

“ARMENIA-TURKEY DEAL”

KEY HIGHLIGHTS

- **Agreement sets no preconditions: Sargsyan**
- **US, France, EU, EC, OSCE, and Russia welcome Armenia-Turkey deal**
- **Opening of border not foreseen in this stage: Turkish FM**
- **Opposition for normalisation of relations, against historians subcommittee**
- **Dashnaksutyun party slams draft protocols as “dangerous”**
- **Turkish move to open border is against Azerbaijan’s interests: Azerbaijan FM spokesman**

September 1

- Commenting on the Armenian-Turkish-Swiss statement of August 31 on the normalisation of Armenian-Turkish ties **David Shahnazaryan** from opposition National Congress said that it is obvious that Turkey will open the borders only when the Karabakh issue is settled. “Thus, it can be expected that during the six weeks the Minsk group efforts will become more active. At the same time, ratification of the protocol by the parliament will give an opportunity for Turkish President to condition it on Karabakh issue, while Sargsyan will share the responsibility of creating a historical committee with Armenia’s lawmakers”. (centrist Aravot)
- **Zhamanak** paper says that the Armenian-Turkish statement shows that President Sargsyan will definitely visit Turkey on 14 October. "A state policy should never be carried out at the cost of national sentiments", says the article. It also says that the 22 April accord on the normalisation of Armenian-Turkish ties drawn up on the eve of 24 April "justified to some extent" Turkey's position on denial of the Genocide. (opp. Zhamanak)
- **Haykakan Zhamanak** daily says that the "sensational" statement on normalisation of Armenian-Turkish ties means there are "serious developments to be expected". "It is not excluded that Sargsyan's accusing Turkey of violating arrangements was the last chance to refuse from agreements he concluded in the Karabakh issue". The paper says that the USA mediated and settled a six-week deadline for plan on normalisation of ties and now Sargsyan cannot but go to Turkey. Meanwhile, the coalition is against Sargsyan's going to Turkey, and that if the coalition starts welcoming his visit it means surrender. (opp. Haykakan Zhamanak)
- Political expert **Aleksandr Iskandaryan** says that Armenia is trying "to influence Turkey with its statements" and "the USA is making certain steps to influence Turkey". Iskandaryan says that Turkey, for its part, is trying to use its levers and keep Azerbaijan under its control. He said that President Sargsyan cannot but take into account that a big part of Armenian people are against the way of normalising relations with Turkey. Iskandaryan added that in comparison with Armenia, where the government has the same view on normalising relations with Turkey, there is discord within the Turkish government itself on this. (pro-govt. Hayots Ashkhar)
- Hovhannes Igityan from opposition **Pan-National Movement** party said that the Armenian-Turkish-Swiss statement is Ankara’s response to President Sargsyan’s statement with which Turkey tries to create an impression that it is interested in normalisation of ties. He said now Sargsyan’s visit to Turkey will undoubtedly happen, and maybe an agreement will be signed there. (opp. Hayk)

September 2

- **President Sargsyan** told the heads of Armenia's diplomatic missions and the FM officials that the Armenia’s talks with Turkey and the agreements achieved do not contain preconditions concerning the settlement of the Karabakh conflict. He said that historical issues of Armenian-Turkish relations must be discussed not by a commission of historians but in the framework of a sub-commission of an intergovernmental commission. “For the first time in the history of independent Armenia, public discussions will precede the signing of the most important international document.

They will make it possible to hear all opinions and approaches," the President said. (govt. Hayastani Hanraputyun)

