
- For centuries we have been knocking on the doors of other states, forgetting that to resolve their own problems those states usually surrender others' staff. And the others have always been us.
- The conflict of Nagorni Karabakh is a trap fabricated by the greater states in order to get control of Southern Caucasus. We will have to use the right kingdoms to resolve our issues rely on Russia, for instance, given that our interests are similar. Turkey is not for war either because it has internal issues of its own.
- We need a reconciliation agreement, which would be guaranteed internationally.
- The world is interested in peace in our region so that oil is safe; therefore the factor of war should be excluded.
- Even if our relationships with Turkey are improved, they won't exceed in closeness and friendliness the Azerbaijan-Turkey relationships.
- The resolution of the Nagorni Karabakh conflict is greatly dependent on the position of the greater states that need weaker states in our region today.
- Sooner or later there will be a change in the interests of the greater states associated with the oil of Azerbaijan.
- Problems are created by the peacekeepers themselves. Look at the example of Iraq.
- The important thing is HOW we interpret the word "guarantees".
- We are not the least interested in the opinion of the international structures. The important thing is that we benefit. Besides, the experience of other countries has shown that the international structures are not helping.
- The international community will not be doing anything, that's a lie...
- Smaller states resolve their issues with the help of the bigger states. We must create such relationships with external powers as to make them act in favor of pro-Armenian resolutions.
- The thesis about the "ball being on the territory of Turkey" is false. They have scored so many goals that it is advantageous for them "to play the ball around on their territory".
- The picture changes when we look at Turkey and Azerbaijan as one entity.

- Theoretically, all the states are adversaries; therefore the involvement of peacekeepers will not resolve any issues.
- If the agreement is cancelled in Azerbaijan and the war recommences, the availability of the peacekeepers will not be a requisite condition for restoration of order. They may go away. Besides, they cannot provide a long-term solution to this particular problem.
- If there is going to be a compromise, then the guarantees should be long-term given that the peacekeepers cannot serve a guarantee. Moreover, one day they may become partial to the conflict.
- The guarantees contained in Scenario 5 are insufficient. That is why the status quo is a better option.
- Europe will protect us...
- What did Europe do fifteen years ago? Why are you anticipating that it will do something now?
- You are telling me that Azerbaijan will start fighting with Russia and Europe, and I'm telling you never to put your hopes on somebody else. No one has benefited from that!
- To me, the Minsk Group is operating to postpone the solution of the Karabakh issue rather than propose a concrete way out.
- At certain levels we are being manipulated by the international community. The more people get involved in this issue, the later it will be solved.
- The international community always existed; yet it did not prevent the Genocide.
- In my personal perspective, after what happened to Yugoslavia, nobody is to be trusted.
- I agree that the foreign countries do have power to guarantee the safety of the weak.
- If we open the border with Turkey, the Turks will control the entire trade.
- How can we talk the world into rejecting oil and focusing on the human values? It can't be done.
- Azerbaijan is focusing on the policy of Turkey, and the Turkish diplomats are highly experienced.
- If the Russians decide to support us, we will have no problems...
- Will the international community get tired of the problem of Nagorni Karabakh one day? What will happen then?
- I think that the interference of the greater states will only postpone the resolution of this problem.
- If the international community were good enough, they would have made Turkey return our lands long ago.
- One question: aren't there any impartial people in this world? How can a peacekeeper not be neutral?
- We do not need the super nations to interfere with this issue. It would be better if we received aid from our Diaspora and got united.
- If the Armenian forces are removed, who will be protecting our borders?

- Practically, with this scenario we are inviting a third country to come forth and carry out the observation of reciprocal commitments.
- Depending on what particular interests the super nations have at this or that moment, they either support the Armenians or act totally against our interests.
- I get the impression that the international community is not interested to see this problem solved. Whenever it is in their interest, they can manipulate the conflict of Karabakh.
- The Armenian issue is still only on paper.
- We must be strong to spite the western countries.
- No international organization can understand our pain and suffering.
- Why are they bringing in the factor of Turkey? They are clearly making this issue a precondition for opening the border. They are trying to make us forget that it were the Turks who closed the border.
- Our weakness would be beneficial for our confederates in the first place, because that way it would be easier to control us. We should rely only on ourselves and not let anybody fool us around.
- If we do not resolve our issues, nobody will. Waiting for help is unreasonable.
- The difference between us and the Azerbaijanis is that they are very-very patient. They will wait for centuries to get what they want, whereas we are impatient. We want it now, that is why we dance to the pipe of other nations.
- How can the international community prevent them from tyrannizing us? There is not a single mechanism for that. Which are the states or the nations that the international community has saved so far?
- Iraq was also an internationally recognized state. See what they did to it? Becoming an internationally recognized state will not solve the problem of our security.
- The last two scenarios definitely involve strategies of getting ready for war.
- One of the reasons that this conflict cannot be resolved so far is that policies are established by the powerful states. Also, because oil is too important today.
- If the international community decides to intervene, they will take Azerbaijan's side. We don't need them.
- The international community knows quite well that we are already an existing state. They can arrive and see it with their own eyes. However, that option is not what they really want, therefore there is no need for them to come. They do not support us.
- The issue of Nagorni Karabakh is going to be resolved according to the wish of the powerful states, and they will be supporting Azerbaijan.
- Who listened to Iraq's point of view? Will anybody listen to ours?
- Even the wealthiest people in Armenia and Nagorni Karabakh are reluctant to make investments in Armenia or Karabakh. Why are we expecting that others will do what we are not willing to do for ourselves?
- We are providing for our security with our own resources. We don't need any peacekeepers. A stranger will never understand our pain. If there is a need, we will amend the age and deadlines for conscription but we will protect our own borders ourselves.

