

REVIEW OF
ARMENIAN STUDIES

A Biannual Journal of History, Politics and International Relations

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Facts and Comments

Ömer E. LÜTEM

Reply to L'Histoire

Prof. Dr. Norman STONE - Maxime GAUIN

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1917 Russian Revolution: The Battle of Sardarabad
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CONFERENCE REPORTS

BOOK REVIEWS

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RECENT DOCUMENTS



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CONTENTS

	Page:	
Editorial Note	5	
ARTICLES		
<i>Facts and Comments</i>	7	
Ömer E. LÜTEM		
<i>Reply to L'Histoire</i>	91	
Prof. Dr. Norman STONE - Maxime GAUIN		
<i>Turkish Military Activities in the Caucasus Following the 1917 Russian Revolution: The Battle of Sardarabad and its Political Consequences</i>	107	
Musa GÜRBÜZ		
<i>Turkish-Armenian Relations and the Think-Tank Effect</i>	121	
Aslan Yavuz ŞİR		
<i>The Armenian Question: Scholarly Ethics and Methodology</i>	141	
Erman ŞAHİN		
CONFERENCE REPORTS		
<i>39th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology</i>	153	
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül BAYDAR AYDINGÜN		
<i>"Turkey-Armenia Relations From Past to Present: An Interdisciplinary Approach" Organized By the Political Psychological Association</i>	157	
Aslan Yavuz ŞİR		
BOOK REVIEWS		
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kamer KASIM: <i>Caucasus after the Cold War</i>	163	
<i>(Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Kafkasya)</i> <i>(Aslan Yavuz ŞİR)</i>		
ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS		167
<i>Documents relating to the article of Seçil Karal Akgün on "Ottoman Armenian Intricate Relations with Western Powers Before and During the Peace Settlements of the First World War" published in issue 18</i>	168	
RECENT DOCUMENTS		189
<i>Letter of a Group of Retired Turkish Ambassadors to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, Mrs. Nancy Pelosi, April 1st, 2009</i>	191	
<i>Statement of President Barack Obama on Armenian Remembrance Day, April 24, 2009</i>	198	
<i>Turkey-Armenia Protocols</i>	199	

Just as in the last nine years, the first article of this issue of our Journal is dedicated again to **Facts and Comments** which examine the Armenian Question and the foremost developments in the Turkey-Armenia relations within a specific timeframe. The most important event of 2009 concerning Turkey-Armenia relations is the signing of two protocols between the two countries in order to normalize relations. The highly comprehensive Facts and Comments of this issue has only been devoted to this subject. The English texts of the protocols have been given at the end of our Journal in the Recent Documents section.

The Magazine “L’Histoire” published in France has devoted their April 2009 issue to Armenian Genocide allegations and have published interviews conducted with some Turkish scholars for this purpose. The well known historian Prof. Norman Stone and doctoral student Maxime Gauin have written an article criticizing one of these interviews. Since the Magazine “L’Histoire” has refrained from publishing this article, we are doing it under the title **Reply to L’Histoire**.

In Armenia, each year in May, the Sedarabad “victory” of 1918 towards the Ottoman forces is being celebrated. However, no such defeat is mentioned in the Turkish historical sources which indicate that some fighting took place during the advancement of Ottoman armies towards Baku which has occurred in the region of Sardarabad. Musa Gürbüz, in his article entitled **Turkish Military Activities in the Caucasus following the 1917 Russian Revolution: the Battle of Sardarabad and Its Political Consequences**, examines this fighting according to the Turkish and Armenian sources.

Recently, the efforts to normalize Turkey-Armenia relations created an increase in the interest for this subject and some think-tanks have convened conferences and written reports relating to this matter. In his article entitled **Turkish-Armenian Relations and the Think-Tank Effects**, Aslan Yavuz Şir examines some reports and articles published from 2007 onwards concerning this subject, puts forth the recommended policy choices and future speculations, and attempts to answer some questions.

Erman Şahin, in his article entitled **The Armenian Question: Scholarly Ethics and Methodology**, examines some ethical problems arising from an article published by two Turkish authors relating to the Hrant Dink case.

Two conference reports can be found in this issue of our Journal. The first entitled **World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology** has been written by Ayşegül Baydar Aydınğün; the second relating to the conference organized by the Political Psychological Association is entitled **Turkish-Armenia Relations from Past to Present: An Interdisciplinary Approach** and has been written by Aslan Yavuz Şir.

One book review, seven archival documents and three recent documents can be found in this issue of our Journal.

Sincerely,

The Editor

FACTS AND COMMENTS

Ömer Engin LÜTEM

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Abstract: *This article deals with Turkish-Armenian relations during 2009 and especially with the two protocols signed on 10th of October, 2009 to establish diplomatic relations and to define areas of cooperation between them as well as the mechanism which will help to realize this cooperation. Considering the overwhelming importance of the protocols, this article will be consecrated to this subject.*

Key Words: *Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, United States, Russian Federation, Abdullah Gül, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Ali Babacan, Ahmet Davutoğlu, İlham Aliiev, Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, Serge Sarkisian, Edward Nalbandyan.*

I –TURKEY AND ARMENIA POSITIONS

Following President Abdullah Gül’s visit to Armenia in September of 2008 to assist the national football match, no information has been given about the context of the talks between the foreign ministers and high officials of the two countries aiming to build normal relations between Turkey and Armenia; but both sides have settled for some general statements.¹ Based on these statements and some press news, the stances of both parties can be summarized as follows.

Mr. Ali Babacan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has stated many times that one has never been so close to finding a solution with Armenia, that this is a historical opportunity, and that third countries should not hinder this process.²

Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan has also stated that they are close to achieving normalization of relations.³ Without giving any information, however, he has not refrained from expressing some views. The most important of these is that the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations should have no preconditions.⁴ This has been a formula used by former Foreign Minister Vartan Oskanyan since the early 2000’s to build normal (diplomatic) relations with Turkey and means that Turkey opening its borders should not depend on finding specific solutions to the problems between the two countries. However, Turkey’s stance has been the opposite of this, where the normalization of relations depends on solving the current problems.

1 See: Ömer Engin Lütem, “Facts and Comments”, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No 31, pp.7-12.

2 “Turkey, Armenia Closer than ever to Peace, Says Foreign Minister Babacan”. *Today’s Zaman*, March 3, 2009

3 “Armenia, Turkey are ‘very close’ to normalizing ties” *Asbarez*, January 24, 2009.

4 There exist many statements on this subject of the Armenian Foreign Minister. We have chosen a few as reference: “Relations Arménie-Turquie: Des hauts et des bas” *Armenews*, January 23, 2009; “Turkey-Armenia Relations Should Have No Preconditions”, *armradio.am*. April 6, 2009.

The Armenian side has specifically focused on the Armenian genocide allegations. It has been stated many times that the establishment of relations with Turkey will not put into question the veracity of the Armenian genocide⁵ and Armenia will never ask its Diaspora or any foreign country to not recognize the Armenian genocide.⁶ Furthermore, talks to normalize relations should not include discussions on the Armenian genocide.⁷ In relation to this, it can be said that the mixed commission of historians, which Turkey has suggested for studying the incidents of 1915, has been rejected by the Armenian side. However, Nalbandyan has stated that after establishing diplomatic relations and opening the borders, they will be ready to create an intergovernmental commission that could discuss all questions concerning the two countries and that this commission would have subcommittees.⁸ It can be deduced from this that the incidents of 1915 can be reviewed by a subcommittee. However, even in this case “genocide veracity” will not be discussed, nor will the efforts to convince other countries to accept the genocide allegations cease to exist. If this assumption is true, then it will mean that the mentioned subcommittee will have no function.

A third topic the Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs has focused upon is the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. The Minister has stated that “normalization of relations has no linkage to the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict and Karabakh has never been subject of negotiations towards the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations”.⁹ Nalbandyan has opposed the idea of Turkey acting as a mediator for this conflict based on the statements that Azerbaijan and Turkey are two parts of the same nation. According to Nalbandyan, how can one part of this nation (Turkey) be a mediator between the other part (Azerbaijan) and another country (Armenia)?¹⁰

The statements of both sides have never raised the question of territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders. Since 1991 when talks have first started between the two countries, Turkey has insistently emphasized this question. Armenia recognizing the inviolability of the borders of Turkey would mean giving up on the aspiration of Big Armenia. Present day Armenia has no power to demand and obtain territory from Turkey. Achieving that kind of power in the future is also unrealistic. A demand like this can even be considered ridiculous. But, for those living with such dreams in the Diaspora, especially Dashnaks and extreme right wing in Armenia, achieving Great Armenia is an obsession. It could be understood that because of the Diaspora, the Armenian Government has not wanted territorial integrity to be mentioned, but in reality both sides have accepted to recognize each others borders.

5 “Armenia, Turkey are ‘very close’ to normalizing ties”, *Asbarez*, January 24, 2009; “Edward Nalbandian: Turkey-Armenia Relations Should Have No Preconditions”, *Armradio.am* April 6, 2009.

6 IBID

7 “Armenia Says Not Discussing 1915 Events With Turkey”, *Today's Zaman*, March 21, 2009

8 IBID.

9 “Edward Nalbandian: Turkey-Armenia Relations Should Have No Preconditions”, *Armradio.am*, April 6, 2009.

10 “Armenian Minister Upbeat on Turkish Ties”, Public Television of Armenia, March 11, 2009.

As a summary, Armenia wants 1 - the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations without any preconditions, 2 – the normalization of relations not to have any linkage to the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict and 3- normalization not to open discussions on the Armenian genocide. In return, Turkey wants 1 – the recognition of the current borders for the normalization of relations, 2 – 1915 incidents (genocide allegations) to be discussed by a mixed commission of historians and 3 – the opening of the Turkish border to depend on ending the occupation of Nagorno Karabakh and other Azerbaijani territories.

In this case, although both sides have stated that achieving a solution is near, it can be concluded that opposing views exist on matters other than the issue concerning the recognition of the current borders. That would explain why the preparation of the text of the protocols has taken almost a year.

1. Azerbaijan’s Reactions to the Possible Opening of Borders in the Near Future and Criticisms of the Turkish Opposition Parties

Before President Obama’s visit to Turkey in April 2009, there has been news in the media that a Turkish-Armenian agreement is reached and the borders will open. For instance, an anonymous high level bureaucrat of the European Commission has stated that he has received news that Turkey will open its Armenian border after President Obama’s visit.¹¹ On the internet, AB Haber has stated that “Turkey’s eyes in the EU” exists and that Turkey plans on opening up its border with Armenia after the President’s visit.¹² According to diplomats whose names were not given, the well respected Wall Street Journal of USA has expressed that the agreement between Turkey and Armenia for the normalization of relations will be signed on April 16th.¹³ The Chairman of the American Marshall Fund Office in Ankara has asserted that this agreement will be ready before April 24th which is considered as the anniversary of the so called Armenian genocide.¹⁴

Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan has gone beyond stating that the parties are closer to achieving a solution, and in an interview given to the Novosti-Armenian Agency which has also been published in the Azerbaijani press, has said, “we will soon open borders with Turkey”, which could be the source of these speculations.¹⁵ It can be said that there is deliberate disinformation due to some Armenian and American circles. The intention of this could be to put pressure on Turkey before Obama’s visit as well as

11 “Türkiye Ermenistan Sınırnı Açacak mı? (Will Turkey Open its Armenian Border?)” *Cumhuriyet*, March 30, 2009

12 “Ermenistan Sınırı Nisan’da Açılacak (The Armenian Border will Open in April)”, *Hürriyet*, March 30, 2009.

13 “Türkiye İle Ermenistan Tarihi Anlaşmaya Zemin Hazırlıyor (Turkey and Armenia Preparing Grounds for the Historic Agreement)”, *Zaman*, April 3, 2009.

14 IBID.

15 “Erivan: Türkiye İle Sınırları Yakında Açacağız’ (Yerevan: ‘We will Open Borders with Turkey Soon’)”, *CNN Türk*, March 27, 2009.

to create a tension between Turkey and Azerbaijan. As will be explained further on, a misunderstanding and even more, disappointment has developed between the two countries.¹⁶

This incident has created some consequences. First of all, President Gül has personally felt obliged to deny the news. Before his departure to attend the 60th year NATO summit, President Gül has stated that what was written in the Wall Street Journal about the Armenian-Turkish agreement to be signed on April 16th is not true.¹⁷ Prime Minister Erdoğan, in a speech delivered in Chatham House in London, has expressed that without the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, a strong agreement with Armenia would not be possible, linking the normalization of relations with Armenia to the resolution of the Karabakh problem. These declarations have created frustrations in Armenia. Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan has tried to not attend the Alliance of Civilizations 2nd Forum Conference held in Istanbul, to which President Obama was to attend also, but has participated late in the conference most likely due to the intervention of Americans. He has re-emphasized however, that Armenia would not negotiate the Nagorno Karabakh conflict with Turkey.¹⁸ During this Forum, President Obama has held a meeting with Foreign Minister Ali Babacan, Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan and Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey in Dolmabahçe Palace. A high level official from the White House has announced that President Obama has talked about the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations with the ministers and has called upon both sides to reach an agreement.¹⁹

However, the real problem has developed with Azerbaijan. Under the pressure of these developments, Ilham Aliiev has not attended the Alliance of Civilizations Conference in Istanbul and has not changed his mind despite President Gül and U.S. Foreign Minister Hillary Clinton personally calling him and assuring him that he will meet President Obama.²⁰

In the meantime, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan Araz Azimov, has explained his own government's view concerning the circumstances under which Turkey should open its border gate with Armenia:²¹ According to him, the Turkish border can be opened in the context of the settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict and can only be connected with the progress in the settlement. Opening of the border outside this context would go against Azerbaijani interests and will not be accepted by Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is ready to discuss with Turkey exactly at which stage of the settlement of the

16 Prime Minister Erdoğan has indicated in his speech delivered in the National Assembly of Azerbaijan on May 13, 2009, that this “disinformation” has started at an earlier date, that it has been asserted in a website in the beginning of February that “Turkey has forfeited Karabakh in order to normalize relations with Armenia”, and that this event has almost become a campaign against Turkey despite the several statements he has made.

17 “Erivan’la Anlaşma Tarihi Yanlış (The Date for Agreement with Yerevan is not Correct)”, *Taraf*, April 6, 2009.

18 “Ermenistan Müzakereyi Gölgeledi (Armenia Overshadowed the Negotiations)”, *Vatan*, April 6, 2009.

19 “Dolmabahçe’de Sürpriz Ermeni Buluşması (The Surprising Armenian Meeting at Dolmabahçe)”, *Zaman*, April 7, 2009.

20 “Obama İle Görüşme Vaadi de Aliyev’i İkna Edemedi (The Promise of Meeting with Obama also Failed to Persuade Aliyev)”. *Hürriyet*, April 6, 2009.

21 “Baku: Turkish-Armenian Border Can Only Be Opened in the Context of Karabakh Settlement”, *Interfax*, April 9, 2009.

Nagorno-Karabakh conflict the Turkish-Armenian border can be opened. Since the decision to close the border in 1993 was made in connection with the occupation of Azeri territory, its cancellation should depend on the liberation of territories.

As can be seen, Deputy Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan has strongly linked the opening of the border to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. However, showing some flexibility, he has indicated “under which phase of the settlement process they would be ready to discuss the opening of the border with the Turkish government”, and has stated that if positive developments are made, the border could be opened without the permanent settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. This situation has arisen due to Azerbaijan’s belief that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict cannot be resolved instantly, but gradually by going through certain stages. In this context, considering that the total evacuation of Azeri territory could take years, the border can be opened at a certain stage during the settlement process after discussing with Azerbaijan.

On this subject, Prime Minister Erdoğan almost on all occasions has expressed that since the border was closed as a consequence of the occupation of Azeri territory, it could only be opened with the ending of this occupation. Therefore, taking into account the views of Azerbaijan as stated above, it can be said that Turkey has accepted its considerations; however, as will be seen below, it has taken time for Azeri public opinion to understand this. But, the linkage of the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations to the settlement process of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has transformed a bilateral issue to a trilateral one.

On the other hand, it is important to dwell on why Azerbaijan gives great importance to the opening of the Turkish border. An Azeri writer²² has conveyed Baku’s worries by expressing that opening the border will further strengthen Armenia and make it less cooperative in any future negotiations. The same source has also maintained that the opening of the border will alter the fragile balance of power within the region and might even provoke Armenia to pursue further military action. Opening of the border resulting in military action to be pursued is quite difficult, as this will most probably lead to the closing of the border again. On the other hand, if the border opens, it is likely that Armenia will not be too willing to settle its disputes with Azerbaijan.

In Turkey, the opposition parties have heavily criticized the Government, stating that Azerbaijan is highly neglected in the Turkish-Armenian talks.

Deniz Baykal, President of CHP, in one of his speeches, has expressed that Turkey has closed its Armenian border as a response to the Armenian occupation of Azerbaijan and only if this occupation ends will the border open, stating that “Turkey cannot tolerate Azerbaijan being stabbed in the back. No matter what pressure is put on Turkey, no one can force her to betray Azerbaijan”.²³

22 Faris İsmailzade, “Baku Calling For Openness in Turkish-Armenian Relations”, Jamestown Foundation, May 5, 2009.

23 “Baykal’dan Ermenistan Açıklaması (Baykal on the Explanation of Armenia)”, *Hürriyet*, April 11, 2009.

Devlet Bahçeli, President of MHP, in a definite manner has stated that it is useful to first consult the Turkish public on the alternatives to strengthen relations with Armenia, then their kin men Azerbaijan, and should try together to find a settlement. The notion, ‘one nation, two states’ should not be overlooked. It has been impossible for MHP to accept any idea which could lead the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to a dead end. Bahçeli has also expressed that improvement of Turkish-Armenian relations can develop after the Armenian genocide allegations come to an end and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict reaches a solution. Without these taking place neither will the border open, nor will Nagorno-Karabakh be abandoned.²⁴

On this subject, there have been disagreements in the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Turkish Grand National Assembly also.²⁵

Proceeding Obama’s visit, in order for the President not to use the term genocide in his message given on April 24th or to prevent the draft resolution of the House of Representatives, unofficial suggestions coming from Washington has stated that a new step is expected from Turkey.²⁶ Meanwhile, the speculations on opening of the border in a short period of time have increased.²⁷ These speculations have been reinforced by President Sarkisian’s statement about his hopes on the Turkish border opening up after the national match played on October 7th.²⁸

On the other hand, Chairman of the House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi, in a letter to the Armenian electorates in California, has assured them for her efforts to personally support USA in formally recognizing the “genocide”.²⁹ This has also strengthened the belief that there is an attempt to put pressure on Turkey.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Babacan, who attended the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation conference held on April 16th, has met with Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan, Russian Foreign Minister Segey Lavrov, and Azeri Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mamad Guliev in Yerevan. He has also been received by President Serge Sarkisian. Sarkisian has held a short meeting in which Lavrov, Nalbandyan, and Babacan have attended.³⁰

24 “Bahçeli: Çözümü Soydaşla Aramalı (The Solution should be searched with Kin men)”. *Yeni Çağ*, April 11, 2009.

25 “Mecliste Ateşli Ermenistan Tartışmaları (Heated Armenian Debates in the Parliament). *İhlas Haber Ajansı*, April 9, 2009.

26 For the statements of former US Ankara Ambassador Mark Paris and the Director of the Turkish Program of the Brookings Institute in Washington Ömer Taşpınar see: “Vaşington Bir Adım Görmek İstiyor (Washington Wants to See a Step Taken)”. *CNN Türk*, April 14, 2009.

27 “Ermenistan Sınırı Açılıyor Mu? (Is the Armenian Border Opening?)”, *Sabah*, April 10, 2009; “Ermenistan İle Kapı Haftada Bir Gün Açık (The Gate with Armenia is Open once a Week)”, *Star*, April 15, 2009.

28 “Ermenistan, Sınırın Açılması İçin Tarih Bile Veriyor (Armenia is Even Providing a Date for the Opening of the Border)”, *Cumhuriyet*, April 10, 2009.

29 “Soykırım’ın Tanınması İçin Girişim Başlattı (Attempt Started for the Recognition of the ‘Genocide’)”, *Hürriyet*, April 16, 2009.

30 *Hürriyet*, April 17, 2009.

Edward Nalbandyan, Armenian Foreign Minister, in a press conference in Yerevan with Azerbaijani Deputy Foreign Minister Guliev, has declared that it is not a question to immediately sign a document on the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations, but that soon they would be able to come to an agreement on that subject. He has also expressed that negotiations concerning Karabakh are conducted within the framework of OSCE Minsk Group and that Turkey is not a mediator.³¹ On the other hand, Guliev has recalled that Turkey is a member of OSCE Minsk Group and if Turkey has proposals on conflict settlement, Azerbaijan is ready to consider them. Furthermore, he has also emphasized that the establishment of relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan is linked to the settlement of the Karabakh question.³²

According to some press reports relating to Babacan's visit to Yerevan, the negotiation process between Turkey and Armenia has been developing positively, however a settlement has still not been in hand. Turkey wants the "issues" to be solved in a short period. This is a process which should not be considered only as a Turkish-Armenian issue. The problems between Armenia and Azerbaijan being parallel to each other should also be taken into account. During this period, Turkey will not assume an attitude that will offend Azerbaijan.³³

2. Joint Statement of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Turkey and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs

22 April 2009

Turkey and Armenia, together with Switzerland as mediator, have been working intensively with a view to normalizing their bilateral relations and developing them in a spirit of good-neighborliness, and mutual respect, and thus to promoting peace, security and stability in the whole region.

The two parties have achieved tangible progress and mutual understanding in this process and they have agreed on a comprehensive framework for the normalization of their bilateral relations in a mutually satisfactory manner. In this context, a road-map has been identified.

*This agreed basis provides a positive prospect for the on-going process.*³⁴

31 Noyan Tapan, April 16, 2009. Edward Nalbatyan: Agreement on Normalization of Armenian-Turkish Relations Will Be Signed Soon.

32 IBID.

33 "Azerbaycan'ı Küstürmeyiz (We will not Offend Azerbaijan)", *Hürriyet*, April 17, 2009.

34 "Joint Statement of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey and Republic of Armenia and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs", No: 56, April 22, 2009, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_56_-22-nisan-2009_-turkiye-ermenistan-iliskileri-hk_.tr.mfa

It seems that the purpose of this statement, made two days before the U.S. President's April 24th message, has been to give the President the opportunity not to use the term "genocide" in his message. As a matter of fact, the President has not used this word.

The most important part of the joint statement is that the two countries are working intensively for the normalization of their relations. For this matter, they have agreed on a comprehensive framework and have also identified a road map. However, no information has been given on what this framework entails and which "stations" this road map encompasses. This "secrecy" makes one believe that no settlement has been reached between the two countries relating to important issues.

It is not difficult to guess what the framework entails. As commonly known, there are three main conflicts between Turkey and Armenia: Non-recognition of Turkey's territorial integrity, genocide allegations, and the Nagorno Karabakh problem.

Concerning the territorial integrity (or recognition of the existing borders) as mentioned above, it has been assumed that the parties have reached an agreement on that subject although neither the public authorities nor the press have focused on it at all.

Concerning the genocide allegations, the claims have been submitted to the mixed commission of historians which was part of the formula put forth by Turkey and accepted unwillingly by Armenia. However, as also stated earlier, some of the statements of the Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs affirming that they will not dispute "genocide reality" and Armenia's efforts to keep pursuing the recognition of the "genocide" internationally, makes us believe that no definite settlement has been reached and even if there will be an agreement in the future, it will be difficult for the commission of historians to operate.

Another issue is Nagorno Karabakh. It is important to note that Karabakh is not a direct problem between Turkey and Armenia. This has arisen due to Karabakh not being part of Turkish territory legally and actually. The reason why it seems as a conflict between the two sides is because of the support Turkey gives to Azerbaijan. The Turkish-Armenian border has been closed in 1993 due to the Karabakh problem, and thus, opening of borders have become an important issue between the two countries. Looking at this from the angle of the Turkish-Armenian negotiation process, since Turkey does not control Azeri territory, including Karabakh, Turkey negotiating with Armenia for the evacuation of Karabakh and surrendering Azeri territory seems meaningless. Under such circumstances, it can be said that apart from Turkey's role in this conflict of trying to convince Armenia to rapidly reach a settlement, Turkey also refuses to open her border without the occupation coming to an end and without the two sides reaching a principle agreement in solving the Karabakh conflict. This has been the policy of Turkey for the last fifteen years.

The expression of a “road map” shows when and which steps the parties should take for the normalization of relations or from which phases they will go through. No official information has been provided about the road map.

Some information has been given in a newspaper in Turkey about the subjects in which the parties are in agreement with.³⁵ According to this, 1. Armenia will recognize the Treaty of Kars, 2. Turkish border will open, 3. Embassies will be mutually established, 4. The “road map” will be approved of in the Parliaments, 5. Third countries can participate in the mixed commission of historians.

The importance of this information is not its context, but it being used by other broadcasting organs. On the other hand, it is insufficient. After the recognition of the Turkish borders (recognition of the Treaty of Kars) and the opening of the Turkish-Armenian border, it is natural for the parties to establish diplomatic relations. Anyhow, the ratification of the agreed texts by the Parliaments is a requirement of the Constitution. Regarding the mixed commission of historians, the issue is not about who will participate to it, but whether such a commission should be established. If it is established, the participation of specialists from third countries will not be a problem.

Presumably, the most important aspect of this news is the Karabakh conflict not being part of the Turkish-Armenian agreement. As we have tried to explain above, since Nagorno Karabakh is not part of Turkish territory, this is normal. However, in the news, it has also been mentioned that “the road map which entails the steps to be taken which are parallel to each other, is de facto linked to the Karabakh conflict.” From this, it can be said that the resolution of the Karabakh conflict or, at least reaching an agreement on certain principles on this conflict will be expected from both sides for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations.

In Armenia, the most meaningful statement on what the Turkish-Armenian agreement entails has been made by former President Levon Ter Petrossian who is heading the main opposition party. According to Ter Petrossian, this agreement entails 1. the creation of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Armenia, 2. mutual recognition of each others borders, 3. opening of the Turkish-Armenian border, 4. a commission to be established with Turkish and Armenian historians participating.³⁶

Meanwhile, it is noteworthy to mention that President Gül who was in Prague due to the EU Summit Meeting, has met with Armenian President Serge Sarkisian who was also in Prague for the same purpose. In response to a question on this subject, President Gül has stated that “the negotiation processes between Turkey and Armenia are continuing for the normalization of relations. We have renewed our agreement for this process to continue. Since everyone has started the talks in goodwill, we should start with settlements, not

35 *Bugün* with reference to Sabah newspaper, “Beş Adımda Anlaşma (Agreement in Five Steps)”, April 24, 2009.

36 Ann Groong “The Speech of Levon Ter-Petrosian at the Rally of 1 May, 2009”, May 2009.

disputes. For this to continue and result in a settlement, positive effects of the developments should be pursued”.³⁷

3. Turkey Embracing Azerbaijan Views

After the Turkish-Armenian agreement on a comprehensive framework for the normalization of their relations and a road map, it has been noted that the worries towards Turkey have increased within the Azeri public opinion. In this context, some politicians from the opposition parties have criticized Turkey and some articles in the press have reflected this opposition. On the other hand, the shutting down of the Martyrdom Mosque in Baku in which mostly Turks pray in, on the grounds that it will be restored, as well as the attempt to increase the price of natural gas supplied by Azeri oil company Socar to Turkey, and the tumultuous visit of four lady deputies to Turkey in order to express Azerbaijani views, have shown that tensions exist between authorities on both sides which is tried to be kept from public but cannot really be concealed and which tends to be spreading to other areas other than Turkish-Armenian relations.

In this context, the main reason of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s visit to Azerbaijan on May 13, 2009 has been this “anti-Turkish” campaign. Erdoğan has attempted to convince Azeri public opinion and authorities that the Turkish-Armenian negotiations will not create results that will be detrimental to Azerbaijan.

In a speech to the Azerbaijan Parliament³⁸ on May 13, 2009, Prime Minister Erdoğan has stated that due to recent speculations and false news, the brotherhood of the two countries has tried to be damaged and that the current situation was nothing but a “hurricane within a glass of water”. He has said that these trends of beliefs have developed due to false news published on an Armenian webpage on the internet in early February, asserting that Turkey has given up on Karabakh for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations. The Prime Minister has emphasized that even the mentioning of Turkey abandoning Karabakh is a disgrace, has rejected this rumor and has said that this kind of news is continuing regardless of all the statements made by him and is almost becoming a campaign against Turkey. On the Turkish-Armenian talks, Erdoğan has indicated that Turkey never took any step that would harm Azeri national interests and will not do so in the future. It has also been expressed by the Prime Minister that the closing of the Turkish border in 1993 was a result of the Armenian occupation of Karabakh and other Azeri territory and that the border will open only after the occupation comes to an end; and on that subject no steps will be taken unless Azerbaijan agrees upon them.

The Prime Minister has also argued that Turkey’s policy towards Karabakh is frank and clear, that there has been no deviation from this policy up to now, and that Turkey

37 “Gül’den Avrupa’ya ‘Rıcaç Değiliz’ Resti (Gül’s ‘We Are Not Requesting’ to Europe)”, *Haber 7*, May 11, 2009.

38 http://rte.gen.tr/ak-parti-genel-baskani-ve-basbakan-recep-tayyip-erdogan-aze_6238.html

believes that this conflict should be resolved through peaceful means within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. He has also emphasized that unfortunately, twenty percent of Azeri territory is under Armenian occupation and that one million Azerbaijanis have to live as refugees or immigrants within their own country.

Prime Minister Erdoğan who has expressed that until a settlement is reached related to Karabakh it will not be possible to achieve peace and stability in Southern Caucasus, has also referred to the declaration of the Turkish Foreign Ministry on April 22 which states that, “Turkey and Armenia, together with Switzerland as mediator, have been working intensively with a view to normalizing their bilateral relations and thus, promoting peace, security and stability in the whole region”. He has also noted that the point reached in Turkish-Armenian talks has provided a positive perspective for the continuing process of negotiation which is also in favor of Azerbaijan.

On the same day, after the meetings between the delegations, Prime Minister Erdoğan in a press conference together with President Aliev, has indicated that relations with Azerbaijan is constantly developing and has stated that “the opinion of others that we do not share cannot damage our unity, solidarity, and interdependence” and has emphasized “the importance to develop the ‘one nation, two states’ belief for Turkey and Azerbaijan towards the future.” By indicating that the sensitivity of Azerbaijan over the Karabakh issue is also the sensitivity of Turkey, has stated that “opening of the border is not possible without the occupation coming to an end”.

Azeri President Ilham Aliev has expressed his appreciation to Prime Minister Erdoğan for not opening the border with Armenia without the Karabakh conflict reaching a settlement. He has also said that no further doubt remains in their minds about this subject and has stressed the historical bonds existing between the two countries. By emphasizing that the stances of both countries are the same, he has stated that both Azerbaijan and Turkey are in favor of achieving peace and stability in the region. Concerning the speculations on Turkey opening its Armenian border, Aliev has expressed that “there is no room for any doubt. The statement of Prime Minister Erdoğan is the best response against these speculations”.³⁹

After the Prime Minister’s visit to Azerbaijan and his speech addressed in the Azerbaijan Assembly, the “anti-Turkish campaign” in Azerbaijan has come to an end.

Ahmet Davutoğlu, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey who visited Baku approximately two weeks after Prime Minister Erdoğan’s visit, has also expressed the importance of resolving the Karabakh conflict as soon as possible within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. He has stated that in accordance with UN resolutions, without the occupied territories being given back to Azerbaijan, the Turkish-Armenian border will not be opened.⁴⁰

39 http://rte.gen.tr/basbakan-erdogan-aliyev-ortak-basin-toplantisi-_6236.html

40 “Ahmed Davutoglu a lancé un message dur et rappelelant un ultimatum”, *Armenews*, May 29, 2009.

4. Armenian Public Opinion and Withdrawal of Dashnaks from the Coalition Government

It has not been easy explaining to the Armenian public opinion that an agreement for the normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia has been reached and that a road map has been created for this purpose. In an interview, Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan has expressed that “When we say normalization of relations without preconditions we mean that there are no preconditions connected with the resolution of the Karabakh conflict and the recognition of the Armenian genocide”.⁴¹ Since Karabakh and the surrounding territory is not part of Turkish soil, we have seen earlier that it is not possible to reach an agreement on this issue between Turkey and Armenia. Concerning the genocide allegations, Armenia has accepted that a commission (or a sub-commission) is to be established in order to review the 1915 incidents, meaning that Armenia has given a concession to Turkey on the genocide allegations. One issue that Nalbandyan has not mentioned at all and could be considered as a precondition is that both sides have agreed upon recognizing each others borders (or their territorial integrity). Therefore, in order not to close the door on the aspirations of creating a Great Armenia one day, Armenia has abandoned its policy pursued from 1992 onwards of not officially recognizing Turkey’s borders.

As a matter of fact, when the texts of the protocols have been published on August 31, 2009, the Armenian authorities has had difficulties in explaining that there were no preconditions or that no concession has been given to Turkey.

The reason why Armenian authorities have insisted that no preconditions exist for the normalization of relations is, starting with Dashnaks, nationalist Armenians have regarded all contact with Turkey with suspicion and have completely rejected giving any kind of concession to Turkey. Moreover, the idea of building normal relations with Turkey has not been highly embraced by the Armenian public opinion. In a survey conducted in the middle of April, 61% of those who participated have been against building close relations with Turkey.⁴² In another public survey about the joint statement made on April 22, 2009 on establishing an agreement on creating a comprehensive framework and road map, 67% of the participants have expressed a negative opinion.⁴³ This situation has pushed the Armenian Government to act cautiously, and specifically to argue that no concession has been given to Turkey.

Actually, a similar situation has existed also in Turkey. In a research conducted by GENAR on 17-April 26, for the question whether “the attempt to open the Armenian border and establish diplomatic relations with Turkey is supported or not”, 67% of the participants have expressed that they do not support it. It is likely that this is due to fierce

41 “Edward Nalbandian: Armenia-Turkey Relations Had Never Gone This Far”, *Armradio*, April 27, 2009.

42 “61% of Armenians Are Opposed to Establishing Closer Relations With Turkey”, *PanArmenian*, April 14, 2009.

43 “67.2% Voted Against Frontier Opening”, *A1+*, May 4, 2009.

opposition of Azerbaijan. It is also likely that this stance of the Turkish public opinion has been the reason why Prime Minister Erdoğan has linked opening of the border to the ending of the occupation in Azerbaijan.