- President of France **Nicolas Sarkozy** welcomed the Armenia-Turkey announcement. "Normalising relations between Armenia and Turkey would constitute an event of historic importance that would contribute to regional stability," he said. **US Department of State's** message says: "It has long been and remains the position of the United States that normalisation should take place without preconditions and within a reasonable timeframe. We [U.S.] urge Armenia and Turkey to proceed expeditiously, according to the agreed framework as described in today's statement," says the message. US Department Spokesman Ian Kelly said that Washington remains ready "to work closely with both governments in support of normalisation, a historic process that will contribute to peace, security and stability throughout the region." The **EC** also welcomed the agreement between Armenia and Turkey, said Commissioners Benita Ferrero-Waldner and Olli Rehn. "The European Commission attaches high importance to a rapid and steady implementation of the protocols on the establishment of diplomatic relations and on the development of bilateral relations", says the release. (centrist Azg)
- Russian Foreign Ministry's Department for Information and Press issued a comment which says: "Armenia and Turkey are friendly countries for us. We perceive the progresses in normalisation of relations between them as a naturally determined and long-expected process. We will be glad if the consultations, which represent purely internal business of those countries, result in substantive agreements. (MediaMax)
- CNN Turk reports that **Azerbaijani FM** has commented on the new developments. Official message of the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry states: "We are not concerned about that protocol. The agreement made between Armenia and Turkey concerns only the two states. (armtown.am)
- **Karen Bekaryan**, President of European Integrity NGO said that the Armenian authorities have been fairer with their society than Turkey or Azerbaijan, reminding that Turkish PM has been claiming in Azerbaijan that no diplomatic ties would be established unless NKR conflict was settled. Bekaryan said Turkey will be trying to link NKR conflict settlement with the current matter. He says it is not excluded that the process will be blocked anytime. (armtown.am)
- "The opening of the Turkish-Armenian border is not foreseen in this stage," said Turkish FM **Ahmed Davudoghlu** in an interview with the NTV. "Turkey is aimed at having friendly ties with its neighbouring countries, as well as establish peace and stability in the region," said Davudoghlu. However, he added: "Ankara will take Azerbaijan's interests into account in each stage of the normalisation of relations with Armenia." (armtown.am)
- The Head of the **NKR Public Council** on foreign policy and security Masis Mayilyan said Turkey has imposed more than three preconditions for establishment of diplomatic relations with Armenia. Those are: recognition of Turkey's present state border by Armenia, exception of works aimed at recognition of the Genocide from the Armenian foreign agenda and concession of liberated territories to Azerbaijan. Setting up a commission enables Turkey to have additional arguments in the parliaments of foreign countries in connection with the genocide issue. A positive circumstance in the protocol is the lack of a direct connection with the Karabakh settlement. "Ankara seems to be close to realising the fact that the present stage of the Karabakh issue settlement cannot be an obstacle for the Armenian and Turkish relations", Mayilyan said. (Iragir.am)
- "Armenian-Turkish joint statement and protocol on establishing ties contains several positive points for Armenia", said **Stepan Grigoryan**, Head of Analytical Center on Globalization and Regional Cooperation. "Yerevan and Ankara have realised the importance of making normalisation process public and transparent. Even the best document cannot be valid if it has not received public approval. Besides, Protocol clearly states the time-limits for each action. It's a very important aspect, since Armenia in this period was concerned that Turkey may constantly delay the process," he said. Grigoryan also said that the document does not refer to Kars treaty, instead "common border" is underlined. He reminded that as a UN member, Armenia has recognised both countries' borders and

territorial integrity. Grigoryan said the interests of Turkey are more akin to Armenia than Azerbaijan in a number of issues. "Turkey is interested in opening the Armenian-Turkish border, because after the August war Georgia has ceased to be a reliable transit country", he said. According to him, over the last 5 years, Turkey has seriously changed its policy and showed that their future is connected to the South Caucasus. Armenian-Turkish reconciliation is positive for Turkey since it helps to fulfil its desire to join EU, become a regional player, increase international interest in the region. (centrist Azg)

