



MONITORING OF THE PARTIES' CAMPAIGN FINANCES DURING THE 2003 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Effective and operational democracy implies not only free and fair elections, but also active and permanent participation of citizens in the political processes. It is imperative to ensure public access to the information concerning the activities and finances of political parties. This publication addresses the issue of public monitoring of party finances as one of the effective tools of keeping politicians accountable, thus contributing to the prevention of political corruption and promotion of open and liable governance system. The worldwide experience shows the immense difficulties of establishing an effective system of party funding that is not open to abuse. However, there are lots of evidences of the effective regulation of party funding, if the latter is well designed and supported by a functioning legislation, appropriate ethics and norms, as well as public control over the parties' revenues and expenses.

In March – June 2003, the Center for Regional Development/Transparency International Armenia (CRD/TI Armenia) implemented a Project entitled “Monitoring of Parties' Campaign Finances during the 2003 Parliamentary Elections”, funded by the Open Society Institute, Assistance Foundation - Armenia. The ultimate goal of the Project was to create a demand for transparency and accountability of political parties, promote public debates and civil society pressure to ensure equal and fair elections and induce changes in the politicians' behavior. The key reasons for the initiation of this Project are the lack of transparency in the field, increase of shadow transactions during the pre-election campaign, low trust towards political parties, and absence of political will to improve the situation.

The main objectives of the Project were to cooperate with the parties to gather data about their pre-election funds, carry out an independent monitoring of parties' revenues and expenditures during the campaign period, and conduct a comparative analysis of the collected information to disclose possible discrepancies. Twenty-one parties and blocs participated in the 2003 Parliamentary Elections, out of which eleven parties expressed their willingness to collaborate within the framework of the Project. The Project Team also contacted the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) of the Republic of Armenia (RA), representatives of mass media and publishing houses to receive relevant information.

The publication presents definitions of the main terms used by the Project Team, along with a brief introduction of the current situation in Armenia and general overview of the related legislation. It also contains information about the Project methodology, data processing and results of the comparative analysis. *Attachment 1* embraces the information provided by the Control and Review Committee (CRS) under the CEC, *Attachment 2* consists of the detailed analysis of independent monitoring, while *Attachment 3 and 4* include complete comparative data for each party.

Comments of the parties on the inconsistencies between the data provided by them and the results of independent monitoring are also presented. For those parties, who did not cooperate within the framework of the Project, only the independent monitoring data are available.

GENERAL OVERVIEW

DEFINITION OF TERMS

During the implementation of the Project, the Team members encountered some complexity related to the relevant terminology, the explanation of which was not provided by the appropriate legislation. Several parties used this opportunity in their advantage interpreting the terms in the way that justified their illegal actions. Below is the description of some terms used in the publication.

Pre-Election Campaign Period: According to Article 18.5 of the Electoral Code, the pre-election campaign starts the day after the registration deadline of the parties and ends one day before the voting day (*overall, the pre-election campaign period was 33 days for the 2003 Parliamentary Elections*).

Pre-Election Fund and ***Party Account:*** During the pre-election campaign, parties have to open temporary accounts (*pre-election fund*) to manage their campaign finances. As envisaged by the legislation, all the campaign expenses are to be covered through the fund. Party account is the permanent account of the party, from which only a fixed amount of money can be transferred to the pre-election fund for the campaign expenses.

Political Advertisement and ***Pre-Election Campaign Program:*** Since the Law on TV and Radio of RA does not define these terms, *political advertisement* was considered by the Project Team as a material prepared by the party and broadcasted through the TV stations as it was, without getting involved in the content. The *pre-election campaign program* was a TV program where a party representative was invited as a guest to present the party projects.

Campaign Materials: The Project Team defined campaign material as any material that was used by the party during the campaign period to appeal to the electorate and obtain its votes.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Article 4 of the Constitution of RA vests the legislative power to the National Assembly (NA), which is a single-chamber institution elected through a mixed majority-proportional system. From 131 members of the NA, 75 seats are allocated on a proportional basis to parties or blocs that gain

more than 5% of the votes cast in a single national constituency, and 56 deputies are elected from single-member districts through a one-round majoritarian vote. The NA elections are held every four years within 60 days before the termination of the power of the previous convocation. The NA elections of the year of 2003 were the third after September 1991 when Armenia gained its independence, and the first after January 2001 when the country joined the Council of Europe.

The election process is mainly regulated by the Electoral Code approved by the NA on February 5, 1999 and amended several times since then¹. This is a comprehensive legislation covering all the aspects of the presidential, parliamentary and local elections, including the party finances. Though the Electoral Code is a considerable progress compared to the previous election legislation of Armenia, it still requires further improvement to ensure equal and fair participation of all the parties during the elections and provide greater transparency for the whole election process.

Since the Parliamentary elections of 1999, the political landscape in the country has undergone major realignments. A key reason for this was the October 27 attack on the NA building when the Speaker, the Prime Minister and six ministers and parliamentarians were assassinated. This led to a split between the members of the ruling "Unity" bloc (*the Republican Party and the Armenian People's Party*). Splits of parties, especially the oppositional ones, became frequent incidents (*Communist Party, National Democratic Union, etc.*). Another tendency observed during the last years is that several small and inert parties with vague programs came into the political arena.

Obviously, the authorities are reluctant to have a strong political party system. Weak and fragmented parties and NA diminish the influence of opposition and let those in power better "manage" the political situation. The final notion to be discussed is the involvement of businesses in the political life. Clannish and business groups and their leaders are encouraged to participate in the elections. They are motivated by the opportunity to protect their property and interests, as well as to get immunity not to be punished for illegal actions².

The developments described above, together with the non-transparent governance system within the parties, are some of the main causes why parties do not attain public confidence. Instead, public apathy and mistrust towards the parties are predominant. As the results of the "Country Corruption Assessment: Public Opinion Survey"³ demonstrated, only 17.5% of the households and 2.5% of entrepreneurs think that parties can play a determining role in reducing corruption in Armenia. Another study conducted in March-April 2003 by the Center for Democracy and Peace, along with the Armenian Association of Women with University Education, indicated that 50.6% of

¹ Last amendments were passed in July 2002.

² Article 66 of the Constitution of RA stipulates that the member of the NA cannot be arrested or subjected to the criminal and administrative prosecution without the consent of the NA.

³ The Project was carried out by CRD/TI Armenia in April-May 2002.

the respondents did not trust political parties. Such attitude of the society towards the parties undermines the concept provided by the Constitution that the parties formulate and express the political will of the people of Armenia.

LEGISLATIVE OVERVIEW

As already mentioned, the election process is basically regulated in Armenia by the Electoral Code of RA. However, it is also supported by other legal acts such as the Law of RA on Parties, the Law on TV and Radio, the Criminal Code, the Code of Administrative Delinquencies, decisions of the CEC, etc.

Electoral Code

Pre-Elections Campaign – According to Article 18 of the Electoral Code, equal access to the mass media – *time, space, price, etc.* – must be guaranteed for all the parties and candidates during the pre-election campaign. Article 20 states that all the parties running for elections have equal free airtime, while Article 81 defines the duration of the free airtime for political advertisement (*60 minutes on Public TV and 120 minutes on Public Radio*). Article 21 notes that parties and candidates have the right to publish and disseminate posters, flyers and other campaign materials. All the printed materials must identify the name of the publishing houses and the number of copies, as required by the legislation (*Article 21.6*).

Funding – Part 5 of the Electoral Code regulates the funding of the parties during the elections. According to Article 24, the expenses for organizing and running the elections as well as for the operation of the electoral commissions are covered from the state budget. Article 25 refers to the financial management of the parties and candidates during the campaign period. They have to establish a pre-election fund to cover the campaign expenses. Unlike the majoritarian candidates, parties have to open their funds in the Central Bank of the RA, which has to send reports to the CEC on the transactions of party funds every three days.

Article 112 of the Electoral Code specifies that there is a limitation on the pre-election fund. For the parties, the size of the fund is 60,000 times of the minimum salary of the RA (*1,000AMD or approximately 1.69USD*). For the year of 2003, the fund limit was 60,000,000AMD or approximately 102,000USD. The fund can be formed from the party financial resources and the donations of physical and legal persons. Parties can transfer money from their accounts in the amount of 2,000 times of the minimum salary (*2,000,000drams or approximately 3,400USD*), physical persons – 50 times of the minimum salary (*50,000AMD or 89USD*), and legal persons –

150 times of the minimum salary (*150,000AMD or 254USD*). In the case of party blocs, each party can transfer 2,000,000AMD or 3,400USD from its party account.

State and local self-governing bodies, state owned enterprises, foreign physical and legal persons, individuals without citizenship, enterprises with state or with foreign ownership of 30%, benevolent, religious and international organizations and NGOs do not have the right to make a contribution to the party's pre-election fund. Anonymous and cash contributions are prohibited by the Law. Based on Article 25, if during the campaign period parties use financial means other than the pre-election fund, court may consider the registration of the party list invalid upon the CEC appeal.

Control and Disclosure –Article 25 of the Electoral Code envisages that fifteen days after the elections parties have to send their declaration forms on the campaign expenses to the CEC. Within three days those forms are forwarded to the CRS. According to Article 26, the CRS is established under the CEC on the day when the election date is determined. The CRS is responsible for overseeing all the transactions of party pre-election funds, as well as the financial resources allocated by the state to the CEC for the organization of the elections. The declaration forms are to be checked and the results are to be presented to the CEC within one month. If any violations are found, the CEC may file an appeal to the first instance court within a three-day period.

Law on TV and Radio

Article 11 of the Law on TV and Radio states that during the campaign period, all the political programs must have the “*political advertisement*” or “*pre-election campaign*” signs present on the screen during the broadcast. In the case of radio, at least three times during the broadcast time, the audience must be reminded that it is a campaign program. The Article also notes that TV and radio companies must publicize their price list for the political advertisements or other campaign programs. According to the Law, all parties must be given the same equal conditions and services must be provided on a contractual basis.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA PROCESSING

COOPERATION WITH PARTIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Parties

All the parties running for the 2003 Parliamentary elections were contacted by the Project Team to introduce the Project goals and objectives and ask to provide information about their revenues and expenditures during the pre-election campaign period. Out of 21 parties and blocs, only 11 agreed

to participate in the Project: *“Liberal” Bloc*; *“National Accord” Party*; *“Labor, Law, Unity” Party*; *“Justice” Bloc*; *“Justice” Party*; *“Dignity, Democracy, Motherland” Bloc*; *Armenian Renewed Communist Party*; *Christian-Democratic Union*; *“The Fist of Armenia Arians” Party*; *Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun)*; and the *“Rule of Law Country” Party*.

The other 10 parties and blocs, that did not cooperate within the framework of the Project, indicated different reasons for their refusal, such as:

- *“National Unity” Party* – advised to take the data from the CEC since they were too busy;
- *Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia* – were not interested in the Project;
- *“Armenian Democratic Liberal” Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)* – did not have time for extra “headache”;
- *“Union of Industrialists and Women” Bloc* – initially agreed, but later refused;
- *United Labor Party* – promised to contact in the case of a positive answer of the party leadership, but never called back;
- *Republican Party of Armenia* – when contacted, the party representatives always promised to give the information on the following days, but never did;
- *Communist Party of Armenia* – despite the persistent calls of the Project Team, the person in charge could not be reached;
- *People’s Party*; *Armenian National Movement*; *“Powerful Homeland” Party* – these three parties promised to provide the data after the elections and then refused.

CEC and CRS

In the beginning of the Project, a letter was sent to Mr. Artak Sahradyan, former Head of the CEC, asking for their collaboration and support during the implementation of the Project, particularly in providing information related to the party revenue sources and expenses during the pre-election campaign period. Mr. Sahradyan’s feedback was that the CEC was too busy to cooperate with the Project Team. Meanwhile, the CEC provided explanation on some articles of the Electoral Code, as per request of the Project Team. Afterwards, Mr. Ara Harutyunyan, Head of the CRS, was also contacted with the same request. Mr. Harutyunyan agreed to give the Project Team the necessary data on a regular basis. Despite several requests to provide in depth reports on parties’ finances, it was possible to receive from the CRS only the total revenues and expenditures of the parties for the given period of time (see *Attachment 1*). It is also worth noting, that the data provided by Mr. Harutyunyan was published in local newspapers. Thus, the cooperation with the CRS was not very fruitful, but it was important because the information was received from the official source.