As mentioned above, despite the Armenian Government acting with caution and stating that no concession has been given, Dashnaks have not been satisfied and the Armenian Revolutionary Party has withdrawn from the coalition on April 27, 2009.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation established in 1890 is a political organization identified with the independence of Armenia and the terror and atrocities committed against Turks and Azerbaijanis. After the Sovietization of Armenia, this Federation has started conducting activities abroad and has become the main political activity of the Diaspora. This is the party that has created and partially controlled the organized Armenian terror in the past, which has put forth the genocide allegations, conducted activities against Turkey on all occasions, and targeted Turkish diplomats in years 1973-1986, killing about 30 of them. This party has started conducting its activities in Armenia and Karabakh right before the independence of Armenia and has drawn attention with its extreme nationalistic and uncompromising attitude. Due to its stances and policies going far beyond the opposition and which can be categorized as being harmful, it has been shut down in 1994. When the President of that time, Levon Ter Petrossian has started experiencing problems with the Armenian Parliament and has been forced to resign as a result of the Karabakh conflict, Dashnaks have played a great role in supporting and electing Prime Minister Robert Kocharian as President. After being elected, Kocharian has awarded the Dashnaks by making them partners of the Government. From 1998 to 2009, Dashnaks have participated in all coalition governments and have attracted notice with their extreme nationalistic and anti-Turkey attitudes.

The Dashnak Party,⁴⁴ in a statement, has expressed that the main reason for their withdrawal from the Government has been the Turkish-Armenian agreement and the road map drawn. The Party has always emphasized that the universal recognition and condemnation of the Armenian genocide, especially by Turkey, is the main task of the state's national security strategy, not only in the context of the restoration of historical justice but also as a way to improve the mutual trust in the region while also preventing similar crimes in the future.

Although Dashnaks have shown the talks with Turkey as the reason from withdrawing from the Government, it is likely that they have acted within internal political considerations. Likewise, in spite of benefiting from all the advantages of being part of the Government for 11 years, this Party has not been able to increase its votes. About two years ago, in the General Elections conducted in May 2007, Dashnaks with 12.7% have been able to bring in 16 deputies to the Armenian Parliament containing 131 chairs. In the Presidential elections conducted in February of 2008, Dashnaks have received only

44 "ARF Quits Governing Coalition", *Asbarez*, April 27, 2009.

6.2% of the votes and lost about 50%. Meanwhile, we should note that Serge Sarkisian who won the elections, have received 52.8% of the votes. In this situation, it is likely that Dashnaks are attempting to get the votes of the extreme right wing and gain a much stronger place in the Parliament in the 2012 elections through their anti-Turkish, uncompromising attitudes and demagogic proposals. However, this calculation may not work, as Dashnaks have received 4.7% of the votes in the Yerevan City Council elections. Dashnaks continually receiving fewer votes makes this party marginal.

5. Recent Developments

It can be seen that the new Foreign Minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoğlu is considering Turkish-Armenian bilateral relations, also within the framework of peace and stability in Southern Caucasus. He has emphasized that in this region, “For a permanent and comprehensive normalization to take place, developments have to be made in the Azeri-Turkish case”.⁴⁵ Davutoğlu has also expressed that the normalization process is continuing after April 22nd, there is no interruption in the course of the talks and there are ongoing direct and indirect contacts with Armenia.⁴⁶ He has also stated that by carrying out the two processes, Turkish-Armenian and Azerbaijan-Armenian talks in parallel with each other would ensure lasting peace in the region.⁴⁷

In response to a question about whether the Karabakh conflict will be taken to the Security Council, Davutoğlu expressing that Turkey is chairing the Security Council, has stated that “Turkey favors discussions over matters of international importance including the Karabakh problem”,⁴⁸ showing that he favors this matter being brought to the Council. However, while Turkey was chairing the Council, this case has not been discussed there. However, Turkey being a member of the Council will enable her to actively pursue this matter. Although Armenia did not have any instant reaction to the likelihood of bringing the Karabakh conflict to the Security Council, it is natural that bearing in mind the Council’s resolutions in 1990’s which were against Armenian interests, Armenia would not like this issue to be brought up again and would try to prevent it.

On the other hand, it can be seen that Armenia’s usual attitude is continuing and that there is a desire to establish normal relations with Turkey without any preconditions; on the other hand, it has been stressed that Turkey has nothing to do with the settlement of the Karabakh conflict. Furthermore, Armenia accepting the establishment of a mixed commission of historians is not openly stated. Instead, creation of a certain commission, in which conflicting views of both sides can be discussed, has been expressed in response to questions related to this matter.⁴⁹

45 “Davutoğlu’ndan Ermeni Çıkışı (Davutoğlu on the Armenian Issue)”, Haberler.com, June 4, 2009.

46 “Turkish FM Says There’s No Interruption in Talks With Armenia”, IBID and PanArmenian.Net, June 4, 2009.

47 “Carrying out Turkish-Armenian and Azerbaijan-Armenian Talks in parallel with each other would ensure lasting peace in the region”, *Journal of the Turkish Weekly*, June 27, 2009.

48 “Ankara to Bring Up Karabakh Problem For UN Security Council Discussions”, Trend, June 15, 2009.

49 “Armenia Still Hopeful about Deal with Turkey”, *RFE/RL*, June 22, 2009.

Foreign Minister Nalbandyan, by stating that the ball is in Turkey's field,⁵⁰ expects Turkey to take a new step. This holds Turkey responsible for the delay of the negotiations. In response, Davutoğlu has stated that the ball is in the field (mid-field), steps should be taken mutually, Turkey's role is to establish stability in the region, and that this will not be possible without only one side taking a step.⁵¹ This way, he has invited Armenia to be more constructive in solving problems.

Following the Joint Statement on April 22nd, the expectations to normalize Turkish-Armenian relations and opening of borders has arisen. As this was not the case, frustration arose in Armenia, especially within the opposition parties. Criticisms have been made such as, Turkey has exploited the process to thwart U.S. recognition of Armenian genocide without having to open its border, not only is there no progress in bilateral relations but they have actually regressed, and balance in the process has been breached to the detriment of Armenia.⁵² In response to these criticisms, Sarkisian has been obliged to express his discontent towards Turkey's attitudes. In a press conference given together with the President of Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus Hristofias who had visited Armenia, has stated the following: "We want to eliminate closed borders remaining in Europe and to build normal relationships without preconditions. But in that endeavor, we do not intend to allow [anyone] to use the negotiating process for misleading the international community. Unfortunately, in our case, failure to honor mutual agreements leads to greater distrust and a deeper gap and requires much greater efforts in the future".⁵³

It can be seen that the Armenian President has criticized Turkey for using the negotiation process as a means to mislead the international public and not showing respect towards the mutual agreements. With these highly vague statements, the President has tried to show that Turkey has used the negotiation process in attempt to prevent some states, including the U.S., to take action in pursuing the recognition of the genocide allegations, and that Turkey has not put the agreed road map into practice.

II- THE U.S. AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

After President Obama has come to power, he has called the presidents or prime ministers of some states by telephone and discussed their common problems. As expressed before,⁵⁴ on February 16, 2009, he has called both President Gül and Prime Minister Erdoğan. This uncommon conduct has shown the importance the new President gives in his foreign policy towards Turkey.

50 "Şimdi Top Türkiye'de (Now the Ball is in Turkey's Field)", *Taraf*, May 18, 2009.

51 "Ermenistan'dan 'adımlar karşılıklı atılmalı' mesajı ('Steps Must Be Taken Mutually' Message from Armenia)", *Zaman*, June 22, 2009.

52 "Critics 'vindicated' by Sarkisian's Warning to Ankara", *RFE/RL*, July 7, 2009.

53 "Sarkisian Frustrated Over Stalled Talks with Turkey", *Asbarez*, July 6, 2009.

54 Ömer Engin Lütem, "Facts and Comments", *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 31, pp.26.

Among the reasons for giving such importance firstly comes the desire to put an end to some tensions between the two states during the Bush Administration. As known, the Turkish Grand National Assembly has not allowed the U.S. to invade Iraq by going through its territory in 2003. This matter, along with the lengthy and bloody occupation of Iraq has led to loss of American prestige within the Turkish public opinion. On the other hand, despite not being as effective as the Iraq occupation, the draft resolutions on Armenian genocide allegations within the American Congress have also played a role in the loss of prestige. It can be understood that the new American Government was attempting to get rid of this anti-American feeling, or at least was trying to reduce it.

On the other hand, it is clear that for the new American Government to put some of their policies into practice, they have to work together with Turkey. First of all, some of the American forces in Iraq should have to retreat through Turkey. Moreover, Turkey's cooperation is needed in U.S.'s effort in Afghanistan and partly in Pakistan to counter Taliban and Al-Qaeda activities. Also, the U.S. desires Turkey to continue her efforts of mediation between Israel and Syria. Last of all, U.S. needs the backing of Turkey in at least partially solving the problems with Iran, especially in the nuclear weapons issue. Foreign Minister Hillary Clinton visiting Turkey on March 7, 2009, followed by President Obama a month later on 6th and 7th April, has provided evidence for the importance given to Turkey by the new American Government.

1. Foreign Minister Hillary Clinton's Visit to Turkey

In the Joint Statement⁵⁵ concerning the visit of Hillary Clinton to Turkey on March 7, 2009, statements concerning U.S. support for the efforts of Turkey and Armenia to normalize relations and joint support for the efforts of the Minsk Group to resolve the Nagorno Karabakh conflict have taken place. As can be seen, not even indirect references have been made to the genocide allegations. However, Foreign Minister Babacan in response to a journalist's question concerning Obama's message to be delivered on 24th April about the 1915 incidents, has expressed that the new U.S. Administration understands Turkey's sensitivity and view and hopes to resolve this issue without any problems that can hinder the bilateral relations.⁵⁶ Especially when the Turkish public opinion and Diaspora Armenians were wondering whether the "genocide" term would be used in the message, the foreign ministers of both countries not emphasizing this matter has shown that President Obama has decided not to use this expression in his annual message.

55 http://www.mfa.gov.tr/abd-disisleri-bakani-hillary-clinton_in-turkiye-disisleri-bakani-ali-babacan_in-davetine-icabetle-ulkemizi-ziyareti-vesilesiyle.tr.mfa

56 "Laik Anayasa Vurgusu (Emphasis of a Secular Constitution)", *Milliyet*, March 7, 2009.

2. “Genocide” Draft Resolutions Submitted to the U.S. House of Representatives

A draft resolution about Armenian genocide allegations, prepared by Armenian supporters within the U.S. House of Representatives, has been opened to signature on February 13, 2009⁵⁷ and has been submitted to the House on March 17, 2009. From this, it can be seen that the motive was to partially reduce the negative effects on Armenians of President Obama’s successful visit and to reduce the likelihood of using the term ‘genocide’ in his message.

This draft which has taken on the number H. Res. 252 is the same as H. Res. 106 which was proposed in the previous legislative period, but was not brought to vote.

The draft calls upon the President to ensure that the foreign policy of the U.S. reflects appropriate understanding and sensitivity concerning issues related to human rights, ethnic cleansing and genocide. These rather unclear expressions could also serve the U.S. for interfering in other countries under the pretext of violation of human rights or ethnic cleansing or genocidal acts.

On the other hand, it has also been requested from the President to accurately characterize the systematic and deliberate annihilation of 1.5 million Armenians as genocide in his message given each year on April 24th.

As known, President Bush has not used the word “genocide” in his messages of 24th April, but has used synonyms like “annihilation” or “mass killings” to reduce Armenians’ reactions.

In the basic motives section of the draft, errors of facts exist. Earlier, we have indicated these to our readers.⁵⁸ As an example, we would like to evoke two of them. In the draft, the deportation of nearly 2 million Armenians during the Ottoman Empire period is mentioned. There are no sources, including the Armenian sources, which mention that 2 million Armenians have been deported. Moreover, Armenians have not been deported, but have been sent to the Der Zor province of the Ottoman Empire (today is in Syria). Furthermore, it is not true that the United Nations has recognized the Armenian ‘genocide’. Banki Mun, the General Secretary of this Organization has personally stated that this organization has not adopted any decision concerning facts occurring before his establishment. The interesting point is that despite those kinds of errors existing in all drafts brought to the House of Representatives since 2000 and brought to the attention of the cosponsors, they still have not been corrected. This shows that the cosponsors are not really interested with the facts, but are rather bystanders.

At the time of its presentation, the H. Res. 252 has had about 77 cosponsors. At the end of 2009, this number has increased to 136. Considering that the absolute majority in the

57 Ömer Engin Lütem, “Facts and Comments”, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 31, p. 24.

58 Prof. Dr. Kemal Çiçek, “Ermeni Yasa Tasarısının İçeriği ve İddialara Verilen Cevaplar” (Content of the Armenian Draft Law and Responses to the Assertions), *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 23–24, pp.103–118.

House of Representatives is 218, it is rather difficult for the draft resolution to reach this number of cosponsors. However, the stance of the White House on that matter will be determining. But, this situation can change in the elections for the House of Representatives in late 2010. Under all circumstances, the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations and opening of borders will reduce the likelihood of acceptance of the draft.

In Turkey, within the framework of non-governmental circles, the only reaction to this draft resolution has come from a group of retired ambassadors. 154 retired Turkish ambassadors have sent a letter to Nancy Pelosi, speaker of the House of Representatives, in which they have explained that the genocide allegations are historically not true. The retired ambassadors have requested the members of the Congress to be just and to reject the so called 'genocide' draft resolution which attempts to alter history. They have expressed that the arguments in the draft do not go beyond only being allegations and that the acceptance of the draft could damage Turkish-American relations. In the letter, it has been expressed that Armenians have collaborated with English, Russians and French who have invaded the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. The massacre and destruction conducted against the Muslim civilian population is not only mentioned in official Ottoman sources, but also in English and Russian archives. The ambassadors have expressed that the insufficiency of all kinds of supply and deficiency of security measures in the Ottoman Empire during the war has led to some undesirable results, but that no evidence exists which shows that the relocation of the Armenians was done deliberately for their destruction. On contrary, those seen as faulty in carrying out the relocation have been punished against these evidences and the "genocide" allegations have remained purely ungrounded".⁵⁹

3. President Obama's Visit to Turkey

President Barack Obama has made an official visit to Turkey on 6th and 7th April. The most important issue before and during the visit was whether or not the President would raise the issue of the Armenian "genocide". However, it was not plausible to think that the President would support Armenian views. While the U.S. needs the cooperation of Turkey for certain issues, characterizing an incident which happened nearly a century ago as genocide in Turkey is meaningless, and especially that denomination is categorically rejected by the Turkish Government, Parliament and almost the entire public opinion.

Before the President's visit, several American think-tanks have made statements underlining the importance of building relations with Turkey. For instance, Stephen Larrabee from the well known Rand Cooperation has stated that Obama's foreign policy preferences are in line with Turkish governing AKP's preferences and that if the

59 "Emekli Büyükelçilerden Pelosi'ye 'Ermeni' Mektubu ('Armenian' Letter to Pelosi by Retired Ambassadors)", *Zaman*, April 2, 2009.

“genocide” draft resolution is adopted, the efforts to repair relations between the two countries will be of no use.⁶⁰

In a report published at the end of March by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) with the title “Turkey’s Evolving Dynamics, Strategic Choices for US-Turkey Relations”, it was stated that if President Obama cannot prevent the adoption of H. Res. 252 and if he uses the term “genocide”, he will draw harsh reactions from Turkey. Zbigniew Brezinski, writer and intellectual known worldwide, along with retired General Brent Scowcroft who was the advisor of the former President in presenting this report, have stated that the U.S. should be more concerned with promoting Turkish-Armenian diplomatic relations, rather than supporting a draft resolution concerning “genocide”.⁶¹

Meanwhile, in the American Congress, 29 members of the Turkish-American “Caucus” has sent a letter to President Obama expressing their views on Turkish-American relations and have urged the U.S. to give its full support for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations.

The New York Times Newspaper, which constantly supports Armenian views and criticizes Turkey, after reminding its readers of this traditional attitude, has called upon the Congress to refrain from reaching a decision on the “genocide” issue and has urged the President to abandon his recognition of the “genocide”.⁶²

Los Angeles Times, being under Armenian influence due to it being published in California, has also stated that it is likely for President Obama to delay his recognition of the genocide in his 24th April message.⁶³

This way, while there was a kind of consensus against President Obama using the word “genocide” in Turkey and in his message on 24th April; Armenian organizations in the U.S. have continued to take on an opposite stance.

Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) which is believed to be a Dashnak organization, along with their rival Armenian Assembly of America (AAA), have launched a massive awareness campaign to support H.Res.252.⁶⁴

Before Obama’s visit, representatives of AAA and ANCA have been invited to the White House to meet with the President’s foreign policy advisors. They have expressed that they look forward to President Obama honoring his pledges to recognize the Armenian genocide.⁶⁵

60 “Tasarı İlişkileri Çökertir (Draft Relations will Crumble)”, *Sabah*, March 29, 2009.

61 “Obama Encouraged to Lobby Against Genocide Bill”, *The Hill*, April 1, 2009.

62 “Mr. Obama and Turkey”, *The New York Times*, April 4, 2009.

63 Paul Richter. “Turkey, Armenia Are Likely to Ease Conflict”, *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2009.

64 “Days of Expectation: Armenian –American Leadership Met Obama Policy Advisors prior to President Departure for Turkey”, *ArmeniaNow*, April 4, 2009.

65 IBID

The European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy (Eafjd), which claims that they are representing the Armenian institutions in Europe, has sent a letter to President Obama on April 3, 2009 in the name of 349 Armenian institutions in Europe. In the letter,⁶⁶ after the President has been reminded of his pledge during his election campaign, it has been stated that the European Armenian as well as the large democratic mainstream of Europe civic democratic society will strongly oppose Turkey's membership in the EU as long as Turkey denies the Armenian genocide, and that the U.S. recognition will provide an unprecedented momentum to the process of dialogue between Turkey and Armenia, but that any retreat by the U.S. would be interpreted by genocide-perpetrating governments as full license to continue their bloody acts and criminal complicity, as witnessed in Turkey's recent support for the Sudanese President. Hilda Tchobanian, the Head of this institution, has maintained that the recognition of the genocide is not an act of hostility against Turkey, but on the contrary it will help Turkey to be set free from its bloody past to stand at the respectable place it seeks among the international community.⁶⁷

4. President Gül and Obama's Press Conference

After President Obama's visit to President Gül on April 6th in Ankara, the two leaders have delivered a short speech and have responded to the journalists' questions. As expected, the first question to President Obama has concerned the Armenian issue. Due to the importance it brings, we are quoting the President's response to this question:

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Christy Parsons, Chicago Tribune — hometown — hometown newspaper.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. As a U.S. senator you stood with the Armenian-American community in calling for Turkey's acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide and you also supported the passage of the Armenian genocide resolution. You said, as President you would recognize the genocide. And my question for you is, have you changed your view, and did you ask President Gül to recognize the genocide by name?

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Well, my views are on the record and I have not changed views. What I have been very encouraged by is news that under President Gül's leadership, you are seeing a series of negotiations, a process, in place between Armenia and Turkey to resolve a whole host of longstanding issues, including this one.

66 "US Recognition of Genocide to Provide Unprecedented Momentum to Turkey-Armenian Dialogue", PanArmenian.Net, April 4, 2009.

67 "European Civil Society Asks Obama to Recognize The Armenian Genocide", European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy, Press Release, April 7, 2009.

I want to be as encouraging as possible around those negotiations which are moving forward and could bear fruit very quickly very soon. And so as a consequence, what I want to do is not focus on my views right now but focus on the views of the Turkish and the Armenian people. If they can move forward and deal with a difficult and tragic history, then I think the entire world should encourage them.

And so what I told the President was I want to be as constructive as possible in moving these issues forward quickly. And my sense is, is that they are moving quickly. I don't want to, as the President of the United States, preempt any possible arrangements or announcements that might be made in the near future. I just want to say that we are going to be a partner in working through these issues in such a way that the most important parties, the Turks and the Armenians, are finally coming to terms in a constructive way.

Q So if I understand you correctly, your view hasn't changed, but you'll put in abeyance the issue of whether to use that word in the future?

PRESIDENT OBAMA: What I'd like to do is to encourage President Gül to move forward with what have been some very fruitful negotiations. And I'm not interested in the United States in any way tilting these negotiations one way or another while they are having useful discussions.⁶⁸

Q Thank you.

First, it should be noted that the U.S. President has used the term 'tragic events' instead of "genocide". But, he has not refrained from expressing that his view on this matter has not changed and that these have been recorded, referring to his written statements about recognizing the genocide allegations. Obama has linked "not focusing on his own views" or in other words, not using the term "genocide" to his encouragement of the Turkish-Armenian talks which could bear fruit very soon. In other words, the President has wanted to avoid any action which could be detrimental to the talks. As a matter of fact, in response to a journalist persisting about this subject, he has openly said that he does not want the U.S. to mislead the negotiations between Turkey and Armenia.

As can be seen, a link exists between President Obama not using the term "genocide" and Turkish-Armenian talks resulting in a positive settlement. If the talks are unable to reach a settlement, then the U.S. President has the right to change his attitude and can use this term if necessary, and can also give a green light for the adoption of the H.252 resolution which is standing by in the House of Representatives. Moreover, for instance, Turkey not fulfilling its role in the Afghanistan, Iraq, and Philistine conflicts makes it likely for the

68 <http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2009/04/2798-transcript-obama-turkish-president.html>

U.S. to use the “genocide” term. In fact, even if Turkish-Armenian relations are normalized, any time when the U.S. does not need Turkey’s cooperation too much, the President or Congress can characterize the 1915 incidents as genocide under the pressure of the Armenian Diaspora. Therefore, the U.S. President not using the term “genocide” can be satisfactory today, but will raise concern for the future.

Following President Obama’s response as given above, President Gül has felt the need to explain Turkey’s stance against Armenia’s allegations. He has stated the following:

PRESIDENT GUL: (As translated.) Let me also share my views on this subject. This is an issue under great discussion. But it is not a legal or political issue, it’s a historical issue. What is being discussed is a situation that was experienced in 1915 under the conditions of World War I, when the Ottoman Empire was battling on four fronts. And unfortunately, some citizens of the empire then were provoked by some other countries and there were many internal clashes and many people lost their lives. And we share the sorrow of all those who lost their lives, but we have to remember that the Muslim population also suffered greatly at the same time.

And at the time from the Balkans, from the Caucasus, there were millions of Muslim Turks who were displaced, who had to come to travel to Turkey, and there were many losses as they traveled. So the losses there took place during the chaotic times of the situation then.

But when the Turkish republic — the modern republic was established, the Turkish republic did not create this into big issue in order not to create greater hatred or hostility in future generations. But unfortunately, these issues politically, especially by the Diaspora, have been brought to the agenda as a way to perhaps cling to their identity.

And our view to that has been that we should let the historians, the experts on the subject, sit down and talk about this issue. We are ready to face the realities, the facts. It cannot be the politicians and the legal experts who can make decisions here as to what happened when, under what conditions, and who lost more lives, and who is right and who is wrong. It is not a parliamentarian, a politician, who can make a decision on this without knowing the circumstances to the situation.

So that’s why we suggested that a joint history commission be established and that we would agree to the results or the conclusions of this commission. And Turkey opened — made its archives available for that purpose.

And we invited everyone, including the Armenians, and we took one more step forward and we said that if another country, for example, the United States or

France, if they are very much interested in this issue, then they, too, could be a part of this joint commission and we would be ready to listen to the conclusions of that commission.

We, as Turkey, we would like to have good relations with all the countries in our region. Our relations with Armenia, unfortunately, did not exist so much, although there are some Armenian citizens in Turkey now — there are more than 70,000 Armenians who work — live in Turkey, who send money back to their families and there are some cultural activities. But we didn't have other relations. And our goal in order to normalize these relations, as Mr. President has just said, we initiated some discussions to normalize relations and we would like to see a good resolution of these discussions.

No doubt there's a new situation in the Caucasus. We saw how potential events could flare up in the Caucasus last year. So it's important that in this process we work together to try to resolve the issues in the Caucasus. We should work to resolve issues between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and all the conflict in the region so that the area becomes fertile ground for greater cooperation.

And we have a lot of work, with the best of intentions, in that regard, and I do believe that when we reach a conclusion we will have resolved many issues.⁶⁹

5. President Obama's Speech to the Turkish Grand National Assembly

In the afternoon, on the same date, President Obama has given a speech in the Turkish Parliament. Concerning the Armenian issue, he has stated the following:

Another issue that confronts all democracies as they move to the future is how we deal with the past. The United States is still working through some of our own darker periods. Facing the Washington monument that I spoke of is a memorial of Abraham Lincoln, the man who freed who were enslaved even after Washington led our Revolution. And our country still struggles with the legacy of our past treatment of Native Americans.

Human endeavor is by nature imperfect. History, unresolved, can be a heavy weight. Each country must work through its past. And reckoning with the past can help us seize a better future. I know there are strong views in this chamber about the terrible events of 1915. While there has been a good deal of commentary about my views, this is really about how the Turkish and Armenian people deal with the past. And the best way forward for the Turkish and Armenian people is a process that works through the past in a way that is honest, open and constructive.

69 IBID.

We have already seen historic and courageous steps taken by Turkish and Armenian leaders. These contacts hold out promise of a new day. An open border would return the Turkish and Armenian People to a peaceful and prosperous coexistence that would serve both of your nations. That is why the United States strongly supports the full normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia.

It speaks to Turkey's leadership that you are poised to be the only country in the region to have normal and peaceful relations with all the South Caucasus nations. And to advance that peace, you can play a constructive role in helping to resolve to Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which has continued for far too long.⁷⁰

In this speech, the important points can be summarized as follows:

President Obama has not used the term “genocide” and has characterized the 1915 incidents as “terrible”.

Obama has not referred to recognizing the genocide allegations while he was candidate, but has touched indirectly upon this subject by stating that there has been a good deal of comments about his views. On the other hand, he has tried to avoid this subject by emphasizing that the important matter is how Turkey and Armenia will account for their past.

Another important point the President has focused on is how Turkey will account for or face up to its history. This means that Turkey should accept that there are mistakes or even crimes in its history. Thus, indirectly and not too persistently, the President has suggested to Turkey to accept the genocide allegations.

Another subject the President has emphasized is the opening of borders. He has expressed that this will be to the benefit of both countries and that the U.S. fully supports the normalization of relations between the two sides. On the other hand, officials of the U.S. State Department under the influence of the Armenian views have started using ‘without preconditions’ for the normalization of relations. Since normalization without preconditions means establishing diplomatic relations and opening the borders without settlement of the existing conflicts, Turkey does not accept it. Not touching upon ‘preconditions’ by the President can be seen as a positive development.

Finally, the President has expressed that Turkey can aid in resolving the Karabakh conflict, but has not explained how. Since the co-chairmen of the Minsk Group are responsible in settling this question, there has been no proposal, nor any demand for Turkey to join this group. Armenia is against the idea of giving Turkey a role in settling

⁷⁰ “Remarks by President Obama to the Turkish Parliament”. April 6, 2009.
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-By-President-Obama-To-The-Turkish-Parliament/

the Karabakh problem.⁷¹ For this reason, how Turkey can be of help in the resolution of this problem remains unclear.

In Turkey, the visit of the US President has been generally well received, but his statements on the Armenian conflict have been criticized.

Concerning Obama's speech, Chairman of the Turkish MHP Party Devlet Bahçeli has stated that "it's unacceptable that the President compares some negative aspects of American history to Turkish history" and has suggested that Turkey should do the same by confronting the past and has refused this approach, which would lead to Turkey accepting some lies concerning its past.

Chairman of the Republican People's Party, Deniz Baykal has assessed this visit as a missed opportunity for Turkey, because during this visit Turkey could have explained her views concerning several issues, especially the Armenian issue.⁷²

6. President Obama's 24th April Message

After President Obama's visit, generally it was believed that he would not use the term "genocide" in his message to be delivered on 24th April. However, as none of the officials have expressed any commitments that the President will not use this term and the emphasis has been bestowed upon the positive developments of the Turkish-Armenian relations, some hesitations have still come to exist.

In President Obama's Armenian Remembrance Day message on 24th April, the following points seem to be the most important:

- a. 1915 incidents have not been conveyed as genocide, but have been described with other terms
- b. Obama has emphasized that he has not changed his mind concerning these events
- c. Acceptance of the post events has been expressed
- d. On this matter, dialogue between Turks and Armenians and also within Turkey has been considered as courageous
- e. Efforts by Turkey and Armenia have been strongly supported
- f. The contributions American Armenians have made to the American Community has been praised

71 Many statements of Armenian authorities exist on this subject. See: "Turkey Has Nothing To Do With the Karabakh Settlement, Armenia Foreign Minister Stated", *Radiolour*, June 11, 2009.

72 "Baykal'da Obama Ziyareti Yorumu (Baykal's Interpretation of the Obama Visit)", *NTV*, April 8, 2009.

Down below, we will try to analyze each of these points separately.

- a. As expected, President Obama has not used the term “genocide” in relation to the 1915 events. Apart from President Reagan using this term in 1981 only as an example, the other presidents have not referred to this term. Instead of genocide, President Obama has used “Mets Yegern.” These two words mean “great disaster” in Armenian language, but can also mean genocide. Therefore, in the Armenian translation of the message, genocide has been enounced while this is not the case for other languages. Through this, it can be said that President Obama has attempted to please both sides. However, as will be explained below, the President has been criticized by both Turks and Armenians.

Meanwhile, we should note that “Mets Yegern” was not first used by President Obama. According to our records, this phrase was first used in 2001 by Pope Jean-Paul II in his visit to Yerevan.⁷³ This way, the Pope taking into account the sensitivity of Turkey on the matter, has not used “genocide”, while at the same time has tried to please Armenians by using a term that means genocide in their language.

The expression “Mets Yegern” has secondly been used during the meetings held in the U.S. Senate for the approval of the appointment of Marie Yovanovitch as U.S. ambassador to Armenia. Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission Joe Binden (now Vice-President), then Senator Barack Obama who was a member of the Commission, along with Robert Menendez and others, have pressed Marie Yovanovitch to categorize the 1915 events as genocide, but she has insisted on using the words “Mets Yegern”. Although with some difficulties, her appointment as Ambassador to Yerevan has been approved.⁷⁴

Thirdly, “Mets Yegern” has been used during the ‘Apology to the Armenians’ Campaign in Turkey. In the text for this apology which has been open to signature on the internet, there is a passage stating “the Great Disaster Ottoman Armenians were exposed to”, and the apology is most probably meant for this disaster.⁷⁵ If one asks why the term “Great Disaster” is used instead of “genocide”, it can be said that in a text expected to be signed by many (but has only reached 30.000), using “Mets Yegern” is preferable since the word ‘genocide’ has created negative feelings in Turkey.

Relating to the 1915 events, in the 2009 message of U.S. President, there exists phrases such as, “one of the great atrocities of the 20th century”, “Armenians massacred or marched to their death”, “terrible vents of 1915”, “painful history”, and “man’s inhumanity to man”. These are rather harsh descriptions. The President’s predecessors have used much severe characterizations.⁷⁶ For instance, President W.

73 Ömer Engin Lütem, “Facts and Comments”, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 3, pp. 13-15.

74 Ömer Engin Lütem, “Facts and Comments”, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 30, pp.27-29.

75 Ömer Engin Lütem, “Facts and Comments”, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 31. pp 13.

George Bush has used the terms “annihilation” and “mass killings” as synonyms for genocide. Meanwhile, it can be seen that in the beginning, the American Presidents have used “massacre”, “deportation”, and “cruelty”, but later under the pressure of Armenians, harsher terms have been utilized.

Within the messages, the point which is necessary to take into consideration is the numbers of Armenians who have died/killed. In Jimmy Carter’s (1978), Ronald Reagan’s (1981), George Bush’s (1990), George W. Bush’s (2003), and Bill Clinton’s messages of 1994 and 1995, the number of deaths has not been expressed. Under the pressure of the Armenians, Bill Clinton in his 1996 message has conveyed the number as 1.5 million which have been used thereafter, except in George W. Bush’s message in 2003. However, the meaninglessness of giving a concrete number must have been perceived that generally words like “roughly”, “approximately”, and “as many as” have started to be used, trying to slightly diminish the criticisms of Turkey. In the meantime, we should also indicate that no credible source, including the Armenian ones, has given the number of Armenian deaths as 1.5 million; therefore, insisting on 1.5 million casualties without any evidence is not compatible with the seriousness of the Presidency that should exist.

- b. As explained above, during the election campaign, President Obama has expressed orally and by writing many times that if he is elected, he will recognize the genocide allegations. However, after being elected, taking into account the necessity of cooperating with Turkey, he has not used “genocide” but has said that his views on the 1915 events have remained unchanged. In order to please Armenians, he has repeated this formulation in his message given on 24th April.

- c. The U.S. President has expressed that his interest remains with the achievement of a full, frank and just acknowledgment of the facts. Since he accepts that genocide took place, the conclusion can be drawn that his words of “events being accepted” targets Turkey. However, looking at the following paragraph, it can be seen that the President wants both Turkey and Armenia to consider their past events. Reaching a conclusion for these highly ambiguous words is difficult. With an optimistic approach, that statement can be interpreted as Turkey and Armenia assessing past events together and the President favoring the Turkish proposal of a commission of historians or a similar institution. However, the same statement can also be interpreted as the expectation for Turkey to unilaterally accept the “full, frank and just acknowledgment of the facts”. As will be mentioned below, Foreign Minister Babacan has understood it that way also. On the other hand, we should note that President Bush has supported the idea of a historical commission in some of his 24th April messages. The reason why President Obama has not openly supported that idea could be, since he recognizes the genocide allegations, accepting a commission to review the events will cause the Armenians to criticize him for acting contradictory to himself.

- d. The President has said that the best way to acknowledge the facts fully, frankly, and justly is for the Turks and Armenians to address the facts of the past as part of their efforts to move forward. In other words, approaching these events in order to solve their disputes is suggested. The President has also expressed that he strongly supports Turkish and Armenians striving for this purpose. Moreover, he has conveyed to that end there has been courageous and important dialogue among Armenians and Turks, and within Turkey itself.

The dialogue between Turks and Armenians that the President has mentioned is some meetings backed up by the U.S. State Department and conducted between persons who have not held any official positions in Turkey and Armenia. The most well known of these, is the Turkish Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC), being active from 2001 to 2004. This Commission which we have depicted in detail above⁷⁷ has fallen apart when its Chairman David Phillips with the Armenian members have pursued the recognition of the genocide allegations, which have caused the resignation of some of its Turkish members, most importantly the late Ambassador Gündüz Aktan.

Concerning the “courageous and important dialogue within Turkey”, President Obama has probably meant the “Apology to the Armenians Campaign” of a group of Turkish liberal intellectuals.⁷⁸ This campaign has supported Armenian views and has aimed for these to be accepted in Turkey.

