INVESTIGATION BY THE ANTI-CORRUPTION NATIONAL INITIATIVE (ANI)

THE IRON LADLE OF POWER: HAYK KONJORYAN UNDER NIKOL PASHINYAN'S WING

Key figure in the dossier: *Hayk Konjoryan*



They say some people are born with a silver spoon in their mouths. Hayk Konjoryan entered big-time politics with an iron ladle in his hands.

At the founding conference of the Yelk (Way Out) bloc in 2017, he reworked the famous parable of Mkrtich Khrimian, known as Khrimian Hayrik, about the paper and iron ladles. Konjoryan declared that, 139 years on, the Armenian ladle had still not become iron, and called on everyone to forge a new one together - “an iron ladle called the Republic of Armenia.”
https://www.armtimes.com/ru/video/1354

At the time, the ladle was a prop used by an opposition speaker and a symbol of a strong state. In the subsequent course of Konjoryan’s career, however, the image took on a different meaning. He began reaping political dividends without the prop: parliamentary seats, party positions and official posts followed one after another as he drew closer to Nikol Pashinyan.



Photo: Hayk Konjoryan

Konjoryan did not enter parliament from a revolutionary square. He received his first parliamentary mandate on 25 May 2018, through the redistribution of a vacant seat on the Yelk bloc’s list, as a representative of Edmond Marukyan’s Bright Armenia party. Just five months later, he left Bright Armenia, publicly backed Nikol Pashinyan and announced that he was joining the “team of the revolution.” In 2021, Konjoryan became head of the Civil Contract faction, and on 4 August 2026, he was elected Vice President of the National Assembly.

For his ability to quickly read the political situation and switch political camps, Konjoryan earned the nickname “political chameleon.”

Konjoryan himself articulated his place in the new political system: “There is only one wing in Civil Contract — Nikol Pashinyan’s wing.” The remark proved to be not only a description of the ruling party’s internal structure, but also an clear description of his own career.

Under Pashinyan’s wing, Konjoryan became one of the government’s most prominent parliamentary defenders. He supported criminal liability for “grave insult,” advocated the possible revocation of the mandates of opposition MPs who were absent from parliamentary sessions, and defended parliamentary statements that passed political and legal judgment on opponents’ actions before they had gone to trial.

He was remembered above all for his verbal attacks on the opposition and his theatrical, at times spectacular, performances against corruption and representatives of the former authorities.

But political rhetoric is only one side of the story. The other emerges from asset declarations, property transactions, corporate documents and the career trajectories of close relatives.

The MP’s family purchased a townhouse from a company linked to his brother for 54 million drams - significantly below the published price. The agreed purchase price also remained below the threshold relevant to the mortgage tax benefit.

The MP’s brother, Avet Konjoryan, headed a company that sold property developed by this builder. Later, the company’s owner and lawyer alleged financial misconduct involving more than $100,000. These allegations were never substantiated in court, and Avet Konjoryan himself did not respond to journalists’ questions.

Konjoryan’s wife, Shushan Alexanyan, became head of the state-owned company Haypost following a competitive selection process whose details have not been publicly disclosed. In 2025, her remuneration amounted to 43.7 million drams. Neither the company nor the relevant ministry provided the selection committee’s minutes or the criteria used to determine her salary.

The subject of ANI’s investigation is not a single criminal episode, one advantageous property purchase or one opaque appointment. It is a system of relationships in which political loyalty coexists with the family’s material interests, while questions about those interests carry no consequences within the ruling party.

The iron ladle is only the opening frame of this story. What follows is not metaphor, but dates, asset declarations, registers, court records and financial reports. And questions that government representatives chose not to answer.

From Youth Parliament to Yelk

To understand how Hayk Konjoryan ended up under the only wing of Civil Contract, and why that wing remained a reliable shelter under any circumstances, we need to return to the beginning of his political career.

Hayk Konjoryan was born on 30 May 1987 in Charentsavan. He trained as a historian, completing his bachelor's and master's degrees and postgraduate studies at the Faculty of History of Yerevan State University.

Konjoryan took his first steps in politics in 2011, when he became head of the public organization Union of Young Scientists and Postgraduates. That same year, he joined the Youth Parliament affiliated with Armenia's National Assembly, where he remained a member until 2015.

The Youth Parliament served as a training ground and institutional platform attached to the National Assembly. It was there that Konjoryan gained his first political experience, back when the Republican Party was in power.

https://www.brightarmenia.am/am/25/547/hayk-arseni-konjoryan.htm/

A Missing Line in His Biography: DLUA and Questions About Ties to the RPA

During the discussion of Konjoryan's nomination for the post of Vice President of the National Assembly, MP Gegham Manukyan pointed out that, in 2011–2012, Konjoryan had headed the youth wing of the DLUA (Democratic Liberal Union of Armenia). At the time, the party's leader, Vahram Mkrtchyan, was a member of the Republican Party of Armenia (RPA) parliamentary faction.

According to Manukyan, the issue was Konjoryan's leadership of the DLUA youth wing. Konjoryan, for his part, denied cooperating with the Republican Party.

Konjoryan said that he had been an independent member of the Youth Parliament and rejected claims that he had ties to the Republican Party:

"When this party was cooperating with the Republican Party, I was not cooperating with that political force at the time."

The key question here is not a political label, but whether his biography is complete: the fact that he headed the DLUA youth wing was not disputed, yet this stage of his career was missing from the biography submitted to parliament.

https://www.aravot.am/2026/08/03/1572466/

Open sources suggest that Konjoryan's early political career was more complex than the official

version suggests: his membership in the Youth Parliament coincided with his leadership of the youth wing of a party whose leader belonged to the Republican Party's parliamentary faction.

At the same time, Konjoryan was building an academic and media career. In 2013–2014, he taught at Yerevan State University's Faculty of History. From 2014 to 2016, he worked as a political analyst for Lragir.am, a website known for its consistently anti-Russian stance, which, according to the article, was funded and directed by the administration of Serzh Sargsyan. He also wrote and hosted the political commentary programs "Agora" and "A Few Questions".

In 2017–2018, Konjoryan hosted a program called "In a Word" on the online television company Para.tv. The outlet was linked to the public organization Public Diplomacy. Those reportedly behind the organization included Elizabeth Petrosyan, wife of then Syunik governor Vahe Hakobyan, and Lika Tumanyan, deputy director of Public Radio.

Vahe Hakobyan later became a member of the National Assembly on the Armenia bloc list led by Robert Kocharyan. The press linked him to Mikael Minasyan, son-in-law of former President Serzh Sargsyan. Hakobyan acknowledged that Minasyan was his friend, but denied having business ties with him. During Konjoryan's time at Para.tv, Minasyan was at the height of his political and media influence. Thus, even before becoming an MP, Konjoryan worked in political and media circles linked to the government of the time.

Konjoryan entered national parliamentary politics through Edmond Marukyan and Bright Armenia. In 2017–2018, he worked as an expert for the Yelk parliamentary faction, where the political projects of Pashinyan, Marukyan and Aram Sargsyan intersected.