Media Representatives

Recognizing the importance of the mass media role in promoting transparency during the elections, CRD/TI Armenia contacted the main local TV/Radio stations and newspapers with the request to provide information about the price lists of political advertisements and the amount of money paid by the parties. Only two out of the seven contacted TV companies agreed to provide the needed data – *Public TV* and *Prometevs*. The rest of the companies refused to cooperate for the following reasons:

- *ALM* – stated very emotionally that they are not accountable to anyone on how much money they receive and spend;
- *Armenia* – despite the regular and persistent calls, it was impossible to find the director, since he was always out of the office: the secretary did not know when he might be back, and nobody replaced him during his absence;
- *Shant* – declared that they cannot provide the data, as that would be a violation of ethical norms;
- *Kentron* – said that they had to verify with the parties if they could give the requested information, but never called back;
- *Tsayg* – refused to cooperate.

It is worth mentioning that the percentage of political advertisements placed on the Public Radio and newspapers was drastically low compared to the TV stations. The Public Radio and the newspapers *Azg*, *Hajastani Hanrapetutyun*, *Aravot*, *Hajkakan Zhamanak*, *Ajb-Fe*, *Respublika Armenii*, *Golos Armenii* and *Novoye Vremya* provided information on how much the parties paid for placing political advertisements in their companies. The position of the newspapers *Orran* and *Hayots Ashkharh* was interesting: they did not publish any paid political advertisements, but still refused to provide information to the Project Team. The Project Team also contacted the Pre-Election Technology Center, which was managing a network of 20 regional TV stations. They kindly provided information on which parties ordered political advertisements through their network.

Publishing Houses

The Project Team contacted several publishing houses to ask for information on the number and types of campaign materials ordered by the parties, as well as to find out the price lists of their products and services. Most of the publishing houses – *Voskan Yerevantsi*, *Musaler*, *Print Info*, *Antares* and *Zangak* – provided the requested data. In the meantime, *Hakob Meghapart* was the only company that mentioned the amount of money received from the parties. *Tigran Mets*, that received most of the orders of campaign materials, refused to provide any information. *Magic* and *Gayison* publishing houses were an interesting case: their representatives said that no order of

campaign materials was made by any party, but there were campaign publications with the names of those companies on them.

Finally, *Tosp* textile factory provided with the information about the types and amount of T-shirts and hats ordered by the parties.

INDEPENDENT MONITORING

Media

The data for the media independent monitoring were taken from the Yerevan Press Club (YPC) that calculated the seconds and centimetres of the political advertisements broadcasted through TV and Radio stations and placed in newspapers. They monitored the programs, which had the “*Political Advertisement*” and “*Pre-Election Campaign Program*” signs present on the screen during the broadcasting and the articles that had the letter “R” at the bottom to indicate that it was a campaign material. It should be noted that the YPC conducted the independent monitoring of the TV programs only between 18:00 and 24:00.

For the estimation of the money paid by the parties during the campaign period, the seconds/centimetres monitored by the YPC were multiplied by the prices of the TV/Radio stations and newspapers. The prices used by the Project Team for estimations were either taken from the newspaper *Hajkakan Zhamanak* (issued on April 19, 2003) or verified with the agencies themselves. In the case of *Shant* TV station, the cost of the political advertisement was 50USD-60USD (for the estimations the medium price of 55USD was used). As for the *Armenia* TV station, the prices were different for the “*Political Advertisement*” and “*Pre-Election Campaign Program*”, thus the airtime of those 2 programs were calculated separately.

The Pre-Election Technology Center informed that five parties broadcasted paid advertisements through their regional TV network, out of which only two parties signed a contract with them. The other three parties paid in cash, without having a proper documentation.

Campaign Materials

The Project Team counted the types of **posters** for each party and fixed their amount and the names of the companies that produced them⁴. The corresponding publishing houses were contacted to find out their prices for the posters. As the discount system offered by the companies was different, the Project Team used a 20% discount for the posters with the copies of 5,000 and

⁴ It is possible that the parties had more posters than detected by the Project Team.

more. Meanwhile, it needs to be taken into consideration that higher discount rates could have been provided to the parties for different reasons (*sympathy, protectionism, affiliation, fear, etc*).

The same method was used for the **publications**⁵. In addition, the cost estimations were verified with various experts who worked for publishing houses. The Project Team also considered the **T-shirts, hats** and other materials used by the parties for their election campaigns.

The **billboards** located in the Yerevan City were also counted. There were 3 different sizes of billboards – 12, 14 and 18 square meters, so the average size of 14.66 square meters was used during calculations. The Project Team was informed by several administrations of the neighboring communities of the Yerevan City that the contracts for renting the billboard space were signed with the parties for 20 days, but on average, the billboards were installed for 15 days. The cost for 1 square meter for 30 days was 30USD. The *Nushikyan Assosiation* and *Zebra* companies informed that the posting of the advertisement cost from 50USD to 60USD (*the medium cost of 55USD was used for the calculations*). According to the experts' estimation, the design of the billboard advertisement cost 150USD, and the preparation – from 14USD to 20USD per square meter (*the medium cost of 17USD per square meter was used for the estimation*). Thus, the formula for the estimating the billboard cost for one party was: (number of billboards x the cost for the preparation) + (number of billboards x the billboard renting cost for 15 days) + cost of the design + cost for the placement of the advertisement.

The Project Team followed the news and fixed the **events** organized by the parties during the pre-election campaign. Afterwards, various companies were contacted to find out the cost for similar events. As the prices varied depending on the quality of the event, minimum rates were used during calculations.

Finally, the number of **political advertisements** of the parties was also counted. Because of time constraint only the records of *Armenia* and *Public TV* were reviewed by the Project Team. The cost for the development of advertisements greatly differed (*from 500USD to 1,200USD*). Therefore, based on the experts' advice, the advertisements were estimated with the minimum cost of 500USD. The results of the independent monitoring are presented in Attachment 2.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

When the data processing was completed, results of the independent monitoring were compared with the information provided by the parties to find out any discrepancies. The Project Team met with the representatives of the 10 parties that gave the relevant information to ask for their

⁵ Monitoring includes only the publications that were either given by the parties or obtained by the Team.

explanation related to the contradictions of the data (*only the representative of the “Dignity, Democracy, Motherland” bloc did not meet with the Project Team*). Clarifications provided by the parties are available together with the comparative data on the campaign expenses presented for each party (*see Attachment 3*).

ANALYSIS OF THE PROJECT FINDINGS

It is commonly acknowledged that parties need financial resources in order to freely communicate their opinions and proposals to the public (*especially during the pre-election campaign period*) through various effective promotional means – media, publications, meetings with the electorate, etc. Appropriate funding of parties is also important to establish a strong political system, promote healthy political competition, as well as ensure active participation of the well-informed citizens in the political processes.

However, the practice shows that the fundraising process frequently distorts the political system of the country, especially, when the available funds are not sufficient for parties to carry out their campaign activities. The growth of campaign expenses incites parties to raise money through illegal or unethical means. Often, the money is given in return to the anticipated favors when the party comes to power (*illicit contracts, public services, preferential treatment, etc*). Party funding can also be an effective way of money laundering. The close system of party funding is one of the factors that contributes to the expansion of such illegal actions.

The issue of transparency of the party finances has not been given a due attention in Armenia. According to Article 25 of the Electoral Code, the declaration forms of the parties have to be published by the CEC in the format decided by that institution. Based on the results of the two rounds of the 2003 Presidential elections, the CEC published only the total campaign revenues and expenditures of the candidates. According to Mr. A. Sahradyan respond to the CRD/TI Armenia letter⁶, the details of the transactions of the parties’ pre-election funds were not publicized because no violations related to the party finances were registered during those elections. Obviously, the CEC decision disregarded the citizen’s right to oversee parties’ finances, hence keeping the parties governance system, as well as the whole election process, non-transparent and not accountable.

The Project methodology included monitoring of both revenues and expenses of the parties’ pre-election funds. Data on the party revenue sources was neither published by the CEC nor provided

⁶ In the beginning of the Project, a letter was sent to the former head of CEC Mr. Artak Sahradyan asking to explain the reason for publishing only the total amounts of revenues and expenditure of the candidates participating in the Presidential elections.

by the parties, though there was a great public interest regarding the issue and it was regularly discussed in the media. The parties only mentioned the number of physical and legal persons and the amount of donations to the pre-election funds. Despite the fact that the parties were required to present this information to the CEC, they still did not want to make such information open to public. In fact, most parties tend to hide the revenue sources from the state authorities as well. As mentioned by several parties, in order to avoid disclosing donators, they distributed the amount, provided by the legal entities, among the physical persons to present donations as made by individuals.

The reasons for not revealing the legal persons can be different. For example, for some parties this can be a matter of money laundering or foreign funding, which is forbidden by the Law. Another reason may be that the business sector is not well regulated in Armenia and the majority of businesses are inclined to hide their real turnover or operate in the shadow. Those businesses may have trouble with the tax authorities if the information about the donations to certain parties is made known. Finally, taking into consideration the political rivalry between the oppositional and pro-governmental parties, businesses are not encouraged to make contributions to the oppositional parties' pre-election fund, otherwise they will have problems with the state authorities. Meanwhile, some businesses still make donations to the oppositional parties and the parties are interested in hiding the real sources of funding not to make troubles for those businesses.

Party spendings during the pre-election campaign is another problem, particularly caused by the limitation of the pre-election fund. As the results of the monitoring showed, three out of the twenty-one parties and blocs exceeded the limit of the pre-election fund (*Republican Party of Armenia, "Rule of Law Country" Party and Armenian Revolutionary Federation*). As to others, there were inconsistencies among the numbers presented by the parties and the monitoring results. Only the data presented by the *"National Accord" Party* was consistent with the Project findings.

The common tendency observed within the course of the Project implementation was that almost all the parties avoided making their campaign expenses through the pre-election fund only. In fact, as most of the parties mentioned, the pre-election fund is fictitious. Everybody managed the fund in compliance with the legislation requirements, whereas, a large amount of money was actually spent outside the fund. Based on the results of the Project monitoring and the interviews held with the parties and service providers, various violations related to the campaign expenses were revealed.

In some cases, there were big discrepancies between the numbers provided by the parties and the results of the independent monitoring in regard to the TV political advertisements. It can be assumed that TV companies either provided more airtime to the parties and showed less in their

official documents or offered discounts to some parties, thus in both cases violating the law. As to the publications, the Electoral Code requires that the number of copies and the name of the publishing house are mentioned on the printed materials. Meanwhile, there were indications by several parties as well as some experts that the number of the campaign materials was actually greater than officially recorded. There were also cases when the campaign materials were ordered before the beginning of the campaign period and widely disseminated during the campaign. Most probably, parties acted in such a way to evade showing the expenses through the pre-election fund. Also, there were instances when transactions were conducted without signing a contract with service providers: money was paid in cash, which is prohibited by law.

The reasons for the abovementioned illegalities are different. For the parties this may be beneficial, as they do not pay the 20% VAT when conducting the transactions without a proper documentation. It is, however, worth mentioning that not only the parties are interested in such illegal transactions. Often, service providers themselves offer the parties a “good deal”, if the latter do not request an invoice for the order. In doing so, they can evade paying taxes, hide the real turnover of their business, and entice clients by offering big discounts. For the powerful parties, especially, for the ones that have a sufficient amount of money to spend, the reason for shadow transactions can also be the limitation of the pre-election fund. They find ways to bypass the law in order to elude showing the expenses through the fund. In the meantime, the inconsistency of data might not always be explained by the violations noted above. Favoritism, nepotism and protectionism, which are widespread in Armenia, also need to be considered as reasons for discounts or free of charge services provided to parties by service providers.

Another concern regarding the pre-election fund is that the legislation is very vague and it does not put a clear line between what can be spent from the fund and what can be covered through the party account. For example, during the campaign period parties continue paying for their permanent offices through the party account, while the expenses of the temporary sub-offices are covered through the fund. It needs to be noted that parties were inclined to hide the cost of the temporary offices, explaining that the venues were provided free of charge by their party members or supporters. However, not always did this correspond to the reality: according to unofficial sources of information, some parties did rent offices for the pre-election campaign period at the rate of 150USD – 500USD.

The next issue related to the campaign expenses was the remuneration of the staff working during the campaign period. The number of staff mentioned by the parties varied from 25 to 350 people⁷, working as unpaid volunteers. In the case of two parties, the numbers of volunteers were noted to be 2,000 and 8,000. Meanwhile, only one party stated that they paid the volunteers. As informed

⁷ Not including the permanent staff that is paid from the regular party account.

from unofficial sources, some of the parties did actually hire short-term volunteers with the salary ranging from 20USD – 200USD, depending on the scope of work and responsibilities. Obviously, parties hide this information in order to avoid paying income and social taxes (*approximately 33% of the salary*) and showing those expenses in the pre-election funds.