Meanwhile, we should also note that the topics of the Turkish-Armenian dialogue and the dialogue within Turkey can also be seen in President Bush’s messages.

- e. As expected, President Obama’s message has strongly supported the efforts by Turkey and Armenia to normalize their relations and for this purpose, the two governments have agreed on a framework and roadmap. The President has expressed that the two countries can forge a relationship that is peaceful, productive and prosperous. Furthermore, he has also stated that the Armenian and Turkish people will be stronger as they acknowledge their common history and recognize their common humanity.

Just as the messages of other presidents, President Obama has also ended his message by praising the contributions of the Americans of Armenian origin to the U.S.

To sum it up, the 24th April message of President Obama is not very different from the messages of his predecessors. Relating to the genocide allegations, the President has

76 The American Presidents issuing statements for the Armenian Remembrance Day are the following: Jimmy Carter (1978), Ronald Reagan (1981), George Bush (1990), Bill Clinton (1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000), George W. Bush (2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008). Ömer Engin Lütem, *Ermeni Sorunu: Temel Bilgi ve Belgeler*, Ankara 2007, pp. 378–396.

77 Ömer Engin Lütem, Facts and Comments, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 2, pp. 15–22; No. 3, pp. 23–25, No. 4, pp. 15–18.

78 Ömer Engin Lütem, Facts and Comments, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, No. 31, pp. 12–22.

tried to use expressions that would not offend the Turks and Armenians and has supported the efforts for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations, while at the same time praising the Armenians for their powerful role within U.S. internal affairs.

Despite these, the President's message has been criticized by Diaspora Armenians and some political circles within Turkey.

In reaction to the message, the stances of the Armenian organizations in the U.S., which is the country where Diaspora is the most powerful, can be summarized as follows:

Hirair Hovnanian, the Chairman of the Armenian Assembly of America (AAA) which represents rather wealthy Armenians, have sent a letter to President Obama⁷⁹ in which he has expressed his profound disappointment in the President's 24th April message. Hovnanian has also stated that the term *Mets Yegern* was an inadequate substitute for Armenian genocide and this was a regrettable retreat from promises as a President candidate. By stating that the recognition of the genocide has nothing to do with the Turkish-Armenian negotiations, Hovnanian has opposed to the President's idea of not harming these talks. Moreover, he has also expressed the hope that the H.252 draft resolution in the House of Representatives will be supported by the American Government. An interesting aspect of this letter is American Vice-President Joseph Biden calling Hovnanian and discussing with him the affirmation by the U.S. Government of the Armenian genocide. Remembering Biden's stance in the past, it can be understood that the Vice-President has continued to openly support the Armenian genocide allegations.

Ken Hachikian, Chairman of Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) which is a Dashnak institution, has made a declaration about this subject⁸⁰ and has mentioned that due to "failure to honour his solemn pledge to recognize the Armenian genocide", the President has created profound disappointment. He has also mentioned that this situation has caused Armenians to remain a hostage to Turkey's threats, that the prevention or recognition of genocide issue that can be traded away should never be allowed, and that it should not be retreated from under pressure or be used to advance a political agenda. Then, he has requested the President to condemn this crime, remove Turkey's gag-rule, and work for the adoption of the Armenian genocide resolution before Congress and quickly correct his Administrative stand on the Armenian genocide. In the same letter, the U.S. Government has been criticized for reducing the aid given to Armenia.

ANCA has begun a campaign to send e-mails to the President, Senate, and House of Representatives, expressing the disappointment of Armenia.⁸¹

79 AAA Is Disappointed At The Statement of Barack Obama, PanArmenian.Net, April 28, 2009.

80 Armenian National Committee of America, Press Release, April 24, 2009. President Obama Retreats From Armenian Genocide Pledge.

81 "Express Your Disappointment. Send an ANCA WebFax to the White House", *Asbarez*, April 24, 2009

European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy (FEAJD), by using a much stronger language, has stated that the President's message is a retreated step, that it has not met the expectations of millions of Armenians and Europeans, has cast doubt on the credibility of the U.S, and that 400 Armenian institutions have been disappointed. The Head of this institution, Hilda Tchobanian, has stated that the Turkish State remains politically and criminally liable for genocide towards the Armenian people.⁸²

In Armenia, the press has criticized President Obama's message in a milder tone. The essential point which has been emphasized is that the expression "Mets Yegern" does not exactly mean genocide.⁸³

Edward Nalbandyan, Armenian Foreign Minister, on the contrary, has stated that President Obama has repeatedly spoken out on the events of 1915, that he has not changed his views, and that his message is a step further compared to the messages of other presidents.⁸⁴

Although the President's message has not used the term genocide directly, it has been criticized in Turkey.

When assessing Obama's message, President Abdullah Gül has expressed that there are parts he has not agreed with and has stated that especially in 1915, there have been hundred and thousands of Muslims losing their lives; the pain of the deceased should be shared.⁸⁵ Furthermore, he has expressed that it is necessary to look to the future and give diplomacy a chance to work.

Concerning this message, Prime Minister Erdoğan has said that this message which tries to keep the promises made during the presidential campaign is not satisfactory and therefore, not acceptable, and that Turkey is not a country to be cheated.⁸⁶

Köksal Toptan, Head of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, has said that these kinds of statements can negatively affect the normalization process instigated by Turkey and that Turkey might have to take other measures.⁸⁷

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made the following press release:⁸⁸

As in the previous years, President Obama issued a written statement on 24 April on the occasion of the "Armenian Commemoration Day". We consider some

82 "Armenian Genocide: Obama Broke His Pledge", European Armenian Federation for Justice & Democracy, Press Release, April 28, 2009.

83 "L'Armenie Blâme Son Gouvernement", *Armennews*, April 29, 2009.

84 "Nalbandian Praises Obama's Statement as 'Step Forward'", *Asbarez*, April 27, 2009.

85 "Gül'den Obama'nın Ermeni Mesajına İtiraz (Gül's Opposition to Obama's Message)?", *Stargazete*, April 25, 2009.

86 "El Bebek, Gül Bebek Okşanacak Ülke Değiliz (We are Not a Country to be Cheated)", *Yeni Şafak*, April 27, 2009

87 "Türkiye Başka Önlemler Almak Zorunda Kalabilir (Turkey Might Have to Take Other Measures)." *Cumhuriyet*, April 26, 2009

88 http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_58_-25-nisan-2009_-abd-baskani-obama_nin-_ermeni-anma-gunu_-vesilesiyle-yaptigi-yazili-aciklama-hk_tr.mfa

expressions in that statement and his views of history concerning the events of 1915, as unacceptable.

It should not be forgotten that several hundreds of thousands of Turks have lost their lives as well in the same region and throughout the same period in the context of the 1915 events.

History can be construed and evaluated only on the basis of undisputed evidence and documents. The common history of the Turkish and Armenian nations has to be assessed solely through impartial and scientific data and historians must make their evaluations only on this basis. It is with such an understanding that we support the historical dimension of the Turkish-Armenian dialogue.

On the other hand, we regard positively the stance of President Obama on the Turkish-Armenian normalization process.

Foreign Minister Ali Babacan, in one of his statements in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, has also stated that it is impossible for him to accept the U.S. President's historical interpretation of the 1915 incidents. In that period and that area, hundred thousand Turks have also lost their lives, and that forgetting this reality is a serious drawback. Babacan has also expressed that if the President has made a bias provision about the commission of historians, this cannot be accepted and that the American Embassy in Ankara has been notified of these matters.⁸⁹

Obama's message has also been received negatively by the opposition parties.

Head of MHP Devlet Bahçeli has opposed the message by stating that instead of the term genocide, by using "great disaster" Obama has tried to create a balance and from this, to draw a conclusion that Turkey not being excluded is absurd. Armenians have tried to show that the 1915 incidents are on the same level as 'holocaust' of the Jews in order to equalize Turks with Nazis.⁹⁰

Head of CHP Deniz Baykal has criticized this message by stating that President Obama's speech has been made in a way that shows that he completely agrees with the Armenian interpretations about the 1915 events and disregards the other side of the 1915 incidents where Muslims have been murdered unjustly.⁹¹

As we have tried to explain above, President Obama's message is milder compared to the messages of his successors. However, the Government and Opposition in Ankara have heavily criticized this message. The main reason of this is, starting with the short visit of President Gül to Armenia in 2008, the Armenian question and Turkish-Armenian

89 http://www.mfa.gov.tr/Diŝiŝleri-bakani-sayin-ali-babacan_in-turkiye-buyuk-millet-meclisi-genel-kurulundayaptiklari-konusma-29-nisan-2009-tbmm_tr.mfa

90 "Liderlerden Obama Salvoları (Obama Salvo from the Leaders)", *Hürriyet*, April 28, 2009.

91 IBID.

relations have grown into a matter of internal affairs in a way that has not been seen before. On this account, the opposition parties have criticized the Government for their policy and President Obama for his message. As a result of these criticisms, the Government has not stayed silent and has been obliged to express their displeasure with the President's message. However, in a short while, it has been noticed that the President's message has not affected Turkish-American relations negatively. As a matter of fact, in the American-Turkish Council convened in Washington D.C. in June, the new Foreign Minister Davutoğlu, the Minister of National Defense Vecdi Gönül, the Chief of General Staff İlker Başbuğ, and a couple of American officials in their speeches have not mentioned the Armenian question at all.

III – TURKISH-ARMENIAN PROTOCOLS MADE PUBLIC

As stated above, in a joint declaration issued on April 22, 2009, the ministries of foreign affairs of Turkey, Armenia and Switzerland have expressed their agreement on “a comprehensive framework for the normalization of bilateral relations in a mutually satisfactory manner” and have stated that “a road-map has been identified”.⁹² This declaration has created the belief that the two sides would soon reach an agreement. However, four months had to be waited before it was declared that an agreement had been reached. According to a source, the draft protocols were already agreed upon and initialed by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Babacan,⁹³ but the parties were busy discussing the text of the statement which would announce the protocols to the public. According to other sources, negotiations were taking place over the protocols itself. In a situation where the views of the sides differed greatly, it was normal for delays to take place.

Finally, with a press release issued on August 31, 2009 by the ministries of foreign affairs of the three countries (Turkey, Armenia and Switzerland), it has been declared that two protocols have been initialed between Turkey and Armenia. The text of the press release issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey is given below:

Press Release By

The Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs

Journal of Turkish Weekly, September 3, 2009

Press release by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Armenia and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey

92 See: Ömer Engin Lütem, “Facts and Comments”, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol. 32, p. 15.

93 “Babacan Paraf Etti, Ancak Protokoller Dört Ay Bekletildi (Babacan Initialed the Protocols but Four Months Had to be waited)”, *Zaman*, September 2, 2009.

The Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey have agreed to start their internal political consultations on the two protocols – the “Protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations” and the “Protocol on the development of bilateral relations” – which have been initiated in the course of their efforts under Swiss mediation.

The two Protocols provide for a framework for the normalization of their bilateral relations within a reasonable timeframe. The political consultations will be completed within six weeks, following which the two Protocols will be signed and submitted to the respective Parliaments for the ratification on each side. Both sides will make their best efforts for the timely progression of the ratification in line with their constitutional and legal procedures.

The normalization of bilateral relations will contribute to the regional peace and stability. The Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey are committed in pursuing their joint efforts with the assistance of Switzerland.

As can be seen, one of the two protocols is related to the establishment of diplomatic relations. The other concerns the development of bilateral relations after diplomatic relations have been established. In other words, it is about which areas or issues the two sides will be cooperating upon.

The Turkish text of these protocols has been published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey.⁹⁴ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia has issued the Armenian (and also English and Turkish) texts of the protocols.⁹⁵

The point concerning the press release given above which requires attention is that the protocols have been initialed, not signed. Usually, the signing of international texts, rather than their initialing has been announced to the public. The reason for not doing it this way has arisen from the six-week time period necessary for “political consultations” to take place in each country. This is highly unusual, since the general practice is that all the consultations concerning the text to be signed have finished before their initialing. But, apparently a rather difficult situation existed which has led to this different use of method. Over time, it has been understood that rather than Turkey, these “political consultations” are vital for Armenia for the explanation of the protocols to the parties forming the coalition government and to the opposition, the public and the Armenian Diaspora. However, at the end of these consultations, reviewing the protocols is out of the question, as the protocols will be signed at the end of the six-week period. Taking this fact into account, it can be seen that rather than “political consultations”, only providing information to the political parties and the public was the real issue at hand.

94 <http://mfa.gov.tr/data/DISPOLITIKA/Türkiye-ermenistan-turkce.pdf>

95 http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/pr_09/20091013_protocol1.pdf

IV – CONTENT OF THE PROTOCOLS

The full English and Turkish texts of the two protocols can be found in the “Recent Documents” section of our Journal.

First of all, we should explain why the two sides have concluded protocols rather than exchanging notes or initialing conventions, agreements or treaties. Legally, there is no difference among these five types of diplomatic documents all determining international obligations of the signatories. The difference is on the political importance. Less important issues can be resolved through the exchange of notes. As the issue gains importance, protocols and the other documents will be signed. However, no rule exists on which document will be signed for which issue. The parties, after consultations, will determine the type of document to be signed. Since usually diplomatic relations between two countries is not considered to be a highly important issue, a protocol will be signed. Despite the establishment of relations between Turkey and Armenia being a rather important issue due to the existing conflicts between them, the sides have not changed the traditional name of the document relating to this subject.

On the other hand, protocols are not usually submitted to the Parliament for ratification. However, regardless of what it is, governments can submit all types of documents they find important to their Parliament for ratification.

(From now on, in order to make it easier, we will state the “Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia” as “Protocol on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations” or the “First Protocol”; “Protocol on Development of Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia” as “Protocol on Development of Relations” or the “Second Protocol”).)

A. PROTOCOL ON ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

The “Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia” refers firstly to some important or essential points which are considered necessary for the establishment of relations. At the end of the Protocol, it has been stated that the sides have agreed upon establishing diplomatic relations and to exchange diplomatic missions.

This Protocol, along with the Protocol on Development of Relations, will enter into force on the first day of the first month following the exchange of instruments of ratification. But, when the parliaments will ratify the protocols is unknown. In practice, parliaments ratify the texts over which not much discussion exists in a short period of time. However, since the main features of the protocols along with its details are highly debated in both Turkey and Armenia, it can be seen that the ratification process will take a rather long time.

1. The Main Points of the First Protocol

In the First Protocol, the points being mentioned for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two sides can be summarized as follows: The purpose of establishing diplomatic relations is given as establishing good neighborly relations and developing bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other fields for the benefit of the peoples. The parties have also referred to their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act, and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. In all of them, the main purpose underlying these obligations is to preserve peace. In the following paragraph, the main principles found in the two charters and final act mentioned above has been listed. The parties reconfirm their commitment in their bilateral and international relations to respect and ensure respect for the principles of equality, sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs of other states, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers.

Moreover, the sides have also expressed the importance of the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of trust and confidence between them that will contribute to the strengthening of peace, security and stability of the whole region, and are determined to refrain from the threat or the use of force, to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes, and to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Later on in the Protocol, the mutual recognition of the existing border between the two countries has been confirmed (we will examine this subject separately) and their decision to open the common border has been emphasized.

Also, their commitment to refrain from pursuing any policy incompatible with the spirit of good neighborly relations has been reiterated.

One of the most important items in the First Protocol is the one related to terrorism. The two countries have expressed their condemnation of all forms of terrorism, violence and extremism irrespective of their cause, and have pledged to refrain from encouraging and tolerating such acts and cooperating in combating against them.

Last of all, in the First Protocol, the sides have affirmed their willingness to chart a new pattern and course for their relations on the basis of common interests, goodwill and in pursuit of peace, mutual understanding and harmony.

This way, the two sides has put forth the main points necessary for establishing diplomatic relations between them. Two of these are especially crucial for Turkey.

2. Mutual Recognition of Borders

In the beginning of the 1990's, Turkey, in order to build diplomatic relations, has signed protocols with each new state that emerged from the disintegration of the Soviet Union

and Yugoslavia. Apart from Armenia, the signing of the protocols has taken place with no difficulty. But, Armenia has shown an unwillingness in accepting the principle relating to territorial integrity (or inviolability of frontiers), or in other words, confirming that the existing border between the two countries is recognized. However, they have displayed an attitude which does not denounce this principle, but also does not want to openly accept it.

This attitude of the Armenian Government is based on a false belief that Eastern Anatolia actually belongs to Armenians. Although it is true that most of the Ottoman Armenians lived in Eastern Anatolia, Armenians have not composed a majority in any part of this region. This fact is also conferred by some of the Armenian historians. When this is the situation, the Treaty of Sevres of 1920 signed at the end of the First World War for the partition of the Ottoman Empire, has granted 120.000 km² of territory (today's Armenia is 28.000 km²) to the Republic of Armenia proclaimed in 1918. However, when the Government of Ankara under Mustafa Kemal's leadership clearly rejected the Treaty of Sevres, this has not been put into force. On the other hand, apart from Greece, this Treaty has not been ratified by the other signatory states. When the Armenians have started demanding for the territories given to them by the Treaty of Sevres, Turkish forces in the region, under the command of Kazım Karabekir, have drawn the Armenian forces out of Eastern Anatolia. In December 1920, with a treaty signed in Gyumri, Armenians have accepted the invalidity of the Treaty of Sevres. This treaty has also delimited the Turkey-Armenia border. With minor changes, this border is approximately the same border as today. Armenia has lost its status as being an independent state by joining the Soviet Union and the Treaty of Gyumri has not been implemented. However, about four months later, the Ankara Government has signed the Treaty of Moscow with the Soviet Union. This Treaty has also indirectly confirmed the invalidity of the Treaty of Sevres and has delimited the border between the Soviet Union and Turkey. This border is the same border determined by the Treaty of Gyumri. About six months later, in October of 1921, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia which were part of the Soviet Union, have signed the Treaty of Kars. The borders accepted with this Treaty are the same as the ones in the treaties of Gyumri and Moscow. In conclusion, Turkey's borders in this region have been determined by the treaties signed with the Soviet Union and the three countries within this Union. These treaties (Treaty of Moscow and Kars) are still valid today.

Although no Armenian majority existed in those areas mentioned in the Sevres Treaty and the Treaty of Lausanne replaced it, in other words, although the legal and political situation had changed, the territories earmarked for Armenia with the Sevres Treaty has been considered as belonging to Armenia (Western Armenia) in Armenian minds. Following the Second World War, this belief has been reinforced once again when the Soviets have demanded for the provinces of Kars and Ardahan from Turkey in 1945. Meanwhile, especially within the Diaspora, some thesis have developed trying to prove the validity of the Treaty of Sevres, since it was signed by Ottoman representatives, and the invalidity of the Treaty of Kars, arguing that Armenia was not independent during

signing of the Treaty. However, apart from Dashnaks and other extreme nationalists, no one has accepted this.

At the basis of the Armenian Government's stance not to openly recognize its borders with Turkey lies the fact that this belief has been deeply rooted within Armenia and the Diaspora. However, the Armenian Government taking into account that the Turkish-Soviet border has been recognized as an international border among all countries, that no changes have taken place following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and that Armenia does not have sufficient strength to claim and acquire territory from Turkey, has not formally demanded territory from Turkey, but has also refrained from officially stating their recognition of the borders. Previously, in response to a question on this subject, the former President of Armenia, Robert Kocharian, has stated that Armenia "cannot demand territory from Turkey for the time being and that this is the task of the future generation."

It can be seen that President Sarkisian tries to adopt a realistic attitude concerning this matter. This is because, if Armenia cannot demand and acquire territory from Turkey today, under normal conditions Turkey's strength will increase in the future and it will also be impossible to request territory from Turkey later on. On the other hand, the Turkish border gate being closed has led to Armenia's isolation, and the short combats taking place last year between Russia and Georgia have displayed the disadvantages of this isolation in a rather striking manner. Presumably, because of this, President Sarkisian has not dwelled upon territorial demands which anyway have a rather utopian feature. Taking into consideration the reactions to be received on this subject from the Diaspora and from within the country, Sarkisian has leaned towards making an agreement which would lead to the opening of the borders as soon as possible.

3. Condemning Terrorism and Cooperating in Combating Against Terror

In the first Protocol, apart from the recognition of borders, the most important principle for Turkey is for both countries to condemn all types of terrorism, violence, and extremism, and refrain from encouraging and tolerating such acts, and cooperating in combating against them.

Between 1973 and 1986, Turkey and especially Turkish diplomats have been subjected to Armenian terror with 32 diplomats and their relatives being murdered in foreign countries and many being injured. These events which existed at the top of the agenda back then, has unfortunately been somewhat erased from the memories of the public. Although today's circumstances are very different than the 1980's, remembering the extremism of Armenian militants, it is not totally impossible for these types of activities to be triggered again. Therefore, incorporating an item into the Protocol on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations which condemns terror and emphasizes the need to combat it has been very appropriate.

On the other hand, both countries reaffirming their readiness to support the actions of the international community in addressing security threats such as terrorism, transnational organized crimes, and illicit trafficking of drugs and arms in the Second Protocol on the development of relations are important commitments regarding these issues.

B. PROTOCOL ON DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS

The complete title of the Protocol is “Protocol on Development of Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia”.

1. Main Points of the Second Protocol

In this Protocol, the parties touch upon some points which they find important or essential and express these as follows:

To develop bilateral relations based on confidence and respect to their mutual interests and enhance their bilateral relations in the political, economic, energy, transport, scientific, technical, cultural issues and other fields, based on common interests of both countries; to support the promotion of cooperation especially within the framework of the UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation; to cooperate for enhancing regional stability on the basis of the norms and principles of international law; to reiterate their commitment to the peaceful settlement of regional and international disputes and conflicts on the basis of the norms and principles of international law.

Moreover, as mentioned above, the two countries have reaffirmed their readiness to support the actions against terrorism, transnational organized crimes, and illicit trafficking of drugs and arms.

2. Agreed Matters

In this Protocol, the parties have stated that they have agreed mainly on three issues.

1. Opening the common border

2. Determining the areas in which relations will develop

These areas are:

- a. Conduct regular political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries

- b. implement a dialogue on the historical dimension of relations
- c. make the best use of existing transport, communications, energy infrastructure and networks
- d. develop the bilateral legal framework in order to foster cooperation
- e. cooperate in the fields of science and education by encouraging relations between the appropriate institutions, promoting the exchange of specialists and students, act with the aim of preserving the cultural heritage of both sides and launching common cultural projects
- f. establish consular cooperation to provide protection to the citizens of the two countries
- g. take concrete measures in order to develop trade, tourism, and economic cooperation
- h. engage in a dialogue and reinforce their cooperation on environmental issues

3. Establishment of an intergovernmental bilateral commission which shall comprise separate sub-commissions for the prompt implementation of the commitments mentioned above

- a. To prepare the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission and its sub-commissions. For this, a working group headed by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be created and these modalities determined by the group shall be approved at ministerial level.
- b. Besides consular topics, a sub-commission will be created for each of the areas in which relations will develop given above in item 2. These are:

The Sub-commission on Political Consultations

The Sub-commission on Transport, Communications and Energy Infrastructure and Networks

The Sub-commission on Legal Matters

The Sub-commission on Science and Education

The Sub-commission on Trade, Tourism and Economic Cooperation

The Sub-commission on Environmental Issues

The Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension

4. Timings for the Implementation of the Protocol Clauses

- a. Opening of the common border: two months after the entry into force of the Protocol
- b. Establishing a working group to prepare the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission: two months after the entry into force of the Protocol
- c. Approving the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission and its sub-commissions: within three months after the entry into force of the Protocol
- d. The first meeting of the intergovernmental commission to be held immediately after the adoption of the working modalities
- e. First meetings of the sub-commissions: at the latest, one month after the first meeting of the intergovernmental commission

The schematic illustration of these timings can be shown as follows:

Following the entry into force of the protocols:

2 months later: opening of the border, establishing a working group

3 months later: approving the working modalities, the first meeting of the intergovernmental commission

4 months later: meetings of the sub-commissions

The point to be noticed here is that the opening of the border and the operation of the intergovernmental commission and sub-commissions do not take place at the same time. It is possible that after the opening of the border, the Armenian side could adopt an unwilling approach and attempt to prevent or delay the meeting of the “Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension” which has drawn reactions from both the country and the Diaspora.

5. Explanations of some issues

Some issues exist in the Protocol on Development of Relations which requires explanation. According to their order in the Protocol, some considerations about these issues are given below:

- a. The statement “the common purpose of both States to cooperate for enhancing regional stability and security; their commitment to the peaceful settlement of regional and

international disputes and conflicts on the basis of the norms and principles of international law” is related to the Karabakh conflict. After the Protocol’s entry into force, it will be expected from Armenia to take these commitments into account and progress towards resolving the Karabakh conflict as soon as possible.

b. It was mentioned above that the statements existing in both protocols and concerning the condemnation of all forms of terrorism, violence and extremism, pledging to refrain from encouraging and tolerating such acts and cooperating in combating against them was especially important for Turkey. It is also noted in the second Protocol that the parties are ready to support the actions against illicit trafficking of drugs and arms. This is also important for Turkey, as PKK and similar organizations’ activities are part of the “transnational” organized crimes. There is some news in the press that several PKK members are residing in Armenia. These individuals might not conduct violent activities in Armenia, but Turkey, according to the Second Protocol, can request their extradition. On the other hand, combating against illicit trafficking of drugs and arms is also important for Turkey. Turkey can bring these issues to the sub-commissions to be established for political consultations and legal matters.

c. We believe that the most important subject in the Second Protocol is the establishment of the “Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension”. The text of the protocol concerning this matter is exactly as follows: “the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension to implement a dialogue with the aim to restore mutual confidence between the two nations, including an impartial scientific examination of the historical records and archives to define existing problems and formulate recommendations, in which Turkish, Armenian as well as Swiss and other international experts shall take part.”

What is actually meant with historical dimension is not defined in the Protocol. However, it is without doubt that this expression concerns the situation of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The period from the 1878 Congress of Berlin in which Ottoman-Armenian relations have deteriorated, to the end of 1920 in which the independent Armenian Republic lost its independence, is especially important. As will be discussed below, a conviction exists on the Armenian side that the “Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension” will not discuss the Armenian “genocide”; but it is without doubt that if the Sub-commission does not discuss the genocide allegations, then it will have no function.

On the other hand, the aim of the establishment of such a sub-commission has been said to restore mutual confidence between the two nations. In reality, the main problem that has led to loss of confidence between these two nations is the genocide allegations. Therefore, it is essential for these allegations to be examined in depth within the sub-commission.

As to what is expected from the works of this sub-commission, in the Second Protocol this has been explained as “defining existing problems and formulating

recommendations”. This statement and especially “defining problems” is not clear and makes one think that besides the examination of historical events, Armenians plan on bringing other issues in front of this Commission. As a matter of fact, Armenian Prime Minister Tigran Sarkisian and Deputy Foreign Minister Shavarsh Kocharian had conveyed that the property left behind by the relocated Armenians and the compensation to be given to the “genocide victims’ descendants” were to be brought on the agenda.⁹⁶ Recently, President Sarkisian has started using similar statements. For example, as will be explained below, in his response to a letter by William Shabas, the President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, Sarkisian has stated that the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension is not a commission of historians, that the elimination of the consequences of the genocide should be the goal of the sub-commission’s work, and the fact of the genocide itself can in no way become a subject of discussion within the agenda of the commission.⁹⁷

Issues dealing with property and compensation have been resolved through the Lausanne Treaty and the Turkish legislation of that time; and Turkey is under no obligation to return back the properties left behind by Armenians and to pay compensation to the descendants.

This Sub-commission will conduct its works through “an impartial scientific examination of the historical records and archives”. Turkish, Armenian, Swiss and other international experts shall take part in the commission.

In order for the scientific examination of the genocide allegations which have harmed relations between the two nations for a long time, Prime Minister Erdoğan has sent a letter to President Kocharian on 14 April, 2005 in which he has stated, “we invite your country to form a group comprised of historians and other specialists of our two countries to investigate the developments and events related to the 1915 period by researching all the archives of not only Turkey and Armenia, but also all relevant third countries and report their findings to the international community”.⁹⁸ President Kocharian has not given a direct response to this proposal and has written that “an intergovernmental commission may be formed to discuss any issue or issues available between our countries aiming at solving them and coming to a mutual understanding”.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the Armenian public opinion and Diaspora have objected strongly against Turkey’s proposal by putting forth that it will open the genocide reality to debate. During Kocharian’s presidency, no development has been made concerning this issue, but President Sarkisian being more courageous, has accepted the Commission’s proposal despite the several reactions he has received. However, it is noteworthy to keep in mind that President

96 For Prime Minister Tigran Sarkisyan see: “Türkiye’nin sınırlarını tanıyoruz (We Are Recognizing Turkey’s Borders)” *Hürriyet*, October 9, 2009; For Foreign Minister Şavarş Kocharian see: “Armenia Not To Weaken its Stance on International Recognition of Genocide”, Panarmenian.net, October 9, 2009.

97 “Sarkisian to IAGS President: No to Commission of Historians, Yes to Eliminating Consequences of Genocide”, *The Armenian Weekly*, December 14, 2009.

98 For the full text of Prime Minister Erdoğan’s letter see: *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol. 16-17, pp. 27-28.

99 For the full text of the letter of President Kocharian’s response see: *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol. 16-17, p. 33.

Sarkisian also considers the 1915 events as genocide. As mentioned above, it is understood that Armenians do not want to discuss whether the 1915 events are genocide or not, but believe that these events are genocide and try to put the demands concerning the returning of property and paying compensation to the top of the agenda.

In this situation, not only is it highly difficult for the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension to reach a conclusion, but so is carrying out its normal works; this can create negative effects on the examination of the other items of the protocols and reaching to some results will be very difficult. On the other hand, putting aside political beliefs and studying the genocide allegations in a scholarly manner will make it possible to reach “restoring mutual confidence between the two nations” conveyed in the protocols.

Lastly, following the establishment of the sub-commission, if some states or international organizations continue to adopt resolutions on the genocide allegations, this will not only hinder the works of the sub-commission, but will also prevent the restoring of mutual confidence.

V – DEVELOPMENTS IN ARMENIA

As stated above, in the statement of the three states on August 31, 2009, it was expressed that the protocols would be signed after a six-week political consultation period.

Allowing the countries to have a six-week “political consultation” period before signing of the protocols is not a widely used method. In general, the parties carry out consultations they deem necessary before the signature, and even before the initialing of the texts. Since changing the text of the protocols is out of the question, then consultations on them are meaningless. Therefore, it would be correct to understand the term “consultation” as explanations or providing information.

These “consultations” are vital for Armenia, because objections to the protocols are quite a lot in that country and in its Diaspora, because by recognizing the Turkish border, the protocols put an end to the dream of “Great Armenia”. On the other hand, although it is refuted, the discussion of the 1915 events by the Sub-Commission on the Historical Dimension is inevitable. As will be seen below, the protocols have also been criticized in Turkey, but compared to those in Armenia, these criticisms have been limited.

President Sarkisian has given information on the protocols on different levels: political parties, the press, and the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, the Armenian Council of Public, and travelling to France, U.S.A, Lebanon, and Russia, has contacted the Diaspora organizations. Minister of Foreign Affairs Edward Nalbandyan has also provided information to diplomatic missions in Armenia and since President Sarkisian was abroad, Nalbandyan has attended the debates on that issue in the Armenian Parliament.

A. ARMENIAN INSTITUTIONS BEING INFORMED BY PRESIDENT SARKISIAN

1. Political Parties

On September 17, 2009, President Sarkisian has convened a conference with the heads of the political parties on the subject of the Current Stage of the Normalization of the Turkish-Armenian Relations. 64 political parties have been invited with 52 of them attending.¹⁰⁰ The Armenian National Committee, the main opposition party headed by Ter Petrossian, has not attended,¹⁰¹ but the Dashnak Party, the major opponent to the protocols, has been present at the conference.¹⁰²

Sarkisian, in his opening speech for the conference,¹⁰³ has said briefly that the Armenian Government is strong enough to see the irrationality of moving against the global developments, the tension between Turkey and Armenia is not imaginary, situational or a war of the elites, and this animosity is the result of the darkest page of history and the Armenian Genocide perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire. Also, if relations with Turkey are to be normalized, it will be necessary to engage both societies; otherwise the problem will not be solved. If the Turkish-Armenian normalization process comes to a dead end, then contradictions and the animosity will be deepened. The Armenian President has said that he does not know any opinion expressed by a political force in opposition of opening the borders or opposing the normalization of relations with Turkey. Furthermore, establishment of diplomatic relations with Turkey is a minimal condition which would allow the starting of a dialogue with the Turks and there are many issues in the realm of the Armenian-Turkish relations that need solving - ranging from economic and political to the historical.

In short, right from the start, the Armenian President has tried to get rid of the criticisms that could be made against the protocols by stating that nobody is openly against the opening of borders and establishing diplomatic relations with Turkey. On the other hand, his words about many problems that would exist with Turkey that need to be solved following the establishment of diplomatic relations, and historical matters being among these have drawn attention. We would like to remind that Turkey has considered that the Armenian claims on property, compensation and territory are already reserved by the treaties of Kars and Lausanne.

Meanwhile, the Armenian President not mentioning the “Sub-Commission on the Historical Dimension” at all in his speech draws attention. It is likely that following the opening speech, these matters were brought forward in the conference which was closed to the press.

100 “Discussion of Armenian-Turkish Protocols to Last until October 13”, PanArmenian.Net, September 17, 2009.

101 “Les Consultations du Président Sarkisyan avec les Leaders des Forces Politiques”, *Armenews*, September 21, 2009.

102 “Sarkisian Explains Turkey Moves to Armenian Parties”, *Armenialiberty.org*, September 17, 2009.

103 For the full text of the speech see: <http://www.president.am/events/news/eng/?id=702>

The reactions of the political parties attending (and not attending) towards the President will be examined separately.

2. The Press

On September 17, Serge Sarkisian met with over thirty press (media) representatives, providing information about the protocols and listening to the opposing views of the representatives for about two hours.¹⁰⁴ Although no explanation has been given, it is normal for Sarkisian to repeat his views in the opening speech which were expressed in the meeting with heads of the parties.