The Yelk alliance was formed in December 2016 by three parties: Nikol Pashinyan's Civil Contract, Edmond Marukyan's Bright Armenia and Aram Sargsyan's Republic. The name Yelk, meaning "Way Out," referred specifically to Armenia's withdrawal from the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). In the 2017 parliamentary elections, the bloc won nine seats. Konjoryan ran as a representative of Bright Armenia, but was not elected at the time.

A Seat Without a Street Protest

On May 25, 2018, Konjoryan entered the National Assembly after a vacant seat on the Yelk bloc's list was reassigned to him.

Edmond Marukyan was not only the leader of Bright Armenia, but also Hayk Konjoryan's godfather.

https://ru.aravot.am/2018/11/02/289240/

On October 31, 2018, he announced that he was leaving Bright Armenia, citing differences of opinion. At the same time, he expressed his "direct and unconditional support" for Nikol Pashinyan and the revolution, declaring that he would continue his political activities with the "team of the

revolution."

Commenting on this political trajectory - from the LDUA to Bright Armenia and then to Civil Contract - Armenia faction MP Artur Khachatryan called Konjoryan a "political chameleon."

https://www.panorama.am/am/news/2026/08/03/Ա-Խաչատրյան/3165627

Talks Behind Their Banks: What Bright Armenia Knew

The official explanation of ideological differences was not the only version of events. On November 1, 2018, Bright Armenia leader Edmond Marukyan made it clear that Konjoryan's departure had not come as a surprise to the party, although it was received very negatively.

https://www.aysor.am/ru/news/2018/11/01/Решение-Айка-Конджоряна/1485314

Marukyan said that Konjoryan had discussed his departure with the party council and had said he had been thinking about it for about five months. Party member Ani Samsonyan also wrote about preliminary talks.

"We knew you were negotiating your departure from us, but we did not have the strength to believe it. At the same time, you should have had the courage to be honest with us when we asked you about the possibility of leaving," Samsonyan wrote.

The timeline matters: Konjoryan received his parliamentary seat in May and announced his departure as early as October, saying that the decision had been taking shape for about five months.

https://hetq.am/hy/article/97759

On November 14, 2018, just two weeks after leaving Bright Armenia, Konjoryan appeared in the top section of the My Step bloc's nationwide candidate list. In the December 2018 elections, he won a new parliamentary seat, and in 2021 he became head of the Civil Contract faction.

After the 2018 elections, Konjoryan became firmly established in the ruling party. In 2021, he became head of the Civil Contract faction, and in August 2026, he became a vice speaker.

His next step was the post of Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly: on August 4, 2026, Hayk Konjoryan was elected vice speaker of parliament.

As his positions changed, so did his public role. The higher Konjoryan climbed the parliamentary ladder, the harsher his rhetoric became, and the more often his political speeches turned into aggressive attacks and direct insults against his opponents.

The Government’s Voice in the Parliament

His new mandate gave Konjoryan not only a seat in the ruling faction, but also a parliamentary microphone. He quickly began to position himself as one of the new government’s key ideological spokesmen, explaining its foreign policy priorities, defending controversial legislative initiatives, and attacking its opponents. However, one of his first high-profile speeches already showed that the new pro-government speaker’s confidence considerably outpaced his diplomatic caution.

Hayk Konjoryan – Parliament’s Battering Ram Against the Opposition

In 2021, Konjoryan actively defended Article 137.1 of the old Criminal Code, which concerned “grave insult.” The provision introduced criminal liability for public insults, and the pro-government majority refused to support its decriminalization.

When the opposition proposed decriminalizing “grave insult,” the Civil Contract faction voted against the proposal. Konjoryan stated: “Obscene language is unacceptable; its freedom has nothing to do with freedom of speech.”

By the time the provision was repealed, around two dozen cases had been opened, a significant proportion of them over publications about Nikol Pashinyan. The provision, which the authorities presented as a means of improving the quality of public discourse, was in practice used primarily to protect the head of government from insulting remarks.

The article came under sharp criticism from Armenian journalistic and human rights organizations. Freedom House described it as a departure from democratic norms and called for its application to be discontinued. However, Konjoryan and the parliamentary majority continued to defend the provision and rejected the opposition's bill to repeal it.

Significantly, the article was added to the old code after the new Criminal Code had already been adopted, and remained in force until July 1, 2022. In other words, criminal liability for insult existed for less than a year, but during that time it became a tool used in numerous cases.

Thus, the pro-government majority introduced criminal liability despite knowing in advance that the provision would disappear in less than a year. Yet even that short period was enough for around two dozen cases to be opened, primarily over statements directed at Nikol Pashinyan.

https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/31603124.html

In June 2022, Konjoryan confirmed that the Civil Contract faction was discussing stripping opposition lawmakers of their mandates for systematically missing parliamentary sessions. Ishkhan Saghatelyan and Vahe Hakobyan were among those named as possible candidates. He linked the issue to the fulfillment of lawmakers’ duties.

https://www.aravot.am/2022/06/30/1277456/

What matters here is not only the dispute over attendance, but also the political context: the authorities viewed the issue of parliamentary mandates as a means of putting pressure on the parliamentary opposition.

In the summer of 2025, Konjoryan presented the parliamentary majority's position following the arrests of members of the Sacred Struggle movement, which is associated with Archbishop Bagrat Galstanyan. The National Assembly adopted a statement that subjected events still under investigation to an extremely harsh political and legal assessment.

https://am.sputniknews.ru/20250702/parlament-armenii-gotovit-zayavlenie-o-zakhvate-vlasti--na-fone-arestov-oppozitsii-90885605.html

This episode illustrates a pattern characteristic of Konjoryan: political conflict is first framed in the strongest possible terms in public. Through political statements, the parliamentary majority entrenched a criminal-law assessment of the circumstances of an ongoing investigation, even before the case had been considered by a court. The legal assessment, however, is the responsibility of the law enforcement system. The opposition factions refused to participate in the session. Artsvik Minasyan, secretary of the Armenia faction, described the statement as interference in the work of investigative authorities.

Konjoryan, by contrast, argued that the parliament was thereby issuing an official assessment of the terrorist acts allegedly planned against the Republic of Armenia, according to the authorities. The investigation was still ongoing, and there had been no court ruling, but the political verdict of the parliamentary majority had already been delivered.

From "Troublemakers" to "Cannibals": Rhetoric as a Political Tool

After being appointed head of the faction, Konjoryan's rhetoric became noticeably harsher. In his speeches, Konjoryan increasingly echoed Nikol Pashinyan's political style: responsibility for the current crises was placed on the former authorities, while the opposition was portrayed not as a political competitor, but as a threat to the state and the people.

In 2021–2022, he spoke of "capitulators," "troublemakers," and forces allegedly destroying the state; in 2025, he called his opponents "mafiosi," and in March 2026, he used the imagery of "cannibals" and "bloodthirsty wolves."

The culmination of this rhetorical line was the direct equating of the opposition with the criminal underworld. Such language does not replace evidence of corruption or criminal liability, but it establishes a political framework in which an opponent is stripped in advance of the status of an equal participant in the debate.