Finally, it was difficult to track the travel expenses of the party campaign. For example, some parties mentioned that their friends offered cars to visit the regions. Several parties did not report the cost for per-diem and accommodation either. Lastly, the parties represented in the Government used administrative resources for the campaign trips (*cars, petrol, etc.*)⁸, which is also a violation of the Law.

As already indicated, the CRS is responsible for controlling all the election-related violations and taking necessary actions. According to the CRS report presented to CEC, no violations were registered with regard to the parties' pre-election funds during the 2003 Parliamentary elections (*the CRS report was approved by the CEC on July 18, 2003*). Only one member of the CEC representing the "*Justice*" Bloc did not sign the report, whereas the representative of the "*National Unity*" Party abstained. This, indeed, demonstrates the imperfectness of the law and the unwillingness of the state institutions to follow and enforce it.

After the NA elections, representatives of the "*Justice*" Bloc appealed to the Constitutional Court of the RA to argue the validity of the election results. The Project findings were used as evidences of some violations made by the parties. Though the appeal was dismissed because of the lack of sufficient evidences, the Constitutional Court admitted that party funding is a problem in Armenia and needs an appropriate attention. Among other recommendations mentioned in its decision, the Constitutional Court proposed promoting greater transparency and accountability of political party financing.

CONCLUSION

In democratic countries, parties are an important component of the political machinery. These are entities who arise from the society and whose mission is to represent the interests of the public and articulate its demands. Nowadays, political competition in Armenia has become a race for power and security, undermining the core values of the party system. Apparently, parties need sufficient funds in order to survive through this competition and succeed in the political arena.

⁸ Though the Project Team did not monitor the abuse of administrative resources during the pre-election campaign, there was broad media coverage on this.

Financing parties has become a cause of corruption in Armenia. Because of the poor economic conditions and citizens' mistrust towards parties, donations by true supporters – *either physical or legal persons* - are very limited. This creates incentives for the parties to raise money through illicit and unethical ways. Lots of resources of business companies are being channelled to finance the parties, thus increasing the dependability of the party from the donator, who expects illegal favors or services in return.

Party spendings involve corrupt practices as well. According to the CRS report of July 18, 2003, all parties followed the legislation requirements related to the pre-election fund and there were no violations found on that matter (*the report on party revenues and expenditures is published in "Hayastani Hanrapetutyun" daily, July 22, 2003*). Meanwhile, according to the Project results, there were data inconsistencies for almost all the parties. Two important conclusions can be made: first, the legislation is not perfect and thus leaves a lot of room for party interpretations, and, second, there is no political will to enforce the existing legislation or control the situation. Despite the fact that the Project findings were given to the relevant state institutions, no interest was expressed by them to discuss the raised issues, look for the causes of problems and search for effective solutions.

The imperfect legislation and the tolerance of state officials create favorable conditions for parties' illegal transactions. The reasons for illegalities are to avoid paying taxes, "meet the requirement" of the pre-election fund limitation, etc. No doubts, service providers also have their interest and sometimes initiate such illicit affairs. All the factors mentioned above contribute to the governance system being non-transparent and lacking an appropriate public control. This brings to furthering mistrust towards the parties, increasing the shadow economy, encouraging corrupt practices, and, eventually, having a negative effect on the state budget.

When it comes to looking for solutions, the list of recommendations is very lengthy. It is difficult to adopt a perfect legislation or create favorable conditions for all the parties so that they can equally exercise their right to be heard through having access to the necessary resources. Putting some limitations is necessary to protect the rights of the small parties and ensure fair conditions for everyone. Meanwhile, if the limitations do not reflect the actual needs of the parties powerful parties will always look for ways to bypass the law. Finally, no matter how perfect the legislation is, it needs to be enforced to be effective. Political corruption can be reduced if only there is a political will to control the party finances, ensure a transparent and accountable governance system and guarantee public participation in the political processes in Armenia.

ATTACHMENT 1

CRS DATA

TABLE 1: DATA PRESENTED BY THE CONTROL AND REVISION SERVICE

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PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 1

Data Presented by the Control and Review Service

#	Name of the Party	May 2, 2003			May 15, 2003			May 29, 2003		
		Revenues (in AMD)	Expenditures (in AMD)	Balance (in AMD)	Revenues (in AMD)	Expenditures (in AMD)	Balance (in AMD)	Revenues (in AMD)	Expenditures (in AMD)	Balance (in AMD)
1	"Justice" Bloc	6,000,000.00	6,000,000.00	0.00	11,665.00	11,665.00	0.00	15,495,000.00	15,495,000.00	0.00
2	Republican Party of Armenia	1,550,000.00	0.00	1,550,000.00	50,854,000.00	36,318,000.00	14,536,000.00	59,407,420.00	59,201,069.00	206,351.00
3	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun)	8,825,000.00	3,500,000.00	5,325,000.00	28,020,000.00	22,346,000.00	5,674,000.00	43,700,000.00	43,644,000.00	56,000.00
4	"National Unity" Party	24,900,000.00	3,457,000.00	21,443,000.00	26,000,000.00	25,965,000.00	35,000.00	26,100,000.00	26,064,477.00	35,523.00
5	"Powerful Homeland" Party	500,000.00	0.00	500,000.00	59,631,000.00	59,601,000.00	30,000.00	59,751,750.00	59,731,750.00	20,000.00
6	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	0.00	0.00	0.00	2,260,000.00	2,259,160.00	840.00	9,033,511.00	9,033,511.00	0.00
7	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	13,700,000.00	0.00	13,700,000.00	25,360,000.00	24,797,000.00	563,000.00	30,410,000.00	30,409,652.10	347.90
8	"Rule of Law Country" Party	9,651,000.00	0.00	9,651,000.00	28,928,000.00	26,416,000.00	2,512,000.00	59,998,835.00	59,972,700.00	26,135.00
9	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar- Azatakan)	6,675,000.00	6,675,000.00	0.00	15,715,000.00	15,707,000.00	8,000.00	29,488,620.00	29,478,000.00	10,620.00
10	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	0.00	0.00	0.00	2,000,000.00	1,415,000.00	585,000.00	2,000,000.00	1,999,600.00	400.00
11	Armenian National Movement	-	-	-	2,000,000.00	2,000,000.00	0.00	4,000,000.00	4,000,000.00	0.00
12	United Labor Party	-	-	-	12,500,000.00	2,671,000.00	9,829,000.00	28,455,560.00	28,448,508.00	7,052.00
13	"Liberal" Bloc	0.00	0.00	0.00	200,000.00	200,000.00	0.00	340,000.00	340,000.00	0.00
14	Communist Party of Armenia	1,050,000.00	0.00	1,050,000.00	1,050,000.00	725,250.00	324,750.00	1,076,000.00	1,075,250.00	750.00
15	Christian-Democratic Union	400,000.00	0.00	400,000.00	4,300,000.00	708,000.00	3,592,000.00	29,100,000.00	29,100,000.00	0.00
16	"The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	People's Party	2,340,000.00	2,340,000.00	0.00	4,340,000.00	4,340,000.00	0.00	4,340,000.00	4,340,000.00	0.00
18	"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	555,000.00	395,000.00	160,000.00	11,300,000.00	10,355,000.00	945,000.00	17,100,000.00	17,100,000.00	0.00
19	"National Accord" Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	80,000.00	80,000.00	0.00
20	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party	-	-	-	130,000.00	79,300.00	50,700.00	488,500.00	488,500.00	0.00
21	"Justice" Party	0.00	0.00	0.00	450,000.00	150,000.00	300,000.00	2,250,000.00	2,236,000.00	14,000.00

ATTACHMENT 2

RESULTS OF INDEPENDENT MONITORING

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PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 2a

TV Stations

1USD = 590AMD

Data on the broadcast time of the political advertisements through TV stations and the Public Radio are provided by the Yerevan Press Club. Only the TV programs with the "political advertisement" and "pre-election campaign program" signs present during the broadcast time were monitored. Monitoring was conducted between 18:00 - 24:00.

#	Name of the Party	ALM				Kentron				Public TV			
		Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)
1	"Justice" Bloc	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	2,726.00	\$1.16	\$3,162.16	1,865,674.40	4,411.00	1180	\$8,822.00	5,204,980.00
2	Republican Party of Armenia	6,666.00	\$2.00	\$13,332.00	7,865,880.00	10,495.00	\$1.16	\$12,174.20	7,182,778.00	7,043.00	1180	\$14,086.00	8,310,740.00
3	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	5,845.00	\$2.00	\$11,690.00	6,897,100.00	5,365.00	\$1.16	\$6,223.40	3,671,806.00	6,101.00	1180	\$12,202.00	7,199,180.00
4	"National Unity" Party	3,600.00	\$2.00	\$7,200.00	4,248,000.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	6,863.00	1180	\$13,726.00	8,098,340.00
5	"Powerful Homeland" Party	3,715.00	\$2.00	\$7,430.00	4,383,700.00	4,922.00	\$1.16	\$5,709.52	3,368,616.80	4,309.00	1180	\$8,618.00	5,084,620.00
6	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	1,754.00	1180	\$3,508.00	2,069,720.00
7	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	2,422.00	\$2.00	\$4,844.00	2,857,960.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	7,306.00	1180	\$14,612.00	8,621,080.00
8	"Rule of Law Country" Party	9,482.00	\$2.00	\$18,964.00	11,188,760.00	6,701.00	\$1.16	\$7,773.16	4,586,164.40	6,217.00	1180	\$12,434.00	7,336,060.00
9	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	5,560.00	1180	\$11,120.00	6,560,800.00
10	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
11	Armenian National Movement	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
12	United Labor Party	8,840.00	\$2.00	\$17,680.00	10,431,200.00	22,889.00	\$1.16	\$26,551.24	15,665,231.60	3,252.00	1180	\$6,504.00	3,837,360.00
13	"Liberal" Bloc	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
14	Communist Party of Armenia	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
15	Christian-Democratic Union	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	5,716.00	1180	\$11,432.00	6,744,880.00
16	"The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
17	People's Party	19,415.00	\$2.00	\$38,830.00	22,909,700.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
18	"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	2,968.00	\$1.16	\$3,442.88	2,031,299.20	2,680.00	1180	\$5,360.00	3,162,400.00
19	"National Accord" Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
20	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	1180	\$0.00	0.00
21	"Justice" Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$1.16	\$0.00	0.00	220.00	1180	\$440.00	259,600.00

#	Name of the Party	Prometevs				Shant				Tsayg			
		Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)
1	"Justice" Bloc	3,227.00	\$2.00	\$6,454.00	3,807,860.00	256.00	\$0.91	\$232.96	137,446.40	231.00	\$0.33	\$76.23	44,975.70
2	Republican Party of Armenia	10,933.00	\$2.00	\$21,866.00	12,900,940.00	12,681.00	\$0.91	\$11,539.71	6,808,428.90	3,814.00	\$0.33	\$1,258.62	742,585.80
3	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	6,286.00	\$2.00	\$12,572.00	7,417,480.00	6,810.00	\$0.91	\$6,197.10	3,656,289.00	4,605.00	\$0.33	\$1,519.65	896,593.50
4	"National Unity" Party	1,318.00	\$2.00	\$2,636.00	1,555,240.00	6,378.00	\$0.91	\$5,803.98	3,424,348.20	3,555.00	\$0.33	\$1,173.15	692,158.50
5	"Powerful Homeland" Party	11,941.00	\$2.00	\$23,882.00	14,090,380.00	9,596.00	\$0.91	\$8,732.36	5,152,092.40	3,987.00	\$0.33	\$1,315.71	776,268.90
6	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	1,970.00	\$2.00	\$3,940.00	2,324,600.00	2,345.00	\$0.91	\$2,133.95	1,259,030.50	5,114.00	\$0.33	\$1,687.62	995,695.80
7	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	8,236.00	\$2.00	\$16,472.00	9,718,480.00	2,748.00	\$0.91	\$2,500.68	1,475,401.20	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00
8	"Rule of Law Country" Party	15,693.00	\$2.00	\$31,386.00	18,517,740.00	8,216.00	\$0.91	\$7,476.56	4,411,170.40	5,361.00	\$0.33	\$1,769.13	1,043,786.70
9	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)	7,216.00	\$2.00	\$14,432.00	8,514,880.00	5,731.00	\$0.91	\$5,215.21	3,076,973.90	2,316.00	\$0.33	\$764.28	450,925.20
10	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	1,046.00	\$0.33	\$345.18	203,656.20
11	Armenian National Movement	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00
12	United Labor Party	4,222.00	\$2.00	\$8,444.00	4,981,960.00	5,324.00	\$0.91	\$4,844.84	2,858,455.60	3,042.00	\$0.33	\$1,003.86	592,277.40
13	"Liberal" Bloc	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00
14	Communist Party of Armenia	18.00	\$2.00	\$36.00	21,240.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	3,182.00	\$0.33	\$1,050.06	619,535.40
15	Christian-Democratic Union	8,061.00	\$2.00	\$16,122.00	9,511,980.00	3,285.00	\$0.91	\$2,989.35	1,763,716.50	2,456.00	\$0.33	\$810.48	478,183.20
16	"The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00
17	People's Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00
18	"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	5,772.00	\$2.00	\$11,544.00	6,810,960.00	2,541.00	\$0.91	\$2,312.31	1,364,262.90	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00
19	"National Accord" Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00
20	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party	0.00	\$2.00	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	210.00	\$0.33	\$69.30	40,887.00
21	"Justice" Party	63.00	\$2.00	\$126.00	74,340.00	0.00	\$0.91	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	\$0.33	\$0.00	0.00