3. The Armenian Parliament

Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan has delivered a speech in the Parliament on September 16, 2009 and has given some information about the protocols. He emphasized that Armenia would not give up on its policy of the international recognition of the genocide, and stated that he had also expressed this view while he was in Turkey.¹⁰⁵

In this first meeting convened in the Armenian Parliament concerning the protocols, Edward Nalbandyan has stated also that no preconditions exist in the protocols, the reality of the Armenian genocide is not questioned, the international recognition of the Armenian genocide is not being hampered, and that no connection exists between the protocols and the Karabakh negotiating process.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaks) and the Heritage Party have expressed their oppositions to the protocols and has specifically focused on the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension. On this matter, Nalbandyan has stated that the sub-commission will not seek to determine whether the Armenian massacres constitute genocide, but will only serve as a forum for Turkish-Armenian discussions on numerous issues coming from the past. He also stated that this sub-commission has no other mandate, nor does it have any time limits as it is this process (the discussion of the historical issues) can last very long, maybe 10, 20, 50 years, or maybe longer.¹⁰⁶

5. The Public Council

Shortly after Sarkisian was elected as President, he declared that a Council of Public was to be established to discuss the main problems experienced by the country and to give

104 "President Serzh Sargsyan Had A Meeting with the Head of Over Thirty Armenian Mass Media Outlets", *ARKA*, September 23, 2009

105 "Nalbantyan: 'Soykırımın vazgeçemeyiz (Nalbandyan: We will not abandon Our Claims for Genocide)", *Ntvmsnbc*, September 17, 2009.

106 "Armenian FM Under Fire", *RFE/RL*, October 1, 2009.

advice on these matters. The 36 members of this Council were elected from among the top elites, but the opposition parties had not sent representatives to the Council.¹⁰⁷ Sarkisian has held a meeting with the representatives of this Council on September 30.

In this meeting, Sarkisian has delivered a speech in an uncommon form and manner, which can even be qualified as being courageous.¹⁰⁸ Presumably, the reason for acting this way is to put an end to the continually increasing criticisms towards the protocols, or at least to limit them. The summary of the speech is given below.

President Sarkisian, by expressing that the protocols are neither an agreement on Armenian capitulation to Turkey, nor a big treaty on strategic partnership, has tried to convey that the protocols should neither be overestimated, nor underestimated. He has expressed that they have no purpose in solving all problems with Turkey or being the friend of this country, but they are trying to create a suitable atmosphere for a dialogue since the normalization of relations with Turkey is crucial. Then, in response to the criticisms that Armenia could not obtain everything they wanted from Turkey, he has stated that if somebody thinks that these documents should only contain Armenian claims, they need to be a little realistic and understand that that's not possible. Sarkisian has also accepted that the protocols can carry potential risks for the Armenian side and has added that there can be risks on all subjects.

Sarkisian has stressed that the documents do not contain any preconditions, but that they have some points that are the result of compromise; on the other hand, that the Turkish-Armenian dialogue has not developed as a result of the external pressures.

The Armenian President has also expressed that establishing relations with Turkey does not at all mean consigning the Armenian genocide to oblivion, as he has said it hundreds of times, and that even if the process of international recognition of the Armenian genocide slows down, it will not be the result of the signing of the protocols, but rather, some forces discontented with the documents, stopping in exerting necessary efforts. Moreover, he has stated that he does not claim that the Armenian-Turkish protocols, if signed, will facilitate the international recognition of the Armenian genocide, and that all those denying the genocide will refer to the documents. This means that they must show persistence to a greater degree and exert even greater efforts toward the international recognition of the Armenian genocide. Furthermore, he has also said that even if the signing of the Armenian-Turkish Protocols slows down the process of international recognition of the Armenian genocide, it will intensify debates over the issue inside Turkey and has asked, "What is more important for us - the recognition of the Armenian genocide by a country or, for instance, Turkey's abrogating the law providing for

107 "President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan Forms Public Council", *RFE/RL*, March 12, 2009.

108 For this speech where the language other than Armenian does not exist, the following sources have been used: "Sarkisian Defends Landmark Deal with Turkey", *RFE/RL*, September 30, 2009; "Serzh Sargsyan: Some Points of Protocols Result of Compromise", *News.am*, September 30, 2009; "Serge Sargsyan Revealed", *Largir*, September 30, 2009; "Serge Sarkisian: "Je suis prêt à payer le prix", *Armenews*, October 1, 2009.

criminal responsibility for using the term ‘genocide’?” Sarkisian who has mentioned that he does not rule out the idea that Turks will try to get the issues of the Armenian genocide to be discussed by the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension, has also expressed that the Armenian scholars to be involved in it must be able to decisively repel their Turkish counterparts’ attempts and advance convincing counterarguments.

Concerning the recognition of borders between the two states, Sarkisian has stated that the Soviet Union recognized the Treaty of Kars five times and that when Armenia joined the Commonwealth of Independent States in 1991, pledged to comply with all agreements signed by the Soviet Union. However, he has also insisted that at the same time, neither protocol obligates Yerevan to recognize the 1921 Kars Treaty.

The Armenian President has rejected that a link exists between the Armenian-Turkish protocols and the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process and has dismissed as ludicrous his detractors’ claims that Turkey agreed to make peace with Armenia only in return for additional concession to Azerbaijan allegedly promised by him. He has indicated that his administration’s position on the Karabakh conflict is not different from his predecessor Robert Kocharian’s policy. He has also pointed out that Turks can state the necessity for settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict simultaneously with the Armenian-Turkish normalization process which is nothing but their own wish, whereas, the international community have repeatedly stated that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem has nothing in common with the Armenian-Turkish relations.

Sarkisian has expressed that some Armenians fear economic and geographic expansion of Turkey if the Armenian-Turkish border is reopened, that he does not share these feelings, and that experts believe that an open order will open up ampler opportunities for Armenian producers than for Turkish producers since the Turkish market serves three million people, while the Armenian market is 70 million, which is almost 23 times as much. Moreover, he has also indicated that there is constant fear of the penetration of cheap Turkish products into the Armenian market, which creates the impression that cheap goods are not wanted in the Armenian markets, while on the other hand; surprise is expressed at the fact that nobody has ever voiced fears of Iranian economic expansion.

During the speech, the most important statement of the Armenian President has been that the normalization of the Armenian and Turkish relations carries a price and he is ready to pay that price.

With 26 affirmative and 2 abstaining votes, the Public Council has endorsed the protocols. 6 members have not taken part in the voting.¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that the Public Council is a counseling organ, its decisions are not binding, and the Armenian Parliament has the right to take final decisions about the protocols.

109 “PCA for Armenian-Turkish Protocols”, News.am. September 30, 2009.

5. Declaration of the Etchmiadzin Catholicosate Supreme Spiritual Council

The majority of Armenians is from the Gregorian denomination and appertains to two different catholicosates. The first is located in the city of Etchmiadzin near Yerevan. The second is the Cilician Catholicosate in Antelias near Beirut. Compared to Antelias, Etchmiadzin has spiritual supremacy, but Antelias is independent in all its matters. Although generally it is believed that Antelias is the Catholicosate of the Diaspora, this is not correct. The majority of the Diaspora churches are attached to Etchmiadzin. The Armenian Church in Turkey is also connected to Etchmiadzin.

The stances of Antelias or Cilicia Catholicosates towards the protocols will be seen later on when Diaspora Armenians are explained.

Following the meeting of President Sarkisian with Karekin II, the Etchmiadzin Catholicos,¹¹⁰ in a declaration issued on September 30 by the Supreme Spiritual Council of the Catholicosate, the process to establish diplomatic relations free of preconditions between Armenia and Turkey and the process to normalize Armenian-Turkish relations for the sake of regional security, preservation of peace and the development of regional cooperation has been welcomed. The discussions on the protocols currently taking place between the Armenians are positively addressed. Turkey has been criticized based on the “bitter historical experience of Armenian people” with Turkey, Turkey’s official policy of denying the Armenian genocide, and its intolerant position towards the Republic of Armenia. Then, after it has been expressed that the Armenian genocide is an indisputable fact, it is stated rather in an irrelevant way that the independence of the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh and the self determination of Armenians of Karabakh has nothing to do with the protocols. In the declaration, all Armenians uniting together against existing problems and avoiding polarization has been emphasized.

B –ARMENIAN POLITICAL PARTIES’ POSITIONS

With several exceptions, the general stance of the Armenian political parties concerning the protocols is that the coalition parties, with some hesitations, are in favor while the opposition parties, with some differences among them, are against the protocols. The stances of the main political parties are summarized below:

1. Republican Party

The Republican Party which supports the protocols, has 64 of the 131 seats in the Armenian Parliament, is a great partner of the government coalition, and is headed by Serge Sarkisian.

110 “Sarkisian to Visit Diaspora to Muster Support for Protocols”, *Asbarez*, September 24, 2009.

However, in order to avoid this party being perceived as an advocate of Turkey, it has been stated that the normalization of Turkey-Armenia relations is necessary for all countries in the region, that Armenia will never make unilateral concessions and that all preconditions are unacceptable for Armenia, that Armenia will never allow any country, including Turkey, to throw around ultimatums, and that Armenia could also put forth preconditions and say that it will normalize relations only after Turkey recognizes the Armenian genocide, but for the security of the region they have not done this.¹¹¹ The arguments brought forth by those opposing the protocols must have surely affected the members of the Republican Party, since President Sarkisian has visited the party and has provided explanations about the protocols.¹¹²

2. Prosperous Armenia Party

Prosperous Armenia, the second party of the government coalition formed before the parliament elections in May 12, 2007 and which is said to be under the influence of former President Robert Kocharian, also supports the protocols. The Party has expressed that with the First Protocol, Armenia has normalized relations with Turkey without any preconditions and this may promote the recognition of the Armenian genocide. The Party has also clarified that the intergovernmental commission would allow for the assessment of all conflicting issues between the two states, including genocide. However, the Karabakh problem not being touched upon in the protocols has been criticized.¹¹³

3. Rule of Law Party

Orinats Yerkir Party, translated as Rule of Law, which is the third party of the government coalition and has gained 9 seats in the 2007 elections, has also declared their full support of the protocols.¹¹⁴

4. Armenian National Congress

The Armenian National Congress, being the greatest opposition party in Armenia and formed by Levon Ter Petrossian who was President from 1991-1998, is not represented in the Parliament since the party was created after the parliamentary elections. In the presidential elections conducted on February 19, 2008, Ter Petrossian has gained 21.5% of the votes (Sarkisian has gained 52.8%).

111 "Armenia Not To Allow Any Country Throwing Around Ultimatums", PanArmenian.Net, October 29, 2009.

112 "Ruling Party Members Concerned About Turkish Diplomacy", *RFE/RL*, 29 September 2009.

113 <http://www.iragir.am/scr/index.php?id=Irahos!!politics&pid=15086>

114 "Orinats Yerkir Supports Government's Position on Armenian-Turkish Protocols", ParArmenian.Net, 15 September 2009.

Following the announcement of the protocols being initialed, the Armenian National Congress has issued a declaration on that subject.¹¹⁵ As a summary, in the declaration, it has been stated that the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations is in the best interests of the two countries, their peoples and for regional peace and security and that these protocols are a giant leap forward towards the establishment of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey and mutual relations in general. On the other hand, it has also been stated that the creation of a sub-commission of historians, which will question the reality of the Armenian genocide, is unacceptable, and that Turkey will delay the ratification process by arguing that the Karabakh conflict has yet to be resolved, and thus postponing the opening of the Armenian-Turkish border. In short, although the Armenian National Congress has a positive attitude towards the protocols, it has strongly rejected the historical commission and has been apprehensive about Turkey's ratification of the protocols being linked to the resolution of the Karabakh conflict.

In the following statements of the Armenian National Congress on that matter, their support of the protocols has not been highlighted or has not been mentioned at all. Instead, criticisms related to the historical commission and the effects of the protocols on the Karabakh conflict have been pushed to the foreground. This way, the National Congress has attempted in making the protocols an instrument of the opposition against the Sarkisian administration. It should be noted that on September 16, the Armenian National Congress has not attended Sarkisian's meeting with the political parties in which Sarkisian provided information about the protocols.

After the signing of the protocols on October 10 in Zurich, the criticisms of the Congress towards Sarkisian have increased. In a declaration published on October 12,¹¹⁶ the "Zurich betrayal" has been mentioned and it has been expressed that the opening of the border at the price of accepting the idea of a commission studying the historical facts has cast a doubt on the fact of the Armenian genocide before the world, Turkey received what he wanted before signing as well as after, Turkey conditioned the opening of borders on the Karabakh problem, and that with the Kocharian-Sarkisian policy of the last ten years which placed the issue of the Armenian genocide on the foreign policy agenda, the matter has become a subject of bargaining. Lastly, it has been argued that the only way to prevent this anti-national process and to avoid further losses is Serge Sarkisian's resignation.

However, with a speech delivered on November 11, 2009,¹¹⁷ Ter Petrossian has surprisingly changed his attitude displayed above.

First of all, he has recognized the legitimacy of Serge Sarkisian's presidency. As will be remembered, the opposition parties had objected to the presidential elections made on

115 "Armenian National Congress Concerned About Protocol Ratification Process", <http://hetq.am/en/politics/anc-4/>, 2 Eylül 2009.

116 Noyan Tapan, October 13, 2009.

117 "Ter-Petrosian Reaches Out to Sarkisian, Blasts "Extreme Nationalists", *RFE/RL*, November 11, 2008.

February 19, 2008 on the grounds that there was manipulation involved. Also, great demonstrations took place which lasted for months, in which many have been arrested and 10 people, including one policeman, have died due to the intervention of security forces.¹¹⁸ During this period, Ter Petrossian and his advocates has wanted Sarkisian's resignation and the re-holding of the elections and has refrained from engaging in any dialogue with Sarkisian. This time, Ter Petrossian recognizing the legitimacy of Sarkisian and presenting him to the world as a realistic and resolute statesman worthy of the 21st century, has given new strength to the Armenian President who was highly worn down by the protocols. It can be understood that with this attitude, Ter Petrossian aims at securing the protocols, rather than Sarkisian. As a matter of fact, during his presidency (1991-1998), Ter Petrossian has worked harder than Kocharian in the resolution of the Karabakh conflict and the normalization of relations with Turkey and has resigned after entering into conflict with the Parliament over the Karabakh conflict.

In his speech delivered on November 11 concerning the protocols, Ter Petrossian has strongly criticized the Dashnaks and other extremist nationalists. At the top of these criticisms lie the concept of "historical rights" in which extremist nationalists frequently refer to and which establishes the basis of Armenian territorial demands from Turkey. Ter Petrossian, righteously, has stated that neither international relations, nor international law accepts this kind of a concept. On the other hand, he has also expressed that without precluding Armenian claims in its eastern regions, Turkey will never normalize relations with Armenia. He has conveyed that Dashnaks and other extremist nationalists link the normalization of relations to the "unconditional surrender" of Turkey, but Turkey seems unwilling to "surrender" and this shows that Dashnaks and others are totally against the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations. In the meantime, he has also indicated that it was not Sarkisian who firstly recognized the Turkish-Armenian border, but the Dashnaks who recognized it with the 1920 Treaty of Gyumri, and that it was not Sarkisian who renounced territorial claims, but his predecessor Kocharian.

The only item criticized by Ter Petrossian about the protocols is the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension. He believes that this commission "would cast doubt on the reality of the Armenian genocide and halt the process of its international recognition". On the other hand, he has stated that this is a severe psychological blow to the worldwide Diaspora. Furthermore, Ter Petrossian has also stated that Turkey will continue to make the normalization of bilateral relations conditional on a pro-Azerbaijani solution to the Karabakh conflict.

Last of all, Ter Petrossian has expressed that Sarkisian has made unforgivable concessions to the Turks for gaining Western support and thereby offsetting the lack of domestic legitimacy.

118 Ömer Engin Lütem, "Facts and Comments", *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol: 39, pp.37-40.

In short, apart from the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension and the normalization of relations being linked to the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, Ter Petrossian is in favor of the protocols. This situation has strengthened Serge Sarkisian's position within the country.

5. Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnak Party)

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation or Dashnak Party is the champion and persistent follower of the "historic rights" of Armenia which was mentioned above and which has no legal basis, as well as the idea of establishing justice for the Armenian people which also has no legal value. As known, these expressions have been helpful in bringing forth issues relating to Turkey giving territory to Armenia within the limits determined by President Wilson, giving compensation to those subjected to "genocide" (to their descendants), returning of the properties to the descendants of those being relocated, and above all, Turkey recognizing the "genocide" and apologizing for it. All the problems created by the First World War, have been resolved by the treaties concluded after the war (for Armenians, these are the treaties of Kars and Lausanne). But Dashnaks seems not to be concerned with this fact and time is stopped for them in year 1918.

This extremist attitude has always caused Dashnaks to have supporters, although in small numbers. Within the Diaspora, going through a serious identity crisis, Dashnaks have become the sole political power with the appeal of their extremist stances. Looking at the subject from this point of view, the Turkey-Armenia protocols contain some clauses which could never be accepted by Dashnaks, including the recognition of the existing borders and the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension. Consequently, the Dashnak Party has immediately strongly rejected the protocols in both Armenia and the Diaspora, almost as if they have declared war. We should also bring to mind that upon the declaration that a road map had been agreed upon by Turkey and Armenia, Dashnaks had withdrawn from the Government coalition last April.¹¹⁹

In the declaration issued by the Dashnak Party in Yerevan on September 1, 2009, a day after the publishing of the texts of the protocols,¹²⁰ it has been stated that Armenia and Armenians entered a new phase which is encumbered with numerous threats and dangers. Following this statement, the position of the Party has been determined in the following way:

a. As neighboring states, Armenia and Turkey are bound to take steps to normalize relations. However, good neighborly relations can be established between the two countries only when Turkey recognizes the Armenian genocide and reestablishes the

119 Ömer Engin Lütem. "Facts and Comments", *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, Vol: 32, p. 21–22.

120 "ARF Bureau Issues Announcement on Protocols", *The Armenian Weekly*, September 1, 2009.

rights of the Armenian people. The establishment of relations without preconditions and the lifting of the blockade are merely first steps.

The point here that has to be taken into consideration is that establishing diplomatic relations and opening the borders (removing the embargo) does not mean peace has been made. In order to achieve peace, it is necessary first to recognize the Armenian genocide and secondly, to “return the rights of the Armenian people”, or in other words, giving territory to Armenia, paying compensation to the descendants’ of those being relocated and the returning of properties.

b. Dashnaks consider that the proposal by Armenia to establish relations without preconditions can be deemed as a serious concession given to Turkey.

c. It is unacceptable to establish relations with Turkey at the expense of the Armenian government’s sovereignty and viability, as well as the national rights of Armenia’s future generations.

This means that the recognition of the border with Turkey and the establishment of the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension are against the sovereignty and viability of Armenia. As to the “national rights of future generations”, what is meant here is that today Armenia is lacking the power to obtain territory and compensation from Turkey, but Turks can find themselves in a similar situation in the future. In other words, while Armenia gains power, Turkey can weaken. Thus, it is necessary that starting from today, the “national rights of future generations” are not damaged.

On the other hand, the Dashnak Declaration entails that the protocols contain the well-known preconditions of the Turkish side, that is, to call into question the veracity of the Armenian genocide and to invalidate the unwavering rights of the Armenian people. Furthermore, not undertaking any steps that would contradict Azerbaijan’s interests is a third precondition concerning the Karabakh issue.

With these considerations, during the domestic deliberation stage, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation has expressed that they will utilize all means available to expose the existing dangers within the protocols in an effort to neutralize them and has called on the Armenian people and the political forces in Armenia to properly assess the negative consequences of the Armenia-Turkey relations process.

In the following days, the Dashnak Party in Armenia has attempted on all occasions to bring the items described above to the attention of the public. This can be seen in the speeches delivered frequently by the leading Dashnaks and in their press. On the other hand, demonstrations have been held in order to draw more attention. Among these, many have participated in the demonstration held on October 9, 2009.¹²¹ The

121 Different numbers are given for those demonstrating. These vary between 60.000 (*Asbarez*, October 9, 2009) and 4-5 thousand (*PanArmenian.net*, October 9, 2009).

demonstrators have marched from the Presidential Residence to the Genocide Memorial with posters entailing slogans of “No to Protocols”, “No Concessions to Turkey”, and “No to Preconditions” in their hands.¹²² Moreover, in order to draw the public’s attention, a group of fifty people have taken part in a sit-in hunger strike in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Yerevan. It has been understood that these protestors have taken turns breaking their fasts every two days.¹²³

Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan has been chosen as the scapegoat for the signing of the protocols and his resignation has been demanded. Moreover, although the resignation of President Sarkisian has not yet been asked, this possibility has also not been ruled out.¹²⁴ Actually, it is clear that the matter of resignation is attempted to be used as a threat against Sarkisian. However, it cannot be expected from the President being elected with 52% of the votes and having wide support in the Parliament to blench from such threats. The situation of the Foreign Minister, a career diplomat, is different. Vice-president of the Republican Party, Razmik Zohrabian, by rejecting the assertions of the Dashnaks and expressing that the Foreign Minister has applied the policy of the government,¹²⁵ has alleviated the pressure Nalbandyan has been exposed to.

The Dashnak Party, together with 12 other parties, has published another declaration opposing the protocols on October 6, 2009. The main items in it are the same as those given in the declaration on September 1, 2009 explained above.¹²⁶ Among the 12 parties, only the Heritage Party is represented in the Parliament. These parties and several civil society organizations have sent a letter to President Sarkisian on October 9, 2009, demanding that the protocols should not be signed.¹²⁷ Following the signing, Dashnaks have issued a statement on October 12, 2009, repeating their views and expressing that they have been compelled to prevent the ratification of the protocols in order to neutralize the dangers threatening Armenia.¹²⁸

6. Heritage Party

The Armenian Heritage Party has been created before the 2007 Parliament elections. They have 7 seats in the Parliament. Its leader, an American Armenian, Raffi Hovannissian, has been the first Foreign Minister of Armenia. For wanting to pursue a highly tough policy towards Turkey, he has been dismissed from his post in 1992 by former President Levon Ter Petrossian. In a way, the Heritage Party is the party of the

122 “Demonstration in Yerevan. Protesting Against RA-Turkish Protocols”, PanArmenian.Net, October 9, 2009.

123 “Armenian Politics Stagnate While Threat to Statehood Looms”, *Hairnik.com/weekly*, September 23, 2009.

124 “Dashnaks Not Seeking Sarkisian’s Resignation”, *Armenianliberty.org*, September 8, 2009.

125 “Le parti Dashnak isolé quant à ses critiques sur la Turquie et le Karabakh”, *Armenews*, September 3, 2009.

126 “ARF Initiates Multy-Party Anti-Protocol Announcement”, *Asbarez*, October 6, 2009.

127 “Participants of October 9 March in Yerevan Call on Armenian President not to Sign Armenia-Turkey Protocols”, Noyan Tapan, October 9, 2009.

128 “ARF: We Will Use all Political Means to Ensure Failure of Protocols Ratification Process”, *Hairnik.com/weekly*, October 12, 2009.

Diaspora, but has a separate identity than the Dashnaks dominating Diaspora. The Heritage Party is no different than Dashnaks in being against Turkey and Turks. They share the criticisms of the Dashnaks against the protocols.

After the text of the protocols were made public, the Heritage Party has suggested that a referendum should be organized for them, along with a referendum on whether Sarkisian could be trusted or not.¹²⁹ However, the great partner of the coalition, the Republican Party has rejected this proposal.¹³⁰ Some time later, the Heritage Party has also appealed to the Constitutional Court to examine whether the protocols are suitable to the Constitution.¹³¹

Another reason for the Heritage Party opposing the protocols is once they come into effect, they will pose risks where Armenian Diaspora's financial and political support is concerned.¹³² From time to time, the Heritage Party also organizes rallies against the protocols. Only 15 people taking part in an anti-ratification rally held at the end of October has specifically drawn attention.¹³³ An explanation for this situation could be the disagreements seen within the party itself. Head of the Party, Raffi Hovannissian resigning from deputyship without providing any reasons and then changing his mind and withdrawing his resignation is the result of these disagreements.

The Heritage Party has also submitted a draft resolution to the Parliament, seeking to declare April 24 which is the "Commemoration Day of Genocide Victims" as "Condemnation Day of Homeland Deprivation" at the same time.¹³⁴ What is meant with the expression of "homeland" is Eastern Anatolia.

VI – DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN DIASPORA

After the texts of the protocols were made public on August 31, 2009, the main Diaspora organizations have started to explain their assessment for these documents. A summary of their views is given below.

1. U.S.A

The country the Armenian Diaspora is the most organized, thus the most active is the U.S.A.

129 "Le parti Héritage d'opposition a réagi aux protocoles arméno-turcs", *Armenews*, September 10, 2009.

130 "Armenian Politics Stagnate While Threat to Statehood Looms", *Hairenik.com/weekly*, September 23, 2009.

131 "Heritage Party Applies to Constitutional Court With Initiative to Organize Discussion on Initial Armenian-Turkish Protocols", *Arminfo* September 23, 2009.

132 "Stepan Safaryan.: Presidential Meetings With Armenian Diapora", *PanArmenian.Net*, October 28, 2009.

133 "Heritage Holding Anti-Ratification Rally Once Again", *PanArmenian.Net*, October 29, 2009.

134 "Zharangutiun Proposes Marking April 24 also as Condemnation Day of Homeland Deprivation", *Noyan Tapan*, November 2, 2009.

The Armenian Assembly of America (AAA), supported mostly by wealthy Armenians, and which gives special importance to having close relations with the U.S. governments and is also on good terms with the Armenian government, has issued a press release on October 21¹³⁵ in which it has examined the protocols based on the American government's approach to the Turkey-Armenia tensions, but has also criticized Turkey for its allegedly tract record of broken promises. AAA has not openly endorsed the protocols, but since the normalization of relations with Turkey has been supported without preconditions in the press release and these protocols are considered as an important step in achieving this normalization, it has been understood that AAA actually is in favor of the protocols. The Assembly, despite this hesitant attitude, has not been able to escape the criticisms of Dashnaks.¹³⁶

The Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), known as the wealthiest organization of the Diaspora and which is active in the areas of education and charity in principle, have also issued a declaration on September 12, expressing that the policy towards Turkey should not impede the fundamental and historical rights of the Armenian nation and also, the universal recognition of the genocide should not be sacrificed for any immediate diplomatic consideration. Moreover, it has been conveyed that Armenia has been supported in order to safeguard the rights of the Armenian nation and promote their historic and cultural rights.¹³⁷ This declaration makes one think that AGBU is not pleased with the protocols, but they also do not want to criticize the Armenian Government on this matter.

Concerning Dashnaks, this party has separate branches in the east and west coasts of the United States. These branches have published declarations concerning the protocols.¹³⁸ However, Dashnaks carries out their activities mostly through the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) which is a civil society organization. Immediately after the publishing of the protocols' texts, ANCA has sent a letter to the members of the Congress on September 1st, indicating their reservations and concerns regarding the protocols.¹³⁹ In this letter signed by Aram Hamparian, the Executive Chairman of ANCA, it has been stated that attempts to establish normal relations between Turkey and Armenia cannot last long as it is not based on the historical fact of the Armenian genocide. The following have been requested from the Congress members:

- To persuade the President to honor his pledge to recognize the Armenian genocide
- That the U.S. Government will not, in any way, accept submitting the issue of the Armenian genocide to the historical commission

135 Armenian Assembly of America, Press Release, October 2, 2009. <http://www.aaainc.org>

136 "As Community Unites, Armenian Assembly Steps Away", *Asbarez*, September 18, 2009.

137 "AGBU Central Board of Directors Issues Statement on Armenia-Turkey Protocols", *Asbarez*, September 14, 2009.

138 "ARF Western US Statement on Proposed Armenian-Turkey Protocols", *Asbarez*, September 2, 2009.

139 "ANCA Concerned With Protocols Initiated for Improving Armenian-Turkish Relations", Noyan Tapan, September 3, 2009.

- The U.S. State Department must hold Turkey accountable for its failure to honor its commitments
- The U.S. Congress should move quickly to pass the Armenian Genocide Resolution

It is awkward to have that kind of requests from the U.S. Government as if they are party to the protocols.

In a letter sent by the Chairman of ANCA, Ken Hachikian to the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton,¹⁴⁰ the Armenian American community concerns about the one-sided protocols have been expressed and it has been stated that if the protocols are adopted, it will call into question the reality of the Armenian genocide, threaten Armenia's security, jeopardize the freedom of Karabakh and compromise the inalienable rights of all Armenians. Although not being stated openly, the bizarre point here is that Dashnaks want the U.S. Government to interfere in Armenia's affairs.

Several Congress members have aided Dashnaks in their initiatives towards the U.S. Congress and Government. Co-chairs of Armenian Congressional Caucus, Frank Pallone and Mark Kirk have issued a declaration,¹⁴¹ in which they have stated that they are concerned with Turkey's willingness to cooperate in normalizing relations and that any attempt to include a review of historic facts such as the Armenian genocide and Karabakh peace process into these negotiations stands in direct opposition to the intent of these talks.

Apart from Dashnaks, the main Armenian organizations in the U.S. have sent a letter to President Obama on September 9, 2009, expressing their concerns in view of Turkey's prior failure to uphold its international obligations. Thus, they have requested from the U.S. Administration to hold the Turkish Government accountable with respect to Turkey's commitments to lift the blockade and establish permanent diplomatic relations with Armenia. Other than the chairmen of AGBU and AAA, the letter has also been signed by the archbishops of the East and West coasts. The reason for Dashnaks not being a part of this initiative is based on their divergences with other organizations. Moreover, which commitment Turkey has failed in fulfilling up till now is not specified. Unfortunately, the Armenian Diaspora cannot overcome their tendency to recourse to propaganda on even the most serious matters.

On the other hand, there has been an attempt in increasing the number of co-sponsors of the draft resolution numbered H. Res. 252 about the recognition of the Armenian genocide and which was presented to the House of Representatives on March 17, 2009. But, this number did not increase significantly, reaching to 136 on January 12, 2010. It is worth mentioning that the number of absolute majority in the House of Representatives is 218.

140 "ANCA Calls on Hillary Clinton to Lift U.S. Pressure on Armenia", Armenian National Committee of America, Press Release, September 30, 2009.

141 "Congressional, Armenian-American Reactions to Protocols is Mixed", Washington Briefing, September 4, 2009.

Moreover, the same draft resolution, under the number S. Res. 316 has also been presented to the Senate on October 21, 2009. The number of co-sponsors, including the Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid,¹⁴² on December 3rd 2009 has been 10. As known, the absolute majority in the Senate is 51.

The Armenian churches within the Diaspora, especially the ones depending on Etchmiadzin generally try to remain outside daily politics, although they are in the center of the anti-Turkey activities taking place before and after April 24 commemorating the genocide allegations.

The Armenian churches in the U.S. are separated into East and West “prelacies”¹⁴³ as required by the country’s geography. Archbishop Musheg Mardirossian, at the head of the prelacy in the West has been dealing with “political” issues for a long time. Following the publication of the protocols’ texts, he has convened a meeting about the protocols, by inviting the prominent people of the church and the representatives of the Dashnak Party. In his speech, he has stated that although the protocols in theory outline some positive changes like bilateral normalization of relations, ultimately the rights of the Armenian people will be compromised.¹⁴⁴

Meanwhile, it has been seen that several “scientific” Armenian organizations in the U.S. has also opposed the protocols. Roger W. Smith, chairman of Zoryan Institute which has gathered militant Armenian historians and non-Armenian scholars together, has sent a letter to President Sarkisian,¹⁴⁵ in which he has expressed that the sub-commission on the historical dimension creates anxiety among the scholars, that a large academic consensus exists on the Armenians being subjected to genocide, and that all archives, including the Turkish ones, displays this. Furthermore, it has been stated that they have no faith in a commission being created with political motives to come to a compromise on a historical fact and that the historical commission will encourage those planning on committing genocide in the future. Then, Smith has requested that the article concerning the historical dimension in the Second Protocol be changed, but if such modifications are not possible due to diplomatic pressures, then it has been prudent to stage the process so that the discussion of the “historical dimension” is deferred.

Recently, it can be seen that Armenians and pro-Armenian historians together with other scholars with similar convictions put forth that there exists a large consensus on Armenians being subjected to genocide and that archives also prove this. Thus, they refrain from entering into any discussion concerning the issue of the Armenian allegations. Smith’s letter is in the same line. However, beyond this, not only does this scholar refrain from carrying out a joint scientific study relating to the genocide

142 “Senate Majority Leader to Cosponsor Armenian Genocide Resolution”, *Asbarez*, 19 November 2009.

143 “Prelacy” is a religious post similar to archbishopric.

144 “Western Prelacy Hosts a Discussion on Armenia- Turkey Protocols”, *Western Prelacy News*, September 11, 2009

145 “Open Letter for the Protocols to Pres. Sargsyan from Prof. Roger W. Smith”, <http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/> 30 September 2009.

allegations, but even avoid entering into any discussions. The reason for this might be the fear that the Armenians' assertions can be refuted by the collective work and discussions. Those having strong arguments would not at all hesitate in discussing these.

The new Chairman of the International Association of Genocide Scholars¹⁴⁶ which has close links with the Zoryan Institute, William Shabas, has also sent a letter to Prime Minister Erdoğan and President Sarkisian, stating that the “acknowledgment of the Armenian Genocide must be the starting point of any ‘impartial historical commission,’ not one of its possible conclusions.”¹⁴⁷ Here, it is also very clear that the purpose is refraining from discussing the Armenian genocide.

The former chairman of the International Association of Genocide Scholars has sent a letter to Prime Minister Erdoğan¹⁴⁸ on November 3rd 2009, expressing his objection to a historical commission in which Turkey would be involved for the reason that Turkey has denied the Armenian genocide; and under article 301 in the Turkish Penal Code, affirmation of genocide is a crime. On the other hand, he has alleged that the Prime Minister has repeatedly stated that even if a historical commission found that the Armenian Case is genocide, Turkey would ignore the finding. Actually, the Prime Minister has stated the complete opposite of this.

Moreover, article 301 under the Turkish Penal Code does not convict those affirming that the Armenian genocide has taken place. The term “genocide” does not even exist in the article. This article is concerned with the public defamation of Turkishness, the Republic and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the Government of the Republic of Turkey, judicial institutions of the State, and the military of security organizations. The article clearly emphasizes that ideas conveyed with the purpose of criticizing is not considered as crime. Thus, only those asserting that genocide took place with the purpose of denigrating are included within this scope.

Well known scholars¹⁴⁹ exist among those signing this letter in the capacity of the former President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. It is quite sad to see these scholars distorting the truth to such a degree.

Also, demonstrations have been organized in opposition to the protocols. The Armenian Youth Federation, a subsidiary formation of Dashnaks, has demonstrated in front of Armenia's Permanent Mission to the U.S. on September 19, 2009 with around 800 participants. The signing of the protocols has been protested and slogans have been shouted in support of Karabakh's independence, Turkey's recognition of the Armenian genocide, and reparations and restitutions of land.¹⁵⁰ About a week later on September

146 For this Association see: Ömer Engin Lütem, “Facts and Comments”, *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, vol: 27–28, pp. 42–45.