At the same time, Konjoryan demanded the highest standards of public accountability from his opponents, while answers concerning his own family and property circumstances often remained incomplete. It is here that the political portrait ends and the substantive part of the investigation begins.

https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1465905228240074

https://auroranews.am/ru/news/2026-03-04-vo-vremena-pervykh-trekh-prezidentov-iz-armenii-uekhali-million-chelovek-kondzhorjan

https://armeniatoday.am/hy/politics/986965/

https://news.am/ru/video/858944

https://www.1lurer.am/hy/2022/04/12/Թույլ-չտանք-որ-ներքին-խառնակիչներն-ու-պառակտիչները-կազմայ/701168

https://armeniatoday.am/politics-ru/344616/

https://verelq.am/ru/node/108145

Exemption from Military Service: A Promise That was No Longer Honored

The question of Konjoryan's exemption from compulsory military service arose before his political rise. In 2013, following an academic deferment, he was exempted from service on health grounds.

In 2018, while still a member of Bright Armenia, Konjoryan publicly stated that he was prepared to undergo an additional medical examination in accordance with the procedure established by law. After his political team came to power, his position changed.

In 2021, when the media asked whether that promise still stood, Konjoryan declined to answer. He also refused to give an interview about the circumstances of his exemption from military service, citing the confidentiality of his private and family life.

Meanwhile, as media outlets noted, not all the questions put to him required disclosure of a diagnosis or other medical information. Journalists asked whether Konjoryan was still prepared to undergo a repeat examination, how he assessed the legality of his exemption, and whether he considered the health condition that had served as grounds for his exemption from military service compatible with performing the duties of a senior state official. No substantive answers to these questions were forthcoming either.

In 2026, in response to an inquiry from the newspaper Zhoghovurd, the Ministry of Defense officially stated that Hayk Konjoryan had been exempted from compulsory military service “on grounds provided for by law.” The ministry declined to disclose the specific grounds, citing Article 26 of the Law on the Protection of Personal Data and Article 8 of the Law on Freedom of Information. The Prosecutor General’s Office, in turn, stated that it had no information indicating the existence of criminal proceedings against Konjoryan.

Thus, publicly available information provides no grounds for claiming that Konjoryan’s exemption was unlawful or obtained through forged documents, money, or patronage. The Ministry of Defense’s official response confirms that the decision was formalized on grounds provided for by law. However, it does not disclose what those grounds were, making it impossible to independently verify the circumstances of his exemption. Meanwhile, Konjoryan himself continues to avoid even questions that do not require the disclosure of confidential medical information.

The newspaper Zhoghovurd also drew attention to the differing approaches taken by state bodies toward similar information. In the case of Narek Karapetyan, a member of the Strong Armenia party’s council, law enforcement authorities and Public Television disseminated information about an investigation related to his fitness for military service. In Konjoryan’s case, the Ministry of Defense limited itself to citing the protection of personal data. The publication interpreted this as a selective approach toward representatives of the authorities and the opposition.

The central contradiction here is not any proven illegality in the exemption - there is no such evidence - but the change in Konjoryan’s own position: from publicly expressing his willingness to undergo a repeat examination in 2018 to refusing to provide substantive explanations after his political team came to power. In effect, he set his own standard of public accountability, but did not adhere to it when it came to his own exemption.

The unanswered questions did not prevent Konjoryan from advancing further. His refusal to explain his own past did not affect his standing within the ruling team. Konjoryan himself described the structure of that team in a strikingly candid formula: within Civil Contract, there is only one wing - the “Nikol Pashinyan wing.”

https://www.panorama.am/am/news/2026/03/04/%D4%BA%D5%B8%D5%B2%D5%B8%D5%BE%D5%B8%D6%82%D6%80%D5%A4-%D4%BF%D5%B8%D5%B6%D5%BB%D5%B8%D6%80%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6/3153328

Under Pashinyan’s Wing

Konjoryan himself describes the internal hierarchy of the ruling team in unequivocal terms. When reports appear in the press about the existence of separate power groups, or “wings,” within Civil Contract - those of Alen Simonyan, Andranik Kocharyan, and other party heavyweights - he responds:

“Within Civil Contract, there is one wing - the Nikol Pashinyan wing. All other reports are false.”

https://armtimes.com/hy/article/299363

This formulation characterizes both the structure of the ruling party and Konjoryan’s own position within it. He openly ties his place in the party to the leader of Civil Contract, Nikol Pashinyan.



However, the significance of this “wing” became particularly apparent when questions about Konjoryan extended beyond his political career and public rhetoric. Attention turned to the lawmaker’s asset declarations, his family’s real estate holdings, connections to Milon Mining LLC, the activities of his brother, Avet Konjoryan, and the career of his wife, Shushan Aleksanyan, at the state-owned company HayPost.



Photo: Hayk and Avet Konjoryans

Before assessing the reactions of Nikol Pashinyan and the ruling party, it is necessary to examine the specific facts, transactions, and financial ties underlying those reports.

A 54-Million-AMD Townhouse: A Price Below the Listed Rate and Eligibility for a Tax Refund

The first material line of inquiry to take the investigation beyond Konjoryan's political biography was his family's real estate.

According to his 2024 asset declaration, on July 26, Hayk Konjoryan and his wife purchased a two-story townhouse for 54 million drams at 7/19 Arinj B, Abovyan community. The purchase was financed through a mortgage loan of 48 million 238 thousand drams from AEB (Armeconombank).

According to data from the Cadastre Committee cited by Hetq, the property has an internal area of 246 square meters, including approximately 180 square meters of living space. The price also includes a parking space. The seller was Milon Mining LLC, owned by Babken Hovakimyan.
https://hetq.am/hy/article/178639

https://armlur.am/1549930/

The declared purchase price was noticeably below the developer's listed price. An employee of Milon Mining told journalists that a square meter in the complex cost 420,000 drams. In January, July, and October 2024, the company's Facebook page listed a minimum price of 410,000 drams. An advertisement offering the property at that price was also published on July 19, one week before the Konjoryans' transaction.



Even at the minimum listed price, 180 square meters would have cost 73.8 million drams -19.8 million more than the declared purchase price. Konjoryan paid 300,000 drams per square meter.

The lawmaker himself called Hetq's report false. According to him, the journalists had applied the price of a completed property to real estate he had purchased while it was still under construction. However, Hetq pointed out that the listed price of 410,000 drams was in effect at the time of the transaction and that construction was then in its final stages. Konjoryan did not explain the terms on which he had obtained the lower price or whether other buyers had been offered the same terms.

The developer was also not a stranger to the Konjoryan family. Judging by published photographs,

Hayk Konjoryan knew Babken Hovakimyan personally. Another company owned by the businessman, Milon Realty LLC, was headed by the lawmaker's brother, Avet Konjoryan.