- Peacekeeper forces are a fake-out. Every nation has to rely on its own army for its security.
- Let me say my final word: we keep our lands and we don't need any peacekeepers.
- We are willing to accept any solution provided that it is our own solution. In the meantime, we are not even ready for peace if that peace is forced by external powers.
- If they don't stand in our way, we will be able to build quite an appropriate state.
- All economic aid arrives to Karabakh through Armenia, meaning that Armenia is providing for all of that. Yet the international community does not take into account that Armenia is responsible for the significant portion of that aid.
- Aliyev Junior told Medvedev: "I give you oil, you give me Karabakh." This is how Russia started supporting Karabakh.
- The further from the global events, the more peaceful our life will be.
- Are there any scenarios in your file that have been written by Armenians? Are all of your scenarios written down by the Azerbaijanis?
- A new scenario needs to be developed, but it should be drafted by Armenians and for Armenians.
- Are our leaders discussing this type of scenarios during their meetings? Aaaaah, I see. Maybe that is the reason that we are in this kind of situation today.
- The greatest hazard today comes from the super powerful states rather than Azerbaijan.
- Do you think it is really possible that the world acknowledge the independence of the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh and, in the meantime, necessitate that we live peacefully side by side with the Azerbaijanis?
- Turkey has not given us back a single inch of land from Western Armenia. Yet it has been recognized internationally. In time our issue will get resolved, too.
- The operation of the international organizations is aimed at talking us into giving back those territories.
- Today Armenia and Azerbaijan are not conducting any bilateral negotiations: third and fourth parties also have their own interests in this issue and those interests are not always coincidental with our interests.
- Azerbaijan's "mandate" is their oil, we don't have any factors like that. We are like a bone wedged in somebody's throat.
- We have to make use of the factor of Russia while we are considered their loyal partner. Some day that status may change given Russia's extensive interest in Azerbaijan's oil.
- I fought for four years. The soldiers fighting against us were: Russians and Ukrainians in the front line, and only after them – the Azerbaijanis.
- If they bring the border closer, what guarantees can there be?
- The most important thing in the resolution of our issue is the geographic and political interest of the greater states.
- Yugoslavia lost everything; it fell into pieces and became a state that is even weaker than we are.

- Bilateral consent will provide an opportunity to resolve this issue peacefully. Any other intervention will give the opposite results.
- Karabakh will be used in geopolitical games.
- The world will develop toward humanity and will support the newly independent states.
- Do you think it would be easier to resolve this issue in Soviet times? Then why wasn't it resolved?
- Everyone is already tired of us and our problems. Only we will be resolving this issue.
- Why do all these scenarios contain the same idea that we should first surrender and give back lands, and then Azerbaijan will decide what to do?
- The past 20 years have shown that we do not need Europe or any other regions acknowledge our independence. We can take care of ourselves quite alright.
- We know our problems better than anyone else and we know their solutions better than anyone else, too. We don't need anybody's interference.
- Up to this date, the negotiations have been totally useless. I am not sure if this is some kind of a game or if we are trying to deceive ourselves.
- What do we imply by saying "international community"? When one state recognizes Karabakh's independence, does that mean that the entire international community accomplished its work?...
- The question arises about how we introduce this situation to the international community. Therefore, we should select an adequate form of presentation.
- The armies of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Nagorni Karabakh should protect our security. No other nations will do that.
- We will select an option, but will our decision truly reach where it needs to? This whole thing is just a spectacle!
- It was the policy of our country for the past 15-17 years that led to a situation where we who are the winners are asking Azerbaijan to arrive at a common resolution and are saying that we are ready to compromise.
- This is what we really want; yet to get to that point we need tough and formidable diplomacy and not just "kicking the ball around". Do you understand me?

Azerbaijanis

- It is only Turkey who wants this matter to be resolved
- Russia wants the conflict to be resolved peacefully but from other hand is providing with weapon
- The international organizations are requiring to compromise
- Nobody can guarantee that these events will not reoccur
- The discussions should be carried out between Azerbaijan and Armenia, there is no need in 3rd party
- Russia is interested in this conflict
- Minsk Group is performing from mono-position
- Turkish co-chairman should be added to the group

- At the moment Armenia gets support from Iranian and American Congress
- We have lost the trust to discussions
- Russia simply has lost
- Currently Armenia gets support from big states
- Armenia also gets support from foreign states
- A few big states are interested in this conflict and their wish is to give this territory to Armenia
- There are states that want Christian states in particular to strengthen in Caucuses
- We are in a depending position on foreign organizations
- In general even if Azerbaijan is having preference it is reckoned as lost party
- This is beneficial to 3rd interested parties
- The elimination of the conflict is beneficial to Russia, USA and also to France
- There is no state that wants democracy on Caucuses
- We are small toys of big games
- Nobody knows who will control the implementation of these clauses?
- We know pretty well that world is supporting them
- We remember the 4th agreement of United Nations Organizations. These agreements don't work for anything
- I would offer to refuse from mediation from Minsk Group side.
- To be presented to UN mediation. The interference and mediation of UN to resolution of the conflict increases the possibility of resolution of the conflict in the frame of Azerbaijan's interests.
- Armenians get the support from different organizations
- Armenia gets all this support secretly as well as open
- There various people coming from different countries to NK
- These offers are not part of real discussions
- Debates are kept in secret
- Everything should be resolved via Russia
- The relationships of the past century were built based on Russia
- But Russia and Iran should not interfere to this
- This is the problem of ours and Armenia
- Armenia is a small country but there are very strong countries like Russia standing behind her
- The NK conflict is interesting to Russia
- Russia used to supply Armenia with weapons
- The position in which Russia in any way can assist Armenia intensifies the situation
- Offer – to change the bord of Minsk Group
- Russia military supplies Armenia
- Heads of the countries are responsible in resolving the conflicts
- Russia has one side oriented position
- USA has double sided position
- The military support supply by Russia to Armenia complicates the situation

- Imagine that we establish a new group and explain this conflict to new board members and drag this issue another 5 years
- International organizations and countries are not interested in resolution of the conflict
- It is not easy to gain Iran's trust
- Keeping the situation like this is required for G8
- International Organizations are keeping to resolve the conflict only because of their image
- If there is not a force from a side and above on Armenians they may be friendly with Azerbaijanis
- Russia is involved in this chaos
- We should separate Armenia from Russia
- We should balance the relationship with Russia and try to resolve the issue together with them
- We should arrange for balanced politics with unusual states in neighborhood
- In resolution of this matter there is USA in front of Russia and Russia in front of USA
- Nagorno Karabakh is a trump for big states
- Armenia? Armenian lobby? We are fighting with Armenia who in its turn is a plaything for powerful states. If we are as weak as Armenia this option can be suitable for us.
- Today Turkey supports the economical relationship with Armenia
- The relationships with Russia should be more strengthened
- If we want world countries to support us we should stronger spread a note about Azerbaijan
- This will influence the matter of attraction of foreign investments for 10-15 years and in particular Russian investments
- Such countries as Russia, France, and others are using Armenians as a plaything
- The remaining of the conflict in this condition is beneficial for Russia
- We should resolve the matter with Russia not Armenia
- We by force should agree that this conflict is under the management of the foreign countries
- What are the aspects burdening the implementation of the agreements
- The conflict should be resolved between 2 states
- When Armenia doesn't obey the rules of agreement means that it relies upon somebody
- During the visit of the region firstly Armenia is visited and then Azerbaijan
- It has been 17-18 years since Minsk Group is working in the region, works according to dual standard
- Nagorno Karabakh gets support from world states secretly
- Since establishment of Minsk Group no work has been carried out
- We don't need the relationship with Nakhchivan and the latest political discussions showed that we should discuss the issue with Russia
- International organizations can not accept the fact of NK becoming independent