147 “The Politics of Genocide and the Turkey-Armenia Protocols”, *Azd Daily*, October 31, 2009.

148 “Former IAGS Presidents Consider Historical Commission an Attempt to Deny Armenian Genocide”, *The Armenian Weekly*, November 20, 2009.

149 Helen Fein, Roger W. Smith, Frank Chalk, Joyce Apsel, Robert Melson, Israel W. Charny, Gregory Stanton.

150 “East Cost Armenians Protest for Justice, Oppose Armenia-Turkey Protocols”, *Asbarez*, September 24, 2009.

27, a public rally has been conducted by Dashnaks in Glendale in which presumably over 10,000 people have participated, including Hunchakians and Ramgavars. In a decision taken in this demonstration, after the re-emphasis of the Dashnaks' views concerning the historical commission, recognition of the existing borders, and the absence in the protocols of the self-determination of Karabakh etc., it has been expressed that the protocols, in their current form, are unacceptable and dangerous and the signing of them will have irreversible and heavy consequences. Furthermore, it has been demanded from the Armenian Government to immediately end all efforts and activities for the signing and approval of both protocols, otherwise the President of Armenia would bare sole responsibility for future events and be treated accordingly by the Armenian people and history.¹⁵¹

As to the scholars of Armenian origin, it can be seen that all those expressing their opinions are opposed to the protocols. This stands as evidence of how much Dashnaks dominate the Diaspora. These scholars, in a long article written by Khatchik Mouradian, the editor of *The Armenian Weekly*, have expressed their negative opinions about the historical commission.¹⁵² The names and titles of these scholars are given in the footnote.¹⁵³ Three days after the text of the protocols, Taner Akçam, in an interview published in the *Taraf* newspaper, has expressed his negative views of the protocols; this interview has also been published in the Armenian press in the U.S.¹⁵⁴

The newspapers of *Asbarez* and *The Armenian Weekly* supporting Dashnak politics and being considered as the unofficial organs of this Party, has carried out a public opinion survey among American Armenians about the protocols in the beginning of October and the following results have been obtained:¹⁵⁵

a. Those against the creation of a historical commission 88.2%

b. Those against Armenia officially recognizing its current border with Turkey 88.6%

151 "Resolution Urges End to Protocol Process", *Asbarez*, September 28, 2009.

152 "Leave it to the Historians": Scholars from Armenian Diaspora Reflect on Sub-Commission on Historical Dimension", *The Armenian Weekly*, October 18, 2009.

153 Prof. Richard Hovannisian, the chair of modern Armenian history at UCLA; Peter Balakian, professor of the humanities at Colgate University; Dr. Ara Sanjian, associate professor of Armenian and Middle Eastern History and director of the Armenian Research Center at the University of Michigan-Dearborn; Hovann Simonian, the co-author of *Troubled Waters: The Geopolitics of the Caspian Region* and editor of *The Hemshin: History, Society and Identity in the Highlands of Northeast Turkey*; Dr. Elyse Semerdjian, associate professor of Islamic world history at Whitman College; Aram Arkun, New York based scholar who has conducted archival research and published material on various aspects of modern Armenian history and the Armenian Genocide; Dr. Dikran Kaligian, the author of *Armenian Organization and Ideology under Ottoman Rule 1908–1914* and managing editor of the *Armenian Review*; Dr. Razmik Panossian, the author of *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars*; Dr. Bedross Der Matossian, lecturer in the faculty of history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT); Dr. Henry Theriault, professor of philosophy at Worcester State College and author of several articles on genocide denial; Marc Mamigonian, the director of academic affairs at the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (NAASR) in Belmont.

154 "Taner Akçam: The Decision Will Be Made by Politicians, Not Historians", *The Armenian Reporter*, September 15, 2009

155 "Poll: Over 90% of Armenian Americans Oppose Protocols", *Asbarez*, October 2, 2009.

- c. Those against the lifting of Turkey's blockade of Armenia being linked to the settlement of Karabakh 94.7%
- d. Those believing that the protocols are in favor of Turkey 94.8%
- e. Those against the adoption of the protocols 90.5%

According to these results, a great majority of U.S. Armenians stand in opposition to the protocols. As will be described below, this is also seen in the treatment of Sarkisian by the Diaspora Armenians in New York and Los Angeles.

2. European States

In Europe, the country the Armenian Diaspora is the most active in is France. Here, in a declaration¹⁵⁶ published by the Coordination Council of Armenian Organizations in France (CCAF), who asserts that they represent all Armenian organizations in this country, it has been expressed that the Armenian genocide is not negotiable and could not be examined by a sub-commission and that the statement in the first protocol on the two countries "affirming their mutual recognition of their existing border as defined by relevant treaties in international law", requires clarification. Moreover, it states that any genocide results in moral, political and material compensation, Karabakh has the right to self-determination and right to participate in the settlement of this conflict, and Karabakh should be directly connected to the Republic of Armenia. Furthermore, it has also been stated that for the Armenian taboo to disappear in Turkey, Ankara should stop its denial of the Armenian genocide, abrogate articles 301-305 of the penal code, and Ankara should also stop its blockade of Armenia.

Following the declaration of the protocols, in a statement¹⁵⁷ of Chairman of the Western Europe department of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in France, Murad Papazyan, has said that the Armenian cause is in danger, Karabakh is in danger, authorities of Armenia are committing the greatest political error since Armenia's independence, that creating a special structure (Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension) for studying Armenian genocide already calls into question the fact known to many well-known researchers, scholars and specialists, that this is a hard blow to the Armenian Cause and formidable victory of Turkish diplomacy, and that by accepting protocols on establishing diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey, Armenian authorities have renounced their claims.

As can be seen, although the reactions of the Armenian organizations in France towards the protocols are similar to those in the U.S., they are much harsher in their tone.

156 "CCAF Issues a Statement on Armenia-Turkey Protocols", Armradio.am, September 18, 2009.

157 "Armenian Authorities May Commit the Biggest Error", PanArmenian.Net, September 3, 2009.

European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy (EAFJD) established mostly to monitor Armenian interests in the European Union and to display anti-Turkey activities within the Union's organs, have issued a declaration¹⁵⁸ on September 2, 2009, stating that Turkey has imposed its preconditions on Armenia and the preconditions of Turkey have violated the principle of international law, because of the acceptance by Armenia of the conditions of illegitimate treaties long pre-dating the existence of independent Armenia (the Moscow and Kars treaties are being referred to). It also involves the abandonment by Armenia of all efforts toward the international recognition of the Armenian genocide, while at the same time showing the complete capitulation by Armenia to Azerbaijani terms in Karabakh negotiations. It is clear that a strong language is used in this declaration which also contains logical errors and some mistakes.

On the other hand, EAFJD has organized the “Votch” (means no in Armenian) or “No” to Protocols campaign supported by several intellectuals in France.¹⁵⁹ In this petition signed by Armenians in around 30 countries,¹⁶⁰ the criticisms relating to the protocols and explained above has been mentioned. About two months later, on November 24, 2009, the petition being signed by only 4,495 people displays this campaign's limited success.

Armenian organizations in many European states and especially in Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus, England, Sweden, and Germany, have also displayed views in opposition to the protocols.

Apart from Armenia, the situation of the Russian Federation should especially be underlined for containing the most Armenians (approximately 1, 2 million). However, since the majority of Armenians in Russia have arrived here to seek jobs for economic purposes after Armenia's independence and still maintain close ties with their country, it is difficult to say that an Armenian Diaspora exists in Russia similar to that in the U.S. or France. Some of the Armenian organizations in Russia have opposed to the protocols. The most known personality among the Armenians in Russia is a wealthy businessman named Ara Abrahamyan. Abrahamyan has established the “World Armenian Organization” which pretends to represent all Armenians remaining outside Armenia. Moreover, Abrahamyan is also the Chairman of the “Russian Armenians Union”. Being known all along for his anti-Turkey affiliate and attempting to govern the “World Armenian Organization” in this direction, in a speech relating to the protocols, he has stated that Turkey has not changed and that they should not fool themselves as to Turkey's intentions to open the border and establish good neighborly relations. Moreover, he has also expressed that they should not preclude that Turkey is aiming to spread discord between Armenia and the Diaspora.¹⁶¹

158 “Armenian-Turkish Protocols: Turkey's Preconditions Violate the Principles of International Law”, Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy, Press Release, September 2, 2009.

159 “Turkish-Armenian Protocols Unanimously Rejected. The “Votch” Petition is met with by Worldwide Acceptance”, Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy, Press Release, September 29, 2009.

160 For the text of the petition see: www.votch.org

161 “Ara Abrahamyan: Armenia Mustn't Engage in Wishful Thinking”, PanArmenian.Net, October 16, 2009.

3. Other States

Armenian organizations in some other states have also complied with the general trend and taken on an opposing stance towards the protocols.

Meanwhile, for the first time it has been found out that an Armenian organization exists in China. Entitled “Armenian Community of China”, this organization has indicated that they represent about 200 Armenian families and has issued a declaration in which they have accused Turkey by using a strong language and have also requested the rejection of the protocols.¹⁶²

The biggest Armenian community in Southern America is found in Argentina. On October 3rd 2009, a demonstration in opposition to the protocols has been held at the “Armenian Martyr’s Monument” near the Armenian cathedral in Buenos Aires, in which around 1.500 demonstrators have participated.¹⁶³

A rather small but quite active Armenian community exists in Australia. The Australian Armenians have supported the attacks against Turkish diplomats and extremist views within this community still exist. The protocols have been criticized in a demonstration organized by the Armenian National Committee of Australia, a subsidiary institution of Dashnaks in Sydney, in which about 600 protesters have attended.

4. Sarkisian’s Visit of the Diaspora Armenians

President Sarkisian has also included the Diaspora in his consultations. He has travelled to states where important Armenian communities exist, like Paris, New York, Los Angeles and Rostov in Russia, and has held talks with the representatives of the Armenian organizations in those countries as well as in neighboring countries.

In the press release of August 31, 2009 of Turkey, Armenia and Switzerland given above, although there has been a mention of political consultations, no amendment to the protocols is possible following the consultations. Therefore, the issue at hand is not really consultations, but providing information. In fact, this matter has been declared to the public by several Diaspora organizations before the President’s visit.¹⁶⁴

On the other hand, as the protocols’ texts were made public a month before the President’s visit, the Diaspora organizations have had enough time to study them and declare their attitudes concerning these documents. As mentioned above, most Diaspora organizations have taken on an opposing stance towards the protocols. Thus, before his

162 ChinaHAY/Hong Kong, October 9, 2009.

163 “Armenians in Argentina Protest Turkey-Armenian Prorocols”, *Asbarez*, October 3, 2009.

164 As an example, the Declaration of the Armenian Relief Society and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation’s declaration of September 30, 2009, www.hairenik.com/weeekly, September 30, 2009. “ARF Statement on Upcoming New York Meeting with President Sarkisian”.

visit, President Sarkisian was aware of this situation and that this visit would cause violent reactions. However, he has been courageous enough to make these visits and has confronted the protests. It is likely that this arose due to the Armenian public opinion that would welcome the providing of information to the Diaspora before the signing of the protocols.

Concerning the informing meetings held in the four states mentioned above, the free attendance in the meetings has been out of the question, as the organizations and the number of their representatives have already been determined beforehand. In the meetings, Sarkisian has delivered a speech, followed by the interventions and questions of the organizations' representatives. In other words, no "negotiations" have taken place.

President Sarkisian has commenced his visits on October 2, 2009 in Paris. First of all, he has put a wreath on the Armenian Genocide Monument (statue of composer Gomitas) situated in the most distinguished area of this city. Around 300 Armenians gathering here have chanted slogans of "traitor" against Sarkisian, attempting to disrupt the ceremony and scuffle with the police. Later on, Sarkisian has held a meeting with the representatives of the Diaspora organizations.¹⁶⁵ Several individuals in France of Armenian origin have supported the President's initiative. Among these are Charles Aznavour, the famous singer and Armenia's Ambassador of Bern, Alain Terzian, the chairman of "Académie des Cézars" which gives out movie awards, and as mentioned above, the chairman of the Coordination Council of Armenian Organizations in France, Alex Govciyan.¹⁶⁶

The activities against President Sarkisian started before he set foot to the U.S. Several organizations, especially Dashnaks, have published declarations conveying their views. Meanwhile, a demonstration conducted on September 27 in Glendale near Los Angeles in California, in which 10.000 Armenians have been asserted to participate, has drawn attention. We had mentioned above that in New York, also before the arrival of the President, a demonstration was organized on September 19 with about 800 participants.

The Armenian organizations [AGBU, AAA and the Armenian Churches (the Prelates) of the East and West coasts] which have sent a letter to President Obama on September 9, have issued a press release¹⁶⁷ on October 1st, two days before the President's arrival to the U.S., in which they have expressed that the Armenian governments have previously offered to normalize relations with Turkey and reopen the border, but has been confronted with Turkey's insistence on Armenians forfeiting Karabakh and renouncing the Armenian genocide claims. However, the signatories of the letter have tried to defend the protocols by stating that the protocols announced on August 31st represent a marked change from the past and that Turkey has publicly committed to establishing normal

165 "Une visite Présidentielle Contestée", *Armenews*, October 3, 2009.

166 "Ils Font Confiance au Président Arménien", *Armenews*, October 5, 2009.

167 "Joint Statement of Major Armenian-American Institutions welcoming the President of the Republic of Armenia", <http://www.agbu.org/pressoffice/article.asp?ID=632>.

relations without preconditions. It has also been stated that in this case, attacking the protocols and the best intentions of the President of Armenia does not serve the interests of the Armenian people and that the President of Armenia deserves their support at this critical moment.

President Sarkisian has met with the representatives of the Diaspora organizations located in the eastern coast of the U.S. on October 3rd in New York. The text of his speech was not made public. However, according to the information given by those attending the meeting, the President has focused on the benefits of the protocols and has stated that no concession on the Karabakh issue will be given and that there will be no regress in the genocide issue. He has also expressed that the Sub-Commission of Historical Dimension will not discuss the issues of genocide, but its consequences and the fate of Armenian monuments in Turkey.¹⁶⁸

A Dashnak newspaper has written that Sarkisian has wavered in response to some questions posed to him.¹⁶⁹ Another Dashnak newspaper¹⁷⁰ has written that it has been demanded from the President to stop the protocols' signing and ratification process and to recommit himself to establishing diplomatic relations with Turkey that do not endanger the unalienable rights of the Armenian nation.

In front of the hotel where the meeting took place, hundreds of demonstrators have carried posters proclaiming "Armenians want justice", "Turkey accept the genocide", and "No to the protocols" and have chanted slogans of "No more protocols, no more lies", "Do not betray the Armenian nation" and "Turkey is guilty, Turkey must pay". When attempting to enter the hotel, they have been halted by the police.¹⁷¹

President Sarkisian's meeting on October 5th in a hotel in Los Angeles with the Armenian organizations of the western coast of the U.S. is in essence similar to the meeting convened in New York.

Thousands of protesters have demonstrated in front of the hotel the meeting was held in. According to a Dashnak newspaper, the number of demonstrators was 12,000,¹⁷² whereas the Los Angeles police gave this number as 3,000.¹⁷³ Similar posters and the same slogans have been used in this meeting also. An additional incident has been the flying of an airplane around the hotel carrying a streamer of "Stop Turkish-Armenian Protocols". The protesters have attempted to enter the hotel, only to be halted by the security forces.¹⁷⁴

168 "Assesment of American Armenians after the New York meeting of Armenian President", *Armenpress*, October 5, 2009.

169 "Armenians protest Sarkisyan visit in New York", *Asbarez*, October 3, 2009.

170 "ARF Issue Statwement after Meeting with Sarkisyan in New York", *The Armenian Weekly*, October 4, 2009.

171 "New York Armenians Welcome President Sargsyan with Protest", PanArmenian. Net, October 5, 2009.

172 *Asbarez*, October 5, 2009.

173 "LA Rally Brought Together 3000 Protesters", PanArmenian.Net, October 5, 2009.

174 "Armenians Organize Action of Protests With Placards 'No to Protocols', 'Don't Betray Us' ", Noyan Tapan, October 5, 2009.

Concerning what results have been obtained from the meetings of President Sarkisian with the representatives of the Armenian Diaspora, it is believed that on first sight these have been entirely negative. The reason for this is the great demonstrations organized by Dashnaks in which they have provoked incidents along with the provoking questions. However, this appearance might be misleading and most of the Diaspora representatives might have been influenced positively by President Sarkisian. Oscar Tatosian from the Prelacy of the Eastern Region of the Armenian Church has said that the majority of the Diaspora is maintaining their silence and that they mainly support the President's initiatives.¹⁷⁵

After the U.S., President Sarkisian has travelled to Lebanon and met with the representatives of the Diaspora organizations and Aram I, the Catholicos of Cilicia. He has also paid a courtesy visit to the President of Lebanon on October 6.

Around 100.000 Armenians live in Lebanon. Most of these are the descendants of Armenians relocated by the Ottoman Empire. Due to the crises in Lebanon in the last forty years, there has been a serious decrease in the numbers of Armenians in this country. However, since the state of Lebanon's main constituent is religious communities and not the nation, although the numbers of Armenians have decreased, their prerogatives as a religious community within the state continue. In this framework, six deputies in the Parliament of Lebanon and at least one (currently two) minister in the cabinet should be Armenian.

The Catholicosate in Lebanon is called "Cilicia" because this catholicosate was located in the city of Sis (today's Kozan in Turkey) in the region of Cilicia and was closed down in 1916, because there were very few Armenians left in that region due to the relocation. This catholicosate resumed its activities in 1930 in Antelias near Beirut. The Catholicosate of Cilicia is independent from the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin. However, it recognizes the spiritual supremacy of Etchmiadzin. Aram I, who is the Catholicos today, is close to the Dashnak Party and is known for his statements against Turkey and Turks.

Concerning Lebanon, it should be noted that most of the Armenian terrorists targeting Turkish diplomats in 1975-1986 came from this country.

Before the President's visit to Lebanon, Aram I has sent a letter to him on September 21, 2009 expressing his concerns and stating that the very existence of the Diaspora is a direct result of the genocide. He has also indicated that the recognition of and reparations for the Armenian genocide are part of the Armenian national struggle and the genocide issue cannot be part of the negotiation process and that the protocols could have negative consequences on the Karabakh conflict issue.¹⁷⁶

175 "Assessments of American Armenians after the New York Meeting of Armenian President".

176 *Asbarez*, September 23, 2009. "Aram I Appeals To Sarkisian On Protocols", *Armenpress*, October 5, 2009.

President Sarkisian's visit to Beirut has been more eventful compared to his visits to Paris, New York and Los Angeles. The protests have started in the airport, then stores in the Bourdj Hammoud district in which most Armenians reside have been closed down, and thousands of Armenians have gathered in front of the hotel where the meeting was held. They chanted slogans, carried posters, clashed with the police and some have been injured.¹⁷⁷ The inscription of "If you open the borders, you will see the bombs" on one of the posters has reflected the culture of violence dominating the majority of Beirut Armenians.¹⁷⁸

Aram I, during the visit President Sarkisian paid to him, has discussed the subjects of his letter dated September 23 and has asked the Government of Armenia to continue to remind Turkey and the international community that the recognition of the Armenian genocide is a must and not a matter of negotiation. According to the press release issued by the Catholicosate, President Sarkisian has expressed that the issue of recognition of the Armenian genocide belongs to all Armenians, and therefore, he understands the anger of the Diaspora. However, he has also said that the economic-political terms of Armenia-Turkey agreement were important for Armenia.¹⁷⁹

On October 7, 2009, President Sarkisian has met with the representatives of Armenian organizations from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova in the city of Rostov on the Don River in Russia. Because the majority of Armenians in these countries have migrated recently due to economic problems, they have maintained their close ties with Armenia. For this reason, characterizing them as "Diaspora" would not be completely correct. Most of them regard Sarkisian as their own President, whereas the Armenians migrating years ago to France, U.S., Lebanon and other countries view Sarkisian as the President of Armenia. In other words, they regard him as a stranger. This fact has also affected the meeting in Rostov. Although several criticisms have been made against the protocols in this meeting, with those of Ara Abrahamyan at the forefront, the majority has advocated Serge Sarkisian's viewpoint.¹⁸⁰

After President Sarkisian has returned to Yerevan, he has given information about his meetings with the Diaspora to the National Security Council. The Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, Karekin II, although not being a member of the Council along with coalition partner and Chairman of the Prosperous Armenia Party, Gagik Tsarokyan, Public Council Chairman, Vazgen Manukyan, and the Diaspora Minister Mrs. Hranuş Hakopyan, has also attended this meeting. In the President's speech,¹⁸¹ several points require attention. The first point is the emphasis that Armenia will never make one-sided concessions in the issue of Karabakh, which creates the belief that the Karabakh conflict will not be resolved

177 "Thousands Protest Protocols in Beirut", *Asbarez*, October 6, 2009.

178 "Sarkissian à Beyrouth: manifestation contre le rapprochement avec Ankara", *Armenews*, October 7, 2009.

179 Catholicosate of Cilicia, Press Release, October 7, 2009.

180 "Ara Abrahamyan Slashed Protocols", *News.Am.* October 10, 2009.

181 "Serzh Sargsyan: My Short Yet Eventful Trip about Diaspora Communities Gave Me very Important Impulses", Noyan Tapan, October 8, 2009.

shortly. The second point is the emphasis that Armenia has a duty to assure the recognition and condemnation of the genocide and will do that duty to the end. This signifies that problems with Turkey relating to the genocide issue will continue even after the signing of the protocols. Last of all, Sarkisian has stated that there was a concern in the issue of recognition of the current borders, but making territorial demands is not the best start for normalizing relations and that there are facts of political culture of the 21st century which should be taken into consideration. As a matter of fact, territorial demands has been considered as alien to the international political culture in the 21st century and even since the Second World War. One of the main principles of the United Nations Charter, whose essential role is to promote peace, is the respect for territorial integrity of states. The same principle also exists in the OSCE. While this is the situation and the borders between the two states has been delimited by the Treaty of Kars which is still in force today, the majority of the public opinion in Armenia and Diaspora in an awkward manner, have continued their territorial claims on Turkey by putting forth concepts such as historic rights and justice which do not exist in international law. The Armenian President has attempted to explain that these claims have no real meaning in the 21st century.

VII – DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY

We will assess the developments in Turkey mainly in two sections: the consultations of Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu with the leaders of the Turkish political parties before the signing of the protocols and the meeting of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the 21st of October, 2009 after the protocols have been signed.

1. Consultations of the Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu

Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu has declared that he has started a process of consultations in Turkey regarding the protocols and that this will be completed by the end of September. Within this framework, Davutoğlu has first met with Ali Şahin, the Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly¹⁸² and asked for an appointment from the opposition parties' leaders and the parties' leaders remaining outside the Parliament but receiving more than 1% of the votes. We do not have enough space to touch upon all meetings held within this framework. We will explain some of them briefly, but provide detailed information regarding the meetings of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on October 21.

MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli has not accepted to meet Davutoğlu. In a statement on this matter, it has been stated that Devlet Bahçeli has already expressed his views and the Government's views must be shared with the nation and put forth in the Turkish Grand National Assembly.¹⁸³

182 "Türkiye-Ermenistan İstişare Süreci Başlıyor (Turkey-Armenia Negotiation Process Begins)", *Cnntürk*, September 10, 2009.

183 "Bahçeli'nin Tüm Kapıları Kapalı (All the Doors of Bahçeli are Closed)", *İhlassondakika.com*. September 11, 2009.

Previously, with a written statement on September 3, 2009,¹⁸⁴ Devlet Bahçeli has said that legal and political defects exist within the protocols. The first, related to the existing borders, is that there has been no mention of the Treaty of Kars which has delimited the border. Establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia which questions Turkey's territorial integrity and persistently continues a hostile attitude to Turkey can be seen as the second defect. Not dealing with suppression of the campaign related to the genocide allegation and Sarkisian clearly stating that discussion of genocide issues in the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension cannot be possible, can be seen as another defect of the protocols. Last of all, while one fifth of Azerbaijan territory has been occupied by Armenians and one million Azerbaijanis has been forced to become refugees, not being mentioned in the protocols has also been criticized. As a result, it has been declared that because of these defects, the process of normalization with Armenia is against Turkey's national interests and is devoid of any legal and political legitimacy.

After meeting with Davutoğlu, Deniz Baykal, the leader of the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) has also expressed his reservations. He has stated that four main problems exist with Armenia which are: Armenia's refusal of the Treaty of Kars, occupation of Azerbaijan territories, the hostile policy towards Turkey based on the genocide allegations, and the Turkey-Armenia border remaining closed. He has also indicated that among these, only the opening of the border issue has been resolved and that the other issues remain imprecise.¹⁸⁵

Hüsamettin Cindoruk, the leader of the newly formed Democratic Party, has approached the protocols from the problems of Azerbaijan, stating that relations with Armenia should be trilateral and that Azerbaijan must have its part in these relations; but that in the protocol there is not much sensitivity for the Azerbaijan issue. Furthermore, he has expressed that territorial claims on Turkey in the Declaration of Independence of Armenia has been suspended for the moment. Cindoruk has also said that he respects the normalization process of Turkey and Armenia relations, but do not support it full way.¹⁸⁶

Yalçın Topcu, leader of the Great Union Party has criticized the protocols for being signed in Switzerland where the Armenian genocide allegations were recognized and has stated that the Khojaly massacre (in Azerbaijan) should be mentioned in the protocols. Then, he has expressed that "these problems must be carried out in collaboration with our Azerbaijani brothers" and that they want to trust the Prime Minister's pledge that "they won't open the border unless Armenia forfeits the occupied territories of Karabakh". Furthermore, he has stated that Armenia must declare that they have given up on their genocide allegations and that they recognize the Treaty of Kars. He has also emphasized

184 <http://www.mhp.org.tr/haber.php?id=2663>

185 "Deniz Baykal: Ermenistan'la Dört Sorun Çözülmemeli (Deniz Baykal: Four Problems with Armenia Should be Resolved)", *Sabah*, September 16, 2009.

that when the protocols will be debated in the Parliament, the deputies will act according to their convictions as they did in the March 1st motion (in other words, they will reject the protocols).¹⁸⁷

After meeting with Davutoğlu, Numan Kurtulmuş, the leader of the Felicity Party has stated that “If Turkey does not take the correct step concerning the Armenia issue, troubles will arise in its relations with Azerbaijan. The new strategies Turkey has attempted to implement in the Caucasus will fail. Turkey will fall into a position of being an untrustworthy state. Turkey opening the borders without Armenians withdrawing from Karabakh and the occupied territories is not the right policy”.¹⁸⁸

After meeting with Davutoğlu, Masum Türker, the leader of the Democratic Left Party, has expressed that their first hesitation concerns the Armenian authorities who believe that the Treaty of Kars should not be recognized even if the protocols are signed and the border opened. Moreover, after indicating that news from Armenia has conveyed that the genocide allegations will not be discussed in the Joint Historical Commission, Türker has expressed that their greatest reserve about this matter is that the Azerbaijani views has not been talking about the protocols.¹⁸⁹

Meanwhile, it is necessary to also mention Prime Minister Erdoğan’s attitude towards the protocols, who at every given chance, has persistently expressed that opening of the borders depends on putting an end to the occupation of Azerbaijan territory.

2. The Turkish Grand National Assembly Meeting on the Protocols

The attitudes of political parties in Turkey towards the protocols have been further clarified after the Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu has given information to the Turkish Grand National Assembly on October 21, following the signing of the protocols on October 10, 2009. In the meantime, the attitudes of the political parties have been made public in the meeting of the parties groups.

It should be noted that these meetings are not held for the ratification of the protocols. Before the deliberations to be held for ratification later on, the Foreign Minister has wanted to provide information to the Turkish National Assembly. Political parties’ representatives and several deputies taking advantage of this situation, has expressed their views. These are especially important since they give an indication of the probable attitudes regarding the ratification of the protocols. For this reason, we are summarizing

186 “Demokrat Parti’den Ermeni Açılımına Yarım Destek (Half Support of the Democratic Party to the Armenian Overture)”, *Zaman*, September 16, 2009.

187 “BP: Ermenistan Protokolü de, İnşallah, 1 Mart Tezkeresi gibi Mecliste reddedilir (BP: Hopefully the Armenian Protocol, just as the March 1st Motion, will be rejected by the Parliament)”, *ANKA*, September 17, 2009.

188 “Ermeni İşgali Bitmeden TBMM Onayı Olmayacak (Without the Ending of the Armenian Occupation, the Parliament will not Ratify)”, *Milliyet*, September 16, 2009.

189 “Ermeni İşgali Bitmeden TBMM Onayı Olmayacak (Without the Ending of the Armenian Occupation, the Parliament will not Ratify)”, *Milliyet*, September 16, 2009.

below the main points of the views conveyed in the Parliament meeting of October 21, 2009.

Foreign Minister Davutoğlu taking the floor first, has provided explanations on the main essentials of the Turkish foreign policy and the main principles he is attempting to implement. Expressing that there exists frozen crises in the Caucasus which can create security problems at any time, he has said that this situation is not to the benefit of any country and Davutoğlu has emphasized the necessity in eliminating these problems one by one.

Regarding the protocols, Davutoğlu has stated that Turkey and Armenia has confirmed their mutual recognition of the existing borders between them; consequently, there is no doubt or hesitation that the border is recognized. Moreover, respecting the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of borders also exists in the First Protocol, so the allegations that there is a border conflict between Turkey and Armenia and that there are Armenian land claims from Turkey are not legally valid. This has been confirmed in the protocol which refers to the “relevant treaties of international law” that there are two treaties of that kind; the first being the Treaty of Moscow (March 16, 1921) and the second being the Treaty of Kars (October 13, 1921), on the other hand, both treaties have stated the invalidity of the Treaty of Sevres.

Davutoğlu has said that the treaties of Kars and Moscow are still valid because the Republic of Armenia is the successor of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Two conventions have been concluded in Vienna, first on the Law of Treaties and the second on the Succession of States, confirming this situation. According to paragraph 2/A of article 62 entitled “Fundamental Change of Circumstances” in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, a fundamental change of circumstances may not be invoked as a ground for terminating or withdrawing from a treaty if the treaty establishes a boundary. In other words, if a treaty has defined a boundary between two states, afterwards it is not possible to regard this treaty as invalid.

Examining whether Armenia is the successor of the Soviet Union, the Foreign Minister has expressed that many of the states, including Armenia, emerging from the disintegration of the Soviet Union has gathered in Almaty on December 21, 1991 and have accepted that the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union is binding upon them also. He has also stated that the protocols have identified Turkey’s borders in an absolute manner by the treaties of Kars and Moscow and the guarantee of Nakhchivan’s states are defined by these treaties.

The Foreign Minister has indicated that implementing a dialogue on the historical dimension is foreseen in the Second Protocol with the aim to restore mutual confidence between the two nations, define existing problems and formulate recommendations and that the works of the Commission would be based on an impartial scientific examination of historical records and archives. He has stated that Armenia has acknowledged this “impartial scientific examination”. In other words, Armenia has accepted that this matter

cannot be solved by one-sided views and that Turkey is trying to create a “just memory” without offending any nation.

Davutoğlu has stated that the negotiations aiming to resolve the Azerbaijan-Armenia conflict and ending the occupation of Azerbaijani lands have gained momentum, while the negotiations for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations are continuing. Furthermore, he has indicated that the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia have met five times within the last five months and that this haste has been the result of the momentum created by the Turkish-Armenian normalization process.

Davutoğlu, expressing that the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is as sacred as the territorial integrity of Turkey, has also stated that Turkey will continue their efforts without delay in the resolution of the Karabakh conflict which they have carried out for seventeen years. Moreover, it has also been expressed that normalization in the region will only be possible if it is carried out comprehensively and that normalizing relations of Turkey and Armenia would not be achievable as it would not entail a comprehensive normalization.

The Foreign Minister has finished his speech by stating, “we can assure you that through these means, not only will the Turkey-Armenia relations be established again, but the Turkish and Armenian nations will agree on a mutually “just memory” which will allow them to understand each other better and the way to peace will be paved open which will ensure the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan which we deem sacred. We are aiming to accomplish these all together. We have forwarded the protocols to the Parliament within this perspective. When and how the protocols will be ratified depends only on the Parliament’s assessment.”

Oktay Vural, talking on behalf of the Nationalist Movement Party, has stated that while the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Turkish public opinion has been alienated, David Phillips has provided information to the U.S. House of Representatives on May 14, 2009 regarding the protocols and has even explained the commissions to be established mentioned in the protocols. But, the Turkish Grand National Assembly has been informed of this situation 161 days later. Moreover, he has expressed that the protocols have actually been initialed on April 2, 2009 and that the opening of the Turkey-Armenia border has been revealed during the U.S. President’s speech delivered in the Turkish Parliament on April 6, 2009. Furthermore, it has been conveyed that the internal political consultation process foreseen for the signing and ratification of the protocols is an unprecedented singularity in diplomacy, that amendments would not be made in the protocols following the criticisms received during consultations, and that the internal consultations are in fact a digestion process.

Vural who has put forth that these protocols are not compatible at all with the nation’s interests, demands and decisions of the Turkish National Assembly, has strongly criticized the government by asking which interests have been obtained. After stating that

Armenia considers some of Turkey's territory as part of "Eastern Armenia" and that Mount Ararat is on Armenia's coat of arms, he asked what has changed on these matters. Moreover, he has said that Armenia has made genocide the main item of its foreign policy, has occupied Azerbaijani territory, carried out a massacre in Khojaly, and deprived one million people of their homes, country, and food. He has also criticized the government who acts like a partner of those carrying out this cruelty which would make them a contributor to it, and has asked why the Government is against the oppressed people whose territory has been invaded, rather than standing by them.

Concerning the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension, Vural has stated that unfortunately it is not a historical commission and that while the Turkish National Assembly had proposed a joint historical commission in 2005 comprised by the historians of both countries, with this protocol today, a commission has arisen in which Swiss citizens have been incorporated.

Oktay Vural has finished his speech by stating, "When the protocols are signed and sent to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for ratification, the Nationalist Movement Party will strongly oppose it and will openly display the consequences and commitments of the Prime Minister and his friends towards history and their nation".