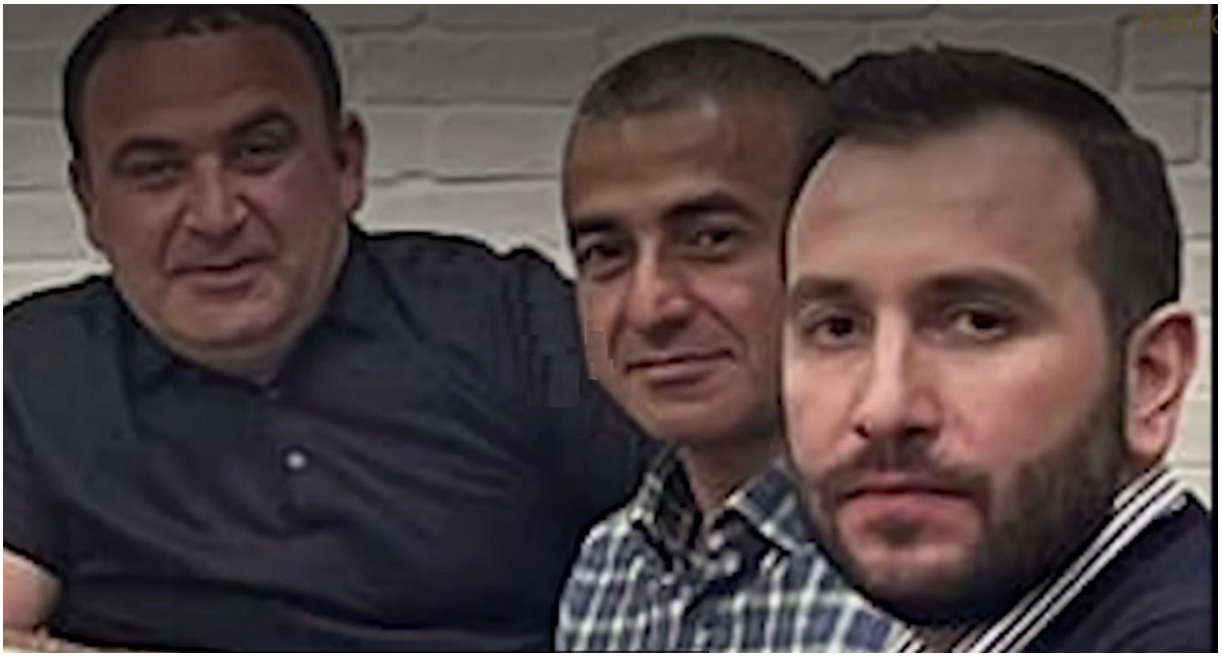


Photo: Avet Konjoryan, Babken Hovakimyan, Hayk Konjoryan

The transaction price also had practical implications. Under the regulations in force at the time, refunds of income tax on mortgage interest were not available if the contractual price of the property exceeded 55 million drams. The declared price of 54 million allowed the couple to retain eligibility for the tax benefit. Shushan Aleksanyan's 2025 asset declaration lists an income tax refund of 6 million 182 thousand 256 drams, as well as more than 8.6 million drams in mortgage payments. Konjoryan's own declaration does not list any expenses related to servicing the mortgage.

Գ.1. ՀԱՅՏԱՐԱՐԱՏՈՒ ՊԱՇՏՈՆԱՏԱՐ ԱՆՁԻ ԸՆՏԱՆԻՔԻ ԱՆԴԱՄԻ ԵԿԱՄՈՒՏՆԵՐ

Գ.1.1. Հաշվետու տարվա եկամուտներ

NN ը/կ	Եկամտի տեսակը	Եկամուտ վճարող կազմակերպության անվանումը կամ ֆիզիկական անձի անունը, ազգանունը և հայրանունը	Եկամուտ վճարողի հասցեն	Հայտարարատուի և եկամուտ վճարողի միջև առկա կապի բնույթը	Ստացված եկամտի գումարը և արժույթը	Բնամթերային ձևով ստացված եկամուտը
1.	Եկամտային հարկի վերադարձ	ՀՀ ֆինանսների նախարարություն	Պաշտպանված	Պաշտպանված	֏ 6,182,256	
2.	Աշխատանքի վարձատրություն և/կամ դրան հավասարեցված այլ վճարումներ	«ՀԱՅՖՈՒՍ»	Պաշտպանված	Պաշտպանված	֏ 43,691,319	
Ընդամենը					֏ 49,873,575	

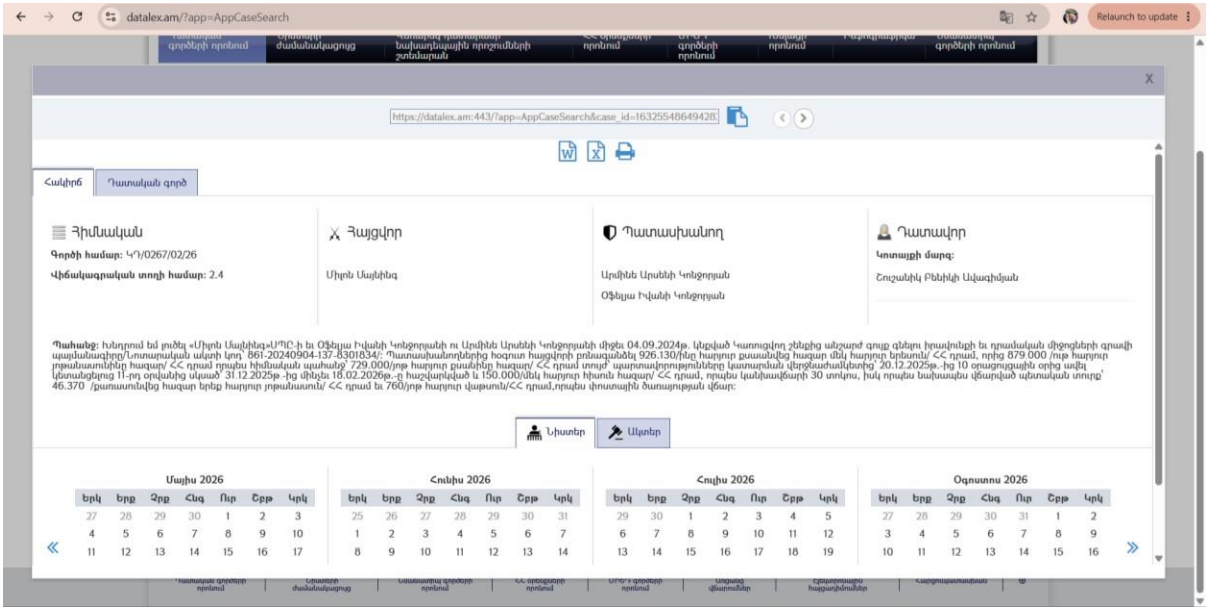
Գ.1.2.Ստացված վարկերի և փոխառությունների մայր գումարի մնացորդը հաշվետու տարվա դեկտեմբերի 31-ի դրությամբ

NN ը/կ	Վարկատուի կամ փոխատուի անվանումը կամ անունը, ազգանունը և հայրանունը	Վարկատուի կամ փոխատուի հասցեն	Փոխառության մնացորդի չափը	Փոխառության տոկոսադրույքը	Նպատակային նշանակությունը	Վարկի մայր գումարի մնացորդի չափը	Վարկի նպատակային նշանակությունը	Հիպոտեկի դեպքում հիպոտեկի առարկան	Հիպոտեկի դեպքում հիպոտեկի առարկայի գտնվելու վայրը
1.	Պաշտպանված	Պաշտպանված			Պաշտպանված	֏ 16,182,933	Պաշտպանված	Բնակարան	Պաշտպանված
2.	Պաշտպանված	Պաշտպանված			Պաշտպանված	֏ 46,589,332	Պաշտպանված	Կցաշար բնակելի տուն	Պաշտպանված
Ընդամենը						֏ 62,772,265			

The fact that the price coincided with the threshold for tax relief does not prove that it was artificially understated. However, the combination of three circumstances - the price being significantly below the published list price, personal and business ties to the company’s owner, and the receipt of more than 6.1 million drams in tax refunds - calls for an explanation that Konjoryan has yet to provide.

https://hetq.am/hy/article/178663

The lawmaker’s mother and sister, Armine and Ofelia Konjoryan, also purchased real estate from the same developer. They obtained the right to purchase an 81-square-meter apartment in the building opposite the townhouse. Later, Milon Mining LLC filed a lawsuit seeking termination of the agreement dated September 4, 2024, on the grounds that the stipulated payments had not been made. The company’s total claim amounted to 926,130 drams.