- International organizations pretend being busy
- Minsk Group is in charge of it for 17 years but still no result
- Russia causes burdens on the way of the fair resolution of the conflict
- The agreement of UN Organization doesn't really work. Meetings don't bring any result
- Other forces are postponing the influence of Turkey in resolution of this conflict
- The countries comprised by United Nations Organization are recognizing the sovereignty of the countries
- The discussions with Armenia should stop and start with Russia
- The main invader is Russia
- Russia will not let it happen
- We are fighting against Russia but not Armenia.
- Here are the investments of big countries.
- Azerbaijan should regulate the relations with Russia, Iran, Turkey, France, and USA.
- Russia needs the chaos in Caucasus.
- It is mandatory that we gain Iran's help on resolution of the conflict.
- Russians are involved in our extermination.
- International society should increase its pressure to Armenia.
- The resolution of the problem depends on Russia.
- It should be compliant with decrees of United Nations Organization.
- We are unhappy with the Minsk Group activities.
- Azerbaijan can find a way of resolution with Armenia without interference of any other country
- Why are we always using Armenia but not Russia's name in these scenarios?
- The activity of the Minsk group is useless.
- All the international organizations do their best but still there is no result.
- Peter the first told that: Turks are our enemy.

Other trust related opinions

Armenians

- In neither of these scenarios does Azerbaijan forfeit anything. We have taken everything we want long ago.
- We insist on our views and the Azerbaijanis insist on theirs. This issue cannot be resolved without external assistance.
- We cannot just give away the achievements of the past twenty years to be gone with the wind.
- When somebody wants to marry a girl, they ask the girl's opinion. Now we are leaving the girl's views aside and are trying to marry her upon her parents' consent: but this will not bring her happiness.
- Will the Azerbaijanis consent to the third scenario?

- In any case, there are no guarantees that the Armenians will be able to live in peace with the Azerbaijanis.
- Why are you so confident that the opening of the Turkish-Armenian border will not give rise to other security issues?
- I will never forget how my nephew went to war in Karabakh and died.
- Until 1918 there was not even such word as "Azerbaijan". Now they are saying "It's all ours"...
- There are no permanent friends: especially in politics. We have to come to our senses.
- The Azerbaijanis are highly revengeful. As opposed to them the Armenians are merciful and forgiving. This is a major issue.
- You have to keep the Turks in apprehension and fear.
- This is going to be another Arab-Israeli war...
- It's like in the fairy-tale about the stupid peasant: by the time the horse (Armenians) moves one leg, second leg, third leg, fourth leg, the peasant (Azerbaijanis) skip doing one-two, one-two... We are too slow, whereas we need lightening speed and flexible mind to be successful in our diplomacy.
- Vazgen Sargsyan used to say: "People, the war is not over yet". If we keep the lands as a guarantee, it means we are engaging in "corruption".
- There will be no compromises! We have already given up our best territories.
- What are they giving up for us to be thinking about compromises on our part?
- For a hundred years Turkey has not submitted anything to us. Why would we be giving them anything?
- If we start discussing to give or not to give, Azerbaijan will sure start a new war.
- Today both the Greeks and the Balkan states are claimants. The same will be with us.
- While the president is Aliyev, we must haste to get the problem resolved. As time goes by, it will be more difficult.
- They are far more far-sighted than us, but Aliyev Junior wants much to be desired as compared to his father. That one was a real fox, but his son is just a power monger, he's weak. We must take advantage of this drawback.
- This is the same situation as the one with two neighbors who fight over a piece of land plot. The stronger wins the argument.
- Napoleon once said: "No matter if we acknowledge the sun or not, it will always rise". No more words to add.
- If there is a fight between neighbors and blood is shed, one of them should leave.
- Who said that Azerbaijan can scare us and we cannot?
- Armenians are always Armenians: we do not like each other; we treat one another as if we were total strangers...
- You have to kiss the hand that you cannot cut off. For how long?...
- A stupid person learns from his own mistakes, a smart person learns from the mistakes of the others. We will just have to decide whether we are smart or stupid.

- We are now helping the Azerbaijanis to clear Karabakh of the Armenians. We allocate lands for the people of Karabakh, but they move to Armenia, settle there and leave their own land unattended.
- We have to rely on ourselves. When will we realize at last that no Russians and no Yankees are going to protect us? Don't you remember the history of Syunik?
- My grandchild is growing without his father. His father was killed at war. Now, even if you offer him the best things in the world, he will want to take up arms. Blood has memory...
- If Azerbaijan does not create any problem, Nagorni Karabakh will, given that the two states along with their people are at totally different levels.
- We do not know the Azerbaijanis. We are not familiar with their literature and culture, which is why we talk unaware.
- When you go to ask somebody's hand in marriage, you are at least 30% sure that the girl will say "yes". Apparently, Azerbaijan has certain confidence with regards to Scenario 2.
- This way or the other, there will always be fighting between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis. The further the border is, the better.
- The Turks are cowards. No matter how well they develop or proliferate, nonetheless we are stronger!
- Now the Turks are more afraid of us than we are of them.
- If the Azerbaijani refugees come back, will we be able to coexist in peace?
- It would be good if we were friends with the Azerbaijanis as before. We would continue coming and going, marrying, living jointly... But that is not possible any more...
- You are asking: "Can you live a normal life side by side (with the Azerbaijanis). We don't need any "can you" s. We need stability.
- Any Turk that comes back and sees his home in rubble will say: Armenians are my enemies. Every repatriated Turk will say and think that way.
- Not all the Muslims are the same: for instance the Persians and the Arabs have helped us a lot when the Turks were chasing us through the death desert of Der-Zor. Our real enemies are the Turks.
- Second scenario contains some of Azerbaijan's reveries. Let them dream on...
- Even husbands and wives get divorced after living together for many years and discovering that they cannot go on like that. Now we want to divorce the Azerbaijanis...
- They never consider what regular people think. What can we do...?
- The Turks of Baku do not want war: it's the peasants that want it.
- The powerful states do not need the Karabakh conflict to be resolved.
- Only the Armenian forces can keep Karabakh; no other nation can do that.
- First of all, we will have to arrive at a common agreement. We must have guarantees for uniting, we need economic power.
- We should rely on ourselves. Nobody will resolve our problems for us.
- Azerbaijan has specific national program in its policy.