Diyarbakir Deputy Selahattin Demirtaş talking on behalf of the Democratic Society Party has expressed that the Armenian issue has not surfaced after Armenia's independence, but that it has existed for a century. Then, he has stated that in the last days of the Ottoman Empire in 1915-1916, the Ittihadists have systematically applied an elimination policy of non-Muslims and minorities in order to Turkify and Muslimize Anatolia and that they have tried to purge them either by threats, intimidation, population exchange, relocation, or massacre. Moreover, he has considered that within the historical conjuncture, measures taken by states in order to secure their internal and external security can be logical, but that none of the security concerns can justify massacres and forced deportation, and that the dimensions of a social disaster being turned into a complicated and controversial issue and choosing to deny and cover the truth as a way to cover the tragedy experienced in that period has been preferred. Demirtaş has also expressed that the attacks against Muslims by Armenian groups have been highly exaggerated, while the suffering experienced by Armenians have been conveyed in books as if they never took place, which has created a hostility, experienced for generations, towards Armenia by the state.

Demirtaş, arguing that concepts like "Armenian offspring" and "Armenian servant" are used as abusive language and insults in Turkey, has also expressed that the Democratic Society Party believes that a solution will be obtained if the Armenian question is examined in light of historical truth put forth by a commission comprised of independent historians, and if both nations, by reaching a compromise, convey their sorrows and apologies regarding the tragedies. Otherwise, pretending that nothing else has taken place beyond deaths during relocation due to bad conditions

would prevent the creation of a sincere and peaceful policy both internally and externally. Moreover, he has expressed the necessity to abolish and sort out the discriminatory language used in books and discriminating practices. He has conveyed that if the Turkish nation is to live together in harmony as Kurds, Turks, Armenians, Laz, Circassians, and Greeks, they should begin with correcting their common peace language and historical books.

In conclusion, Selahattin Demirtaş has expressed that as Democratic Society Party, they fully support the peaceful resolution of Turkey's internal and external conflicts, including relations with Armenia, through dialogue, negotiations and consultations and they hope that with the protocols entering into force, Turkey-Armenia relations will gradually normalize. Moreover, he has stated that especially with the opening of the borders, they believe that an economic revival will take place from Istanbul, to Kars and Iğdır, and with increasing unemployment in those regions, trade volume and working capacities of the locals will increase.

Istanbul Deputy Şükrü Elekdağ talking on behalf of the Republican People's Party, has expressed that the policies of the Government has led to a deep crisis with Azerbaijan and that the crisis is based on two matters. The first is mistrust of Azerbaijan towards Turkey and the second is the ill treatment of the Flag of Azerbaijan during the Turkish-Armenian national football match in Bursa. Elekdağ has stated that despite Prime Minister Erdoğan expressing in the National Assembly of Azerbaijan on May 14, of his assurance that Turkey will not open its border without Armenia withdrawing from the occupied territories and without the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, Azerbaijan has still not trusted Ankara and has been shocked with Turkey and Armenia declaring with a statement on April 22, 2009 that they have agreed on a comprehensive framework and a roadmap for the normalization of relations that satisfies both sides. Elekdağ has also stated that this roadmap has not entailed the Karabakh conflict and the occupied Azeri territories which have caused the Azerbaijani administration to believe that they have been deceived by Turkey; and with the signing of the protocols in Zurich, this feeling of deception has once again been revived. Moreover, he has said that despite the assurance that the protocols will not be sent to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for ratification until the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, the Government has changed its stance, sending them to the Assembly and then escalating the crisis by increasing Azerbaijani doubts and apprehensions. Secondly, Elekdağ has expressed that banning Azerbaijani flags during the Turkey-Armenia national football match in Bursa has deeply offended our Azeri brothers and that the assertion of this decision being the result of Armenia's application to FIFA could not be used as an excuse. Furthermore, he has stated that although what happened in Bursa was not acceptable, Azerbaijan removing the Turkish flags from the memorial to Turkish soldiers who died a martyr while fighting for Baku's liberation was equally wrong. As a result of these mistakes, a highly pessimistic atmosphere has developed and the definition of "one nation two states" used by deceased Haydar Aliyev has been endangered.

Elekdağ who has argued that the signing of the protocols carries serious risks for Turkish national interests, has stated that the Treaty of Kars not being mentioned in the protocols has led to a serious loss of legal ground for Turkey since the first action Armenia took after gaining independence was to declare that they did not recognize the Kars Treaty. Moreover, he has indicated that Armenia has not recognized Turkey's territorial integrity since they have referred to Eastern Anatolia as "West Armenia" in the Declaration of Independence adopted by the Armenian Parliament, that this Declaration has been referred to in the preamble of the Armenian Constitution, and that Mount Ararat as a national symbol is on the coat of arms of Armenia. Also, Elekdağ has stated that these are the proofs of the deep and indelible features of Armenia's aspirations towards Turkey. On the other hand, not indicating the validity of the Treaty of Kars in the protocols has led to a false conclusion that Turkey has renounced their rights and commitments on Nakhchivan.

Elekdağ has stated that the main point poisoning Turkish relations with Armenia has been Armenia's obsession with the genocide and that unless the two sides look at their bitter histories from a mutual perspective, this blood feud will continue and pass on from generation to generation. For this reason, although to establish a historical commission is very important, its terms of reference is extremely vague and as it is not clearly stated that the main task of the sub-commission is to shed light on the events of 1915, Armenian authorities have already started to say that the genocide issue will not be discussed in the historical commission.

Last of all, Elekdağ has referred to Atlantic Council senior fellow David Phillips's speech delivered in the U.S. Congress that "the Turkey-Armenia negotiations taking place under the mediation of Switzerland has actually been carried out with the supervision and contribution of the U.S.". With this reference, Elekdağ has ended his speech by stating that surrendering national interests to the guidance of another state (U.S.) will create these kinds of results.

Ömer Çelik, talking in the name of the Justice and Development Party and responding to those speaking before him, has expressed that some statements argue that the protocols securing the Turkish borders with Armenia has some disadvantages, but in fact Turkey, as far as its legal and political gains are concerned, has not even taken a millimeter of a step back, and that on the contrary, has gained a strategic and psychological superiority by establishing peace in the Caucasus. On why the treaties of Kars and Moscow have not been mentioned, Ömer Çelik has said that in the First Protocol the mutual recognition of the existing border between Turkey and Armenia as defined by the relevant treaties of international law has been confirmed, and that these relevant treaties are those of Kars and Moscow.

Ömer Çelik has stated, according to some criticisms, that there are ambiguities in the protocols and that speculations exist on the door to the Treaty of Sevres being opened, and has also expressed that these are not valid, that Turkey does not recognize the Treaty

of Sevres, that this treaty has not established the border (delimitation of the Turkish-Armenian border has been left to U.S. President Wilson) and that all these became invalid with the 1921 Treaty of Kars. It has also been stated that after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, several successor states, including Armenia, have issued a declaration in Alma-Ata conveying their recognition of all the treaties signed by the Soviet Union; consequently nothing exists in the protocols which could put the treaties of Kars and Moscow into danger.

Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, in response to the criticisms that talks with Armenia have been conducted under the supervision of the U.S., has said that “since the establishment of the Turkish Parliament on April 23, 1920, all the governments of the Republic of Turkey have taken their decision in Ankara, have implemented these decisions in the name of the nation, and have not taken orders from anywhere”.

Secondly, Davutoğlu has referred to the flag incident with Azerbaijan by stating that Turkish martyrs’ graveyard and Turkish flags in the Martyrdom Mosque are entrusted to the glory and honor of the Azeri nation. The Flag of Azerbaijan is also our glory, our honor.

Last of all, Davutoğlu has expressed that their main goal is to “create a permanent stability and prosperity in the Caucasus, to accelerate the process of recovering the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, and to recreate and build an order in which Turkey would be the locomotive within the whole of their neighborhood”.

If we consider the speeches mentioned above and other speeches of some of the deputies in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, one can conclude that the overall views towards the protocols are negative. The main criticisms to the protocols can be summarized under the following main headings.

- Providing information about the content of the protocols to the U.S. Senate before the protocols have been debated in the Turkish Grand National Assembly
- The protocols not creating any change within the attitude of Armenia towards Turkey and Azerbaijan (no change in the term of “West Armenia” in the Declaration of Independence and Mount Ararat being the symbol of the Coat of Arms of Armenia, the continuing occupation of Azeri territory and Azerbaijani refugees)
- The protocols being prepared in Switzerland which has accepted the “genocide”
- The protocols causing a deep crisis between Turkey and Azerbaijan
- No mention of the Treaty of Kars in the protocols causing a loss of legal ground for Turkey, creating the false conclusion that Turkey has renounced its rights and commitments over Nakhchivan

- Terms of reference of the tasks of the Sub-Commission on the Historical Dimension being very ambiguous, not mentioning that the main task of the Sub-commission is to shed light on the 1915 events, historians being incorporated into the Historical Commission apart from those of the two countries

It can be seen that these types of negative approaches will also continue in the future, but taking into consideration the percentage of the votes of the opposition parties, the protocols will be ratified without much difficulty by the Assembly.

The main problem concerning the protocols is when they will be ratified. For ratification, it is understood that the Turkish Government expects at least some positive developments in the Karabakh conflict. Although the Armenian and Azerbaijani head of states and foreign ministers carry out talks frequently, it is believed that a solution is not around the corner.

VIII – SIGNING OF THE PROTOCOLS

The protocols have been signed on October 10, 2009 in the city of Zurich in Switzerland. During the ceremony, U.S. Foreign Minister Hillary Clinton, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, Foreign Minister of France Bernard Kouchner, Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey representing the host and mediating state Switzerland, Slovene Foreign Minister and Chairman of the EU Committee of Ministers Samuel Zbogar, and EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana have been present during the signature. It is not common for these big power representatives and international organizations like the EU and NATO to attend a ceremony of signature by taking time from their busy agendas and travelling thousands of kilometers. This act displays the importance bestowed upon the reconciliation of Turkey-Armenia. The signing of the protocols not only shows that the hostility existing between the two states and nations for centuries has ended, but is also a process for assuring that security and cooperation has started in South Caucasus.

Although all preparations for the ceremony had been made, the guests had taken their seats and the televisions had started their live broadcasts, the signing had not taken place on the scheduled time. No formal statement had been made to explain this awkward situation, but news had been received that Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan had refrained from signing the protocols because he did not agree with some statements in Davutoğlu's draft speech. According to this news, Hillary Clinton had personally strived to find a compromise between the two sides. On the other hand, Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov has also recommended Nalbandyan to sign the protocols. In conclusion, the foreign ministers of Turkey and Armenia have accepted not to deliver a speech and the protocols have been signed with a 3,5 hour delay. Nalbandyan's frowning face during the signing has been published in all newspapers and TV channels around the world.

According to the press, Nalbandyan has opposed the statements in Davutoğlu's speech which have indirectly referred to the Karabakh conflict.¹⁹⁰ However, upon examination of the English text of Davutoğlu's speech,¹⁹¹ it can be seen that not only does a disturbing expression not exist, but the word Karabakh is not even mentioned. It is our belief that Nalbandyan refraining from signing the protocols has not been based on his disapproval of Davutoğlu's speech, but is because of his concern that the protocols would create harmful results for him personally; causing him to try to give the impression that he was signing the protocols unwillingly. The role of Dashnaks carrying out a campaign against Nalbandyan and urging him insistently to resign has been influential in creating this situation.

Two days after the signing of the protocols, President Sarkisian has attended the Turkey-Armenia national football match held in Bursa. This visit has reinforced the positive atmosphere created by the signing of the protocols.

Despite the commitments made on all levels, starting with those of President Gül and Prime Minister Erdoğan, Azerbaijan has not been satisfied with the signing of the protocols and tension has arisen between the two states which has not been openly expressed, but the existence has been felt. Based on the rules of FIFA, banning of the Azerbaijan flags from entering the stadium during the national match in Bursa, confiscating the flags taken into the stadium, and later finding that some of these flags have been negligently thrown somewhere has been exaggerated within the Azerbaijan public opinion where emotion has already reached its peak. As a result of this, the flags at the Turkish Martyrdom Mosque in Baku were removed, which has created highly negative reactions in Turkey. Although the Turkish flag has been hung back up again at the Martyrdom Mosque following Foreign Minister Davutoğlu's visit to Baku, the discussions for increasing the prices of Azerbaijani natural gas sold to Turkey has caused resentment and distrust among the public opinion of both states towards each other. A Turkish newspaper has claimed that the concept of "one nation, two states" has crumbled.¹⁹²

During his visit of the U.S. at the end of December, Prime Minister Erdoğan has persistently made statements linking the ratification of the protocols to the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, which has caused trust towards Turkey to be reborn in Azerbaijan. However, this time concerns have developed in Armenia and President Sarkisian has stated that if Turkey delays the ratification, they will use the opportunities provided by international law,¹⁹³ implying that they might denounce the protocols. In effect, this has alarmed the U.S., causing Foreign Minister Hillary Clinton to phone President Sarkisian and express that U.S. is in favor of a speedy normalization of relations between Armenia

190 "İşte Ermenilerin Kabul Etmediği Davutoğlu'nun Konuşması (Davutoğlu's Speech the Armenians Rejected)", *Zaman*, October 12, 2009.

191 "Address by Turkish FM Davutoğlu on Signing the Protocols Between Turkey and Armenia", *TurkshNY.com*, October 19, 2009.

192 *Hürriyet*, October 19, 2009.

193 "Sargsyan About Obama Efforts", *Largir*, December 10, 2009.

and Turkey without preconditions (without linking it to the resolution of the Karabakh conflict).¹⁹⁴

IX – CONCLUSION

Turkey is among the first countries to recognize the independence of Armenia in 1991. This gesture has arisen due to the desire to end the long-lasting hostility and inaugurate a period of friendship and cooperation between the two states and nations. For this period to begin, Turkey has deemed necessary that the problems between the two states should be solved first.

There were two main disputes between Turkey and Armenia. The first was Armenia's reluctance to recognize the existing border with Turkey and the second was reaching a kind of understanding on the genocide allegations which have poisoned relations. Armenia has not been ready to solve either problem, Turkey has not established diplomatic relations with this country whose independence has been recognized. Later, a reaction to the Armenian occupation of Azeri provinces outside of Karabakh has developed and Turkey has closed its border with Armenia in 1993, causing a third problem to arise which requires a solution.

From 1992 onwards, an open and sometimes confidential negotiation process which has sometimes been interrupted, only to start again, has taken place for the normalization of relations. This process has been conducted by high level diplomats and sometimes by foreign ministers. In response to Turkey's proposals for resolving first these three disputes in order to normalize relations, Armenia, taking an opposite stance, has proposed that existing problems be solved only after establishing diplomatic relations and opening the border.

Seventeen years later, due to its isolation, Armenia has shown a change in its policy. With the protocols, Armenia has recognized the borders between the two states and although unwillingly and with many hesitations, has consented examining historical questions by a sub-commission. But, it has rejected Turkey's participation to the negotiations on Karabakh, putting forth that the Minsk Group handles this issue. Turkey has signed the protocols which has not referred to the Karabakh conflict, but has linked the ratification of the protocols to the resolution of the Karabakh conflict. In this way, Karabakh has become an issue of Turkey-Armenia relations.

From now on, what kinds of developments can be expected?

We must first explain what is meant by the Karabakh conflict. This conflict can be separated into two sections, consisting of the occupation of Karabakh and the throwing

194 "Clinton Phones Sarkisian After Armenian Warning To Turkey", *RFE/RL*, December 11, 2009.

out of Azerbaijanis from this region along with the occupation of seven Armenian provinces surrounding the Karabakh region and the fleeing of Azerbaijanis from these provinces to Azerbaijan. The definite resolution of the Karabakh conflict will perhaps take tens of years. It is understood that the continuing negotiations held with the mediation of the Minsk Group focuses mostly on the evacuation of Armenian forces from these seven provinces. In case the two sides reach an agreement for these provinces, it can be said that Turkey will find this satisfying enough to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia and open the borders. It is also clear that Azerbaijan will not oppose this either.

However, the problem here is that the timeframe for reaching an agreement on these seven provinces is not known. The Press Release on the 31st of August 2009 had stated that Turkey and Armenia agreed upon the “timely progression of the ratification” of the protocols, in other words, the sides have agreed upon a reasonable timeframe for ratification. Although, what is meant with this reasonable timeframe can be debated, it is likely that a short period is meant. We believe that this might entail a period of about six months. This corresponds to April of 2010. It is also important to keep in mind that each year, the Diaspora activities against Turkey reach its peak in April.

On the other hand, it is without doubt that the Diaspora, who has been highly disappointed but never has lost hope, will take every action possible in preventing the implementation of the protocols.

At the top of these actions comes the adoption of resolutions in recognizing the Armenian genocide within the U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Senate or both. For the time being, it seems impossible for these resolutions to be adopted unless the U.S. Government supports them. However, although the U.S. Government has not yet lit a green light in order to warn Turkey, it would not prevent the number of cosponsors increasing. The negative scenario here is the White House losing their control and the adoption of the resolutions. However, in that case, it is difficult to expect Turkey to ratify the protocols. Not only will the government not ask for ratification, but almost all of the deputies will also refrain from voting for the protocols.

The European Union is also in favor of the ratification of the protocols as soon as possible. The delay of the ratification can be connected to Turkey’s membership process.

Concerning France, the only mean this country has is the draft law pending in the Senate which foresees the punishment of those denying the Armenian genocide. However, this draft has not been put on the agenda of the Senate not because of being against Turkey, but for being viewed by much respected historians and other scholars as infringing freedom of expression.

In short, non-ratification of the protocols for quite a long time will create reactions and pressures inflicted upon Turkey. Therefore, it is highly important to resolve the Karabakh

conflict as soon as possible. But, Turkey has no significant leverage on this issue. The decision depends on Armenia and Azerbaijan. If Armenia wants the swift opening of the borders, they can be more flexible towards the Karabakh issue. However, since the protocols have caused Sarkisian to be rather fragile, most probably he will not want to make concessions over the Karabakh issue and become the target of the criticisms in Armenia and Diaspora. It is even possible that he will delay the resolution of the Karabakh conflict. However, the Armenian government must follow a policy that will not endanger the protocols, since if the protocols are not ratified and the border not opened, Sarkisian's position will be further weakened and most likely he will not be elected as President again.

Concerning Azerbaijan, Armenian forces retreating from the seven provinces and the refugees returning to their homes will be welcomed, and although the accusations that no action has been taken to liberate the Karabakh region continue, President Aliyev's position will be strengthened. On the other hand, if the protocols are not ratified and the Turkish border not opened, Armenia will see no necessity in reaching a compromise over the Karabakh conflict. The only "reward" for Armenia to evacuate the seven provinces is actually the opening of the Turkish border.

Even if the protocols are ratified and put into force, it can be said that some problems will still exist and the terms of reference of the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension will be the most important of them. Turkey expects that this Sub-commission will examine first of all Armenian genocide allegations. Armenia does not consider that this is the task of the sub-commission, which should discuss the "results of the genocide". In other words, matters related to the Armenian properties in Turkey before 1915, compensation to be given to the "genocide victims' descendants", and the maintenance and renovation of Armenian monuments in Turkey, but these matters are not mentioned in the protocols and the questions of properties and compensation have already been resolved with the Treaty of Lausanne. If Armenians completely reject the discussion of genocide allegations and insist on property and compensation claims, the question of what benefits the protocols bring can be brought forward in Turkey, which can affect the ratification process.

In conclusion, although the signing of the protocols has been a great leap in the normalization of relations between the two countries, it can be seen that even if the protocols are ratified, some important issues still exist which could negatively affect the creation of the much desired peace and cooperation between the two sides.

As a matter of fact, even before proceeding to the ratification, a new conflict arose between the countries concerning the protocols.

The Armenian Government, according to the existing procedure, has sent the protocols to the Constitutional Court for examination. The court in its decision on 12 of January 2010 had stated that the protocols were in conformity to the Armenian Constitution, but

linked this to the protocols being consistent with legal positions set forth in this Decision. In an usual way, many of the provisions of the protocols are being reviewed and several interpretations are being put forth in the Court's Decision. These interpretations are binding; in other words, they cannot be altered and have to be implemented as it is. But some of these interpretations are contradictory to both the content and the spirit of the protocols and even changes the meaning of some of its articles.

The Court Decision by referring to the Declaration of Independence of Armenia which is mentioned in the Preamble of Armenia's Constitution had stated that the provisions of the protocols cannot be interpreted or applied in a way that would contradict paragraph 11 of this Declaration. Paragraph 11 states the following: The Republic of Armenia stands in support of the task of achieving international recognition of the 1915 Armenian genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia.

From this paragraph, we can draw two conclusions.

The first is that Armenia must make every effort to achieve recognition of the genocide allegations. Since genocide is accepted as a reality, it will not be possible to discuss whether the 1915 events are genocide or not in the Sub-commission on the Historical Dimension mentioned in the Second Protocol.

The second conclusion is that the statement of Western Armenia mentioned in paragraph 11 actually refers to Eastern Anatolia. By putting forth that some of the Turkish lands are in fact Armenian, Armenia indirectly claims a right over these territories. In other words, again indirectly, it does not recognize the border between the two countries. However, in the First Protocol, the recognition of the existing border between the two countries is confirmed. In the Court's Decision, this recognition is connected to safeguarding the normal operations of border checkpoints. Thus, the border has been recognized only to carry out checkpoint operations. This recognition is an operational one and does not mean that Turkey's territorial integrity is recognized. In other words, by asserting that they have historical rights, in the future, Armenia will be able to demand territory from Turkey just at a time when they see suitable.

On the other hand, it is stated in the decision of the Court that the commitments assumed within the framework of the protocols have a bilateral content exclusively and they cannot relate under any pretext with some third party. This way, it has been expressed that the protocols will not in any way be related to the Karabakh conflict.

In fact, in the protocols, there is no direct reference to Karabakh. However, the statements in the Second Protocol regarding the cooperation for enhancing regional stability and security of the region and commitment of the two countries to the peaceful settlement of regional and international disputes and conflicts on the basis of norms and principles of international law are indirectly linked to Karabakh. But, the Constitutional Court has not touched upon these subjects at all.

According to the decision of the Constitutional Court, two main items exist in the protocols which should be implemented. The first is the opening of the borders; the second is the establishment of diplomatic relations. Since 1992, Armenian governments raised these points against Turkey. However, the Turkish governments have linked the implementation of these two items to the recognition of the existing border (or recognition of each other's territorial integrity) and the scholarly examination of the genocide allegations. About 17 years later, Armenia has accepted the Turkish demands and has signed the protocols. But now, the decision of the Constitutional Court will prevent Armenia to recognize the territorial integrity of Turkey and the examination of the genocide allegations. Consequently the protocols could not be considered anymore as an important instrument for the normalization of relations of the two countries.

Prime Minister Erdoğan has reacted to the decision of the Armenian Constitutional Court by stating that the process of normalization will be challenged unless this mistake is corrected.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued the following press release.¹⁹⁶

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Armenia has declared its decision of constitutional conformity on the Protocols between Turkey and Armenia signed on 10 October 2009 with a short statement on 12 January 2010. The Constitutional Court has recently published its grounds of decision. It has been observed that this decision contains preconditions and restrictive provisions which impair the letter and spirit of the Protocols.

The said decision undermines the very reason for negotiating these Protocols as well as their fundamental objective. This approach cannot be accepted on our part.

Turkey, in line with its accustomed allegiance to its international commitments, maintains its adherence to the primary provisions of these Protocols.

In summary, the Turkish Government is of the opinion that the Court's Decision impairing the letter and the spirit of the protocols and undermining their fundamental objectives cannot be accepted by the Turkish Government. In other words they would not be ratified unless a kind of correction is made.

Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandyan dismissed the Turkish point of view as nonsense and said that the efforts to normalize their relations with Turkey could soon end in failure if Turkey is not ready to ratify the protocols and continues to put forth preconditions, make some linkages and obstructs progress of the normalization process.¹⁹⁷ One can conclude that the Armenian Constitutional Court Decision has caused a retreat to the very beginning of the two countries very long and difficult normalization process, in other words a retreat to point zero.

195 Reuters, January 20, 2010.

196 *The Armenian Weekly*, January 2010.

197 News.am/tr, January 20, 2010.

REPLY TO L'HISTOIRE

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Abstract: *François Georgeon's interview with Fuat Dündar, published in the April 2009 issue of L'Histoire, has been criticized with this article standing as a reply and being written by Prof. Dr. Norman Stone and Maxime Gauin. In the article, while the lies laid by omission and the inaccuracies of Dündar are being mentioned, it is also expressed that data lacking accuracy and being proven as erroneous a long time ago has been used to support his thesis. As a result of the evaluations made within this framework, it has been concluded that Dündar's method is rather polemical than scientific.*

Key Words: *Armenian Genocide, Fuat Dündar, Norman Stone, Maxime Gauin*

Introduction

In France, among the publications not appealing to the scholarly circles, but to a large audience, L'Histoire¹ is the most known and appreciated magazine in the historical field. It cannot be expected that a "popular" Magazine will examine historical events in depth. However, since it is highly sold, it affects the public opinion. Therefore, it is important for this kind of Magazine to publish accurate or at least unbiased information.

In the 341st issue of L'Histoire published last April, "Armenian Genocide" was the main subject. As known, April is the month in which most of the anti-Turkish and anti-Turkey demonstrations take place relating to the Armenian genocide allegations and Armenian demands from Turkey. Since L'Histoire covered this topic in April, it inevitably served Armenian aspirations. However, in 1990's, this Magazine had not refrained from publishing French scholar Gilles Weinstein's views which rejected the Armenian genocide allegations. In summary, on the Armenian Genocide issue, the Magazine L'Histoire has changed its attitude from being neutral to being biased.

1 "L'Histoire" means history in French

In this issue of the Magazine, a long interview with Fuat Dündar and a somewhat short one with Ahmet İnsel took place. The fact that no Armenians being interviewed seems like an effort to be neutral; having in mind the case of Taner Akçam, it is obvious that in order to be more convincing, a policy to get Turks to state Armenian theses was adopted by the Magazine.

Many photographs claimed to be taken during the Armenian resettlement and showing some ghastly images were also published in the Magazine. To what extent the truth has been reflected with these photographs which have been used before, has been a matter of discussion for a long time. We can at least argue that looking at the photographs, at first sight it is difficult to distinguish whether the people in the photographs are Armenians or Muslims.

On the other hand, all the sources in the given bibliography support the Armenian genocide allegations. However, in order to show the opposing views, it would have been fairer to at least mention one Turkish source like Kamuran Gürün's book² which was also published in French.

Apart from the interview, concrete inaccuracies exist in the article. At the top comes the assertion that 2.7 million of the total 6.5 million Armenians in the world live within Diaspora. However, in the same article, numbers have been given relating to the Armenian population in other countries apart from Armenia. Including Turkey, the total of Diaspora population sums up to 5.960.000.

In conclusion, it seems that some Armenian circles have placed an order to L'Histoire to publish an article on the Armenian genocide allegations in April. For this purpose, French historian François Georgeon has been contacted who has then collaborated with Fuat Dündar and Ahmet İnsel. However, since none of them is an expert on the Armenian Question³ and visibly are not concerned with being impartial, the published article is far from being satisfying.

Well known historian Norman Stone and French doctoral student Maxime Gauin has sent a detailed answer to L'Histoire concerning the inaccuracies of the interview made with Fuat Dündar. The Magazine L'Histoire did not publish this answer and not even mentioned it in its following issues.

Below, we are publishing the English translation of Professor Norman Stone and Maxime Gauin's answer originally written in French.

2 Le Dossier arménien, (Triangle, Paris 1983, ISBN 2.85809 1315)

3 François Georgeon and Fuat Dündar are historians. However they did not publish a book nor an article on the Armenian Question. Ahmet Insel is an economist.

To the Magazine L'Histoire

18 April 2009

Madam(s), Sir(s),

François Georgeon's interview with Fuat Dündar published in the April 2009 issue of L'Histoire, is an uncommon source of astonishment.

By growing level of seriousness, and without any pretensions:

1) We should shortly make mention of the lies that are laid by omission and the inaccuracies that have been carried out by Mr. Dündar, which make us doubt the author's general capacity to deal with such a controversial issue.

Mr. Dündar makes reference to the Balkan wars without mentioning once the ethnical purification encountered by the Muslims and Jews living in the regions conquered by Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. Studies have been widely carried out in this field and certain ones, such as Justin McCarthy's study, have been used as a reference. This study clearly shows that the Balkan wars⁴ have caused the death of 1,450,000 Ottoman Muslims, mostly killed by the civilian victims of the armed Christian forces.

Mr. Dündar affirms that "the Young Turks had not developed any hostilities towards the Armenians" prior to World War I. It is the least he could say. In 1914, there prevailed 12 Armenian deputies in the Ottoman Parliament. In fact, the Ottoman Ambassador to London was an Armenian. The Young Turks had also placed an Armenian at the head of the town council of Van, Bedros Kapamaciyan. Kapamaciyan was assassinated with the order of the local Dashnak committee on December 1912.⁵ On December 20, 1913, the Istanbul British Ambassador writes that the Armenians had faith in Talat Pasha, "but feared that the ministers of Interior whom would later be appointed would not be at their disposal as the current one was."⁶ Many more examples exist in this context.

"The Special Organization" was founded before Young Turks were in power –therefore not in 1914, but between 1903 and 1907. –The Organization was named as Teşkilat-i Mahsusa in 1913.⁷

4 Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile. The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims*, Princeton, Darwin Press, 1995, pp. 135–164 and 339. See also: Université d'Athènes, *The Crimes of Bulgaria in Macedonia*, Washington, 1914; DACB, *Les Atrocités des coalisés balkaniques*, Istanbul, 1913, no. 1, 2 and 3; Commity of Ottoman National Defence, *Les Atrocités des Bulgares en Thrace*, Istanbul, 1913; and *Les Atrocités des Grecs en Macédoine*, Istanbul, 1914.

5 Hasan Oktay, « On the Assassination of Van Mayor Kapamaciyan by the Tashnak Committee », *Review of Armenian Studies*, I-1, 2002.

6 Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 2005, p. 65.

7 Philip H. Stoddard, *The Ottoman Government and the Arabs, 1911 to 1918: A Preliminary Study of the Teşkilat-i Mahsusa*, Princeton University, 1963, pp. 1–2, 52 and sqq.

2) The amazement continues to prevail with every assertion, as is the case with the statement that “Bulgarians who were in majority in Thrace were chased away”. In fact, Muslims were in majority in Thrace for a very long time, as well as in regions conquered by Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. Muslims and Jews residing in these regions were soon sent away until the big powers asked for the massacres to end.⁸

Mr. Dündar affirms that “The Young Turks admired Germany, its civilization and its military power”. The Young Turks, except Enver Pasha, hated Guillaume the 2nd’s Germany which was an ally of Abdülhamid’s regime. They preferred French republicanism or British liberalism. In 1913-1914, Cemal Pasha tried to reconcile with France and the United Kingdom, but was unsuccessful as these powers preferred the Russian alliance.⁹

Experts of Ottoman history do not agree with Dündar who defines the nationalism of the Young Turks as aggressive. In this context, Justin McCarthy observes that “Nationalists within the CUP were always constrained by the need not to alienate non-Turks.”¹⁰

Mr. Dündar adds that the Young Turks aspired to gain land through the war. In fact, they wanted above all, the survival of Empire, and a less strong pressure of great power on the Empire.¹¹ The Triple-Entente, under the leadership of Russia, had clearly stated its desire for the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire without mentioning the Turkish people.

Mr. Dündar refers to Bryce and Toynbee’s Blue Book, without making reference to the significant hesitations pertaining to this book. James Morgan Read, who has a favorable attitude towards the Armenian point of view, concludes that the general impression he attained after having seen the enormous allegations is that the book consists of “hearsay evidence.”¹²

In fact, one of the principle sources which are missionary reports, need to be handled with great care due to the propensity of their authors’ for tendentious interpretation and

8 Justin McCarthy, « The Population of Ottoman Europe, Before and After the Fall of the Ottoman Empire », in Heath Lowry and Ralph S. Hattox (dir.), *Proceedings of the Third Conference on the Social and Economic History of Turkey*, İstanbul, Isis, 1990, pp. 275-298 ; See also: *Mémoire sur la Thrace adressé à la Société des nations par le comité turc de Thrace*, İstanbul, Ahmed Ihsan & Cie Publishing, 1922 and note 1.

9 Stanford J. Shaw et Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, New York-London-Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, volume II, édition 2, 1978, p. 310; Erik J. Zürcher, *Turke. A Modern History*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2004, p. 111.

10 Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire*, London – New York, Hodder Arnold/ Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 76. See also: Feroz Ahmad, « Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1914 », in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the Functioning of a Plural Society*, New York, Holmes and Meier, 1982, pp. 401-434.

11 David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, New York, Owl Books, 2001, pp. 45–50; Erik J. Zürcher, op. cit., p. 112.

12 James Morgan Read, *Atrocity Propaganda. 1914–1919*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press/Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 221. See also: Horace C. Peterson, *Propaganda for War. The Campaign Against American Neutrality (1914–1917)*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, pp. 53–59, on methods of disinformation employed by the team Bryce.

their dependence on Armenian dogmas to understand the Ottomans and to be understood by them.¹³ After 1919, Toynbee himself qualified the book as a “work of war propaganda”,¹⁴ and in other books of his, made many remarks in contradiction with assertions made in the Blue Book.¹⁵

Concerning Bryce, the British officer Cuthbert F. Dixon-Johnson observed that : “Lord Bryce and ‘friends of Armenia’ collected funds to dress and equip Armenian volunteers on April 2, 1915, which is almost a month before the ‘massacre’ allegations, whom were so-committed without any need for provocations.”¹⁶

The magnanimity of Mr. Dündar for the sociologist Taner Akçam is surprising, considering that he makes reference to Mr. Akçam without mentioning his rather frequent and serious violations of scientific ethic,¹⁷ his past in the “Devrimci Sol” an extreme left wing terrorist organization responsible for thousands of assassinations,¹⁸ and the funding of Mr. Akçam’s post by Armenian associations mostly known for their political activism rather than their interest for knowledge.¹⁹

3) Just so, Mr Dündar holds a high selection of proofs.

a) The trial at the martial court for crimes against Armenian deportees initiated by Talat and Cemal is not even mentioned once. Yet, during the year 1915, more than 20 Muslims were brought in front of a martial court under the orders of Talat, and were sentenced to death and hung for killing Armenians: Firstly in January and later in February of 1916, Cemal decided to hang other criminals.²⁰ From March 12 to May 22, 1916, 1,673 Muslims were judged by the martial court on the same grounds. After a poll carried out by the commissions established by Talat, 67 were sentenced to death and hung, 524 were condemned to prison for life, and 68 were condemned with other punishments such as bounden duties.²¹ These figures only represent a certain part of the repression as the polls date to the end of the First World War, 1918.²²

13 Edward Mead Earle, « American Missions in the Near East », *Foreign Affairs*, VII-1929, p. 417; Guenter Lewy, op. cit., p. 144.

14 Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, London-Bombay-Sydney, Constable & Co 1922, p. 50.