Milon Mining: From Municipal Land to Family Real Estate

Milon Mining LLC was registered in 2001 under the name Trading House Victoria. In 2022, it changed its name and became the sole property of Babken Hovakimyan. The company built three apartment buildings and a complex of 13 townhouses in Abovyan and Arinj.



The history of one of these projects began with municipal land. In December 2020, while Hayk Mkrtchyan, a member of Civil Contract, was serving as acting head of the Arinj community, two plots of land totaling approximately one hectare were sold to Tsogik Hambardzumyan, the mother of Babken Hovakimyan, for 32.5 million drams. At the same time, an additional 200 square meters of land, with an illegally constructed building already on it, for 1.3 million drams, was transferred to her.

A few days later, Tsogik Hambardzumyan gifted almost a hectare of land to her son. Hovakimyan paid another 31 million drams into the community budget to change the designated use of the plots, after which he sold 0.85 hectares to his own company, Milon Mining LLC, for 541 million drams. The contract was signed on behalf of the company by Avet Konjoryan.

Thus, after acquiring the plots from the community for 33.8 million drams and paying a further 31 million to change their designated use, Hovakimyan sold the main portion of the land - 0.85 hectares - to his own company for 541 million drams. The difference between the sale price and the total payments to the community was 476.2 million drams. Construction of 13 townhouses and an

apartment building began on this very site.

Hovakimyan explained that his family had used the plots for agricultural purposes since the 1990s, had acquired them under a preferential right to purchase, and that the subsequent price of 541 million drams reflected the market value of the land after its designated use had been changed. The difference of 476.2 million drams does not mean that the same amount was earned as net profit: the transaction took place between related parties and provided for installment payments. Nevertheless, it illustrates the commercial value of a municipal asset for which Hovakimyan's family paid the community a total of 64.8 million drams to acquire the land and change its designated use.

Another Milon Mining project emerged on land designated as a city park in Abovyan's master plan. In 2012 and 2016, the mother and wife of Abovyan Mayor Eduard Babayan, Lyuba Babayan and Naira Sargsyan, purchased a total of approximately 6,300 square meters from the community for 14.9 million drams. In 2023, the combined plot was sold to Milon Mining for 770 million drams. The company subsequently obtained a construction permit for a residential complex, and the trees on the site were cut down.

Later, Lyuba Babayan became the owner of two commercial premises with a total area of 1,817 square meters in another building constructed by Babken Hovakimyan. First, the mayor's family sold the former parkland to the company; subsequently, Eduard Babayan's mother became the owner of substantial commercial property in a development by the same builder. Hovakimyan did not explain the circumstances surrounding this sequence of transactions to journalists.

The circle of buyers of Milon Mining properties was also noteworthy. The townhouse next to Konjoryan's was purchased by Nairi Hakobyan, the company's deputy director and a member of the Civil Contract faction on the Abovyan Council of Elders. His wife, Anush Bejanyan, acquired an apartment in the complex built on the former park site. An apartment in another building developed by Hovakimyan was also purchased by Hayk Mkrtchyan, deputy governor of Kotayk Province - the same official under whose tenure the municipal land was transferred to members of the company owner's family.

Further questions were raised by the speed with which certain approvals were issued: some final certificates were granted to the company within a week, while an occupancy permit for one of the buildings was issued on the very day the application was submitted.

https://hetq.am/hy/article/180005

Hetq Reports Referred to the Anti-Corruption Committee

On March 19, 2026, the Prosecutor General's Office announced that materials from Hetq's reports concerning Hayk Konjoryan, Hayk Mkrtchyan, Eduard Babayan, and Milon Mining LLC had been forwarded to the Anti-Corruption Committee to determine whether proceedings should be initiated. At that point, there was no information indicating that a criminal case had been opened.

As of March 19, 2026, the materials had merely been referred for examination. No information had been published indicating that criminal proceedings had been initiated or that anyone had been assigned procedural status in a case.

https://hetq.am/hy/article/180418

However, the connections already established extended beyond real estate purchases. The lawmaker's brother, Avet Konjoryan, headed Milon Realty LLC, signed the contract for the 541-million-dram land transaction on behalf of Milon Mining, and participated in the sale of properties built by the company. It is this direct family and business connection that brings the investigation to the next episode.

Avet Konjoryan and Direct Ties to Milon Mining

In 2023, Babken Hovakimyan established Milon Realty LLC to sell apartments and parking spaces in Milon Mining developments. Avet Konjoryan was appointed director. Hovakimyan was introduced to him by Nairi Hakobyan, who proposed appointing Konjoryan to the position. According to the electronic registry, he remained at the helm until January 5, 2026.

Milon Mining lawyer Lavrent Harutyunyan alleged that Avet Konjoryan collected additional sums from buyers, sold parking spaces without the company owner's knowledge, and accepted cash payments from buyers purchasing apartments in installments without transferring the money to the developer's bank account.

According to Harutyunyan, Konjoryan asked the company to reduce the price per square meter for buyers from 450,000 to 430,000 drams, but charged the customers themselves 440,000 drams.

"He made 10,000 drams on every square meter," the lawyer said.

Harutyunyan also alleged that Konjoryan attempted to meet his obligations to buyers of one building under construction using funds from customers of another development. The alleged scheme came to light during the registration and handover of apartments in the first building. According to the lawyer, Nairi Hakobyan uncovered the irregularities.

Company representatives did not specify the exact amount of the alleged damage, but Harutyunyan estimated it at more than $100,000.

According to Hetq, after the claims came to light, the company owner informed Hayk Konjoryan of them. Hayk Konjoryan refused to discuss the situation, said he wanted nothing to do with it, and left.

Hovakimyan himself did not seek compensation from Avet Konjoryan for the alleged losses. He said he had chosen to absorb the losses, dismiss Konjoryan, and sever ties with him. The decision not to pursue a claim exceeding $100,000, according to the company lawyer's estimate, remained unexplained.

All the current allegations are based on statements by the owner and lawyer of Milon Mining. There has been no court ruling on them. Avet Konjoryan did not respond to Hetq's questions.

These allegations do not establish that Avet Konjoryan committed any new crimes. However, allegations concerning real estate sales and the collection of money from buyers had been made against him before: as far back as 2010, a similar incident in nature ended in a criminal conviction.