- This is probably for the first time in history that we live a slightly better life. We are the winners in the war; we finally have an independent state. Why would we let them come back and fill these places again?
- What about Shoushi? We were planning to make Shoushi a Pan-Armenian center again. With this scenario Shoushi will go back to them...
- According to the territorial principle of Azerbaijan, "he who makes a compromise is a BETRAYER".
- Armenia keeps giving up its lands. Western Armenia was surrendered. What else do they want from us?
- What is the Karabakhis themselves decide at the last moment to vote in the referendum for being within the structure of Azerbaijan?
- It is history that gives birth to different kinds of policies. We must learn our lesson from our history; likewise our actions should be based on our history.
- Have we heard or do we know what these Madrid Principles are? What are our leaders discussing? What kind of feedback do they expect from us when we have no idea which territories they are negotiating about? How can we believe them and give our lands up?
- A matter of religion? No, there is no such thing. There is an issue between two nations.
- Territorial integrity? Yeah, but who said that we have trespassed their territories? Let them stay integrated on their territory but stay away from ours.
- Even in its dreams Azerbaijan will not accept the third scenario.
- The third scenario is not realistic because they are not ready for any compromise.
- On the 20th day of the month we entered Fizuli. On the same day our TV stations were broadcasting that the Turks are already in Kapan. This is all propaganda. One should not take it for granted...
- We keep talking about mutual compromise. Why doesn't Turkey think about giving us our historic lands after so many killings?
- If the third scenario is adopted and our achievements are compared to theirs, they are in a better position.
- You are talking only about Armenian compromises.
- The important thing is the trust in our authorities. Like in a family.
- No matter how long we keep discussing, this issue, it will not be resolved by regular people. If our government decides to submit the territories, no one will be able to do anything.
- Every nation should rely solely on the power of its own biceps. Otherwise, it is a lost nation...
- What will the Azerbaijanis' compromise be?
- Once we have already submitted Nakhijevan and have not received any compensation in return.
- Let the road of Turkey and Azerbaijan stay closed for us. No big deal! The roads of Iran and Georgia are sufficient for us.
- We are the ones to ensure our own safety. No one else will do that.

- We will always be able to ensure our security. That is our own problem that no stranger will resolve for us.
- I cannot tell what will happen in ten years from now.
- The most important thing for us is the referendum. Considering that all the political powers have extensive experience in forging the results, I am not sure that the referendum will really express the will of the people.
- Everyone wants a job today. But in fact what they want is a high position in the government. Nobody really wants to bring back our lands. Whom are we accusing?
- The only guarantee of our safety is our army. We cannot afford disbanding our army. We should have a solidary, unified army without any territorial specifications like guys from Karabakh, guys from Leninakan or guys from God knows where else...
- We do not have a greater guarantee than our army.
- Our only guarantee is our army. There are no alternatives.
- A border has to be a border not a trench for the soldiers...
- Azerbaijan's military budget is around one and a half billion and it is still growing.
- Our security is protected by our army. We are fully satisfied with that.
- If Azerbaijan's president agrees to surrender Nagorni Karabakh, his people will think he is a betrayer. Same here.
- Whenever other countries negotiate, the leaders of the conflicting parties are always participating. Why do they ignore the position of our president? Who said that we want to join Armenia or that we share Armenia's views? Maybe we want to remain independent? Why don't they consider OUR point of view?
- Even if we had Switzerland instead of Azerbaijan, we wouldn't be willing to live within the structure of that state. We are one nation (Armenian) and we want to be within one state (Armenia).
- If we give back those territories, nobody will stay here. People will leave.
- They have abandoned the entire territory of Western Armenia. Did they give us back our lands? Will they ever do that? What is there that keeps us away from holding those territories?
- Our mistake was that we never raised the question of our lands. The Azerbaijanis raised this issue as one of their lands; therefore the international community accepted it as the territorial issue of the Azerbaijanis.
- Azerbaijan is trying to utilize old methods to resolve this issue. The Soviet Union has long collapsed, there are no more fifteen brotherly republics; therefore Aliyev should accept us as an independent unit.
- They are ignoring the people's opinion. This is just eye-wash.
- They have persuaded the international community that Armenia has occupied the territory of Azerbaijan. In reality it is just a safety zone.
- Should Aliyev and Sargsyan publicize the details of their meetings, none of them would be elected at the following elections.

- Currently, there is a campaign that Azerbaijan is developing economically with greater capacity than Armenia. In reality, we don't know if that is true or false.
- Today's situation contains every kind of uncertainty.
- It is an utterly complicated situation. We don't know what to expect tomorrow. Even if the issue of our status is resolved, we have no idea about the future of our children.
- Even if you hang yourself or kill yourself, the result will be the same...
- Politicians should listen to us instead of playing games behind the closed doors.
- The border with Turkey is still closed but we do have certain relationships with them at different levels, don't we.
- Even if the Turks do not recognize us, we won't be losing anything and we won't be gaining anything; therefore, we are not yielding!
- Our status should be determined only by us.
- We are our biggest guarantor. No peacekeepers!
- No one will protect our land better than us.
- I don't believe this scenario. What exactly is Azerbaijan's compromise in this scenario? Its "goodwill"?
- During the former discussions like this you had better scenarios. I was hoping this time they would be even more improved, but I see certain regress. Your scenarios show an impact of the Azerbaijani propaganda.
- We will protect our country with our army.
- We will have peace for as long as we have a mighty army. In the issue of our own protection we are going to be ALONE ...
- I saw nowhere in these scenarios that the people of Karabakh could voice their will. Aren't we of any significance in those negotiations?
- Our president knows better how to resolve this issue. We trust him. He will not submit anything and there will be no war! The current situation will continue.
- What is the use of this discussion if this thing will get to our diplomats and get stuck there? Our diplomacy has always been defeatist.
- It is the power embedded in our nation that can have the issue resolved in our favor. The leaders do not have that power.
- In this situation we don't have anyone we could trust, listen to, believe or be guided by, someone who could bring us all together to focus on a single integral idea.
- Today there are no adequate conditions for our young people to get married and have more than one child. Given that, there will be no Armenian families left in Karabakh tomorrow.
- The media of the Republic of Armenia and those of Azerbaijan broadcast controversial information. The people in Vardenis receive Azerbaijani broadcasting, too.
- Eventually, we will have to live on, even if we have to make compromises.
- This kind of discussions should be organized in Azerbaijan. It is through such discussions that they should decide the future of Karabakh.
- Regardless of what we want, there are ratified paragraphs that we have to accept.