15 For example : Arnold J. Toynbee, op. cit., pp. VII-VIII; Robert F. Zeidner, *The Tricolor over the Taurus*, New York, Peter Lang, 1996, p.112; Stanford J. Shaw, *From Empire to Republic. The Turkish War of National Liberation*, Ankara, TTK, 2000, Volume I, p. 62, no. 21.

16 Cuthbert F. Dixon-Johnson, *The Armenians*, London-Northgate, Toulmin and Sons, 1916, p. 47.

17 Erman Şahin, « A Scrutiny of Akçam’s version of History and the Armenian Genocide », *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, XXVIII-2, August 2008, pp. 303-319; See also: ATAA, « Review of ‘A Shameful Act’ », April 2007.

18 Andrew Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror. Forty Years We Fought Alone*, London, Routledge, 2005.

19 Ergun Kirkhlovali, “It is Official: Taner Akçam is Paid by the Armenians”. Date obtained: 3 August 2009, <http://www.turk-la.com/index.php?c=1&mid=1284&yid=4>

20 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 111 and 113.

21 Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *The Story of 1915. What Happened to the Ottoman Armenians?*, Ankara , TTK, 2008, pp. 82-87.

22 Kâmurân Gürün, *Le Dossier arménien*, Geneva, Triangle, 1984, p. 258.

They do not include the forced changes, the downgrading carried out against the public officials who have exceeded the orders of deportation, nor those who oversaw their subordinates committing crimes.²³

Some of these documents concerning the trials were published;²⁴ the rest can be accessed from the national Turkish archives in Ankara.²⁵

- b) Mr. Dündar argues that Cemal Pasha “obtained the permission to relocate only 2 % [...] of the Armenian population in Aleppo”. Cemal’s policy in favor of the displaced Armenians, especially in the vilayet of Damas, is forgotten. Here’s a short insight:

“In contrast, a survivor whose family was allowed to stay in Aleppo refers to Djemal Pasha as “a great man,” who was “responsible for the saving of half-a-million Armenians in the part of Turkey subject to his control.” [...]

Djemal Pasha's efforts to this effect and other improvements in the lot of the deported Armenians achieved by the viceroy are confirmed by the German ambassador, Paul von Wolff-Metternich, who calls Djemal one of those Turks ashamed at the way in which the deportations had been carried out. Djemal Pasha's interventions on behalf of the Armenians are said to have earned him the nickname “Pasha of Armenia”. [...]

Some five months later, Ranzi noted a change for the better in the situation of the exiles. While previously the deportees had been sent to the southern thinly populated areas east of Jordan, they now also were being sent to more populated parts of the province, and some had even been kept in Damascus [Damas]. Many exiles had found work in agriculture. The subsistence allowance paid to them had been raised. Credit for these improvements, the consul wrote, was generally given to Djemal Pasha. In a declaration publicized in all the newspapers, Djemal Pasha had recently stated that the removal of the Armenians was necessary for reasons of state but that the life, honor, and property of the relocated were under the protection of the government. The fulfillment of this obligation was a matter of moral integrity. [...]

In March 1916, Djemal Pasha organized an aid program for the Armenians that was headed by Hussein Kasim Bey, the former vali of Saloniki and Aleppo. Loytved Hardegg, the German consul in Damascus, reported on May 30 that Kasim Bey had provided bread, had established a delousing and bathing facility together with a hospital and had found work for many of the exiles.

23 A few examples in Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 177, 181 and 186.

24 See: Hikmet Özdemir and Yusuf Sarıay, *Turkish Armenian Conflict Documents*, Ankara, TBMM, 2007, p. 261.

25 Complete examples of these files can be found in Stanford J. Shaw, op. cit., Volume I, p. 59, no:14.

*“It is estimated that 20,000 out of 132,000 Armenians relocated in southern Syria died, a sadly large number but a far better ratio than among the deportees to the eastern part of the province.”*²⁶

Hilmar Kaiser, a pro-Armenian, verifies the evidence stating that, “Let me say something more radical: The one person who saved most Armenians in World War I was nobody other than Cemal Pasha.”²⁷

At the same time, Mr. Dündar conceives that the deportations were not executed in the same manner everywhere, but he does not refer to necessary documents in this regard, such as the following:

*“The contingent assigned to protect Armenian convoys against attacks by Kurdish gangs was attacked by Kurdish gangs from all four directions on their way through the Kop mountains on 28.4.331 (11 July 1915). [...] After a two-hour armed clash, two of the gang was killed, the rest escaped. The contingent suffered no casualties and the Armenian convoy was saved, according to the information from Bayburt post.”*²⁸

These kinds of protectorate acts, such as Cemal’s policies, were only a strict application of the decrees of forced relocation and complementary bills.²⁹

c) Mr. Dündar’s remark concerning the Armenian revolts and massacres committed by Armenian guerillas is more or less elliptic.

Zeytun was not only “a gathering for young Armenians escaping their military services”, but was also a place where “some armed confrontations” occurred. First of all, it is a city where rebellions had become a tradition. Until 1852, Zeytun has seen, mainly for fiscal reasons, 57 Armenian insurrections in 1780, 1782, 1808, 1819, 1829, 1835 and 1852; ten years later, this city has witnessed the rebellion that has founded Armenian nationalism;³⁰ then two other rebellions in 1878 and 1896. Two other insurrections, in August and December 1914 occurred in Zeytun, which were put down by the Ottoman army.³¹ In February 1915, just before the relocation, the Armenian revolutionaries of Zeytun sent a delegation to Moscow to demand arms and munitions from the Triple-Entente, which had 15,000 men under its disposal.³²

26 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 196–198 and 218–220.

27 « Historian Challenges Politically Motivated 1915 Arguments », *Today's Zaman*, 22 March 2009.

28 *Documents on Ottoman Armenians*, Ankara, Volume II, 1983, p. 97.

29 *Documents on Ottoman Armenians*, op. cit., pp. 91 and 103; Şinasi Orel and Sürreya Yuca, *Les «Télégrammes» de Talât Pacha. Fait historique ou fiction?*, Paris, Triangle, 1986, pp. 115 and sqq.

30 Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1967 (1st edition, 1963), pp. 67–68; Kâmurân Gürün, op. cit., pp. 189–190.

31 Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Facts on the Relocation of Armenians*, Ankara, TTK, pp. 47–52.

32 Arthur Beylerian (ed.), *Les Grandes Puissances, l'Empire ottoman et les Arméniens dans les archives françaises (1914-1918)*, Paris, 1983, p. 7.

Mr. DüNDAR presumes that “if a deportation had not been carried out in Zeytun in February 1915, there would not be any reactions from the Armenians in Van and Istanbul”. This argument is a very daring one. The Bitlis revolt started between March-April 1914,³³ almost one year before the forced relocation of Armenians in Zeytun.

The intention of the Armenian revolutionary parties was announced clearly, even before the Ottoman Empire had entered the war.

The Hinchak called for arms starting from the year of 1914,³⁴ realizing this way the point VI of its program, which posits that war conditions are the ideal occasions for insurrections.³⁵

Hayasdan, the Bulgarian branch of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), writes in its edition dated August 19, 1914:

“The Mongol race, disastrous and traitorous (the Turks) has attacked once again, but even more violently, one of the purest and best Aryan races (the Armenians) [...]. These struggles which have been continuing for centuries under different forms are no other than assaults on a nation that remained under the darkness of another nation that has already been through social progress, and is advancing toward the light.

Either us or them!... This struggle has not been continuing for a year or a century. The Armenian nation has always bravely resisted this race that has been following the line of treason and crimes.

The world should get rid of this curse, and for the peace and tranquility of the universe, the Turkish nation should be eliminated.

*We are waiting our heads up high and armed with faith in victory.”*³⁶

Hovhannes Katchaznoui, former Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia and former leader of ARF states:

“Even though Turkey had not entered the war [...], voluntary Armenian groups gathered with a lot of zeal. Despite the resolution adopted by the central committee in Erzurum, a few weeks before the Armenian Revolutionary

33 Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Facts on the Relocation*, op. cit., p. 46.

34 *Aspirations et agissements révolutionnaires des comités arméniens, avant et après la proclamation de la Constitution ottomane*, Istanbul, 1917, pp. 99-100.

35 Sarkis Atamian, *The Armenian Community: The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1955, p. 96 ; Louise Nalbandian, op. cit., p. 111 ; Esat Uras, *The Armenians in History and the Armenian Question*, Ankara, Documentary Publications, 1988, p. 687.

36 Cited in: *Aspirations et Agissements Révolutionnaires des Comités Arméniens...*, op. cit., p. 155.

Federation had actively contributed to the establishment of these groups, and in particularly their arming against Turkey.”³⁷

Kapriel S. Papazian, head of the Ramkavar Party, confirms that:

“The fact remains, however, that the leaders of the Turkish-Armenian section of the Dashnagtzoutune did not carry out their promise of loyalty to the Turkish cause when the Turks entered the war. The Dashnagtzoutune in the Caucasus had the upper hand. They were swayed in their actions by the interests of the Russian government and disregarded, entirely, the political dangers that the war had created for the Armenians in Turkey. [...] Thousands of Armenians from all over the world flocked to the standards of such famous fighters as Antranik, Kery, Dro, etc. The Armenian volunteer regiments rendered valuable services to the Russian army during the years of 1914, 1915 and 1916.”³⁸

From autumn 1914, Armenian gangs attacked villages and military divisions of the isolated police force, especially in the province of Van. This document, translated and published in 1919 by an opponent of the Young Turks, may be cited among many others:

“Son of Major Essad Efendi, Mehemd Toufan Efendi’s statement under oath, deputy judge at the court of Hakkari,

[...]

After the declaration of war, Armenian bandits which were put together long before, started their activities and became the scouts and couriers of the Russian troops in the Persian border.

They summoned the Russians and led them on November 9, 1330 (1914) to the village of Dir, administration of Chikefti, district of Hekguiari.

While the Russians occupied Dir, these bandits massacred thousands of children and all the male population of the Kurdish villages on their route.

More than 400 Kurdish women and young girls were raped. Older women were murdered.³⁹

Mr. Dündar states that “On April 20, Armenians of Van started building barriers”. The rebellions of Van were organized by the rural rebels mentioned above; an

37 Hovannes Katchaznoui, *The Armenian Revolutionary Federation has nothing to do anymore*, New York, Armenian Information Service, 1955, p. 5 (1st edition, 1923).

38 Kapriel S. Papazian, *Patriotism Perverted*, Boston, Baikar Press, 1934, p. 38.

39 Kara Schemsi, *Turcs et Arméniens devant l’histoire*, Geneva, National Publishing, 1919, p. 40.

insurrection comparable to the one that had occurred in 1896, yet more effective was ended at the end of 1913 by way of an agreement between the local representatives and the Dashnak, Hinchak, and Ramkavar parties.⁴⁰ Mr. Dündar does not mention the crimes of the Armenian rebels in Van and its surroundings, proven by Ottoman and Russian documents, testimonies, and archeological diggings in Zeve of April 4, 1990.⁴¹

The Armenian guerillas were not constituted of a few numbers of soldiers, as Mr. Dündar claims. Ambassador Morgenthau — a source which a few pro-Armenian authors venturing themselves in “pro-Turkish” challenges — writes on May 25 that Armenian guerillas are “not less than 10,000, yet 25,000 is probably a number closer to reality.”⁴² Garo Pasdermadjian, one of the chiefs of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and Deputy of Erzurum, leaves in 1914 to ally with the Russian side. He estimates that in Samsun only, 10,000 Ottoman Armenians fought in the Ottoman army, and in the summer of 1915 the Istanbul government in total had to send 5 regular divisions and tens of thousands of irregular Kurdish divisions to reduce the number of Armenian revolts.⁴³ According to German Consul Rössler, in October 1915, an Armenian revolutionary insurrection cost the Ottoman army 50 deaths and injured 125 in the city of Urfa.⁴⁴

As for the Armenian voluntaries in the Russian army, they are estimated to be around 50,000. According to declarations of Armenian political chiefs who were responsible for their recruitments, 20,000 of these were subjects of the Tsar.⁴⁵

Starting from 1916, thousands of other Ottoman Armenians committed themselves to the Légion d’Orient of the French army.⁴⁶ This process had actually started at the end of 1914 and was noticed by the Ottoman authorities. At the end, more than 400 Armenians joined the foreign Légion after calls for recruitment.⁴⁷

In short, Mr. Dündar is unaware of the sources and historical studies carried out on

40 Justin McCarthy, Esat Arslan, Cemalettin Taşkıran and Ömer Turan, *The Armenian Rebellion at Van*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 2006, pp. 180–201.

41 Kara Schemsi, op. cit., pp. 46–48; *Documents sur les atrocités arméno-russes*, Istanbul, Société anonyme de papeterie et d’imprimerie, 1917, pp. 10–13, 15 and sqq. ; Azmi Süslü, *Russian View on the Atrocities Committed by the Armenians against the Turks*, Ankara, Köksav-Kök, 1991, pp. 31–33; Association for the promotion of Van, *Zeve*, Istanbul, 1963; *Yakın Tarihimizde Van Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, Ankara, Yüzcüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayınları, 1990, pp. 76–77; Hüseyin Çelik, *Görenlerin Gözüyle Van’da Ermeni Mezalimi*, Ankara, Yüzcüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1993; Justin McCarthy, Esat Arslan, Cemalettin Taşkıran and Ömer Turan, op. cit., pp. 213–257 and 279–281.

42 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., p. 92.

43 G. Pasdermadjian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Hairenik Publishing Company, 1918, pp. 26–28. See also: *Documents on Ottoman Armenians*, Ankara, 1983, Volume II, pp. 10 and sqq. and Volume III, pp. 53 and sqq.

44 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., p. 202.

45 Avetis Aharonian and Boghos Nubar, *La Question Arménienne devant la Conférence de la Paix*, Paris, Dupont Publishing, 1919 ; G. Pasdermadjian, op. cit., p. 19. See also « Armenians Join Russians and 20,000 Scatter Turks Near Feitun », *The Washington Post*, 13 November 1914.

46 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 104–108; Robert F. Zeidner, op. cit.

47 Aram Turabian, *Les Volontaires Arméniens sous les Drapeaux Français*, Marseille, Imprimerie nouvelle, 1917, pp. 6 and sqq.

Armenian revolts of 1914-1915, and of the scrupulous research of Edward J. Erickson who points at the real data on this issue.⁴⁸

The massacres perpetrated by Armenian voluntaries of the Russian army during the army's advancement in 1915-1916, then its retreat between December 1917 and May 1918, should be well investigated.⁴⁹ For Mr. Dündar, these deaths seem not deserved to be mentioned.

- d) While Mr. Dündar makes reference to research carried out by Hilmar Kaiser and Ara Sarafian in 1995, he does not make reference to their controversial versions prevalent in the national Turkish archives which are accessible. He does not cite the archivists. Mr. Dündar does not mention either the researches of MM. Kaiser and Sarafian who a few years later stopped complaining about the bans regarding the archives. Mr. Kaiser declared:

“Yes, there are still problems, but having said this; I should immediately add there are problems everywhere. The important thing is there is a process in place to overcome these problems. It's a huge administration, and encountering problems is part of the daily work. I can only say that, as far as I'm concerned, and I know the same for many, many researchers — both Turkish and foreigner — that they have had exactly the same experiences. If there is a problem, it's immediately addressed and resolved. That's all you can ask for. Turkey has gained a lot of credit with its new archive policy, and it will gain more credit if the present government would support the archives more strongly with additional funding.”⁵⁰

- 4) Mr. Dündar, to support his thesis, uses facts which are not true and have been proven wrong for a long time.
- a) The relocated Armenians were not taken to the “desert”. They were taken to a place where they could live and where people were already residing. The orders given by Istanbul were respected. Mr. Dündar contradicts himself by citing quotas for each “village”. By definition, a desert is a place without any human residents.

In his journal, Ambassador Morgenthau writes:

“Zenop Bezjian, Vekil of Armenian Protestants, called. Schmavonian introduced him; he was his schoolmate. He told me a great deal about

48 Edward J. Erickson, « The Armenians in Ottoman Military Policy », *War in History*, XV-2, April 2008, pp. 141–167.

49 Should be cited; Kara Schemsi, op. cit., pp. 52 eand sqq. ; National Turkish Congress, « Documents relatifs aux atrocit es commises par les Arm eniens contre la population musulmane », Istanbul, Soci t  anonyme de papeterie et d'imprimerie, 1919; *Documents on Ottoman Armenians*, Ankara, volume I, 1982, pp. 125–295 and volume II, pp. 48, 51–52, and 116–128; *Ermeniler Tarafından Yapılan Katliam Belgeleri*, Ankara, 2001, volume I; — Raphael de Nogales, *Four Years Beneath the Crescent*, New York, Charles Scribner's, 1926, pp. 45 and 70; Morgan Philips Price, *War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia*, New York, Macmillan, 1918, p. 141; Justin McCarthy, « The Report of Niles and Sutherland », *XI. Turkish Congress of History*, Ankara, 1994, pp. 1828–1829 and 1850.

50 « Historian Challenges Politically Motivated 1915 Arguments », *Today's Zaman*, 22 March 2009.

conditions [in the interior]. I was surprised to hear him report that Armenians at Zor were fairly well satisfied; that they have already settled down to business and are earning their livings."⁵¹

The Ottoman government had spent considerable amounts on food, and allowed American and Helvetian charity associations to complement these aids.⁵² Even the American head of International Assistance for Armenian Effort in Istanbul indicates that Talat "has always promptly paid attention to our demands, and frequently has greeted me when we met in his office. He usually started the conversation with these words: "We are partners; what can I do for you today?"⁵³

Assistance did not always arrive on time and some Armenians were re-deployed away from the Tigre base camp, although a significant part was strained less. It should not be forgotten that starvation, food shortage, and epidemics was common among the Ottomans — including the military — during the First World War and its aftermath. This was even more so in oriental Anatolia and in the Arab provinces.⁵⁴

- b) Mr. Dündar puts forth that the Special Organization is responsible for Armenian massacres. The accusation, which was never mentioned during war times even in radical British propaganda, appeared in 1919 at a martial court established by the British occupiers. Finally it is abandoned,⁵⁵ even though these courts are restrictive when it comes to defense law, even more than the Bush government's for prisoners of Guantanamo: the right of counter-interrogation of witnessed and counter-expertise of documents supporting the accusation, is not recognized to the accused.⁵⁶

Since 1963, in his thesis on the Special Organization — which is still the unique academic study dedicated to this organization — Philip H. Stoddard concludes that when Ottoman archives are examined, it can be seen that Teşkilat-i Mahsusa had no role in Armenian relocation.⁵⁷ In March 2001, in an interview carried out with Guenter Lewy, M. Stoddard re-affirms his argument.

In 1973, as a response to the pro-Armenian writer Christopher J. Walker's arguments, Gwynne Dyer, himself having a doctorate in Ottoman military history, with a thesis on the First World War, concludes that the Special Organization's participation to Armenian massacres is "gossip".⁵⁸

51 Heath Lowry, *Les Dessous des Mémoires de l'Ambassadeur Morgenthau*, Istanbul, Isis, 1991.

52 Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *The Story of 1915*, op. cit., pp. 61-63 and 74-82 ; Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 194-198, 203, 215 and 218-220.

53 Louise Jenison Peet, *No Less Honor: The Biography of William Wheelock Peet*, Chattanooga, E.A. Andrews, 1939, p. 170.

54 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 53-62 et 190-191; Hikmet Özdemir, *The Ottoman Army, 1914-1918: Disease and Death on the Battlefield*, Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 2008.

55 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

56 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 73-82.

57 Philip H. Stoddard, op. cit., pp. 52-58.

58 Gwynne Dyer, « Letter to the Editor », *Middle Eastern Studies*, IX-1973, p. 379.

The sociologist Vahakn Dadrian delves further into these accusations in his writings dated 1989 and 1993.⁵⁹ But Guenter Lewy proves in 2005 that all of the arguments presented on this issue by Mr. Dadrian relies on the forgery of the sources he has used.⁶⁰

Finally in 2006, J. Erickson who also has a doctorate in Ottoman history, with a thesis (presenting a rather un-encountered point of view) on the First World War, falsifies the arguments regarding Teşkilat-i Mahsusa's participation in Armenian massacres by analyzing systematically its orders of mission and reports sent to the command during the dates of 1915-1916.⁶¹

Contrary to Mr. Dündar's arguments, the Special Organization's archives are not closed. Some of the organization's documents were available for public use for almost half a century; whereby the rest were progressively classed and brought to public use, finally in 2005.⁶²

We should note here that the Special Organization was not "a paramilitary organization", and did not aim to "to spread terror in the Russian territories". It was a special force, as was the case with all other strong armies around the world at the time.⁶³ It is true that the Ottoman Empire in 1914 freed the prisoners of common law to grow the army. It is not absurd to think that some were assigned to the Special Organization; but it should be mentioned that firstly nothing proves that this structure was more concerned with the sending of ex-convicts, and secondly this practice was a trend in most armies and democratic regimes during the First World War. In fact, in 1917, courts of the United States of America freed 7,900 prisoners, including assassins and rapists in exchange for their commitment to the American troops.⁶⁴

5) Mr. Dündar's method is rather polemical than scientific.

a) He argues that the Young Turks maintained the objective of Turkifying Anatolia. Yet, he does not provide proof for this thesis of his, nor presents opposing views to such claims.

59 « The Role of the Special Organization in the Armenian Genocide during the First World War » in Panikos Panayi (dir.), *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America, and Australia during the Two World Wars*, Oxford, Berg, 1993, pp. 50-82.

60 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 83-87.

61 Edward J. Erickson, « Armenian Massacres: New Records Undercut Old Blame », *The Middle East Quarterly*, XIII-3, spring 2006, pp. 67- 75.

62 Philip Stoddard, op. cit. ; Yücel Güçlü, « Will Untapped Ottoman Archives Reshape the Armenian Debate? », *The Middle East Quarterly*, XVI-2, spring 2009, pp. 35-42.

63 Philip Stoddard, op. cit. ; see also: Doğu Ergil, « A Reassessment: The Young Turks, Their Politics and Anti-Colonial Struggle », *Balkan Studies*, XVI-2, 1975, pp. 70-71.

64 *Second Report of the Provost Marshal to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919, p. 149.

He affirms that Young Turks admired social Darwinism — or, according to his barbarism, “the social Darwinism” — a term that doesn’t exist in the *Petit Larousse* or the *Grand Robert*. He does not provide any text or source to support such a serious accusation. He could be referring to ideas of Ziya Gökalp, one of the main intellectuals of the CUP and the pioneer of Turanism and “Turkism”, while making such arguments. Yet, it should be clarified as explained by Taha Parla that Gökalp’s nationalism, “relies, without any ambiguity, on language and culture”. Gökalp was a man “preoccupied by humanism”. For him, Turkish nationalism was “a cultural ideal”, “the base of solidarity” and he conceived nationalism just like Émile Durkheim did. His nationalism was “non-racist, non-expansionist and pluralist” Gökalp, goes in the footsteps of Gotthard Jöscke, who interprets Turanism as a non-political notion.⁶⁵ The most extreme “Turkists” and “nationalists” between the years of 1908-1914 are mainly represented by Ahmet Rıza and Ahmed Emin Yalman.⁶⁶ The first criticizes the relocation of 1915-1916; the second denounces it with viciousness.⁶⁷

The Armenians of Zeyton, the first ones to be relocated, were led towards Konya, right in the centre of Anatolia not towards Arab provinces — as Mr. Dündar also recognizes — others were relocated inside Anatolia: Armenians of Mersin settled in Adana, and Armenians of some villages settled in other Anatolian villages. Armenians living in Istanbul, Edirne, Izmir, Aydın, Kastamonu, Antalya and Maraş were not relocated. Adana was an exception as it was a particular case. Fanatics took control of the local CUP in Adana and almost half of the Armenians living there were expelled as well as the extremists under the orders of Talat.⁶⁸

More significantly, the Ottoman government authorized the construction of Armenian churches in Anatolia during the first months of the war: On November 22, 1914 in Bergama, December 14, 1914 in Adana and April 5, 1915 in Sivas.⁶⁹ It can also be seen from this practice that the argument of “Turkifying Anatolia” is a paradox.

- b) Mr. Dündar argues that Talat had the intention of eliminating all Armenian presence in the North-East of Anatolia, by disregarding the fact that all measures taken at the time were presented as temporary measures in Ottoman decrees.⁷⁰ If we consider that the Ottoman defeat made it difficult for the Ottoman government to show its goodwill, we should take note of the fact that Cemal Pasha gave permission for the return of relocated Armenians on the basis of legal grounds.⁷¹ It is unimaginable that Talat was not informed, or did not approve such measures.

65 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., p. 45. See also: Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, op. cit., pp. 300–304.

66 Erik J. Zürcher, op. cit., p. 89 ; Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, op. cit., p. 301 ; Odile Rudelle, *L'Empire ottoman à l'âge des réformes*, Paris-Istanbul, IFEA/Maisonneuve & Larose, 2007, pp. 208 and 299.

67 Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2003, p. 222; Ahmed Emin Yalman, *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1930, p. 221 and passim.

68 Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *The Story of 1915*, op. cit., pp. 52 and 91; Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 186–187, 191, 203–205.

69 Şinasi Orel and Sürreya Yuca, op. cit., p. 103.

70 Kâmuran Gürün, op. cit., pp. 247–253.

71 Guenter Lewy, op. cit., pp. 202-203.

Mr. Dündar affirms that the coded telegrams of the Ministry of Interior weren't consulted by the researchers before 1995, even before 2001, and that "for the first time, in these telegrams according to my researches, Talat establishes the grounds which the Armenian population shouldn't surpass (like July 12, 1915, August 5, 27 October etc.) [...]." These coded telegrams were examined long before Mr. Dündar had done so, e.g. by Kâmuran Gürün, Şinasi Orel and Sürreya Yuca. One of the first cases – maybe the first - thresholds of population can be found in the note sent by the general commandant on May 26, 1915.

Mr. Dündar's claims that Talat Pasha had ideological motivations are without any proof.

The text indicates that:

"To avoid the creation of new foyers of rebellion, these principles should be applied during the transfer of Armenians:

- a) The Armenian population should not exceed 1/10th of the population of Muslim tribes in the places where they are sent.
- b) No village shall be constructed solely by immigrated Armenians, and their homes shall not exceed 50.
- c) The immigrant Armenian families are not allowed to change homes, unless they are moving, under the pretext of travelling."⁷²

Mr. Dündar makes reference to "Talat Pasha's notebook", published by Murat Bardakci, who carried out a simple transliteration — not a translation — into modern Turkish.⁷³ This so-called "notebook" is a series of anonymous documents, compiled by Talat, and then later by his widow. The documents are not in his handwriting. The majority of these documents published by Mr. Bardakci do not even concern the Armenians. But two of these documents brought about significant debate.

The first is a statistical table which presents the number of relocated Armenians. This document contains many errors. For example, it indicates (p.77 of the work published by Mr. Bardakci) that 109,521 Armenians were relocated from Bitlis, and 128,657 from Erzurum. It should be noted that a significant portion of the Armenians living in these provinces were taken to the Russian Caucasus by the troops of the Tsar.

72 Kâmuran Gürün, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

73 Murat Bardakci, *Talat Paşa'nın Evrak-ı Metrukesi*, İstanbul, Everest Yayınları, 2008.

The second (p. 109) document ignites even more doubt. It provides a list of the number of Armenians residing within the Ottoman Empire in the year of 1917. It indicates that 284,000 Armenians were present in Anatolia, which is credible, but the estimated number of Armenians living in the Arab provinces is absurd. The table mentions that 6,778 Armenians were living in Der-el-Zor, 7,033 in Mosul and 1,849 in Beirut. These numbers are far from reality.⁷⁴

Is it with this material that Mr. Dündar intends to radically change our knowledge on the events that took place in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War? Ottoman documents which are not supposed to be published, found in Ottoman archives since 1982, are completely neglected by Mr. Dündar.⁷⁵

The publication of this interview would not have such serious consequences if L'Histoire had afterwards published Edward J. Erickson, Guenter Lewy or Justin McCarthy's articles. Instead, L'Histoire published selected small studies where it is not possible to encounter Russia's instrumental use of Armenian nationalism,⁷⁶ nor signs of Armenian terror which took place between 1973-1997. This can largely be explained by the influence of the intrigue of Russian services.⁷⁷

L'Histoire also added a photography taken by Armin Wegner. Through this photography, the readers who have been misinformed will be strongly touched, and therefore their sense of analytic criticism will be reduced. The intellectual dishonesty of Wegner was carefully removed by Martin Tamcke with a journal kept during the First World War, by this curious witness. Mr. Tamcke concluded that Wegner's book covers the "domain of legends" rather than history.⁷⁸ Starvation was effective in the Arab provinces of oriental Anatolia, and effected Christians, Muslims and Jews; demonstrating photographs of Armenian children who died of starvation does not prove the Ottoman authorities' intention with regard to Armenians.

"Very few people are wise enough to prefer the blame which is useful to them rather than the praise that betray them",⁷⁹ observed La Rochefoucauld. Madams and Sirs, readers of L'Histoire, will you be a part of these little numbers of people?

74 Erman Şahin should be thanked for his analysis of Mr. Barbakci's book. See also: Justin McCarthy, Esat Arslan, Cemalettin Taşkıran and Ömer Turan, op. cit., pp. 273–276.

75 Other than the documents already cited in footnotes no. 21, 24 and 45, should be mentioned: « Armenian Activities in the Archive Documents », Ankara, ATASE, seven volumes, 2005–2007.

76 Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, op. cit., pp. 13–19, 29–40 and passim; William L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1960, pp. 150–157 and 204–210; Türkkeya Ataöv, « Procurement of Arms for Armenian Terrorism: Realities Based on Ottoman Documents », in *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection*, Ankara University Press, 1984, pp. 169–177; Garo Pasdermajian, op. cit., pp. 28 and sqq.

77 Metin Tamkoç, « International Terrorism: The Russian Connection », in *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection*, op. cit., pp. 49–59; Michael M. Gunter, « Pursuing the Just Cause of their People ». *A Study of Contemporary Armenian Terrorism*, Westport-New York London, Greenwood Press, 1986, pp. 94–97; Gaïdz Minassian, *Guerre et terrorisme arméniens*, Paris, PUF, 2002, pp. 18–23, 27–29, 74 and passim.

78 Martin Tamcke, *Armin Wegner und die Armenier: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit eines Augenzeugen*, Göttingen, Cuvillier, 1993, p. 220.

79 *Maximes*, 147; in complete studies, Paris, Gallimard, « Pléiade library », 1964, p. 422.

TURKISH MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE CAUCASUS FOLLOWING THE 1917 RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: THE BATTLE OF SARDARABAD AND ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

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Abstract: *The Caucasian front was one of the major fronts on which Ottomans fought in the First World War. With the withdrawal of Russia from the war because of the Revolution in 1917, the Ottoman Empire gained the opportunity to take back the territories it had lost during the war, even those it had yielded to the Russians prior to the war. However, there were those who opposed that, among them the Ottoman and Russian Armenians. Furthermore, the Ottomans' aim to be operative in regional politics was not shared by their ally, Germany, let alone the Allied Powers. Therefore, the fighting and the loss of lives in the region did not end when the First World War came to an end. Aspiring to found a great state and encouraged and incited by the international conjuncture, the Armenians continued their military and terrorist activities to make their own homeland a territory where they were a minority group. But the Ottoman state did not allow this to happen. The Armenians were forced to retreat from the territories they had occupied. In a few months, the Ottoman forces were in the vicinity of Yerevan. Fearing that they would lose everything they possessed, the Armenians put everything they had into these battles. Among all the battles in the region, the Armenians attached special importance to those fought on the front in Serdarabad. This study will try to examine the views of the Turkish sources regarding these events and the repercussions, and try to determine why the Armenians had attached such importance to the fighting on that particular front.*

Key Words: *First World War, the Caucasian Front, the battle of Serdarabad, Turkish Armenian Battles, Armenia.*

Introduction

The First World War was the greatest and final war fought by the Ottoman Empire. During this war which brought the Empire to an end, Ottomans fought all-round battles on several fronts against different states or groups of states, while the Ottomans also had to combat against internal problems within their borders and against the Allied countries since several components of the Ottoman nation participated on the side of

their rivals. Fighting on such different places and platforms led to the already socio-politically, economically and militarily weakened Bab-ı Ali (Ottoman Government) to be left exhausted and devastated. The Caucasian region was one of the important regions that the Empire had fought on despite its weakened stance. This front also contained problems that arose from the complex ethnic structure of the Caucasus.

With the Ottoman Empire entering the First World War in 1914, the Armenians, who strived for a long time to achieve an independent state, cooperated with the Russians who were situated on the front of the Allied Powers and occupied many cities in the Eastern Anatolian region. Armenians' anticipations which had serious national expectations came to a standstill due to the re-emerging conditions following the October Revolution in Russia. However, despite everything, the Armenians did not give up on their expectations. Therefore, after the Russian withdrawal, in order to maintain and resist any possibility of loss of occupied territories, the Armenians fought "to death" on all conditions, places and platforms using all types of instruments. When forced to retreat, the Armenians left these territories ruined.

During their retreat, the Armenians actually had no expectation of defeating the Ottoman army. They were aware that this expectation was unrealistic. Their anticipation was to resist as long as they could with the remaining ammunition from the Russians and therefore, when the Allied Powers would defeat and bring the Ottoman Empire to heel, to be present at the table where the Ottoman territories would be shared. Conditioned on such important expectations, the Armenian militia never hesitated in violating the law of arms as all types of massacre, atrocity and ethnic cleansing widely took place in the region.

During this period, in many places and at different times, hundreds of clashes took place between the Ottoman forces and Armenian militia. One of these clashes has been viewed by the Armenians as carrying critical importance. This war which took place at the end of May 1918 was fought in the region of Serdarabad.¹ Today, this region is close to the border of the Republic of Turkey and there exists a city located at the center of the region with the same name – Sedarabad – and which is 65 km. of distance to Yerevan. The Armenians have bestowed such great importance upon the May 1918 war in this region that each year they celebrate the anniversary of this "victory". Moreover, they have not abstained from building a victory monument and opening a museum in Serdarabad. Thereby, the battle has gained sacredness.

In this article, the political-military aspects of the battles taking place in the region of Serdarabad will be analyzed from the viewpoint of Turkish sources. Is it really the case that the Turkish army suffered a great defeat in Serdarabad and the Armenians were victorious as they have claimed? The answers to this question will define the limits of this article.

¹ In some sources, the name of this city is written as Sardarabad/Sardarapat. However, we have preferred to use Serdarabad.