Conviction to Fraud

On June 17, 2010, a court found Avet Konjoryan guilty of fraud on an especially large scale under Paragraph 1 of Part 3 of Article 178 of Armenia's Criminal Code, as it stood at the time.

According to the verdict, Avet Konjoryan and Gagik Mesropyan obtained approximately $15,000 from Alvard Mkrtchyan, a resident of Abovyan, under the pretext of selling her an apartment, and misappropriated the money. Konjoryan pleaded guilty, and the damage caused to the victim was subsequently compensated in full.

The court sentenced him to four years in prison. Taking into account the time he had spent in custody, the final sentence amounted to three years, six months, and eight days. Under Article 70 of the Criminal Code, the sentence was suspended, with a three-year probationary period. Konjoryan was released from custody in the courtroom.

The 2010 conviction does not substantiate the current allegations made by representatives of Milon Mining. However, it shows that allegations involving real estate sales, the receipt of money from buyers, and its misappropriation have been made against Avet Konjoryan before. This is precisely why information about the earlier conviction took on particular significance in another criminal case, this time in 2025.

"Form 8": A Certificate Whose Issuance the Police Do Not Confirm

In July 2025, Avet Konjoryan was deprived of his right to drive for one year. Three months later, traffic patrol officers found him driving a Mercedes. Criminal proceedings were initiated, and the case was referred to court with an indictment.



Photo: Avet Konjoryan

At the prosecution's request and with the defendant's consent, the court applied the "agreement-based fine" procedure for a minor offense committed for the first time. Avet Konjoryan was fined 375,000 drams and permitted to pay the fine in installments. The verdict entered into legal force on January 29, 2026.

The case file contained a "Form 8" certificate stating that he had not previously been convicted, even though the 2010 conviction existed.



ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՆԵՐՔԻՆ ԳՈՐԾԵՐԻ ՆԱԽԱՐԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ
ՀԱՆՐԱՅԻՆ ՀԱՂՈՐԴԱԿՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԵՎ ԻՐԱՎԵԿՄԱՆ ՎԱՐՉՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

0025, ք Երևան, Նալբանդյան 130 հեռ. 010-59-68-71

№ 10/88 «24» 02. 2026 թ.

Ազատություն ռադիոկայանի լրագրող
Մկրտիչ Կարապետյանին

Հարգելի՛ պարոն Կարապետյան,

Ի պատասխան Ձեր 2026թ. փետրվարի 6-ի գրության՝ ներկայացնում ենք ՀՀ ՆԳՆ հանցավորության վիճակագրության և հետազոտական կենտրոնի տրամադրած պատասխանը:

ՀՀ ՆԳՆ հանցավորության վիճակագրության և հետազոտական կենտրոնի օպերատիվ տեղեկատու քարտադարանում Ավետ Արսենի Կոնջորյանի նախկինում դատվածություն չունենալու վերաբերյալ 2025թ.-ին տրամադրած ձև 8 տեղեկանք չի արձանագրվել:

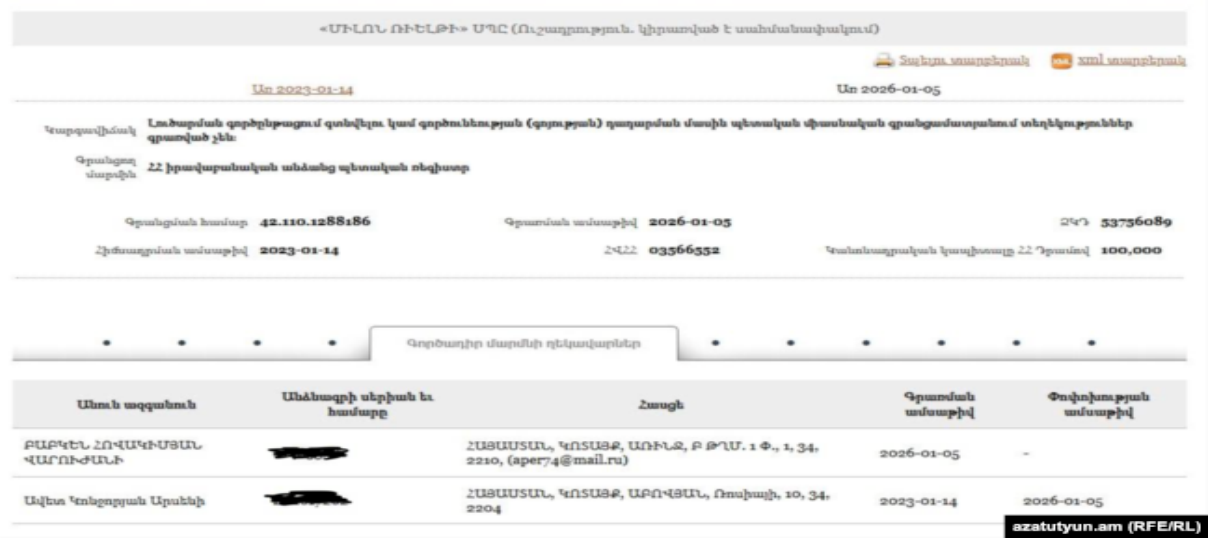
azatutyun.am (RFE/RL)

Avet Konjoryan's lawyer, Melanya Sargsyan, explained the contents of the certificate by saying that his previous conviction had been expunged and that, as a result, her client was legally considered to have no criminal record. However, an expunged conviction and the absence of records of a previous judgment are not the same thing. The Ministry of Internal Affairs stated that information in its operational-reference database must be retained regardless of whether a conviction has been expunged or removed.

Even more questions arose about the origin of the certificate itself. The Ministry of Internal Affairs stated that the records of the Center for Criminal Statistics and Research contained no entry indicating that a "Form 8" certificate had been issued in Avet Konjoryan's name in 2025. The Investigative Committee, by contrast, twice stated that it had received the document from that very department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and had added it to the criminal case file. Following a journalistic inquiry, the ministry asked the court for a copy of the certificate in order to establish its origin.

This means that one agency claims to have received a document from another, while the purported sender has no record of issuing it. The certificate cannot be called forged before the inquiry is completed. However, the information it contained may have been relevant to the application of a procedure intended for a first-time offense and to the imposition of a more lenient sentence.

Another inconsistency emerged in the case file. Avet Konjoryan was described as unemployed and unable to pay the 375,000-dram fine in a single payment because of his financial circumstances. Yet, according to the legal entities registry, he officially remained director of Milon Realty LLC throughout the investigation and court proceedings, leaving the position only on January 5, 2026.