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 2a

TV Stations

#	Name of the Party	Armenia									
		Political advertisement				Pre-election campaign program				Grand Total (in USD)	Grand Total (in AMD)
		Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)		
1	"Justice" Bloc	1,782.00	1000	\$3,020.34	1,782,000.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$3,020.34	1,782,000.00
2	Republican Party of Armenia	12,364.00	1000	\$20,955.93	12,364,000.00	13,500.00	83.00	\$1,899.15	1,120,500.00	\$22,855.08	13,484,500.00
3	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	6,481.00	1000	\$10,984.75	6,481,000.00	12,000.00	83.00	\$1,688.14	996,000.00	\$12,672.88	7,477,000.00
4	"National Unity" Party	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	21,355.00	83.00	\$3,004.18	1,772,465.00	\$3,004.18	1,772,465.00
5	"Powerful Homeland" Party	2,709.00	1000	\$4,591.53	2,709,000.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$4,591.53	2,709,000.00
6	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	2,858.00	1000	\$4,844.07	2,858,000.00	7,500.00	83.00	\$1,055.08	622,500.00	\$5,899.15	3,480,500.00
7	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	9,655.00	1000	\$16,364.41	9,655,000.00	16,800.00	83.00	\$2,363.39	1,394,400.00	\$18,727.80	11,049,400.00
8	"Rule of Law Country" Party	12,177.00	1000	\$20,638.98	12,177,000.00	24,600.00	83.00	\$3,460.68	2,041,800.00	\$24,099.66	14,218,800.00
9	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)	7,996.00	1000	\$13,552.54	7,996,000.00	17,700.00	83.00	\$2,490.00	1,469,100.00	\$16,042.54	9,465,100.00
10	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	0.00
11	Armenian National Movement	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	1,738.00	83.00	\$244.50	144,254.00	\$244.50	144,254.00
12	United Labor Party	2,822.00	1000	\$4,783.05	2,822,000.00	4,200.00	83.00	\$590.85	348,600.00	\$5,373.90	3,170,600.00
13	"Liberal" Bloc	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	0.00
14	Communist Party of Armenia	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	1,690.00	83.00	\$237.75	140,270.00	\$237.75	140,270.00
15	Christian-Democratic Union	4,296.00	1000	\$7,281.36	4,296,000.00	13,200.00	83.00	\$1,856.95	1,095,600.00	\$9,138.31	5,391,600.00
16	"The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	0.00
17	People's Party	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	0.00
18	"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	2,402.00	1000	\$4,071.19	2,402,000.00	2,100.00	83.00	\$295.42	174,300.00	\$4,366.61	2,576,300.00
19	"National Accord" Party	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	0.00
20	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	0.00
21	"Justice" Party	0.00	1000	\$0.00	0.00	0.00	83.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	0.00

Table 2b

Radio Stations

#	Name of the Party	Public Radio Station			
		Broadcast time (in seconds)	Price per Second	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)
1	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	570	100	\$96.61	57,000.00

Table 2c

Pre-election Technology Center Data

The broadcast time cost varied from 3USD to 30USD per TV station

#	Name of the Party	Broadcast time (in minutes)	Number of TV Stations
1	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	240	18
2	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	300	14
3	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party		
4	Republican Party of Armenia		
5	"The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party		

Data for the last three parties were not provided as no agreement was signed with them and the money was paid in cash.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 2d

Newspapers

1USD = 590AMD

#	Name of the Party	Azg				Golos Armenii			
		Space (cm ²)	Price per Unit	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Space (cm ²)	Price per Unit	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)
1	Republican Party of Armenia	660.45	150.00	\$167.91	99,067.50	0			
2	"Rule of Law Country" Party	0				397	150.00	\$100.93	59,550.00

#	Name of the Party	Hajastani Hanrapetutyun				Aravot			
		Space (cm ²)	Price per Unit	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Space (cm ²)	Price per Unit	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)
1	"Powerful Homeland" Party	910.2	191.00	\$294.66	173,848.20	0			
2	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	953.28	191.00	\$308.60	182,076.48	2103.64	342.00	\$1,219.40	719,444.88
3	"Justice" Party	947.9	191.00	\$306.86	181,048.90	0			

According to the independent monitoring no political advertisement has been placed in the following newspapers:

- 1 Hajkakan Zhamanak
- 2 Respublika Armenii
- 3 Ayb-Fe
- 4 Hayots Ashxarh
- 5 Orran
- 6 Novoe Vremya

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 3

Posters

\$1 = 590 drams

According to the specialists' estimations, design price of publications is 50USD - 150USD. The average price of 100USD was used for the Project calculations. A 20% discount was used for the publications with 5,000 and more copies.

#	Name of the Party	Number of Copies	Price per Unit (in USD)	Total Price (in USD)	Design Price (in USD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Publishing House
1	Republican Party of Armenia	8,000	\$0.276	\$2,208.00	\$100	\$2,308.00	1,361,720.00	Antares
		3,000	\$0.300	\$900.00	\$100	\$1,000.00	590,000.00	Tigran Mets
		3,000	\$0.300	\$900.00	\$100	\$1,000.00	590,000.00	Tigran Mets
		5,000	\$0.240	\$1,200.00	\$100	\$1,300.00	767,000.00	Tigran Mets
	Total			\$5,208.00		\$5,608.00	3,308,720.00	
2	"Powerful Homeland" Party	500		\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	0.00	AM PG Group
				\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	0.00	
3	"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	5,000	\$0.240	\$1,200.00	\$100	\$1,300.00	767,000.00	Tigran Mets
		5,000	\$0.240	\$1,200.00	\$100	\$1,300.00	767,000.00	Tigran Mets
				\$2,400.00		\$2,600.00	1,534,000.00	
4	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	1,000	\$0.190	\$190.00	\$100	\$290.00	171,100.00	Hakob Meghapart
				\$190.00		\$290.00	171,100.00	
5	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun)	8,000	\$0.240	\$1,920.00	\$100	\$2,020.00	1,191,800.00	Tigran Mets
		8,000	\$0.240	\$1,920.00	\$100	\$2,020.00	1,191,800.00	Tigran Mets
		8,000	\$0.240	\$1,920.00	\$100	\$2,020.00	1,191,800.00	Tigran Mets
		3,000	\$0.300	\$900.00	\$100	\$1,000.00	590,000.00	Tigran Mets
		5,000	\$0.240	\$1,200.00	\$100	\$1,300.00	767,000.00	Tigran Mets
	Total			\$7,860.00		\$8,360.00	4,932,400.00	
6	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)	3,000	\$0.300	\$900.00	\$100	\$1,000.00	590,000.00	Tigran Mets
		3,000	\$0.300	\$900.00	\$100	\$1,000.00	590,000.00	Tigran Mets
		3,000	\$0.300	\$900.00	\$100	\$1,000.00	590,000.00	Tigran Mets
				\$2,700.00		\$3,000.00	1,770,000.00	
7	"Justice" Bloc	7,000	\$0.089	\$623.00	\$100	\$723.00	426,570.00	Musalser
		5,000	\$0.089	\$445.00	\$100	\$545.00	321,550.00	Musalser
				\$0.00		\$1,268.00	748,120.00	

8	"Rule of Law Country" Party	5,000	\$0.162	\$810.00	\$100	\$910.00	536,900.00	Lion Printing Service
		5,000	\$0.162	\$810.00	\$100	\$910.00	536,900.00	Lion Printing Service
		5,000	\$0.162	\$810.00	\$100	\$910.00	536,900.00	Lion Printing Service
		5,000	\$0.162	\$810.00	\$100	\$910.00	536,900.00	Lion Printing Service
		5,000	\$0.162	\$810.00	\$100	\$910.00	536,900.00	Lion Printing Service
		5,000	\$0.162	\$810.00	\$100	\$910.00	536,900.00	Lion Printing Service
		3,000	\$0.203	\$609.00	\$100	\$709.00	418,310.00	Lion Printing Service
	Total			\$5,469.00		\$6,169.00	3,639,710.00	
9	Communist Party of Armenia	2,000	\$0.101	\$202.00	\$100	\$302.00	178,180.00	Erebuni Ltd
		5,000	\$0.101	\$505.00	\$100	\$605.00	356,950.00	"Gayison"
	Total			\$707.00		\$907.00	535,130.00	
10	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party	500	\$0.190	\$95.00	\$100	\$195.00	115,050.00	Hakob Meghapart
	Total			\$95.00		\$195.00	115,050.00	
11	United Labor Party	5,000	\$0.138	\$690.00	\$100	\$790.00	466,100.00	Print Style
		5,000	\$0.138	\$690	\$100	\$790.00	466,100.00	Print Style
	Total			\$1,380.00		\$1,580.00	932,200.00	
12	"National Unity" Party	750	\$0.169	\$126.75	\$100	\$226.75	133,782.50	Musalier
	Total			\$0.00		\$226.75	133,782.50	
13	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	16,000	\$0.089	\$1,424.00	\$100	\$1,524.00	899,160.00	Musalier
	Total			\$0.00		\$1,524.00	899,160.00	
14	Christian-Democratic Union	10,000.00	\$0.240	\$2,400.000	\$200.000	\$2,600.000	1,534,000.00	Print Info
	Total			\$2,400.000		\$2,600.000	1,534,000.00	
15	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	1,000.00	\$0.139	\$139.00		\$139.00	82,010.00	
	Total					\$139.000	82,010.00	
15	"The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

¹ On one of the posters of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party the number of copies and the publishing house was not mentioned. The same case was observed with the United Labor Party. The prices of those posters were estimated based on the number of copies and the prices of the publishing houses mentioned on the other posters of those parties.

² The minimum order of the AM PG Group publishing house is 5,000 copies, so it is possible that the 500 copies have been published free of charge for the "Powerful Homeland" Party.

³ "The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party had 1 poster, but neither the number of copies nor the publishing house were identified.

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Table 4a

Publications

1USD = 590AMD

#	Name of the Party	Number of Copies	Price per Copy (in AMD)	Total (in AMD)	Design Price (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Publishing Houses	Type of the Publication
1	Republican Party of Armenia	8,000	90.00	720,000.00	53,100.00	\$1,310.34	773,100.00	Antares	Brochure
		5,000	60.00	300,000.00	41,300.00	\$578.47	341,300.00	Antares	Brochure
		4,000	40.00	160,000.00		\$338.98	200,000.00	Antares	Calendar
		3,000	40.00	120,000.00		\$254	150,000.00	Tigran Mets	Pre-election periodical
2	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	20,000	60.00	1,200,000.00	35,400.00	\$2,093.90	1,235,400.00	Magic Adv. Agency	Brochure
		20,000	10.00	200,000.00		\$338.98	200,000.00	Magic Adv. Agency	Flyer
		500	100.00	50,000.00	35,400.00	\$144.75	85,400.00	Zangak	Pre-election program
		1,000				\$118.64	70,000.00	Hakob Meghapat	Notification card
3	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	10,000	60.00	600,000.00	35,400.00	\$1,076.95	635,400.00	Voskan Yerevantsi	Brochure
		20,000	10.00	200,000.00		\$338.98	200,000.00	Voskan Yerevantsi	Calendar
		50,000	1.85	92,500.00		\$156.78	92,500.00		Flyer
4	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party	5,000				\$127.12	75,000.00	Hakob Meghapat	Brochure
		500				\$81.36	48,000.00	Hakob Meghapat	Notification card
6	"Justice" Party	1,000	60.00	60,000.00	35,400.00	\$161.69	95,400.00	Antares	Brochure
7	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	60,000	60.00	3,600,000.00	35,400.00	\$6,161.69	3,635,400.00	Musalier	Brochure
		10,000	30.00	300,000.00		\$610.17	360,000.00	Musalier	Calendar
8	"National Unity" Party	5,000	60.00	300,000.00	35,400.00	\$568.47	335,400.00	Musalier	Brochure
9	"Justice" Bloc	40,000	80.00	3,200,000.00	35,400.00	\$5,483.73	3,235,400.00	Musalier	Brochure
10	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)	10,000	100.00	1,000,000.00	35,400.00	\$1,754.92	1,035,400.00	Tigran Mets	Brochure
11	Communist Party of Armenia	10,000	80.00	800,000.00	35,400.00	\$1,415.93	835,400.00	Gayison	Brochure
12	Christian-Democratic Union	5,000	150.00	750,000.00	35,400.00	\$1,331.19	785,400.00	Print Info	Brochure
		50,000	50.00	2,500,000.00	29,500.00	\$4,287.29	2,529,500.00	Print Info	Flyer
13	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	10,000	180.00	1,800,000.00	147,500.00	\$3,300.85	1,947,500.00	Tigran Mets	Brochure
		10,000	250.00	2,500,000.00	118,000.00	\$4,437.29	2,618,000.00	Tigran Mets	Brochure
14	"Rule of Law Country" Party	30,000	177.00	5,310,000.00	35,400.00	\$9,060.00	5,345,400.00	Tigran Mets	Booklet
15	"National Accord" Party	2,000				\$101.69	60,000.00		Booklet
16	United Labor Party								Booklet - A4 format

The booklet of the United Labor Party was not possible to obtain, that is why the number and cost are not mentioned.