- Any conflict has the ways of its resolution. In order to speed up the ten-year negotiations we could involve Karabakh as a party to the discussions.
- Today our people are not well-informed and the information rendered to the people is forged. Therefore, people have a misunderstanding of this issue and the solution is deterred.
- I know for sure that the younger people of Azerbaijan are not interested in those territories at all.
- I have a concern about whether this discussion will ever reach its purpose.
- Let us tell Matthew Bryza that the options he is proposing will be unacceptable as long as he is here.
- The Americans may tell everybody else that this was the result of discussions by the Armenian people.
- No matter what the state tries to do, young people are disposed against Armenia and that is a situation that cannot be changed within a decade.
- If our national diplomacy were carried out by the right people, there would be no need for these discussions. The same assertion refers to other sectors as well. If power within the country were in the hands of intelligent people, many issues would have been resolved without such debates.
- This is not an issue for Karabakh and the Karabakhi people alone. The entire Armenian people have fought for Karabakh and continue to input efforts in that direction.
- You are asking us about what we want. Have you asked the people of Karabakh what they want?
- We have to weigh thoroughly what we lose and what we gain from those compromises. A man with a full belly thinks no one is hungry. It is the people and not the presidents who decide how to solve this problem.
- Let the people of Karabakh decide if they can survive without Armenia or not.
- Did you ask Karabakh what they want?
- It is the experts who must provide their opinion about the regulation of the Karabakh conflict. For regular people it is a complicated issue.
- One of the reasons of this procrastinated solution is that Nagorni Karabakh is not a party to the negotiations.
- First of all, we would have to ask the people of Karabakh whether they want to join (Armenia) or be on their own. After that, we will make this scenario more precise and will move ahead "like donkeys" until we get what we want.
- We are judging about this situation only from our own perspective, but we should also consider the situation from the Azerbaijan's point of view.
- We are not good players in this game. It is unfortunate, but we have no idea what they are negotiating about...
- Whether to give Karabakh or not is to be decided by the people of Nagorni Karabakh.
- On the one hand we are saying that the people should decide their fate, on the other hand we are saying that only Armenia should be supporting this process. I see a casus here...

- Do not ask us what to do. The people of Nagorni Karabakh should say what to do. Why should we decide for others?
- If they are asking us what to do, we let them do as they please.
- This issue is not for us to resolve, but for the people of Nagorni Karabakh. Their first president should have resolved it.
- I say, we are discussing their issue here, but the Karabakhis are able to solve their problems quite alright!
- First of all, I do not accept the idea of absolutely confidential diplomacy.
- There are too many parties nowadays and they are too diverse. When we want to resolve an issue, we go and open a new party instead of looking for those ones that are familiar with that issue and have been dealing with it for a long time. Perhaps that is the reason that we have not been able to reach a consensus, even in the question of Karabakh, to be able to develop a uniform program or strategy.
- Is this some kind of a bazaar? Are we trading anything?
- Why aren't we discussing the scenarios that are most convenient for us, an option that provides us with what we want?
- The primary guarantee of our success will come when Nagorni Karabakh is once again admitted as a party to the negotiations. Only then we can talk about development.
- I want to understand, why all of a sudden they became interested in our opinion: have they started to pay attention to what we are saying or they have signed something already and are now interested to find out our reaction?

Azerbaijanis

- The historians also are guilty in this situation
- We find an excuse for everything
- Azerbaijan has a shortage of political belief
- When I went to NK in 1988 it seemed like I was in Armenia
- There is everything except of political belief in Azerbaijan
- Azerbaijan is development and its importance is growing
- Since the Akhundov period the titles were Azerbaijani
- The events linked to Ramil Safarov
- There is such a place in Budapest where the heads of male monuments are cut off by Osmands
- NK never participates in vitally important discussions; Armenia leads all the discussions and comes up with a decision for NK and this is not acceptable
- I think Armenians should pay us remuneration
- The one that is suffering doesn't dictate its terms whereas the one who makes others suffer dictates its terms
- One of the important things is balanced politics and folk's opinion and sustainability of this politics.
- Azerbaijan always did special discounts to Armenia

- We should look at the things from the Armenian perspective
- Azerbaijan's position is stronger at international arena now
- Azerbaijan is acting strictly in resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict but there is no result yet
- Armenian Diasporas work more intensive than ours
- Who should be the consistent part.
- In reality Armenian Diaspora is weak.
- Each president in Armenia says what he reckons and therefore you cannot rely on them
- Azerbaijan state should not hide the negotiations from its citizens.
- According to this option there is no possibility to establish the relationship with Armenians and to win them over to our side, from another hand the folk starts to trust its state and therefore this option may be very difficult for us.
- In politics we should don't change the color we should change the location.
- This conflict is already in our blood.
- The resolution of the problem is much closer with an effective political approach from Azerbaijan perspective.
- Nobody except of ourselves can help and support us in resolution of the conflict.
- Turkey is announcing genocide and it has nothing to lose but our situation is a bit different.
- It is state owners that establish such situations.
- 2 parts are giving different ideas.
- Azerbaijan has to be in charge.
- There is also a conflict between Armenia and NK.
- There is a tense between the population of Armenia and people living in NK.
- We used to such problems historically.
- Indian organizations are looking for gold in Kalbajar.
- The Christian propaganda is running in Azerbaijan.
- We don't have team spirit.
- There is a feeling that all the clauses are to the benefit of Armenia.
- Armenians themselves are in the regretful position.
- As soon as we establish peace Armenia should leave the contradictions with other neighbor countries.
- Armenian Diaspora should not interfere to the business of Armenia and create conflicts.
- Azerbaijan is negotiating with Armenia not with NK as its a part of Azerbaijan already.
- Is there any reason for us to discuss these scenarios?
- The scenarios with regards to resolution of this conflict should be prepared on state level
- The discussions about this scenario means that we should discuss not the resolution of the conflict but the harm that will be caused by the parties
- The aim of these discussions is to get information about the relationship of the society