«ՄԻԼՈՆ ՌԻԵԼԹԻ» ՍՊԸ (Ուշադրություն. կիրառված է ստեղծագործական)

Տպելու տարբերակ | xml տարբերակ

Ստ 2023-01-14 — Ստ 2026-01-05

Կատարվիճակ: Լուծարման գործընթացում գտնվելու կամ գործունեության (գործքոյան) դադարման մասին պետական միասնական գրանցամատյանում տեղեկություններ գրառված չեն:

Գրանցող մարմին: ՀՀ իրավաբանական անձանց պետական ռեգիստր

Գրանցման համար: 42.110.1288186 | Գրառման ամսաթիվ: 2026-01-05 | ՀԿՀ: 53736089

Հիմնադրման ամսաթիվ: 2023-01-14 | ՀՎՀՀ: 03566552 | Կանոնադրական կապիտալը ՀՀ դրամով: 100,000

Գործադիր մարմնի ղեկավարներ

Անուն ազգանուն	Անձնագրի սերիան և համարը	Հասցե	Գրառման ամսաթիվ	Փոփոխության ամսաթիվ
ԲԱԲԿԵՆ ՀՈՎՍԵՓՅԱՆ ՎԱՐՈՒԺԱՆԻ	[redacted]	ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ, ԿՈՏԱՅՔ, ԱՌԻՆՋ, Բ ԹՂՄ. 1 Փ., 1, 34, 2210, (aper74@mail.ru)	2026-01-05	-
Ավետ Կոնջորյան Արսենի	[redacted]	ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ, ԿՈՏԱՅՔ, ԱԲՈՎՅԱՆ, Ռոսիայի, 10, 34, 2204	2023-01-14	2026-01-05

azatutyun.am (RFE/RL)

Azatutyun noted that information about income and employment may have been relevant to the decision on whether to allow the fine to be paid in installments. Avet Konjoryan himself did not

explain the origin of the certificate and ended the conversation with the journalist.

There is no evidence that Hayk Konjoryan interfered in this criminal case. However, several questions remain open to verification: how did a document that the Ministry of Internal Affairs has not confirmed issuing end up in his brother's case file; why was the defendant presented as unemployed despite holding a director's position; and what effect did this information have on the sentence imposed?

https://www.azatutyun.am/a/entadryal-keghts-teghekank-hanoun-hayk-konjoryani-eghbor-tetev-patzhi/33709504.html

For an anti-corruption investigation, these questions are more important than political speculation. It is necessary to establish the document's origin, the chain of its transmission, and whether it affected the legal classification of the case and the sentence imposed.

The family-related line of inquiry does not end here. The next episode is not legally connected to Avet Konjoryan's cases, but it directly concerns Hayk Konjoryan's public accountability and the question of possible political influence: the appointment of his wife, Shushan Aleksanyan, as head of the state-owned company HayPost and the subsequent increase in her remuneration.

Konjoryan's Wife at the Helm of HayPost: A Closed Selection Process and a Salary Without a Formula

Shushan Aleksanyan has worked at HayPost since 2020 and was appointed chief executive officer on November 22, 2024. Hayk Konjoryan claimed that she had won a competitive selection process.



Photo: Shushan Aleksanyan

Aleksanyan's income from HayPost increased steadily. In 2021, she received 6 million 812 thousand drams; in 2022, 9 million 474 thousand drams; and in 2023, 10 million 471 thousand drams. Over two years, her annual remuneration increased by approximately 54%.

On November 22, 2024, Shushan Aleksanyan was appointed chief executive officer of HayPost. Hayk Konjoryan stated that his wife had participated in a competition and been declared the winner. He later asserted:

"My wife is the lowest-paid director in the history of HayPost."



Photo: Hayk Konjoryan and Shushan Aleksanyan

It is impossible to verify whether the selection process was competitive: neither HayPost nor the relevant ministry disclosed the minutes, the number of candidates, or the evaluation criteria. The criteria used to determine the chief executive's remuneration have also not been disclosed.

The ministry stated that there is no separate formula for calculating the director's salary and that the minutes of shareholders' meetings at which remuneration was determined are classified as commercial secrets. Information about the salaries of previous executives, against which Konjoryan compared his wife's earnings, was also not disclosed.

Aleksanyan's first full year at the helm of the company is reflected in her 2025 asset declaration. Her remuneration from HayPost amounted to 43 million 691 thousand 319 drams, more than 3.6 million drams per month, or approximately $10,000.

The issue is not that a high salary is inherently unlawful. The problem is the absence of a transparent mechanism that would allow the public to verify why a state-owned company pays its chief executive precisely this amount.

Executive Compensation Rises as Revenue Falls

In 2025, HayPost's revenue declined by approximately 7%, from 9.8 billion to 9.1 billion drams. Gross profit fell from 1.475 billion to 1.027 billion drams. The payroll for the company's senior management increased by more than 28%, from 176.7 million to 227.2 million drams.

The company's loan and lease liabilities increased from 58 million to 396 million drams. At the same time, its net loss narrowed from 1.4 billion to 523 million drams. In other words, its financial performance improved, but the company remained loss-making.

The financial result improved by approximately 877 million drams, but the company remained loss-making, and the reduction in its losses was accompanied by declines in revenue and gross profit.

Shushan Aleksanyan rejected the criticism. She stated that, during her tenure, HayPost had paid 1 billion drams in dividends to the state and that the negative financial result of approximately 500 million drams was attributable to depreciation. According to her, the company's EBITDA was positive, its financial statements had been confirmed by an external audit, and therefore neither HayPost nor the state had incurred any actual financial losses.

However, the reference to 1 billion drams in dividends does not demonstrate that the profit was earned under Aleksanyan's leadership. The payment concerned the settlement of an outstanding dividend liability dating back to dividends accrued from HayPost's profits for 2011–2016. On December 23, 2021, the government had already approved a schedule for repaying the 2.5-billion-dram debt, with annual payments of 500 million drams scheduled for 2023–2027. Consequently, the funds transferred represented compliance with a previously approved repayment schedule, not the result of newly generated profits.

Positive EBITDA also does not negate the net loss of 523 million drams recorded in the audited financial statements. Depreciation does not entail an immediate cash outflow, but it reflects the wear and decline in value of assets. Therefore, the claim that no financial losses were incurred remains management's interpretation rather than the final figure reported in the financial statements.

Aleksanyan herself maintains that, for at least the past ten years, she has received the lowest salary and bonuses among HayPost executives. Her husband, however, described her pay as "the lowest salary in the company's history." HayPost has not published documents that would allow either claim to be verified.

Konjoryan denies that his wife's appointment was connected to his political position and emphasizes that she had worked at HayPost for several years before her appointment and had headed a department. These facts form part of her professional background, but they do not answer the question of whether the selection process was transparent.

https://www.azatutyun.am/a/knoj-haypost-i-patmoutyan-mej-amenatsatsr-ashkhatavardz-konjoryan/33820826.html

https://www.aravot.am/2026/08/04/1572650/

An Uncomfortable Question – One Year Without Accreditation

Another line of the investigation concerns Konjoryan's relations with journalists. In December 2025, following complaints by Konjoryan, Sona Grigoryan, an editor at ArmLur.am, and Knar Manukyan, editor-in-chief of the newspaper Zhoghovurd, were stripped of their accreditation at the National Assembly for one year.

The trigger was questions put to Konjoryan in parliament. Formally, the decisions were made by the National Assembly's staff, but the procedure was initiated by his complaints.

The incident began on December 3, when the Civil Contract faction failed to secure a quorum in the presence of Nikol Pashinyan. Speaker Alen Simonyan had to call for registration three times and then announce a 20-minute recess to gather pro-government lawmakers for a discussion of the 2026 budget. Sona Grigoryan asked Konjoryan why the faction's leadership was unable to ensure its own lawmakers' attendance at the session. He wished her "a good day" and walked away without answering.