Table 4b

Other Campaign Materials

#	Name of the Party	Number of Copies	Price per Copy (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Publishing Houses	Type of the Publication
1	Republican Party of Armenia	300	\$3.38	\$1,014.00	\$1,014.00	598,260.00	Antares	T-shirts
		500	\$1.50	\$750.00	\$750.00	442,500.00	Antares	Pens
		300	\$4.50	\$1,350.00	\$1,350.00	796,500.00	Antares	Hats
		150	\$5.00	\$750.00	\$750.00	442,500.00	Tosp	Hats
2	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	100	\$3.38	\$338.00	\$338.00	199,420.00	Tosp	T-shirts
3	"Rule of Law Country" Party	30,000	\$2.03	\$60,900.00	\$60,900.00	35,931,000.00	–	T-shirts
4	Christian-Democratic Union	1,000	\$3.38	\$3,380.00	\$3,380.00	1,994,200.00	Tosp	T-shirts
5	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party							T-shirts
6	United Labor Party						–	T-shirts

1 T-shirts of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation have been ordered by the Youth Union for April 24 (Armenian Genocide Memorial Day). The cost of the T-shirts is not covered by the party.

2 The "Rule of Law Country" Party clarified that the T-shirts were prepared by the sub-offices before the beginning of the pre-election campaign period. Taking into consideration that those T-shirts were used during the campaign, they were considered as campaign materials. Thus it was supposed that the cost of those T-shirts, according to the Armenian legislation, had to be covered through the pre-election fund. The number of T-shirts was not possible to find out even from the party representatives, hence the figure of 30,000 mentioned in the article "The Law continues to be ignored" in "Aravot" newspaper (June 6, 2003) was used for the estimations.

3 "Labor, Law, Unity" Party mentioned that they had T-shirts, but the number was not identified.

4 United Labor Party had T-shirts, but the number is unknown.

5 "Hakob Meghapat" publishing house provided with the amount paid by the parties for the publications

6 "Magic" and "Gayison" publishing houses mentioned that they did not receive any order from political parties

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Table 5a

Billboards

Company name	Nushikyan Association, Zebra, ForPost, without name	
Size of billboards	12m ² , 14m ² , 18m ²	average size 14.6m ²
Rent price	for 30 days - 1m ² - 30USD	
Contract signed	for 20 days (on average, the billboards were posted for 15 days)	
The average rent price for 15 days	(12+14+18)/3*15=220USD	
Price for placement of billboards	50USD - 60USD	average price 55USD
Design price	150USD	
Price of production	1m ² - 14USD - 20USD	average price 17USD
Price for the production of 1 billboard	17USD * 14.6m ² = 248.2USD	

Name of the Party	Number of Billboards	Production Cost (248,2USD x number of billboards)	Rental Cost (for 15 days - 220USD x number of billboards)	Price for Placement (in USD)	Design Price (in USD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)
Republican Party of Armenia	7	\$1,737.40	\$1,540.00	\$385.00	\$150.00	\$3,812.40	2,249,316.00
"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	9	\$2,233.80	\$1,980.00	\$495.00	\$150.00	\$4,858.80	2,866,692.00
"Powerful Homeland" Party	2	\$496.40	\$440.00	\$110.00	\$150.00	\$1,196.40	705,876.00
United Labor Party	9	\$2,233.80	\$1,980.00	\$495.00	\$150.00	\$4,858.80	2,866,692.00

Table 5b

"Business Style" Advertising Service

1 day rent	50-60 drams for the size of 1 A-4 format paper
size of 1 board	25 papers of A-4 format
price of 1 board	25 x 55 x 15 days = 20,625 drams

Name of the Party	Price for 1 Board (in AMD)	Number of boards	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)
"National Unity" Party	20,625.00	25	515,625.00	\$873.94

Table 5c

Locations of Billboards

Name of the Party	Location	Company
Republican Party of Armenia	Baghramyan Str.	Nushikyan
	Tumanyan Str.	Nushikyan
	Khanjyan/Tigrab Mets crossroads	Nushikyan
	Komitas Str.	Nushikyan
	Edzhmiatsin highway	Nushikyan
	Charbakh	without name
"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	Mashtots Str.	Nushikyan
	Sayat-Nova Str.	Nushikyan
	Khanjyan Str.	Zebra
	Koryun Str.	ForPost
	Nalbandyan Str.	without name
	Barekamutyun/Kasyan crossroads	without name
	Koryun/Teryan crossroads	without name
	Komitas/Vagharshyan crossroads	Zebra
Edzhmiatsin highway	without name	
"Powerful Homeland" Party	Khanjyan Str.	Zebra
	Abovyan/Moskovyan crossroads	Nushikyan
United Labor Party	Sayat Nova Str.	without name
	Abovyan/Koryun crossroads	without name
	Khanjyan/Sayat-Nova crossroads	without name
	Leningradyan Str.	Zebra
	Gayi avenue	Zebra
	Kasyan Str.	Zebra
	Azatutyan ave.	Nushikyan
	Edzhmiatsin highway	Zebra
	Malatia/Bangladesh crossroads	without name

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Table 6

Organization of Events

1USD = 590AMD

#	Name of the Party	Event		Price (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Organizers
1	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	May 9th, Victory Day	concert, firework in the "Victory" park	\$1,300.00	1,641,970.00	\$2,783.00	
			* 3,500 tickets for the veterans and socially insecure people	\$1,483.00			
		Open concert in "Shahumyan" square	Armenian singers	\$3,000.00	4,720,000.00	\$8,000.00	
	Concert of Russian band "Slivki"	\$5,000.00					
2	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)	DJ Festival	concert	\$3,000.00	1,947,000.00	\$3,300.00	Alpha-L
			firework	\$300.00			
3	Republican Party of Armenia	School graduation ceremony	firework	\$300.00	177,000.00	\$300.00	
		"Garun Yerevan" event	concert, clones, parade, circus program presents	\$7,000.00	4,130,000.00	\$7,000.00	
		Campaign - Homeland, Victory, Will - in all 10 marzes	concerts (\$2,000 x 10 marzes), per-diem, hotel, petrol	\$23,000.00	13,570,000.00	\$23,000.00	
4	Hrant Vardanyan, together with the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	May 1st, Labor Day	rent of Sport-Concert Complex	\$1,695.00	2,770,050.00	\$4,695.00	
			concert of Armenian singers	\$3,000.00			
5	"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	May 20, open concert	concert of Armenian singers	\$3,000.00	4,720,000.00	\$8,000.00	
			concert of Abraham Russo	\$5,000.00			
6	United Labor Party	May 19, concert in the Victory Park		\$2,000.00	1,180,000.00	\$2,000.00	
		Club of Joyful and Smart People - in Ijevan					
7	Christian-Democratic Union	May 19, Rally of motorcyclists			1,475,000.00	\$2,500.00	
8	Communist Party of Armenia	May 9th, Parade					
9	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	May 9th, Victory Day					

* 1 ticket - 250AMD (on average)

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Table 7

Development of Political Ads

1USD = 590AMD

According to the specialists' estimations, the cost of design for 1 advertisement varies from 500 USD to 1,200USD, depending on the quality. The minimum price of 500USD was used for all the parties during the Project estimations.

#	Name of the Party	Number of Political Ads	Price per Ad (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
1	"Justice" Bloc	3	\$500.00	885,000.00	\$1,500.00
2	Republican Party of Armenia	18	\$500.00	5,310,000.00	\$9,000.00
3	Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun)	13	\$500.00	3,835,000.00	\$6,500.00
4	"National Unity" Party	1	\$500.00	295,000.00	\$500.00
5	"Powerful Homeland" Party	8	\$500.00	2,360,000.00	\$4,000.00
6	"Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc	6	\$500.00	1,770,000.00	\$3,000.00
7	Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia	18	\$500.00	5,310,000.00	\$9,000.00
8	"Rule of Law Country" Party	20	\$500.00	5,900,000.00	\$10,000.00
	<i>pre-election campaign program (2 films - 19 minutes and 35 minutes)</i>	2	\$1,500.00	1,770,000.00	\$3,000.00
9	United Labor Party	7	\$500.00	2,065,000.00	\$3,500.00
10	Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar-Azatakan)	6	\$500.00	1,770,000.00	\$3,000.00
11	Armenian Renewed Communist Party	1	\$500.00	295,000.00	\$500.00
12	Armenian National Movement	1	\$500.00	295,000.00	\$500.00
13	"Liberal" Bloc	1	\$500.00	295,000.00	\$500.00
14	Communist Party of Armenia	***	***	***	***
15	Christian-Democratic Union	4	\$500.00	1,180,000.00	\$2,000.00
16	"The Fist of the Armenian Arians" Party	1	\$500	295,000.00	\$500
17	People's Party	4	\$500.00	1,180,000.00	\$2,000.00
18	"Union of Industrialists and Women" Bloc	11	\$500.00	3,245,000.00	\$5,500.00
19	"National Accord" Party	***	***	***	***
20	"Labor, Law, Unity" Party	2	\$500	295,000.00	\$500
21	"Justice" Party	1	\$500.00	295,000.00	\$500.00

The political advertisements of "The Fist of the Armenian Arians" and the "Labor, Law, Unity" parties were prepared by the Pre-election Technology Center. According the data provided by the latter, the cost of preparation of those advertisements was approximately 500USD.

ATTACHMENT 3

FINAL DATA FOR THE COOPERATING PARTIES

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NOTES:

- *Because the media monitoring conducted by the Yerevan Press Club covers only the period between 18:00 – 24:00, the estimations of the costs for political advertisement sometimes are less than actually spent. In such cases, the information presented by the party or the third source is mentioned in the “data of independent monitoring”.*
- *If the party identified some expenses that were not monitored by the Project Team, those costs were included in the “data of independent monitoring”.*
- *Even if parties mentioned that a service was provided free of charge, the Project Team calculated the price of that service to show how much did the “favor” cost.*
- *No monitoring of administrative expenses – office rent, bonuses for volunteers, travelling, etc. – was conducted. However, the data presented by the parties about the number of temporary offices, employees and the visited marzes is included in the final data report to give an idea how much the administrative expenses could have been.*

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Table 8

"LIBERAL" BLOC

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement						
TV Stations						
Public TV	8,260.00	\$14.00	8,260.00	\$14.00	8,260.00	\$14.00
Radio Stations	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Media	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Other (not specified)	20,000.00	\$33.90	20,000.00	\$33.90		
Sub-Total	28,260.00	\$47.90	28,260.00	\$47.90		
Campaign Materials						
Publications	69,000.00	\$116.95	69,000.00	\$116.95		
Posters	0.00	\$0.00	***	***		
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Design of political ads	free of charge		295,000.00	\$500.00		
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total	69,000.00	\$116.95	364,000.00	\$616.95		
Administrative Expenses						
Salary	336 volunteers		***	***		
Office expenses	20 sub-offices		***	***		
Travel expenses	178,078.00	\$301.83	178,078.00	\$301.83		
	7 communities and 9 marzes					
Sub-Total	178,078.00	\$301.83	178,078.00	\$301.83		
Other Expenses						
Petrol - 160 liter	44,800.00	\$75.93	***	***		
	donation					
Food	26,140.00	\$44.31	***	***		
	donation					
Hay TV	free of charge		***	***		
H1	5,200.00	\$8.81	***	***		
	discount					
Sub-Total	76,140.00	\$129.05	0.00	\$0.00		
TOTAL	275,338.00	\$466.67	570,338.00	\$966.67		

The amount mentioned in "other expenses" (76,140.00 AMD) was mentioned by the party to be a donation/discount, that is why it is not included in the total amount of party expenses.