- From the list of the 5 offered scenarios the 4 scenarios are beneficial to Armenia and only 1 to Azerbaijan
- We should support our president as one nation
- The base of everything is propaganda
- There is no patriotism in any of the mass media programs
- Not depending on the political orientation there should be one decision and such kind of events should be realized via internet
- Till today we were not aware of any such kind of debates but today having the certain scenarios we got the wider opportunity to express our opinions without any difficulties as it was in the past
- We did not have such kind of events till today and therefore encouraging this project
- We agree with the politics of our government
- In spite of arranging lots of meetings there is no result
- There are many organizations. There are agreements but they are for recommendation purposes
- Rambue debates have reflected the "step-by step" resolution of the conflict
- The conflict should be resolved from Azerbaijan and Armenia side without Nagorno Karabakh interference
- We should prepare our own scenarios
- We don't know whether there will be any result from these meetings
- Whatever is ordered by main commander will be implemented
- The dragging on and on of the issue leads us to forget about it

Annexes

Annex 1 - Scenarios

Scenarios discussed with residents in Armenia and NK

Scenario I: Status Quo

Since 1994 the Nagorny Karabakh (NK) conflict zone has been characterized with the situation of “no war, no peace”, which is widely known as “the status quo”. This is what we have today – an active process of state building in the Republic on Nagorny Karabakh, gradual development of democracy in NK, a security zone under the supervision of the Armenian military forces, refugees, belligerent statements from Azerbaijani politicians, procrastinated negotiations, etc.

Actually, this is not a scenario suggesting a compromising resolution of the NK conflict, but one which allows continuing business as usual under certain circumstances. To summarize the major elements of this scenario for the future the following can be pointed out:

- Nagorny Karabakh continues providing for the security of its territories and people. Military service both in Armenia and Karabakh still remains compulsory.
- NK adjacent territories continue to remain under the Armenian supervision.
- The Republic of Nagorny Karabakh is not recognized by the international community, individual states and international organizations.
- Nagorny Karabakh cannot get any assistance from the international community or international organizations.
- Armenian remains the state language of NKR, and the Armenian Dram continues to be the state currency.
- NK Armenians get a RA passport for traveling abroad.
- The governments of RA and NKR recognize each other's documents.
- Azerbaijan continues its efforts to regain dominance over Nagorny Karabakh and the adjacent territories;
- With the time the threat of war continues to increase.
- The roads remain closed. Armenia and NK are not able to fully utilize their economic potential.

Scenario II: NKR as part of Azerbaijan: reversal of the Azerbaijani policies during the Soviet times

This scenario advocating an agreement based on a compromise, or rather some broad brushstrokes of such a scenario have been brought to the table by Azerbaijani actors at various levels, as well as in public statements and publications of several international experts. The advocates of the scenario “Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan” claim that the scenario does not imply the defeat of the Armenian side, but suggests a real compromise, since it essentially changes the status and the range of rights of the Karabakh population in comparison with what there was before the war, i.e. during the Soviet years. What are the major points in this scenario?

- NK becomes a part of Azerbaijan. The territories outside the NKR borders, which are currently under the supervision of the Armenian forces, are returned. The territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is restored.
- There is open and free communication with the neighboring Armenia, as well as with Nakhijevan through NK and Armenia.
- NK gets the possibly highest status of autonomy.
- The possibility of any repetition of the policy of repressions, pressure and deportation of Armenians in the soviet times is ruled out.
- Armenians get the strongest warrants of ethnic security and human rights.
- NK schools get the right to freely teach Armenian alongside with the Azerbaijani and other foreign languages.
- Individual laws regulate the mechanisms for the participation of the Armenians in the process of state governance. The legislation regarding the army and police is revised in accordance to the interests of the Armenian community.

The agreement package is secured with economic incentives, agreements are signed on major investment projects, the integration processes get more active, and communicationnes are developed. As a result, NK becomes a rapidly developing entity, partially due to the Azerbaijani oil factor, whereas Armenia and Azerbaijan become countries enjoying an economic boom.

Scenario III: NKR: independent or a part of Armenia

It is said that in 2000 at the high level Armenian-Azerbaijani negotiations in Key West, the conflicting parties were as close to signing an agreement as never before or afterwards. It is difficult to judge how true such a statement is. As a rule, both the theme and the results of these negotiations, as well as of a number of others, were not fully disclosed to our societies.

However, those closely following the media both in Armenia and Azerbaijan can witness that no matter how little the information about the concrete scenario discussed in Key West was, still there were some bits and pieces available. Today it is difficult to say how accurate this information was because of the secrecy veiling the negotiations. Still, the package of agreement described by the reporters and experts is yet another scenario which has been discussed recently. Let review some of the major points of this scenario:

- Azerbaijan accepts that the people of Nagorny Karabakh have the right to determine whether they want to be independent or unite with Armenia through the use of democratic mechanisms;
- The NK adjacent territories are returned to Azerbaijan;
- Overland communication is provided between Armenia and NK;
- The NK adjacent territories become a regular part of Azerbaijan with adequate economic, military, political and social institutions;
- NK has its army, which together with the Armenian army is responsible for its security;
- Azerbaijan gets a sovereign corridor through Armenia to establish normal communication with Nakhijevan.

This scenario implies several agreements regarding the transition phase, such as legislative guarantees, possible deployment of peace keepers, etc.

Scenario IV: The Issue of Status to be discussed in Future

Though this scenario has never been officially stated, it reflects the approach which has appeared in Armenian press and in the statements of various political figures as a real scenario of compromise. On one hand, it implies that the people of NK will decide on their status in the future, on the other hand though, it assumes readiness to return the NK adjacent territories to Azerbaijan. All these should follow a certain logic given certain conditions.