- **OSCE** chairman Dora Bakoyannis greeted the joint statement of Yerevan and Ankara. "The establishment of diplomatic relations will become a positive step not only for the region. I welcome this step, aimed at normalising relations between OSCE member states," she said. Bakoyannis called on Yerevan and Ankara to take the opportunity achieved in the negotiations under the auspices of Switzerland. (centrist Azg)
- Protocols on "Establishing Diplomatic Ties between Armenia and Turkey" and "Developing Bilateral Relations" aim to force Yerevan into accepting all three preconditions set by Turkey, Head of Modus Vivendi centre **Ara Papyan** said. "Ankara's first precondition requires Armenia to refuse territorial claims. The second precondition requires that Karabakh conflict be settled based on the principle of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. The Protocol also satisfies Turkey's third claim – suspension of international Genocide recognition process. "The document envisages creation of sub-committees, including one dealing with historical problems. Clearly, the most problematic issue in this regard is the Genocide," Papyan said. (panarmenian.net)
- Javier Solana, **EU** High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, welcomed the joint statement of Turkey and Armenia. "I commend the courage and vision of both sides to move forward with this historic process. I hope the two protocols can be signed, ratified, and implemented in the near term. I congratulate Switzerland for its mediation efforts and stands ready to offer support and assistance to the normalisation process", he said. (panarmenian.net)
- Protocols on "Establishing Diplomatic ties between Armenia and Turkey" need approval by two countries' Parliaments, Turkish Prime **Recep Tayyip Erdogan** said. According to Turkish official, those documents cannot be considered valid unless they are approved by Armenian and Turkish legislators. (opp. Hayk)
- Turkey's FM **Ahmet Davutoglu** briefed Russian Foreign Minister and OSCE MG Co-Chair Sergey Lavrov about recent progress in Armenian-Turkish normalization process. Davutoglu asked Russian diplomat to boost efforts to solve Azerbaijan-Armenia dispute to restore a comprehensive and permanent peace and stability in Caucasus. Earlier in the day, Davutoglu also had a phone conversation with MG French Co-Chair Bernard Fassier and informed him of the two Protocols. (opp. Zhamanak)
- Those documents are the basic achievements of our diplomacy, expert of oriental studies **Ruben Safrastyan** said. "The documents that have been published yesterday do not link settlement of NKR conflict with Armenian-Turkish ties. This is the most important achievement," expert said. Another important element is that Turkish diplomacy has been trying to make Armenia to stop Genocide related strategy but there is no remark about this matter either. Expert says it is not by chance that President told BBC that Armenia continues process of recognising the Genocide. (panorama.am)
- Turkey wants to go beyond establishing ties with Armenia and normalise relations across the South Caucasus, Turkish FM **Ahmet Davutoglu** said. "This is a process and at the end of it, not only Turkish-Armenian, many borders will be opened," Davutoglu said while on a Middle East tour. He also said: "We want to normalise our relations with Armenia, but we also want full normalisation of relations in the South Caucasus, including Nagorno-Karabakh. (panorama.am)
- Alexander Arzumanyan from **opposition National Congress** said setting up a commission of historians to discuss Genocide issue is unacceptable. He said other provisions in Armenian-Turkish Protocols that raise serious concern. "Firstly opposition has repeatedly stated Armenian-Turkish

relations should not be anyhow linked with Karabakh problem. Secondly, the sides should not lay down any preconditions”, Arzumanyan said. Commenting on the six weeks mentioned in the Protocols and Armenia-Turkey football match concurrence, Arzumanyan said the fact would enable President Sargsyan to save his face. He said there is no such tradition in international law: Protocol on diplomatic relations’ establishment does not need to be ratified by the Parliament. (centrist Aravot)