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

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Table 9

"NATIONAL ACCORD" PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement						
<i>TV Stations</i>						
Public TV	4,800.00	\$8.14	4,800.00	\$8.14	4,720.00	\$8.00
<i>Radio Stations</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
<i>Media</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total	4,800.00	\$8.14	4,800.00	\$8.14		
Campaign Materials						
Publications	60,000.00	\$101.69	60,000.00	\$101.69		
Posters	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total	60,000.00	\$101.69	60,000.00	\$101.69		
Administrative Expenses						
Salary	Only the permanent employees		***	***		
Office expenses	Only the permanent office		***	***		
Travel expenses	1 community, 3 marzes		***	***		
Sub-Total	15,000.00	\$25.42	15,000.00	\$25.42		
Other Expenses						
Cars for traveling to the regions	free of charge		***	***		
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
TOTAL	79,800.00	\$109.83	79,800.00	\$109.83		

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

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Table 10

"LABOR, LAW, UNITY" PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		Comments
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement							
TV Stations							
Tsayg	0.00	\$0.00	40,887.00	\$69.30			Was paid by the candidates involved in the party proportional list, not through the pre-election fund
Other (Hay TV)	104,000.00	\$176.27	104,000.00	\$176.27			
Pre-election technology center	0.00	\$0.00	***	***	political ads were broadcasted through the regional TV stations		
Radio Station	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Media	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	104,000.00	\$176.27	144,887.00	\$245.57			
Campaign Materials							
Publications			123,000.00	\$208.47			
Posters	48,000.00	\$81.36	115,050.00	\$195.00			
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	295,000.00	\$500.00			
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	48,000.00	\$257.63	533,050.00	\$903.47			
Administrative Expenses							
Salary	129 volunteers		***	***			
Office expenses	43 sub-offices		***	***			
Travel Expenses	150,000	\$254.24	\$150,000.00	\$254.24			
	4 communities and all the marzes						
Other (not specified)	34,000	\$57.63	34,000	\$57.63			
Sub-Total	184,000	\$311.86	184,000	\$311.86			
Other Expenses							
Technical issues	200,000	\$338.98	200,000	\$338.98			
T-shirts	Free of charge		***	***			
Sub-Total	200,000	\$338.98	200,000	\$338.98			
TOTAL	536,000.00	\$1,084.75	1,061,937.00	\$1,799.89			

According to the Pre-election Technology Center, the "Labor, Law, Unity" Party ordered political advertisements to be broadcasted through the regional TV stations, but no contract was signed. That is why the former refused to provide further information.

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 11

"JUSTICE" BLOC

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		Party Comments
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement							
<i>TV Stations</i>							
Public TV	5,310,000.00	\$9,000.00	5,302,920.00	\$8,988.00	5,302,920.00	\$8,988.00	After the recount, 7 080 drams was returned to the party
Armenia	1,790,000.00	\$3,033.90	1,790,000.00	\$3,033.90			
Prometevs	4,053,000.00	\$6,869.49	4,053,000.00	\$6,869.49	4,035,600.00	\$6,840.00	
Shant	204,750.00	\$347.03	204,750.00	\$347.03			
Kentron	1,357,000.00	\$2,300.00	1,865,674.40	\$3,162.16			Representatives of the bloc were invited as a guest to the "Aytseqart" Program, they did not pay for that
Tsayg			44,975.70	\$76.23			
Other (Armnews)	750,000.00	\$1,271.19	750,000.00	\$1,271.19			
Radio Alpha	58,720.00	\$99.53	58,720.00	\$99.53			
Media	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	13,523,470.00	\$22,921.14	14,070,040.10	\$23,847.53			
Campaign Materials							
Publications	1,320,000.00	\$2,237	3,235,400.00	\$5,483.73			Big discounts were given for the publications
Posters	667,000.00	\$1,131	748,120.00	\$1,268.00			
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	885,000.00	\$1,500.00			Were prepared free of charge, by a party member
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	1,987,000.00	\$3,367.80	4,868,520.00	\$8,251.73			
Administrative Expenses							
Salary	2000 volunteers		***	***			
Office expenses	103 sub-offices		***	***			
Travel expenses	all the communities and marzes		***	***			
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Other Expenses							
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
TOTAL	15,510,470.00	\$26,288.93	18,938,560.10	\$32,099.25			

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 12

"JUSTICE" PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		Party Comments
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement							
<i>TV Stations</i>							
Public TV	114,460.00	\$194.00	259,600.00	\$440.00	114,460.00	\$194.00	Discrepancies of several seconds are possible during the independent monitoring, because of which the cost of the political advertisement differs from the party data
Prometevs	0.00	\$0.00	74,340.00	\$126.00	0.00	\$0.00	There was no political advertisement, the party representative was invited to one of the programs, and the party did not pay for that
Other (regional)	234,700.00	\$397.80	234,700.00	\$397.80			
<i>Radio Stations (regional)</i>	38,500.00	\$65.25	38,500.00	\$65.25			
<i>Media</i>							
Hayastani Hanrapetutyun	177,000.00	\$300.00	181,048.90	\$306.86			
Sub-Total	564,660.00	\$957.05	788,188.90	\$1,335.91			
Campaign Materials							
Publications							
Posters	1,210,000.00	\$2,050.85	1,210,000.00	\$2,050.85			
Design of political ads							
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	1,210,000.00	\$2,050.85	1,210,000.00	\$2,050.85			
Administrative Expenses							
Salary	40 volunteers		***	***			
Office expenses	7 sub-offices		***	***			
Travel expenses	350,010.00	\$593.24	350,010.00	\$593.24			
	all the marzes						
Sub-Total	350,010.00	\$593.24	350,010.00	\$593.24			
Other Expenses							
Rent of Congress Hotel	111,200.00	\$188.47	111,200.00	\$188.47			
Sub-Total	111,200.00	\$188.47	111,200.00	\$188.47			
TOTAL	2,235,870.00	\$3,789.61	2,459,398.90	\$4,168.47			

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 13

"DIGNITY, DEMOCRACY, MOTHERLAND" BLOC

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement						
<i>TV Stations</i>						
Public TV	1,894,000.00	\$3,210.17	2,069,720.00	\$3,508.00	1,867,940.00	\$3,166.00
Armenia	2,214,000.00	\$3,752.54	3,480,500.00	\$5,899.15		
Prometevs	2,444,000.00	\$4,142.37	2,478,000.00	\$4,200.00	2,478,000.00	\$4,200.00
Shant	881,000.00	\$1,493.22	1,259,030.50	\$2,133.95		
Tsayg *	\$1,121,000.00	\$1,900.00	995,695.80	\$1,687.62		
<i>Pre-election technology center</i>			1,121,000.00	\$1,900.00		
Other (Armnews)	300,000.00	\$508.47	300,000.00	\$508.47		
<i>Radian Stations (Tosp)</i>	114,000.00	\$193.22	114,000.00	\$193.22		
<i>Media</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total	8,968,000.00	\$15,200.00	10,822,250.50	\$18,342.80		
Campaign Materials						
Publications	60,000.00	\$101.69	1,590,800.00	\$2,696.27		
Posters			171,100.00	\$290.00		
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	1,770,000.00	\$3,000.00		
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total	60,000.00	\$101.69	3,531,900.00	\$5,986.27		
Administrative Expenses						
Salary	the number of volunteers was not specified		***	***		
Office Expenses	5,000.00	\$8.47	5,000.00	\$8.47		
	93 sub-offices					
Travel expenses	all communities and marzes		***	***		
Sub-Total	5,000.00	8.47	5,000.00	8.47		
Other Expenses						
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
TOTAL	9,033,000.00	\$15,310.17	14,359,150.50	\$24,337.54		

* According to the independent monitoring results, the "Dignity, Democracy, Motherland" Bloc broadcasted a political advertisement through the Tsayg TV station, which is in the network of regional TV stations of the Pre-Election Technology Center. The party has used the services of the Technology Center and has paid 1,121,000 drams.

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 14

"THE FIST OF ARMENIAN ARIANS" PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		Party Comments
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement							
TV Stations	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Other					Political Ads were broadcasted in different regions through the Pre-election technology center		A friend has paid for it
Radio	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Media	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Campaign Materials							
Publications	0.00	\$0.00	***	***			
Posters	0.00	\$0.00	The amount and the publishing house was not mentioned				A friend has paid for it
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	295,000.00	\$500.00			A friend has paid for it
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	295,000.00	\$500.00			
Administrative Expenses							
Salary	Only the permanent employees		***	***			
Office expenses	Only the permanent office		***	***			
Travel expenses	all the marzes		***	***			
Sub-Total	0	\$0.00	0	\$0.00			
Other Expenses							
Sub-Total	0	\$0.00	0	\$0.00			
TOTAL	0.00	\$0.00	295,000.00	\$500.00			

According to the Pre-election Technology Center, "The Fist of Armenian Arians" Party ordered political advertisements to be broadcasted through the regional TV stations, but no contract was signed. That is why the former refused to provide further information.

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 15

ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION (DASHNAKTSUTYUN)

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		Party Comments
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement							
<i>TV Stations</i>							
Public TV	7,624,400.00	\$12,922.71	7,199,180.00	\$12,202.00	7,588,580.00	\$12,862.00	
Armenia	8,700,000.00	\$14,745.76	7,477,000.00	\$12,672.88			
Prometevs	8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00	7,417,480.00	\$12,572.00	8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00	
Shant	4,203,000.00	\$7,123.73	3,656,289.00	\$6,197.10			
Kentron	650,000.00	\$1,101.69	3,671,806.00	\$6,223.40			
ALM	1,755,000.00	\$2,974.58	6,897,100.00	\$11,690.00			
Tsayg	0.00	\$0.00	896,593.50	\$1,519.65			The party did not pay to the TV Station. It is possible that it was an advertisement of majoritarian candidate nominated by the party.
<i>Other (Hay TV)</i>	1,140,000.00	\$1,932.20	1,140,000.00	\$1,932.20			
Armnews	2,250,000.00	\$3,813.56	2,250,000.00	\$3,813.56			
TV5	1,188,000.00	\$2,013.56	1,188,000.00	\$2,013.56			
Lori TV	426,000.00	\$722.03	426,000.00	\$722.03			
<i>Radio Ardzaganq</i>	287,000.00	\$486.44	295,000.00	\$500.00			
Radio Tosp	280,000.00	\$474.58	280,000.00	\$474.58			
Public Radio	180,000.00	\$305.08	57,000.00	\$96.61	180,000.00	\$305.08	
<i>Media</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	37,179,400.00	\$63,015.93	42,851,448.50	\$72,629.57			
Campaign Materials							
Publications	4,784,730.00	\$8,109.71	4,565,500.00	\$7,738.14			The design of the booklet was done by their employee, who receives permanent salary.
Posters			4,932,400.00	\$8,360.00			
Metro posters	314,830.00	\$533.61	314,830.00	\$533.61			
Billboards			0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	199,420.00	\$338.00			The T-shirts were prepared for April 24 (<i>Memorial Day of Armenian Genocide</i>) by their Youth Union
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	3,835,000.00	\$6,500.00			The script of the advertisements was written, and the equipment was provided by the party member/employee
Organization of events	0.00	\$0.00	2,770,050.00	\$4,695.00			The event was organized by Hrant Vardanyan, the Armenian revolutionary Federation was invited to participate.
Sub-Total	5,099,560.00	\$8,643.32	16,617,200.00	\$28,164.75			
Administrative Expenses							
Salary	8,000 volunteers		***	***			
Office expenses			***	***			
Travel expenses	1,500 sub-office		***	***			
	All the communities and marzes		***	***			
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Other Expenses							
Moonlight	472,000.00	\$800.00	472,000.00	\$800.00			
Armentel - easy card	493,040.00	\$835.66	493,040.00	\$835.66			
Rent of a hall	400,000.00	\$677.97	400,000.00	\$677.97			
Sub-Total	1,365,040.00	\$2,313.63	1,365,040.00	\$2,313.63			
TOTAL	43,644,000.00	\$73,972.88	60,833,688.50	\$103,107.95			

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 16

ARMENIAN RENEWED COMMUNIST PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Party Comments
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement					
<i>TV Stations</i>					
Tsayg *	528,300.00	\$895.42	203,656.20	\$345.18	
<i>Pre-election technology center</i>			528,300.00	\$895.42	
Other - Ashtarak	58,800.00	\$99.66	58,800.00	\$99.66	
<i>Radio Station</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	
<i>Media</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	
Sub-Total	587,100.00	\$995.08	587,100.00	\$995.08	
Campaign Materials					
Publications **	480,000.00	\$813.56	927,900.00	\$1,572.71	The party was given big discounts (see table 4a, pg. vii)
Posters			82,010.00	\$139.00	
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00	
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	295,000.00	\$500.00	
Organization of events	<i>see "other expenses"</i>		<i>see "other expenses"</i>		
Sub-Total	480,000.00	\$813.56	1,304,910.00	\$1,572.71	
Administrative Expenses					
Salary	more than 300 party members		***	***	
Office expenses	33 regional committees		***	***	
Travel expenses	421,200.00	\$713.90	421,200.00	\$713.90	
Sub-Total	421,200.00	\$713.90	421,200.00	\$713.90	
Other Expenses					
<i>Moonlight</i>	147,500.00	\$250.00	147,500.00	\$250.00	
<i>Rent of a hall</i>	200,000.00	\$338.98	200,000.00	\$338.98	
<i>Preparation of invitations</i>	13,680.00	\$23.19	13,680.00	\$23.19	
<i>Event - May 1st</i>	147,000.00	\$249.15	147,000.00	\$249.15	
<i>Xerox</i>	3,120.00	\$5.29	3,120.00	\$5.29	
Sub-Total	511,300.00	\$866.61	511,300.00	\$866.61	
TOTAL	1,999,600.00	\$3,389.15	2,824,510.00	\$4,148.31	

* According to the independent monitoring results, the political advertisement of the Armenian Renewed Communist Party was broadcasted through the Tsayg TV station, which is in the network of regional TV stations of the Pre-Election Technology Center. The party has used the services of the Technology Center and has paid 528,300 Drams.