If we try to summarize the scenario in couple of points which have been stated in various viewpoints, those would be as follows:

- Azerbaijan accepts the right of self-determination of the NK people. Their decision to create an independent state or join Armenia in the future is accepted and ensured by Azerbaijan and the international community.
- The issue of land connection between NK and Armenia is resolved.
- All the territories outside the NK borders, which are currently under the Armenian supervision, are returned to Azerbaijan.
- Refugees return to their homes (among which Stepanakert, Shushi, etc.). Steps are undertaken to ensure the peaceful co-existence of the two communities.
- NK and the adjacent territories are totally demilitarized.
- The agreement package includes clauses on the mechanisms ensuring Azerbaijan's connection with Nakhijevan through the territory of Armenia.
- International peace keepers are immediately deployed in the region.
- The Armenian-Azerbaijani and Armenian-Turkish borders are open.
- All routes between the two countries are reopened. Both nations again live peacefully next to each other.
- The possibility of restarting a war is ruled out according to an international treaty signed by the two parties.

Scenario V: Procrastinated Resolution – Certain Warrants

In some aspects this scenario repeats the previous one, though given several concrete mechanisms of warrants, it has a different logic. That this scenario exists in theory is discussed not only among the experts, but also by the media. The noteworthy difference with the previous one is the fact that the NK adjacent territories are returned to Azerbaijan as a trade-off for the future recognition of the decision of the NK people, but some regions remain under the Armenian control as a guarantee for the proper implementation of the agreement.

Thus, sharing some similarities with previous scenario, this one has the following major characteristics:

- Azerbaijan accepts the right of the NK people to self-determination. The decision of the NK people to create an independent state or join Armenia in the future is accepted and ensured by Azerbaijan and the international community.
- The political situation in NK is formalized due to which it gets international assistance.
- The issue of land communication between NK and Armenia is resolved through the wide and secure corridor of Kashatagh (Lachin).
- Some territories outside the NK borders and under the supervision of the Armenian forces are returned to Azerbaijan following certain logic, whereas Karvachar(Kelbajar) and Kashatagh (Lachin) remain under the Armenian control until the end of the NK self-determination process.
- Refugees return to their homes (among which Stepanakert, Shushi, etc.). Certain steps are undertaken for providing the peaceful co-existence of the two communities.
- International peace keepers are immediately deployed in the region.
- NK and adjacent regions are immediately demilitarized.
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Scenarios discussed with residents in Azerbaijan

Scenario I: Status Quo

Since 1994 the Nagorny Karabakh (NK) conflict zone has been characterized with the situation of “no war, no peace”, which is widely known as “the status quo”. Actually, this is not a scenario suggesting a compromising resolution of the NK conflict, but one which allows continuing life given certain circumstances. To summarize the major elements of this scenario for the future the following can be pointed out:

- NK adjacent territories continue to remain under the Armenian supervision.
- The Republic of Nagorny Karabakh is not recognized by the international community, individual states and international organizations.
- Nagorny Karabakh cannot get any assistance from the international community or international organizations.
- Armenian remains the state language of NKR, and the Armenian Dram continues to be the state currency.
- NK Armenians get a RA passport for traveling abroad.
- The governments of RA and NKR recognize each other’s documents.
- Azerbaijan continues its efforts to regain dominance over Nagorny Karabakh and the adjacent territories;
- With the time the threat of war continues to increase.
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Scenario II: NK as part of Azerbaijan

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- NK becomes a part of Azerbaijan. The territories outside the NKR borders, which are currently under the supervision of the Armenian forces, are returned. The territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is restored.
- There is open and free communication with the neighboring Armenia, as well as with Nakhijevan through NK and Armenia.
- NK gets the possibly highest status of autonomy.
- The possibility of any policy of repressions, pressure and deportation of Armenians is ruled out.
- Armenians get the strongest warrants of ethnic security and human rights.
- NK schools get the right to freely teach Armenian alongside with the Azerbaijani and foreign languages.
- Individual laws regulate the mechanisms for the participation of the Armenians in the process of state governance. The legislation regarding the army and police is revised in accordance to the interests of the Armenian community.
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- The NK adjacent territories are returned to Azerbaijan;
- Overland communication is provided between Armenia and NK;
- The NK adjacent territories become a regular part of Azerbaijan with adequate economic, military, political and social institutions;
- NK has its army, which together with the Armenian army is responsible for its security;
- Azerbaijan gets a sovereign corridor through Armenia to establish normal communication with Nakhijevan.

This scenario implies several agreements regarding the transition phase, such as legislative guarantees, possible deployment of peace keepers, etc.