- The **Dashnaksutyun** party issued a statement that slams the draft protocols for the establishment of relations between Turkey and Armenia. “As neighboring states, Armenia and Turkey are bound to take steps to normalise relations. However, good neighbourly relations can be established between the two countries only when Turkey recognised the Armenian Genocide and re-establishes the rights of the Armenian people. The establishment of relations without preconditions and lifting of the blockade were mere first steps. The proposal by Armenia to establish relations without preconditions can be deemed a serious concession. It is unacceptable to establish relations with Turkey at the expense of our government’s sovereignty and viability, as well as the national rights of our future generations”, says the announcement. Party’s top-member Hrant Markarian denounced the protocols as “unacceptable”. “I regret that our president is going to sign a document he has no right to sign. “I think it is a bit naïve to expect that Turkey will subordinate Azerbaijan’s interests to its relations with Armenia. “Maybe there is another, hidden agreement whereby during the next two, three or six months the Karabakh conflict will be ‘solved.’ So all of Turkey’s three preconditions have been accepted”, he said. (centrist Aravot)
- "The protocols on establishment of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey and on development of bilateral relations are tangible progress in this direction”, says the statement of the **opposition National Congress**. “Nevertheless, establishment of an intergovernmental sub-commission of Armenian and Turkish historians is inadmissible to us, since it casts doubt on the fact of Armenian Genocide. We are concerned about the condition on ratification of the documents by the parliaments of the two states. It will allow Serzh Sargsyan to share responsibility for establishment of the sub-commission with the parliament, and Turkey to protract the opening of the Armenian-Turkish border under the pretext of the unsettled Karabakh conflict,” the ANC states. (opp. Zhamanak)
- **Azerbaijan FM spokesman** Elhan Polukhov has said that any Turkish move to open its border with Armenia before “the Armenian occupation of the Azerbaijani territory” is over would be contrary to the national interests of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani political expert **Vafa Guluzade** said the opening of border between Turkey and Armenia is a very negative phenomenon both for Turkey and Azerbaijan. “It will certainly cause strong anti-Turkish sentiments in Azerbaijan. Our people have not been explained so far why Turkey kneels in front of Armenia on backdrop of occupation of Azerbaijani territories and Armenia’s not recognising Azerbaijan’s territorial integrity,” Guluzade said. (centrist Azg)
- The closed border and absence of relations between Armenia and Turkey conflict with the logic of the 21st century, Armenia’s Ambassador to the EU **Avet Adonts** said. “Turkey’s any attempt to impose terms on Yerevan will frustrate the ongoing process,” he said. Compromise with Turkey has certain boundaries not to be crossed by Armenia, **Zohrab Mnatsakanyan**, Armenia’s representative in CE, said. “Armenia focuses on three issues while considering neighbourhood with Turkey. The first factor is Baku’s participation in the process, which is unacceptable for us. The second is the linkage between Armenian-Turkish process and Karabakh settlement, and the third concerns our history. It turns out that we need to develop ties with Turkey, without being sensitive to historical issues,” Mnatsakanyan said, adding that these factors are reflected in the joint statement. (centrist Aravot)
- Azerbaijan’s president **Ilham Aliiev** called an extraordinary meeting with FM and National Security Minister to discuss the recent Armenian-Turkish-Swiss statement. According to undisclosed source, Aliiev ordered to activate ties with Turkish counterparts and widely spread information in Turkish media about Azerbaijan’s position on this. Aliiev also plans to start large-scale tax inspections in Turkish companies in Azerbaijan. If the Armenian-Turkish relations develop even further, the tax inspectors will visit also big Turkish transport and energy holdings. (centrist Aravot)

- **Richard Giragosian**, Director of the Armenian Center for National and International Studies said he is concerned not about the Armenian-Turkish statement, but about its form, which resembles the April 23 document. He said, important historical documents have twice been unexpectedly published at midnight. “One gets the impression that Armenia and Turkey have something to conceal”. Giragosian said the Turkish and Armenian societies are not prepared for reconciliation. As regards the contents, Giragosian said that they contain both diplomatic victories and dangerous tendencies. The former group includes the absence of any mentions of Nagorno-Karabakh or the term “occupation.” As regards the danger, it is Armenia’s being weak compared with Turkey. Giragosian believes serious international pressure should be expected on both the sides for them to implement the documents. “Even the Turkish Government is not sure the Parliament will ratify the documents,” he said. (opp. Zhamanak)
- **Richard Giragosian** described five significant points related to this new agreement. **Firstly**, the scale and scope of the Turkish-Armenian breakthrough effectively overturns Azerbaijan’s virtual veto power over significant aspects and options of Turkish foreign policy. In this way, Turkey corrected a failure of its foreign policy, recognising that blockade and withholding diplomatic relations with Armenia has failed to result in anything except unifying and consolidating the people of Armenia. The **second** factor is that despite the success in correcting a failed policy, Turkey has lost Azerbaijan as a strategic partner. The Azerbaijani reaction to Turkey’s engagement of Armenia has been one of betrayal and isolation, resulting in closer Azerbaijani-Russian relations. Giragosian continues with the **third** point that the omission of any reference to the Karabagh issue is an important recognition that there is no direct linkage between the Karabagh peace talks and the current Armenian-Turkish diplomatic effort. A **fourth** factor is that the larger context of the Karabagh peace process, as well as the handling of Turkish-Armenian diplomacy, reveals the danger posed by the overall lack of transparency and inadequate public awareness of details of the diplomatic process. **Finally**, Giragosian said that even if Turkey moves to reopen the border with Armenia and to extend diplomatic relations with Armenia, such moves should not be misinterpreted as any kind of gift or reward to Armenia. “Such minimal steps merely represent the basic requirements for normal neighbourly interaction between civilised countries”. (tert.am)