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 17

"RULE OF LAW COUNTRY" PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		Party Comments
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement							
<i>TV Stations</i>							
Public TV	6,742,400.00	\$11,427.80	7,336,060.00	\$12,434.00	6,716,560.00	\$11,384.00	After the recount, 25,840 drams were returned to the party
Armenia	10,540,000.00	\$17,864.41	14,218,800.00	\$24,099.66			2,196,000 drams were transferred later
Prometevs	14,940,000.00	\$25,322.03	18,517,740.00	\$31,386.00	12,744,000.00	\$21,600.00	
Shant	2,794,800.00	\$4,736.95	4,411,170.40	\$7,476.56			
Kentron	550,000.00	\$932.20	4,586,164.40	\$7,773.16			
ALM	2,940,000.00	\$4,983.05	11,188,760.00	\$18,964.00			
Tsayg	200,000.00	\$338.98	1,043,786.70	\$1,769.13			
<i>Radio Station</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
<i>Media</i>							
Orran	526,500.00	\$892.37	526,500.00	\$892.37			
Golos Armenii	217,000.00	\$367.80	217,000.00	\$367.80	147,000.00	\$249.15	
Other (not specified)	12,929,560.00	\$21,914.51	12,929,560.00	\$21,914.51			
Sub-Total	52,380,260.00	\$88,780.10	74,975,541.50	\$127,077.19			
Campaign Materials							
Publications	3,740,000.00	\$6,338.98	3,740,000.00	\$6,338.98			
<i>Booklet</i>	0.00	\$0.00	5,345,400.00	\$9,060.00			The booklet was given to the publication before the pre-election campaign, thus it is not a campaign material
Posters	3,000,000.00	\$5,084.75	3,639,710.00	\$6,169.00			
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Ti-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00	35,931,000.00	\$60,900.00			* The T-shirts were prepared before the campaign period by their regional structures
Design of political ads	0.00	\$0.00	5,900,000.00	\$10,000.00			
<i>design of political films</i>	0.00	\$0.00	1,770,000.00	\$3,000.00			
Organization of Events	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total	6,740,000.00	\$11,423.73	47,240,710.00	\$80,069.00			
Administrative Expenses							
Salary	data on the number of employees was not provided		***	***			
Office expenses							
Travel expenses	data on the number of sub-offices was not provided		***	***			
Sub-Total	792,150.00	\$1,342.63	792,150.00	\$1,342.63			
Other Expenses							
Moonlight	60,000.00	\$101.69	60,000.00	\$101.69			
Sub-Total	60,000.00	\$101.69	60,000.00	\$101.69			
TOTAL	59,972,410.00	\$101,648.15	123,068,401.50	\$208,590.51			

* Both the booklet and the T-shirts were used by the party during the pre-election campaign, hence they were considered as campaign materials, and it was supposed that their cost had to be covered by the pre-election fund.

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 18

CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRATIC UNION

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties		Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement						
<i>TV Stations</i>						
Public TV	6,754,320.00	\$11,448.00	6,744,880.00	\$11,432.00	6,754,320.00	\$11,448.00
Armenia	9,665,380.00	\$16,382.00	17,496,000.00	\$29,654.24		
Prometevs	3,000,000.00	\$5,084.75	9,511,980.00	\$16,122.00	12,106,800.00	\$20,520.00
Shant	1,000,000.00	\$1,694.92	1,763,716.50	\$2,989.35		
Tsayg	385,860.00	\$654.00	478,183.20	\$810.48		
<i>Radio Stations</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
<i>Media</i>	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total	20,805,560.00	\$35,263.66	35,994,759.70	\$61,008.07		
Campaign Materials						
Publications	Free of charge		3,314,900.00	\$5,618.47		
Posters	Free of charge		1,534,000.00	\$2,600.00		
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
T-shirts, hats, pens	Free of charge		1,994,200.00	\$3,380.00		
Design of political ads	Free of charge		1,180,000.00	\$2,000.00		
Organization of events	1,268,500.00	\$2,150.00	1,268,500.00	\$2,150.00		
Sub-Total	1,268,500.00	\$2,150.00	9,291,600.00	\$15,748.47		
Administrative Expenses						
Salary	500,000.00	\$847.46	500,000.00	\$847.46		
	24 employees					
Office expenses	Expenses paid from party account		***	***		
	8 sub-offices					
Travel expenses	2 communities, 3 marzes		***	***		
Sub-Total	500,000.00	\$847.46	500,000	\$847.46		
Other Expenses						
Sub-Total	0.00	\$0.00	0.00	\$0.00		
TOTAL	22,574,060.00	\$38,261.12	45,786,359.70	\$77,604.00		

*** - neither independent monitoring was conducted nor the party mentioned any amount for those expenses.

ATTACHMENT 4

FINAL DATA FOR THE PARTIES WHO DID NOT COOPERATE

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NOTES:

- *Because the media monitoring conducted by the Yerevan Press Club covers only the period between 18:00 – 24:00, the estimations of the costs for political advertisement sometimes are less than actually spent. In such cases, the information presented by the third source is mentioned in the “data of independent monitoring”.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 19

"NATIONAL UNITY" PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE				
<i>TV Stations</i>					
Public TV		8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00	8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00
Armenia		21,355,000.00	\$36,194.92		
Prometevs		8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00	8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00
Shant		3,424,348.20	\$5,803.98		
ALM		4,248,000.00	\$7,200.00		
Tsajg		692,158.50	\$1,173.15		
<i>Radio Stations</i>		0.00	\$0.00		
<i>Media</i>		0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total		46,711,506.70	\$79,172.05		
Campaign Materials					
Publications		335,400.00	\$568.47		
Posters		133,782.50	\$226.75		
Billboards		515,625.00	\$873.94		
T-shirts, hats, pens		0.00	\$0.00		
Design of political ads		295,000.00	\$500.00		
Organization of events		0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total		1,279,807.50	\$2,169.17		
Total		47,991,314.20	\$81,341.21		

Table 20

"UNION OF INDUSTRIALISTS AND WOMEN" BLOC

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE				
<i>TV Stations</i>					
Public TV		3,253,260.00	\$5,514.00	3,253,260.00	\$5,514.00
Armenia		2,576,300.00	\$4,366.61		
Prometevs		6,810,960.00	\$11,544.00	2,124,000.00	\$3,600.00
Shant		1,364,262.90	\$2,312.31		
Kentron		2,031,299.20	\$3,442.88		
<i>Radio Stations</i>		0.00	\$0.00		
<i>Media</i>		0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total		16,036,082.10	\$27,179.80		
Campaign Materials					
Publications		***	***		
Posters		1,534,000.00	\$2,600.00		
Billboards		2,866,692.00	\$4,858.80		
T-shirts, hats, pens		0.00	\$0.00		
Design of political ads		3,245,000.00	\$5,500.00		
Organization of events		4,720,000.00	\$8,000.00		
Sub-Total		12,365,692.00	\$20,958.80		
Total		28,401,774.10	\$48,138.60		

*** - These items were not detected during the independent monitoring, but the party possibly had them.

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Table 21

PEOPLE'S PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE				
TV Stations					
ALM		22,909,700.00	\$38,830.00		
Radio Stations		0.00	\$0.00		
Media		0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total		22,909,700.00	\$38,830.00		
Campaign Materials					
Publications		***	***		
Posters		***	***		
Billboards		0.00	\$0.00		
T-shirts, hats, pens		0.00	\$0.00		
Design of political ads		1,180,000.00	\$2,000.00		
Organization of events		0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total		1,180,000.00	\$2,000.00		
Total			24,089,700.00	\$40,830.00	

Table 22

DEMOCRATIC LIBERAL UNION OF ARMENIA

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source	
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE				
TV Stations					
Public TV		8,621,080.00	\$14,612.00	8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00
Armenia		11,049,400.00	\$18,727.80		
Prometevs		9,718,480.00	\$16,472.00	9,912,000.00	\$16,800.00
Shant		1,475,401.20	\$2,500.68		
ALM		2,857,960.00	\$4,844.00		
Radio Stations		0.00	\$0.00		
Media					
Aravot		719,444.88	\$1,219.40		
Hayastani Hanrapetutyun		182,076.48	\$308.60	177,000.00	\$300.00
Sub-Total		34,623,842.56	\$58,684.48		
Campaign Materials					
Publications		3,935,400.00	\$6,670.17		
Posters		899,160.00	\$1,524.00		
Billboards	0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens	0.00	\$0.00			
Design of political ads	5,310,000.00	\$9,000.00			
Organization of events	6,361,970.00	\$10,783.00			
Sub-Total	16,506,530.00	\$27,977.17			
Total		51,130,372.56	\$86,661.65		

*** - These items were not detected during the independent monitoring, but the party possibly had them.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 23

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF ARMENIA

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE					
<i>TV Stations</i>						
Public TV		8,355,580.00	\$14,162.00	8,355,580.00	\$14,162.00	
Armenia		13,484,500.00	\$22,855.08			
Prometevs		14,443,200.00	\$24,480.00	14,443,200.00	\$24,480.00	
Shant		6,808,428.90	\$11,539.71			
Kentron		7,182,778.00	\$12,174.20			
ALM		7,865,880.00	\$13,332.00			
Tsajg		742,585.80	\$1,258.62			
<i>Pre-election technology center</i>		Broadcasted ads through regional TV stations				
<i>Radio Stations</i>		0.00	\$0.00			
<i>Media</i>						
Azg		99,067.50	\$167.91	100,300.00	\$170.00	
Sub-Total			58,982,020.20	\$99,969.53		
Campaign Materials						
Publications		1,464,400.00	\$2,482.03			
Posters		3,308,720.00	\$5,608.00			
Billboards		2,249,316.00	\$3,812.40			
T-shirts, hats, pens		2,279,760.00	\$3,864.00			
Design of political ads		5,310,000.00	\$9,000.00			
Organization of events	24,662,000.00	\$41,800.00				
Sub-Total		39,274,196.00	\$66,566.43			
Total		98,256,216.20	\$166,535.96			

According to the Pre-election Technology Center, the Republican Party of Armenia ordered political advertisements to be broadcasted through the regional TV stations, but no contract was signed. That is why the former refused to provide further information.