On December 16, Konjoryan complained to David Arakelyan, head of the National Assembly staff, that the journalist had asked him a question outside the designated press area and then published a report. That same day, Grigoryan and Manukyan tried to obtain his comment on the townhouse his family had purchased. Konjoryan again refused to answer, sharply shut his office door, and submitted another complaint to the parliamentary staff.

Events then unfolded rapidly. On December 17, Sona Grigoryan received a warning over the question she had asked on December 3. On December 18, Knar Manukyan was issued a warning, and on December 19, both journalists were stripped of their accreditation for one year. The National Assembly staff cited their continuation of professional activities outside the designated press area after the lawmaker had declined to give an interview. In Manukyan's case, the warning and subsequent withdrawal of accreditation concerned the same incident.

Formally, the decisions were made by David Arakelyan, but the procedure was initiated by Konjoryan's complaints. Journalistic organizations called for the sanctions to be overturned. The Media Ethics Observatory later noted that parliament had failed to explain what threat the journalists' actions posed to the work or security of the National Assembly, or why it was necessary to revoke their accreditation for an entire year. In the body's assessment, the accreditation rules had become a lever for restricting the work of certain media outlets.

For Knar Manukyan, this was already the second such incident. A court had ruled unlawful an earlier decision by the National Assembly staff to revoke her accreditation, finding that the journalist had not been given an opportunity to present her position. A higher court upheld that finding.

Thus, former journalist Hayk Konjoryan responded to questions about his faction's discipline and his own property not with explanations, but with complaints to the parliamentary staff. The result: two journalists lost the right to work in the National Assembly for one year.

https://yerevan.today/konjoryanin-harc-talu-hamar%d5%9d-zhoghovurd-i-lragroghnereh-zrkvel-en-azh-havatarmagric-zhoghovurd/

It remains to be seen how the very "one wing" will respond to the unfolding scandals.

How "One Wing" Worked

By the summer of 2026, the stories surrounding the Konjoryan family are already difficult to consider in isolation: real estate purchased from a developer connected to the brother, Avet Konjoryan's activities in sales, his previous conviction, the disputed "Form 8," Shushan Alexanyan's appointment at Haypost, and the lack of transparency surrounding competitive selection procedures all come together into a single set of questions about transparency.



In March 2026, Nikol Pashinyan stated that materials related to publications about Milon Mining should be handed over to law enforcement agencies. At the same time, he called some of the critical publications “tons of waste paper.”

https://www.azatutyun.am/a/kp-n-chi-veranayi-hayk-konjoryan-teknatsoutyoun-azh-pokhnakhagah/33817792.html

By the summer of that year, the question was no longer only one of possible legal responsibility, but also of political responsibility. After video footage emerged showing Avet Konjoryan, also a Civil Contract MP, being beaten, followed by footage in which he shouts sexual insults and threats outside the home of his former friend, Nairi Hakobyan, a Civil Contract member of the Abovyan Council of Elders, journalists asked whether the scandal would affect Hayk Konjoryan’s nomination for the post of Deputy Speaker.

Romanos Petrosyan, a member of the Civil Contract party’s board, initially did not rule out reconsidering the nomination: “I can’t comment on anything, and I can’t rule anything out.”

https://www.azatutyun.am/a/romanos-petrosyany-konjoryani-teknatsoutyan-hnaravor-veranayman-masin/33817521.html

However, Pashinyan quickly brought this discussion to a close. Asked whether the nomination might be reconsidered, he replied: “And why should it be reconsidered?” The prime minister said he had not seen the video showing Avet Konjoryan hurling insults and making threats, and once again suggested waiting for a legal assessment of what had happened.

https://www.azatutyun.am/a/kp-n-chi-veranayi-hayk-konjoryan-teknatsoutyoun-azh-pokhnakhagah/33817792.html

Of course, Hayk Konjoryan is not obliged to answer for every action of his adult brother. But the family scandal became just another episode against the backdrop of information already published about property transactions, corporate ties, and the career of the MP’s wife. The question was not whether someone should be automatically punished because of a family relationship, but whether the ruling party was willing at least to examine potential conflicts of interest, demand public explanations, and assess reputational risks when appointing one of the leaders of parliament.

The party did none of this. Pashinyan later stated that every known incident should receive a legal assessment and that membership in Civil Contract gave no one any advantages. But Konjoryan’s nomination was not reconsidered, and on August 4, 2026, he was elected Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly.

Referring the matter to law enforcement answers only the question of a possible crime. It does not answer the question of political responsibility. Investigators must establish whether the elements of a crime are present, and a court must deliver a verdict. But a party does not need a court ruling to demand transparency from its own candidate, examine a conflict of interest, or postpone his promotion until answers have been provided.

This is precisely where the double standard became apparent. When it came to the opposition, Konjoryan himself repeatedly did not wait for court rulings: he called his opponents “mafiosi,” “cannibals,” and “bloodthirsty wolves,” endorsed a political judgment on an unfinished investigation, and raised the issue of stripping MPs of their mandates. When questions arose about his own family, the authorities suddenly remembered the need to wait for the investigation.

The difference between the legal and political responses proved fundamental. Pashinyan referred possible violations to law enforcement. He took possible political consequences off the agenda. As a result, neither the investigations, nor the family scandals, nor the unanswered questions prevented Konjoryan from continuing his political rise.

In 2017, Hayk Konjoryan held an iron ladle in his hands and called for a strong state to be forged. Nine years later, another phrase of his own proved a more accurate description of his political trajectory: “In Civil Contract, there is one wing — Nikol Pashinyan’s wing.”

That wing provided no answers to the questions raised by the investigation, but it reliably shielded Konjoryan from political consequences. In this story, what proved to be iron was not so much the ladle as the very structure of power: Konjoryan drew mandates and positions from it, while the “one

wing” remained above him.

Hayk Konjoryan is not obliged to answer for every action of his adult brother. But family-related incidents have political significance when declarations, government appointments, and the politician’s own public position are at issue.

Pashinyan stated that every known incident should receive a legal assessment and that membership in Civil Contract did not exempt anyone from responsibility. However, no separate mechanism for political scrutiny was publicly presented by the party.

Referring materials to law enforcement addresses the question of a possible crime, but it does not replace the question of political responsibility. For a government that claims to fight corruption, the same standard should apply to allies and opponents alike.

This is where the investigation’s main contrast emerges: when it comes to the opposition, Konjoryan has repeatedly used accusatory language before court rulings, whereas when it comes to his own political circle, the need to wait for a legal assessment is emphasized.

The difference between the legal and political responses is fundamental. An investigation establishes whether the elements of a possible crime are present; political responsibility is determined by standards of transparency, conflicts of interest, and public trust.

In 2017, Konjoryan called for forging an “iron ladle” as a symbol of a strong republic. Nine years later, the main question is a different one: how robust have the rules proved to be under which those in power are supposed to answer questions about their own circle?

The available materials do not allow us to assert that Konjoryan or his family committed all the alleged violations as proven crimes. But they do allow for another, no less important conclusion: a series of circumstances has accumulated around one political center, each requiring documentary verification and, taken together, demanding an answer to the question of the quality of political and institutional oversight.