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- If we try to summarize the scenario in couple of points which have been stated in various viewpoints, those would be as follows:
- Azerbaijan accepts the principle on self-determination raised by Armenia. The decision of people of NK to create an independent state or join Armenia in the future is accepted and ensured by Azerbaijan and the international community.
- The issue of land connection between NK and Armenia is resolved.
- All the territories outside the NK borders, which are currently under the Armenian supervision, are returned to Azerbaijan.
- Refugees return to their homes (among which Khankendi, Shusha etc.). Steps are undertaken to ensure the peaceful co-existence of the two communities.
- NK and the adjacent territories are totally demilitarized.
- The agreement package includes clauses on the mechanisms ensuring Azerbaijan's connection with Nakhijevan through the territory of Armenia.
- International peace keepers are immediately deployed in the region.
- The Armenian-Azerbaijani and Armenian-Turkish borders are open.
- All routes between the two countries are reopened. Both nations again live peacefully next to each other.
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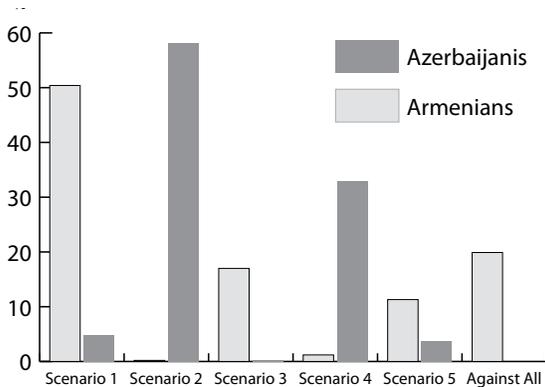
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- Refugees return to their homes (among which Khankendi, Shusha.). Certain steps are undertaken for providing the peaceful co-existence of the two communities.
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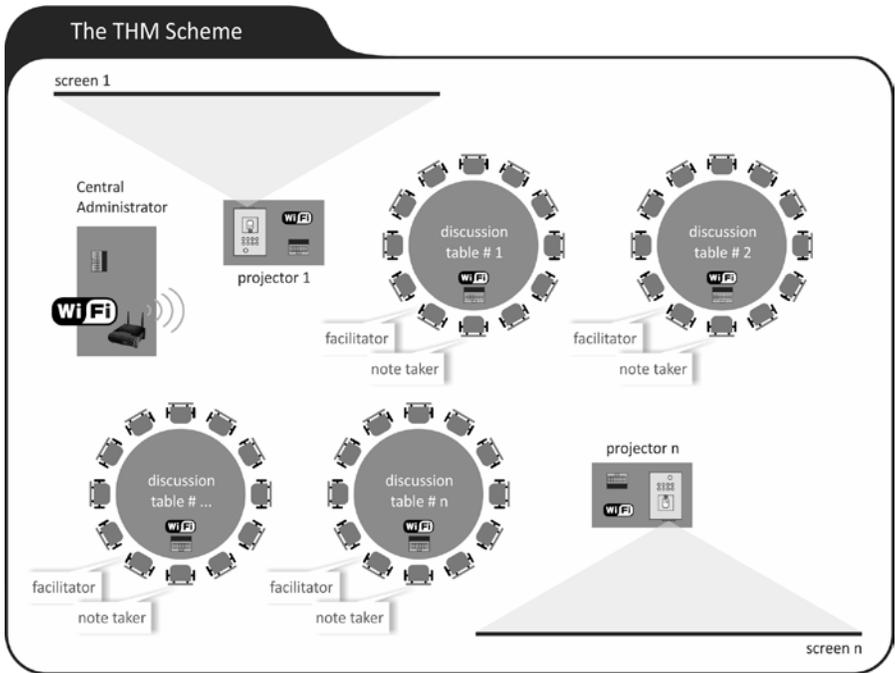
Annex 2 – Voting Results

	Armenians	Azerbaijanis	
	For	For	Against
Scenario 1	580	39	510
Scenario 2	2	459	89
Scenario 3	195	2	547
Scenario 4	14	260	299
Scenario 5	130	30	519
Against all	229	N/A	N/A

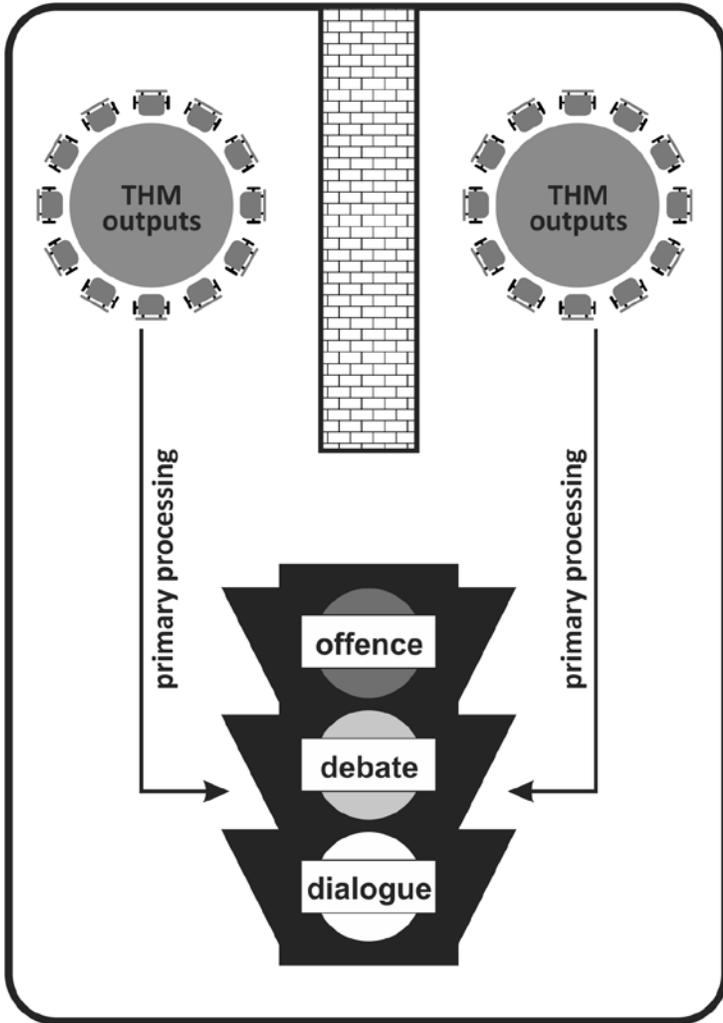
	Armenians	Azerbaijanis	
	For	For	Against
Scenario 1	50.4%	4.9%	26.0%
Scenario 2	0.2%	58.1%	4.5%
Scenario 3	17.0%	0.3%	27.9%
Scenario 4	1.2%	32.9%	15.2%
Scenario 5	11.3%	3.8%	26.4%
Against all	19.9%	N/A	N/A



Annex 3 – THM scheme



Annex 4 – Graphical presentation of Social Communication about the NK conflict: a Parallel Discussions



Photos from the Town Hall Meetings

**conducted by ICHD
in Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh**



Alaverdi, Armenia. February, 2008.



Andrej Didenko, the Political Advisor of the EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, is following the messages of participants at the administrator's workstation. Alaverdi, Armenia. February, 2008.



Gyumri, Armenia. February, 2008.



Berd. April, 2009.



Ararat. April, 2009.



OSCE Minsk Group US Co-Chair Matthew Bryza getting reads the messages from citizens at the administrator's workstation during the Town Hall Meeting. Armavir. April, 2009.



Armavir. April, 2009.



Masrik. May, 2009.



Yeghegnadzor. May, 2009.



Goris. May, 2009.



Talin. June, 2009.



Charentsavan. June, 2009.



Working Meeting at ICHD with OSCE Minsk Group US Co-Chair Matthew Bryza. November, 2008.



Askeran, Nagorno Karabakh. June, 2009.



Hadrut, Nagorno Karabakh. June, 2009.



Shushi, Nagorno Karabakh. June, 2009.



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