Table 24

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARMENIA

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE					
<i>TV Stations</i>						
Armenia		140,270.00	\$237.75			
Prometevs		21,240.00	\$36.00	0.00	\$0.00	
Tsajg		619,535.40	\$1,050.06			
<i>Radio Stations</i>		0.00	\$0.00			
<i>Media</i>		0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total			781,045.40	\$1,323.81		
Campaign Materials						
Publications		835,400.00	\$1,415.93			
Posters		535,130.00	\$907.00			
Billboards		0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens		0.00	\$0.00			
Design of political ads	***	***				
Organization of events	Parade, May 9, Victory Day					
Sub-Total		1,370,530.00	\$2,322.93			
Total		2,151,575.40	\$3,646.74			

*** - These items were not detected during the independent monitoring, but the party possibly had them.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 25

"ARMENIAN DEMOCRATIC LIBERAL" PARTY (RAMKAVAR-AZATAKAN)

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE					
TV Stations						
Public TV		6,560,800.00	\$11,120.00	6,361,380.00	\$10,782.00	
Armenia		9,465,100.00	\$16,042.54			
Prometevs		8,514,880.00	\$14,432.00	8,496,000.00	\$14,400.00	
Shant		3,076,973.90	\$5,215.21			
Tsajg		450,925.20	\$764.28			
Radio Stations		0.00	\$0.00			
Media		0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total			28,068,679.10	\$47,574.03		
Campaign Materials						
Publications		1,035,400.00	\$1,754.92			
Posters		1,770,000.00	\$3,000.00			
Billboards		0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens		0.00	\$0.00			
Design of political ads	1,770,000.00	\$3,000.00				
Organization of events	1,947,000.00	\$3,300.00				
Sub-Total		6,522,400.00	\$11,054.92			
Total		34,591,079.10	\$58,628.95			

Table 26

ARMENIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE					
TV Stations						
Armenia		144,254.00	\$244.50			
Radio Stations		0.00	\$0.00			
Media		0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total			144,254.00	\$244.50		
Campaign Materials						
Publications		***	***			
Posters		***	***			
Billboards		0.00	\$0.00			
T-shirts, hats, pens		0.00	\$0.00			
Design of political ads		295,000.00	\$500.00			
Organization of events		0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total			295,000.00	\$500.00		
Total			439,254.00	\$744.50		

*** - These items were not detected during the independent monitoring, but the party possibly had them.

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Table 27

"POWERFUL HOMELAND" PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE					
<i>TV Stations</i>						
Public TV		5,258,080.00	\$8,912.00	5,258,080.00	\$8,912.00	
Armenia		2,709,000.00	\$4,591.53			
Prometevs		14,090,380.00	\$23,882.00	10,620,000.00	\$18,000.00	
Shant		5,152,092.40	\$8,732.36			
Kentron		3,368,616.80	\$5,709.52			
ALM		4,383,700.00	\$7,430.00			
Tsajg		776,268.90	\$1,315.71			
<i>Radio Stations</i>		0.00	\$0.00			
<i>Media</i>						
Hayastani Hanrapetutyun		173,848.20	\$294.66	177,000.00	\$300.00	
Sub-Total			35,911,986.30	\$60,867.77		
Campaign Materials						
Publications			***	***		
Posters			AM PG Group, 500 copies - possibly free of			
Billboards			705,876.00	\$1,196.40		
T-shirts, hats, pens			0.00	\$0.00		
Design of political ads			2,360,000.00	\$4,000.00		
Organization of events			0.00	\$0.00		
Sub-Total		3,065,876.00	\$5,196.40			
Total		38,977,862.30	\$66,064.17			

Table 28

UNITED LABOR PARTY

EXPENSES (1USD = 590AMD)

Budget Items	Data Presented by Parties	Data of Independent Monitoring		Data from the Third Source		
		Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	Total (in AMD)	Total (in USD)	
Political Advertisement	DID NOT COOPERATE					
<i>TV Stations</i>						
Public TV		3,844,440.00	\$6,516.00	3,844,440.00	\$6,516.00	
Armenia		3,170,600.00	\$5,373.90			
Prometevs		5,310,000.00	\$9,000.00	5,310,000.00	\$9,000.00	
Shant		2,858,455.60	\$4,844.84			
Kentron		15,665,231.60	\$26,551.24			
ALM		10,431,200.00	\$17,680.00			
Tsajg		592,277.40	\$1,003.86			
<i>Radio Stations</i>		0.00	\$0.00			
<i>Media</i>		0.00	\$0.00			
Sub-Total			41,872,204.60	\$70,969.84		
Campaign Materials						
Publications			Booklet of A4 format, approx. 6 pages			
Posters			932,200.00	\$1,580.00		
Billboards			2,866,692.00	\$4,858.80		
T-shirts, hats, pens			T-shirts			
Design of political ads			2,065,000.00	\$3,500.00		
Organization of events			1,180,000.00	\$2,000.00		
			Event in Ijevan			
Sub-Total		7,043,892.00	\$11,938.80			
Total		48,916,096.60	\$82,908.64			

*** - These items were not detected during the independent monitoring, but the party possibly had them.

ATTACHMENT 5

PRICE LISTS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

TABLE 29: Booklets	50
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Table 29

Booklets

1 USD = 590 AMD

Name	Format	Paper Type	Number of Copies	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)	Description
Noyan Tapan	A4	200 gram	1000	\$200.00	118,000.00	colorful
Noyan Tapan	A3	200 gram	1000	\$360.00	212,400.00	colorful
Hakob Meghapart	21x30	130gram	1000	\$236.00	139,240.00	colorful
GasPrint	21x30	170gram	1000	\$205.00	120,950.00	colorful
GasPrint	30x42	170gram	1000	\$415.00	244,850.00	colorful
ArtPrint	A4	250gram	2000	\$203.39	120,000.00	two-folded colorful
Voskan Yerevanci	A4	250gram	1000	\$169.49	100,000.00	design included
Zangak 97	A4	170 gram	1000	\$186.44	110,000.00	design included
Tigran Mets	A4	130gram	5000	\$500.00	295,000.00	colorful
Tigran Mets	A3	130gram	10000	\$950.00	560,500.00	colorful
Antares	A4		1000	\$245.00	144,550.00	colorful
Printinfo	A4		1000	\$240.00	141,600.00	colorful
Printinfo	A4		1000	\$260.00	153,400.00	two-folded colorful
Lion Printing Service	A4	220 gram	500	\$101.69	60,000.00	colorful two-folded
Lion Printing Service	A4	221 gram	1000	\$152.54	90,000.00	colorful two-folded

Table 30

Brochures

1 USD = 590 AMD

Name	Format	Paper	Number of Copies	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)	Description
Musaler	A4		500	\$293.22	173,000.00	6-8pp., colorful
Musaler	A4		1000	\$406.78	240,000.00	6-8pp., colorful
Musaler	A4		1500	\$490.68	289,500.00	6-8pp., colorful

Table 31

Calendars

1 USD = 590 AMD

Name	Format	Paper	Number of Copies	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)	Description
Antares	7x10		1	\$0.08	50.00	colorful
Musaler	7x10	130 gram	3000	\$33.90	20,000.00	colorful
Lion Printing Service	7x10		2000	\$76.27	45,000.00	colorful
Lion Printing Service	7x10		3000	\$88.98	52,500.00	colorful
Voskan Yerevanci	7x10	250 gram	1	\$0.02	10.00	4 colors

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Table 32

Posters

1 USD = 590 AMD

Name	Format	Paper	Number of Copies	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)	Description
Noyan Tapan	40x30	160gram chock	1000	\$230.00	135,700.00	colorful 4 colors
Noyan Tapan	60x45	160gram chock	1000	\$340.00	200,600.00	colorful 4 colors
Hakob Meghapart	40x30	130gram chock	1000	\$190.00	112,100.00	colorful 4 colors
Hakob Meghapart	60x45	130gram chock	1000	\$331.00	195,290.00	colorful 4 colors
ArtPrint	A2	250 gram	1000	\$389.83	230,000.00	colorful 4 colors
Voskan Yerevanci	A2	250gram	1000	\$254.24	150,000.00	colorful 4 colors
Zangak 97	A2	170 gram	1000	\$372.88	220,000.00	colorful 4 colors
Zangak 97	A3	170 gram	1000	\$169.49	100,000.00	colorful 4 colors
Karin Hrat	A3	160 gram	1000	\$270.00	159,300.00	colorful 4 colors
Karin Hrat	A4	160 gram	1000	\$210.00	123,900.00	colorful 4 colors
Tigran Mets	A3	130 gram	1000	\$450.00	265,500.00	colorful 4 colors
Tigran Mets	A4	130 gram	1000	\$400.00	236,000.00	colorful 4 colors
Gind	A3	135 gram	1000	\$147.46	87,000.00	colorful
Gind	A4	135gram	1000	\$128.81	76,000.00	colorful
Antares	A3		1000	\$345.00	203,550.00	colorful
Printinfo	A3		1000	\$300.00	177,000.00	colorful
Printinfo	A4	170 gram	5000	\$410.00	241,900.00	
Printinfo	A4	170 gram	8000	\$500.00	295,000.00	
Printinfo	design			\$200.00	118,000.00	
Lion Prinitng Service	A3	170 gram	500	\$101.69	60,000.00	colorful
Lion Prinitng Service	A4	170 gram	1000	\$152.54	90,000.00	colorful
Musaler	A4	170 gram	1000	\$177.97	105,000.00	colorful
Musaler	A3	170 gram	1000	\$169.49	100,000.00	colorful
Musaler	A3	170 gram	3 000	\$355.93	210,000.00	colorful
Musaler	A3	170 gram	5 000	\$449.15	265,000.00	colorful
Musaler	A2	170 gram	1000	\$267.80	158,000.00	colorful
Musaler	A2	170 gram	3000	\$533.90	315,000.00	colorful
Musaler	A2	170 gram	5000	\$694.92	410,000.00	colorful

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2003

Table 33

T-Shirts, Hats, Pens

1 USD = 590 AMD

Name	Type	Number of Copies	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)
Tosp	T-shirt (1 color)	1	\$2.50	1,550.00
Tosp	T-shirt (3 colors)	1	\$3.38	2,000.00
Antares	T-shirt	1	\$3.38	2,000.00
Antares	Hat	1	\$3-6	1,770.00-3,540.00
Antares	Pen	1	50 cent-\$3	295.00-1,770.00

Table 34

Organization of Events

1 USD = 590 AMD

Name	Activity Type	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)
<i>Sharm</i>	Concert with the participation of Armenian singers	\$2,500.00- \$5,000.00	1,475,000.00- 2,950,000.00
	Concert with the participation of Russian singers	\$5,000.00	2,950,000.00
	<i>Firework</i>		
	Baloons	\$10.17-\$159.32	6,000.00- 94,000.00
	Ordinary	\$100-\$600	59,000.00- 354,000.00
	Fountain	\$10.17	6,000.00
	Wsaterfall	\$203.39	120,000.00
	Rome Candles	\$61.02	36,000.00
	With Emblem	\$15-\$40	8,850.00- 23,600.00
<i>Pre-Election technologies Center</i>	Preparation of a political advertisements	\$500.00	295,000.00
	Broadcasting of political advertisements through 20 regional TV stations	\$8.00	4,720.00

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Table 35

Mass Media

1 USD = 590 AMD

Name	Time (in minutes)	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)	Description
TV STATIONS				
Public TV	1	\$120.00	70,800.00	political advertisement
Prometevs	1	\$120.00	70,800.00	political advertisement
ALM	1	\$120.00	70,800.00	political advertisement
Shant	1	\$50-\$60	29,500.00-35,400.00	political advertisement
Armenia	1	\$101.69	60,000.00	political advertisement
	1	\$8.47	5,000.00	pre-election campaign program
Kentron	1	\$70.00	41,300.00	
	1	\$95.00	56,050.00	last three days
Tsayg	1	\$11.00	6,490.00	till May 20
	1	\$11-\$30	6,490.00-17,700.00	after May 20

Name	Time (in minutes)	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)	Description
RADIO STATIONS				
Public Radio	1	\$10.17	6,000.00	

Name	Space (in cm ²)	Price (in USD)	Price (in AMD)	Description
NEWSPAPERS				
Hajastani Hanrapetutyun	1	\$0.32	191.00	
Respublica Armenii	1	\$0.51	300.00	if placed on page 1
	1	\$0.34	200.00	if placed on pages 2-3-4-5-6-7
	1	\$0.25	150.00	if placed on page 8
	1	\$0.17	100.00	if placed on pages 9-10-11
Aravot	1	\$1.02	600.00	if placed on page 1
	1	\$0.81	480.00	if placed on pages 2-3
	1	\$0.61	360.00	if placed on pages 4-5
	1	\$0.20	120.00	if placed on pages 6-7
Golos Armenii	1	\$0.25	150.00	if placed on page 8
	1	\$1.27	750.00	if placed on page 1
Novoye Vremya	1	\$0.25	150.00	if placed on pages 2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Hajkakan Zhamanak	1	\$0.14	84.00	
Hayots Ashkharh	1	\$0.12	70.00	
Azg	1	\$1.00	590.00	if placed on page 1
	1	\$0.25	150.00	if placed on pages 2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Orran	1	\$0.17	100.00	if placed on pages 2-3-4-5-6-7
	1	\$0.25	150.00	if placed on page 8
Ayb-Fe	1	\$0.34	200.00	if placed on pages 2-3
	1	\$0.25	150.00	if placed on pages 4-5
	1	\$0.17	100.00	if placed on pages 6-7
	1	\$0.21	125.00	if placed on page 8