The First Invasions in the Caucasian Region, the Russian Retreat and Peace Talks

Following the entry into the First World War, the battles fought by the Ottoman Empire on many different fronts led to defeat and loss of territory. Among the fronts where the greatest losses were given, the Caucasus came at the very top. As a result of the many losses given due to the cold weather during the Battle of Sarikamish in the winter of 1914-15, the 3rd Army was completely devastated. Therefore, the Russian armies supported by the Armenians conquered Van, Erzurum, Muş, Bitlis, Trabzon and Erzincan. However, the political unrest in Russia prevented the deepening of the invasions. Moreover, the events starting in March 1917 and developing thereafter, led to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The natural result of this Revolution was the disintegration in these areas resulting in the decision to withdraw. While the Russians were withdrawing from the occupied territories, they did not take the Armenian troops along with them. Instead, the Armenians were reorganized and were even provided with the remaining weapons and ammunition. Even more, it seemed that the Russians left the Ottoman territories to the Armenians by appointing Armenian administrators during the Russian administration. Taking into account that some Russian officers remained for the dispatching and administration of Armenian forces, it would not be wrong to state that the actual support given to Armenians by the Russians continued on all platforms.

Although the Russians invited all parties to the war to make peace, when these efforts proved unanswered, they appealed to Germany for peace mediation. The Russian delegates coming together with German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Bulgarian authorities signed a general armistice in the city of Brest-Litovsk. Upon the news that negotiations were conducted on all fronts fought with Russians, Deputy Commander-in-Chief and Minister of War Enver Pasha requested from the 3rd Army Commander Vehip Pasha to make an armistice proposal to the Russians. The anticipated response did not come from Russia, but from the TransCaucasus Commissariat in the beginning of December 1917.² According to this, the Ottoman Empire's request for a ceasefire was accepted.

The Ottoman-Russian delegations coming together in Erzincan to discuss the conditions of the armistice finally signed the treaty on 18th of December 1918. Thereby, the Ottoman-Russian war which started in October of 1914 came to an end.

Following the Armistice of Erzincan, the parties came together again in Brest-Litovsk to complete the peace negotiations. These talks starting in December 1917 could only be concluded in three stages and signing was only possible on 3rd of March 1918. The Ottoman Empire was the sole beneficiary of this peace agreement. Thus, the Ottoman Empire not only gained the territories lost during the First World War, but also Kars, Ardahan and Batum known as "elviye-i selase", lost during the Ottoman-Russian War of

2 Ibrahim Ethem Atnur, *Osmanlı Yönetiminden Sovyet Yönetimine Kadar Nahçıvan (Nakhchivan from the Ottoman to the Soviet Administration - 1918-1921)*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Atatürk Univ. Atatürk Principles and Revolution Hist. Inst. Erzurum, 1996, p. 2.

1877-1878. This agreement actually meant going back to the Ottoman borders before the Ottoman-Russian War. Another important aspect of this agreement was that the Ottoman army was liberated on the Caucasian front. Thereby, Turkish troops gained the ability to march all the way into the inner regions of the Caucasus and Azerbaijan. Moreover, an opportunity was obtained in preventing the English army located in Iran to join with the Armenians. This opportunity also meant the emergence and consolidation of an independent state of Azerbaijan.

With the Armistice of Erzincan, the withdrawal of Russian forces from the Eastern Anatolian territories worried those Armenians who desired for a long time to establish an independent state in this region. However, they still did not abandon those aspirations. After all, Russian and Armenian Bolsheviks had already been making plans that these territories would not be left to Turks, but to the Armenians.³ Thus, Armenians assumed administrative control and began to work towards the fortification of the areas that the Russians evacuated. Fortification did not only entail strengthening the seized fortresses and cities militarily. It also meant the creation of a demographic structure and changing this structure in a way most convenient for the envisioned state. For this reason, massacres, atrocities and all types of torture were instruments widely used. The absence of any authority that would prevent Armenian forces also contributed to the development of these tragic events.

The massacres and atrocities Muslims were subjected to were continuously voiced by the Ottomans. Although the 3rd Army Commander Vehip Pasha appealed to the Russian General Odishelidze to stop the oppression and massacres inflicted upon Muslims, no solution was reached. When the second stage of the Brest-Litovsk talks came to a deadlock due to the Russian attitudes, Germany declared that it will carry out an operation, causing Enver Pasha to order Vehip Pasha to liberate Turkish territories under Russian invasion.⁴

The Operation of the Ottoman Army⁵

The Turkish troops entering into operation on 12 February 1918 progressed without encountering much military resistance. A day later, on February 13, Erzincan and Mamahatun (Tercan) were liberated. On February 19, when the 5th Caucasian Division took back Bayburt, the 2nd Caucasus army corps re-conquered Trabzon and Gümüşhane which was in the hands of the Georgians. Although the Armenian forces retreating from Eastern Anatolia had built a base camp near Erzurum, they were not able to halt the Ottoman advance. Eventually, following Andranik's decision to evacuate on March 11, Erzurum came under the control of the Turkish forces on March 12, 1918 after three

3 İbrahim Ethem Atnur, *Osmanlı Yönetiminden... (Nakhchivan from the Ottoman...)*, p. 2.

4 İbrahim Ethem Atnur, *Osmanlı Yönetiminden... (Nakhchivan from the Ottoman...)*, p. 5.

5 For the progression, troops and clashes of the Ottoman forces see: Attachment 1.

years of Russian domination. The arrival of General Andranik to the region had not changed the situation either. From now on, the main goal of the Armenian forces in the region was the evacuation of Armenian community and troops.⁶

The presence of the Ottoman army in the region created such disturbances among the Armenians responsible for massacres and atrocities that those remaining on the Eastern part of Erzurum started to go beyond the TransCaucasus border without waiting for the Turkish army to arrive. Some forces of the newly created Armenian army were responsible for this evacuation.

The activities of the Armenian army were far from being conducted according to a strategic plan. They were only positioned according to the requirements of that specific day.⁷ This strategic depth should not have been expected from the Armenian forces who were accustomed to gang wars and who usually fought against civilians or militants rather than soldiers. Under the command of General Nazarbekian desiring to maintain control over a large area, although the Armenian army was mostly composed of Armenian officers, young and talented Russian officers were also present among them. Moreover, a battalion was formed by these Russian soldiers who fought beyond the established Armenian forces.⁸ The withdrawal of the Armenian forces and the evacuation of cities meant the commitment of more massacres and atrocities. First, the evacuated cities were burned and destroyed. Then, the lives and properties of the Muslims settled on the Armenians' route were violated.

Upon the Brest-Litovsk talks coming to a standstill on February 10, 1918, the TransCaucasus Commissariat proposed the conduction of peace talks with the Ottoman Empire and Tbilisi was chosen as the city in which these negotiations would take place. However, on February 23 during the first session, members of Seym⁹ declared their decision to the Ottoman Government that the talks would be held in Trabzon in which the delegates will depart immediately. However, the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on March 3rd led to protests among the TransCaucasus Government. The main reason for this reaction was that with this treaty, Kars-Ardahan and Batumi was left to the Ottomans. The Ottoman Government wanted the ratification of this treaty by the Caucasus Commissariat. The 3rd Army Commander Vehip Pasha was so confident about this ratification that in a telegraph sent to the Commander in Chief of the Caucasus armies on March 10, 1918, he inquired when the areas granted to the Ottomans with this treaty would be returned to them.¹⁰ However, when the Ottoman Empire's determination on this subject was understood, the Caucasus Commissariat

6 W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas Sınırdaki Harplerin Tarihi (History of the Wars on the Turkish Caucasian Border)*, Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1966, pp. 429-430.

7 W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas... (History of the Wars...)*, p. 430.

8 W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas... (History of the Wars...)*, pp. 430-431.

9 Transcaucasia Parliament

10 İbrahim Ethem Atnur, *Osmanlı Yönetiminden Sovyet Yönetimine Kadar Nahçıvan (Nakhchivan from the Ottoman to the Soviet Administration - 1918-1921)*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Atatürk Üniv. Atatürk Principles and Revolution Hist. Inst. Erzurum, 1996, p.6.

expressed that it was ready for negotiations. These negotiations (March 14 – April 1918) which started with Turks sending their representatives to Trabzon were interrupted from time to time. When the Caucasus delegation did not change their stance on Evliye-i Selase, Huseyin Rauf Bey issued an ultimatum on April 6, demanding for the recognition of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the Caucasus Commissariat to declare that it is independent from Russia. In response, Chenkeli, the head of the Caucasus delegation declared that they accepted the treaty. However, this treaty was not ratified by Seym.

On the one hand, political negotiations were being made while on the other hand, the military operation was continuing at full speed. The 37th Division took control of Batumi after the battles made on 13-14 April. The operation continued under the command of the 1st Caucasus Army Corps, Colonel Kazım (Karabekir) Bey who was in charge of conducting the war in the areas of Sarikamish and Kars. Armenian forces holding their resistance in many places up to Kars always had to withdraw each time. Sarikamish and Kağızman were among the regions being liberated. Kazım Bey who started the operation with the command of Yakup Şevki Pasha, destroyed the Armenian resistance in Selim on April 22nd. Kars, with its fortified fortress, was a place to gather all Armenians for resistance who had the ability to fight. The ammunition remaining from the Russians was enough to continue the war. The remaining population had retreated towards Gyumri-Yerevan with their belongings. Therefore, in order to prevent casualties, Kazım Karabekir adopted a military strategy in which the city would be conquered by being besieged. During this process of besiegement, Armenian General Nazarbekian requested a ceasefire twice. However, Kazım Bey who assessed this as an effort to gain time wanted immediate action in order to prevent the transfer of the weapons and ammunition to other areas.¹¹

Upon Vehip Pasha expressing his opinion on the immediate handing over of Kars, Kazım Bey began negotiations with the Armenians. When Colonel Morel during negotiations with Kazım Bey comprehended that the fortress of Kars was under siege and the Turkish army was determined, the Armenians accepted to hand over the control of the city to the Turks. The Ottoman Army entered the city on April 25. When taking into account the weapons, ammunition and supplies left by the Armenians, it can be understood why they wanted to gain time and were persistent on the emptying of the storages.¹²

11 For the activities of the 1st Corps in this region see: Nasır Yüceer, *I. Dünya savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusunun Azerbaycan ve Dağıstan Hareketi, Azerbaycan ve Dağıstan'ın Bağımsızlığını Kazanması (Azerbaijan and Daghestan Operation of the Ottoman Army during WWI, Azerbaijan and Daghestan Gaining Independence)*, 1918, Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 2002, pp. 24-28; Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, *I. Dünya Harbinde Türk Harbi: Kafkas Cephesi (Turkish War During WWI: the Caucasian Front)*, Vol:2, Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1993.

12 Nasır Yüceer, *I. Dünya Savaşı'nda... (Azerbaijan and Daghestan Operation...)* p.25 ATASE archive; BDH. Koll. K. 3955.H-100, 108 F. 1-41, 1-4; W.E.D Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas...(History of the Wars...)*, p.435; For the weapons, ammunition and supplies left by the Russians see: Antranik Çelebyan, *Andranik Pasha*, İstanbul: Peri Yayınları, 2003, pp. 221–223.

The Turkish Army in the East of Arpa River

The Turkish army settling in Kars hastened the peace negotiations. The peace negotiations that came to a standstill in Trabzon started again in Batumi on May 11. However, Vehip Pasha expressed that those regions that were subject to negotiations were taken by force and therefore could not be negotiated further during the talks, so new conditions and new proposals should be discussed. What this meant was the following:¹³

1. The invasion of the regions of Ahiska, Ahilkelek and Gyumri by Turkish forces.
2. Handing over the Gyumri-Nahchivan-Julfa railway line to Turkish control.
3. All Caucasian railways to be used by Ottomans as long as the war with England continues.

In fact, the Ottoman requests reflected prospective Ottoman policies in the region. Among the Ottomans' political aims were to keep control of aid given to Baku, block Armenians from contacting the British stationed in Iran, prevent the disintegration of Azerbaijan, prevent the massacres and atrocities committed against Muslims in the region,¹⁴ make sure that a strong Armenian state is not established in the areas inhabited by Muslims, and a more pragmatic request of facilitating smoother acceptance of their proposals in order to make peace. In the short run, they were aiming at carrying out a policy to keep Caucasia and Azerbaijan under control, while in the long run their purpose was to establish a Central Asian axis including India and Afghanistan. Therefore, the 3rd Army Commander Vehip Pasha ordered his forces to cross over to the Eastern part of Arpa River on May 15, 1918.

The invasion of Gyumri on May 16 was influential in the TransCaucasus Government to accept the Turkish proposals in the talks taking place in Batumi. Moreover, the Gyumri-Julfa and Gyumri-Tblisi railway was taken under control. However, more importantly, to conduct a military operation in Azerbaijan, it was imperative to conquer Karakilis which controlled the strategic cities extending towards Yerevan, Gence, Tblisi and Kars. This way, it would become possible to prevent the establishment of solid positions in this region (Karakilis and Delican) by those Armenians withdrawing from Gyumri.

Upon the request of Enver Pasha,¹⁵ the 1st and 2nd Caucasus Army Corps began moving towards Karakilis, Serdarabat, Tblisi and Yerevan. Although the main goal was to take over Karakilis, Tblisi and Yerevan would also be kept under pressure.

13 W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas... (History of the Wars...)*, pp. 435-436; Joseph Pamiankowski, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Çöküşü 1914-1918 I. Dünya Savaşı (Fall of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918 WWI)*, Istanbul: Kayhan Yayıncılık, 1990, p. 321.

14 In a speech delivered in Batum by Cemal Pasha who went there for the peace negotiations, reinforces this subject once again. Antranik Çelebyan, *Andranik Pasha*, Istanbul: Peri Yayınları, 2003, p. 272.

15 General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol:2, p.514 ATASE, No.4/3671, Kls. 2919, F.3-10.

The Ottoman forces, together with the 1st Army Corps under the command of Kazım Karabekir and the 2nd Army Corps under group commander Yakup Şevki Pasha began their operation on May 20 to bring the region under control. The activities in the South were given to the 1st Army Corps, while the task of invading Karakilis was given to the 2nd Army Corps.

The 11th Caucasus Division connected to the 2nd Army Corps was not able to conquer Karakilis until May 27.¹⁶ Although the Turkish army was able to push back Nazarbekian's forces on 21-22 May in which the Armenians were statistically superior, just as on May 24, the army was forced to withdraw to the region of Hamamlu. In response to this withdrawal of the 9th Division, the 5th Caucasus Division continued its progression and forced the forces of Andranik to retreat. However, when Karakilis could not be seized by the time desired, the task was given to Kazım Karabekir. Following the violent clashes taking place on 26-28 May, the 9th and 11th divisions conquered Karakilis on 28 May.¹⁷ Losing most of its forces, Nazarbekian had to withdraw to Delican. A day later, the forces of Andranik also retreated to the same region and met with Nazarbekian.¹⁸

The fall of Karakilis positioned as the center of the North, worried the forces of Silikian who were deployed at the South of Yerevan. The Silikian Turks, who believed that they were being surrounded from the North, started their attack on 18-19 May from the south of Aras and ambushed Dro, the bandit leader, together with his 1000 forces on Başabaran passage. The duty assigned to the 1st Army Corps active in the South and administered by Kazım Karabekir was to control the Güzeldere-Avdi Bey line on May 20 and to move towards Serdarabad with at least one military battalion until a serious resistance was encountered.¹⁹

The regions targeted for May 20 was reached without any resistance. Only in the area of Karzak did clashes take place. The battalion of Zihni Bey who was moving forward in the area of Serdarabad, advanced all the way up to Alagöz Station and Mahtaka line. Without much resistance, on May 21, the troops achieved their goals they had targeted. However, the battalion of Zihni Bey fighting against Armenian forces composed of 600 infantrymen and 250 cavalrymen invaded Serdarabad.²⁰

16 For the battles in this region and Nazarbekian's organization of the battle see: W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas Sınırdaki Harplerin Tarihi (History of the Wars on the Turkish Caucasian Border)*, Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1966, pp. 439-441.

17 For the reasons in the delay of conquering Karakilis see: Nasır Yüceer, *I. Dünya savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusunun Azerbaycan ve Dağıstan Hareketi, Azerbaycan ve Dağıstan'ın Bağımsızlığını Kazanması (Azerbaijan and Daghestan Operation of the Ottoman Army during WWI, Azerbaijan and Daghestan Gaining Independence)*, 1918, Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 2002, p. 28.

18 W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas Sınırdaki Harplerin Tarihi (History of the Wars on the Turkish Caucasian Border)*, Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1966, p. 441.

19 General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol: 2, p.515 ATASE, No. 5/2743, Kls. 3955, H-110, F.1-20, 21.

20 General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol:2, p. 516 ATASE, No. 5/12510, Kls. 4070, H-108, F.1-20; ATASE, No. 5/5649, Kls. 3941, H-23, F.1-15.

Ottoman armies stationed in the South were ordered to stay at their position as of May 21 and not to conduct further operations in order to contribute to the peace talks.²¹

The political meaning of this command is that the Ottoman State did not want to conquer the Yerevan region. The entire aim of the State was to control the train route and thus, to supply the necessary aid to Baku on time. Therefore, from time to time, they did not refrain from declaring their operation plans openly to the TransCaucasus Government. Even more, Vehip Pasha together with the Undersecretary for the Ministry of Internal Affairs Abdulhalik Bey, came to Gyumri in order to discuss problems face to face with Nazarbekian. However, this meeting did not take place since Nazarbekian never showed up. In response, a warning letter signed by Yakup Şevki Pasha was sent to Nazarbekian.²²

May 21st generally passed in tranquility. In the territory of Celaloğlu, the Armenian forces left the city to the Turks without even waging a battle. However, Armenian attacks continued against the troops of the 11th Caucasus Division and Zihni Bey. The Armenian forces gaining superiority caused the battalion of Zihni Bey to withdraw 4 km. to the north of Serdarabad. Therefore, the 1st Hunter Battalion was put under the battalion's order.²³

The Armenian offensive conducted on May 26, 1918 with 2000 infantrymen, 200 cavalrymen, 6 cannons, and 3 machine guns against the battalion of Zihni Bey positioned 6 km. to the north of Serdarabad was driven back. Moreover, Armenians were compelled to use shellfire in order to dissuade the soldiers trying to escape. But, Armenian pressures continued non-stop. On May 27, the battalion of Zihni Bey was forced to withdraw to the southern border of Aşniyak under the pressure of the 2500 Armenian troops, although without further nuisance. On the other hand, the retreat of Zihni Bey's forces to the north came as disturbing news for the Ottoman headquarters. This retreat was already beginning to create a dangerous situation for the Group Command Headquarters.²⁴

Due to this situation, some forces under the authority of Hacı Hamdi Bey were recruited to the battalion of Zihni Bey in which they would take on the administration and manage the operation in the Serdarabad front. While the Armenian forces were attempting to surround the forces of Zihni Bey on May 28, the forces of Hamdi Bey who were on their way to assist Zihni Bey were confronted with Armenian attacks. The Turkish forces were victorious, but aid to Zihni Bey's battalion could not be delivered on time.²⁵ On 29 May, the Turkish forces continued to control the Alagöz station-Boyunludağ line.

21 General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol:2, p. 516 ATASE, No. 5/2743, Kls. 3955, H-111, F.1-27; ATASE, No. 5/5649, Kls. 3941, H-23, F.1-11, 13, 14.

22 For the details of the letter see: General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol: 2, p. 521.

23 General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol: 2, p.517 ATASE, No. 5/2743, Kls. 3955, H-110, F.1-14.

24 For the archival documents on this subject see: General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol: 2, p. 519.

25 General Staff, *Kafkas Cephesi (the Caucasian Front)*, Vol:2, p. 521 ATASE, No. 5/2743, Kls. 3955, H-117, F.1-7; ATASE, No. 5/5649, Kls. 3941, H-24, F.1-6.

The clashes were to continue for some time, but the 12th Turkish Infantry Division which remained inactive joined with the 11th Caucasus Division by crossing Aras. Eventually, on 7-9 June, the Serdarabad, Etchmiadzin and Uluhanlu train stations had come under Turkish control.²⁶

Considering their military and political results, is it possible to see these wars in the region of critical importance so as to continue argumentative elements of independence and identity? Specialist on wars on the Caucasus front, W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, gives a precise answer to this question. “This way, General Silikof and bandit leader Dro – in a way which could be said to be modest – secured the Armenian victory in the Turkish-Armenian war which started off in a complicated way and lasted for three weeks. In this operation, Turks had devoted four divisions, but it could not be said that a serious Armenian resistance has taken place which would have delayed the Turkish goals in the Caucasus. A serious diversion operation could only be possible with the help of the political maneuvers of the Georgian leaders and not by the so-called courageous decision of Armenians to continue the war”.²⁷

Concerning the insurgency made simultaneously by Nazarbekian, Silikian, Daniel Beg Pirumian and Dro, Armenian historian Ter Minassian also puts forth a similar conclusion: “Armenians have halted the Turkish military movement towards Yerevan not militarily, but with a moral victory...”²⁸

However, several other researchers cuts across the boundaries of exaggeration. In an article published in 1919 by A. Vandouny entitled “Les Arméniens dans la Guerre mondiale”, it is argued that Armenians were able to compel the Turkish forces to withdraw all the way up to Gyumri.²⁹ Yet, other pro-Armenian researchers do not agree in such a view of the incident.

Stories of heroism became legendary in a short time and all researchers utilized these myths as their main source. The pivotal role in legendary-making is bestowed upon the major achievements by the religious men during war times and the orations of the politician-warrior commanders. However, it is known that among these orations, commanders like Silikian who do not know Armenian also existed.

The Need for Victory and Internal Rivals

While peace talks were taking place, the emerging political developments, Seym’s decision to disintegrate on May 26 and a few hours later, the Georgians’ declaration of

26 W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas Sınırdaki Harplerin Tarihi (History of the Wars on the Turkish Caucasian Border)*, Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1966, p. 442.

27 W.E.D. Allen-Paul Muratoff, *1828-1921 Türk Kafkas... (History of the Wars...)*, pp. 442-443.

28 Anahide Ter Minassian, *La République d’Arménie*, Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1989, p. 78.

29 A. Vandouny, “Les Arméniens dans la Guerre mondiale”, *La Revue de Paris*, July-August 1919, p. 891.

independence with the support of Germans, which was followed by Azerbaijan's declaration of independence on May 27 created stirrings on the Armenian front. By accepting the Turkish ultimatum, Armenia also declared its independence a day later. This independence did not satisfy the Armenians, because contrary to what they imagined, they had to be contended with an area of 11,000 km² rather than the prospective Great Armenia.³⁰ It could have been possible to accept this situation as a temporary and fortuitous development and to achieve their aims in the upcoming phases. However, the new state emerged as a result of the imposition of Turkish forces. This was an event which could not be forgotten. Therefore, the independence had to be established upon a new event. For the removal of this unpleasant incident, a "great victory" was required. Sardarabad, where the closest military events took place, would be a good example.

It was also necessary to find an answer to the question of why the Armenians accepted the Turkish ultimatum following this "victory": The news of the victory of Sardarabad was not delivered to the negotiating delegation. Thus, the agreement was signed upon this misinformation. Andranik Chelebian explains this situation in the following way.³¹ "When the Armenian delegates in Batumi sent the letter on 29 May at 7 o'clock, an hour before the ultimatum, in which they expressed their acceptance of the Ottoman conditions, they were unaware of the victory in Sardarabad".³²

"This so-called independence was temporary. According to Hayk Khocasaryan, this was a way to fool one's self in a humiliating manner. The anniversary of the so-called independence which was imposed by the Treaty of Batumi is going to be a ridiculous way to fool one's self. However, just then, the victory of Sardarabad constituted the other half of the declaration of the Armenian independence..." Actually, at the center of the discussions were the day of independence and the event which would be based on this day. "Anyhow, the victory of Sardarabad and the beginning of the life of Eastern Armenia as a state had to be chosen among one of those days. If the first session of the Government of Eastern Armenia or the Armenian National Council in Tblisi chose 28 May as the day of independence of the Republic of Armenia and the day of the Sardarabad victory, then why are arguments breaking out for ten years within the Armenian press? It is incomprehensible!" "If the date of the Sardarabad victory and the beginning of the Eastern Armenian state was imposed by others as another date, would this have been better?"³³

What was troubling and unacceptable for the Armenians was on the one hand the idea that Turks had allowed the creation of an independent Armenian state, while on the other, they acknowledged giving up on the territories they had claimed within the Ottoman

30 Anahide Ter Minassian, *La République d'Arménie*, Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1989, p. 81.

31 Antranik Çelebyan, *Antranik Paşa*, İstanbul: Peri Yayınları, 2003, p. 272.

32 For the knowledge of the Armenian delegation in Batumi concerning the Sardarabad victory see: Anahide Ter Minassian, *La République d'Arménie*, Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1989, p. 80.

33 Antranik Çelebyan, *Antranik Paşa*, İstanbul: Peri Yayınları, 2003, p. 272.

borders.³⁴ This was a situation which could never be accepted. Therefore, warriors like Andranik never accepted this and never gave up on their hopes of “Great Armenia”.

Modern researchers, for many different reasons, used information, especially knowledge still existent in the memories of those participating in the war, without feeling the need to verify their truth. Serge Afansyan’s article entitled “La Victoire de Serdarabad, Arménie 21-29 Mai 1918” constitutes one of the best examples for this case. In these types of writings where the human psychology’s own battle is not taken into account, conclusions were not reached as a result of the military and political reflections. C.J. Walker displays his objectivity by stating that “Just when the Armenians have taken initiative and have been viewed as having a capacity to push back the Turks all the way up to Gyumri and even Kars, Silikan has received an order for a cease-fire from Nazarbekian”.³⁵

The role of the Armenian Church in contributing to this victory should also be emphasized. First of all, the arrival of Turkish forces to the borders of Yerevan and the risk of losing holy cities, including Etchmiadzin, created great anxiety not only among Armenians, but also among the members of the Church. For this reason, religions men first worked in the recruitment and sustenance procurement, and then participated in wars themselves by coming to the fronts. Thus, heroisms were first told in a more mystical atmosphere. Secondly, a desire for victory was satisfied in order to attribute holiness to the process of gaining independence. Today, the Armenian Diaspora and church celebrates this day as a national victory. Moreover, the Armenian churches in the Diaspora have added this day to their list of days to be celebrated and have dedicated a large section for this matter in their yearly organized programs. It is also known that the “victory” of Sedarabad is included in the holy days to- be-celebrated list of 2003 of the “Saint-Jean-Baptiste”³⁶ cathedral in France (Paris) belonging to Armenians.

Conclusion

The withdrawal of Armenians from Eastern Anatolia and Turkish forces being positioned at the front of Yerevan in a very short time period is not a situation which could easily be accepted. Therefore, it is possible to say that Armenians have increased their resistances in May 1918. However, the main reason which triggered this resistance was not to drive out the Turks by defeating them. It was only to gain time until general peace was made and the allied powers accepted the text which would disintegrate the Ottoman Empire. This way, the principle of establishing a great state provoked by nationalism and the Church would become possible with the support of Western states.

34 Antranik Çelebyan, *Antranik Paşa...*, p. 274.

35 Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation*, London: Routledge, 1991, pp. 254-255.

36 For the May 2003 program see: <http://www.acam-france.org/pratique/eglise-calendrier/calendrier2003.htm>

Compared to other regions, it can be said that the resistance in this region was greater. However, it is not possible to talk about a military activity which could be described as a “great victory”. Conveying the successes of the posts, which have been used in many wars on many fronts and which will never change the results of the war, as a great victory and comparing it with the war of the Persian Armenians is incomprehensible. Moreover, the Ottomans did not want to conquer the whole of this region. They believed that this would not be politically correct. Therefore, one could only talk about an Ottoman state which used activities that would ease its regional policy.

In the region, many frontier wars have taken place. Therefore, assessing the subject based on only one war would be incorrect. Anyhow, many military activities on many fields and thus, a few complexities have come about. Thus, only mentioning the battle of Sardarabad and its victory is not possible. Moreover, it is clear that evaluating the regional wars as a whole and as encompassing a period will create more subjective results. Talking about the Armenians participating in the war and the successes and failures of the state leaders of that time, they have found it more suitable to mention the victory instead of examining whether the policies used possessed a means-end correlation. Throughout the development of Armenia emerging as an independent state up to today, this policy and understanding has not been abandoned.

TURKISH-ARMENIAN RELATIONS AND THE THINK-TANK EFFECT

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Abstract: *The increase in the interest on Turkish-Armenian relations within the international realm can be seen through the numbers and properties of published articles and reports on this subject. Especially, the Turkish-Armenian rapprochement process being brought forward following President Abdullah Gül's visit to Yerevan in September 2008, has drawn serious attention within the international sphere. The negotiations held for the normalization of Turkey-Armenia relations has been conducted in many different areas. The protocols being signed by Turkish and Armenian authorities carries crucial importance for the continuing of this process. While the international actors are determining their attitudes regarding the Turkish-Armenian relations, attempting to identify what the parameters might be that they must venture has become a matter of necessity in the forthcoming process. In this research, reports and articles published from 2007 onwards on the Armenian issue within the scope of Turkish-Armenian relations in the international realm, Turkish foreign policy, Turkish-EU and Turkish-Atlantic relations has been examined. In these reports and articles, the international community's proposed policy options for Turkish-Armenian relations and prospective developments have been taken into consideration and replies to several essential questions have tried to be obtained.*

Key Words: *Armenians, Think-Tank, Report, Foreign Policy*

As a result of the recent developments, there is an increasing interest on the Turkish-Armenian relations. Georgian-Russian war of August 2008 brought the unresolved conflicts in the region, while neither Western countries and EU nor the international organizations such as UN could prevent the sides from engaging in a small-scale but drastic war. This passivism and inability of the international community to prevent a war raised concerns on the future of the Caucasus region, which is of critical strategic importance for the West, Russia and the neighboring countries. Turkey's pioneering role in the post-war settlement proved effective, but since all these actors concerned with the developments in the region did not want any further escalation of conflicts, other major problems also came into the agenda of the international community. Hence, it's observable that international community began to perceive Turkey's role in the region and its relations with neighboring countries as bearing critical importance for the future settlement of the regional conflicts and the securitization process. President Abdullah Gül's visit to Erivan in September 2008 signaled a critical moment

for the normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia, while it also drew attention of the international community to the resolution of regional conflicts.

Here, I will try to examine various reports that have been written on the critical issue of the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations that were published by international organizations, Think-Tanks and research groups since 2007. This study also tries to answer one main question: how do the international policy-research agencies see the future of Turkish-Armenian relations and its impact on the regional setting? In order to answer that main question, the reports were examined in terms of 5 main subjects:

1. Problem of Genocide Claims
2. Territorial Claims and Reparations
3. The rationale behind the Opening of Borders
4. Normalization process and the Preconditions
5. Turkey-Armenia Relations and the Nagorno-Karabakh Dispute

1. Recognition of Genocide Claims

a. Recognition by Turkey

Recognition of the so-called Armenian Genocide has been one of the most critical problems for Turkish policy-makers. Increasing efforts towards acknowledgement of the genocide claims has put pressure on Turkish foreign policy. Until today, Turkey's reaction was limited to diplomatic means to persuade other states and international community that these claims are ungrounded, and if recognized, could cause harm to Turkey's relations with those countries. As Turkey's foreign policy began to experience a shift with the coming of Justice and Development Party, this policy of persuasion was transformed into a more active policy, which assumed that as soon as this problem remained a subject of international politics this would result on continuous political pressure on Turkey. Turkey's offer to establish a commission of historians to examine the 1915 events was welcomed by the international community, as Turkey began to underline the possibility of normalization of relations with Armenia, if the genocide claims are not used as political tools to pressurize Turkey in the international arena.

When the reports that discuss Turkish-Armenian relations are examined, it is observable that on the issue of the recognition of genocide claims, nearly none of them present demands, suggestions or foresights. As the most critical problem in Turkish-Armenian relations, reports abstain from taking sides on the issue, as most of the reports seem to highlight the emergence of a possible rapprochement in the near future. Reports indicate

that the recognition of the genocide claims became a state policy for Armenia.¹ This is seen as one of the several factors that cause enmity in Turkish-Armenian relations and that prevented the rapprochement until today. Still, most of the recent reports emphasize domestic developments in Turkey, such as the “Campaign for Apology” which began after the murder of Armenian writer Hrant Dink as being of critical importance in Turkish-Armenian relations. International Crisis Group announced in a report that was published in April 2009 that developments in the historical perceptions and the beginning of a process through which those historical perceptions are openly debated as “striking”.² In some reports, some EU countries’ attitude towards Turkey and their efforts to bring up genocide claims as a precondition of EU membership is highlighted.³ But still none of the reports imply that Turkey must acknowledge those claims. It is observable that in reports the issue of genocide recognition will be of critical importance for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations, although it may be undermined if there are positive developments such as the beginning of face-to-face dialogue.

b. Recognition by Third Parties

It is well-known that Armenian Diaspora has significant impact on the success of efforts towards pressurizing Turkey to acknowledge genocide claims or make sure that third-country parliaments recognize Armenian genocide.⁴ International Crisis Group indicates that Resolutions which are submitted to the US Congress annually are among the most influential tools of the Armenian Diaspora to this effect.⁵

In other reports and articles, especially after Robert Kocharian coming to power as President, it is noted that the efforts of the Armenian Diaspora in pursuing the parliaments of third parties to accept the genocide allegations have increased.⁶ Moreover, in many reports, it has been conveyed that Kocharian has made the international recognition of the genocide allegations a priority of Armenian foreign affairs.⁷

New strains appeared after the coming to power in 1998 of a hardline Armenian president, Robert Kocharian, who made international recognition of the country’s genocide claims a priority of its foreign and security policy, and the

1 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border: Economic and Social Effects, Including Those on the People; and Implications for the Overall Situation in the Region*, European Parliament- Directorate General External Policies of the Union, August 2007, p.8: “Since 1998, the Republic of Armenia, supported by the Armenian Diaspora, has made it a matter of state policy to strive for the international recognition of the events of 1915 as genocide.”

2 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, International Crisis Group, Europe Report No.199, 14 April 2009, pp.24-25. “Just as striking has been an apology campaign initiated by some 200 Turkish intellectuals in December 2008 and signed by 29,500 people online.”

3 *Turkey-Armenia Relations: A Vicious Circle*, TESEV, November 2008 p.33

4 *As Turkey and Armenia inch toward reconciliation both sides talk the talk, but can they walk the walk?*, German Marshall Fund, October 2008, p.2

5 *As Turkey and Armenia inch toward reconciliation both sides talk the talk, but can they walk the walk?*, p.10

6 Görgülü, Aybars “Towards a Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement?”, *Insight Turkey*, 2009, p. 22

7 *Noah’s Dove Returns: Armenia, Turkey and the Debate on Genocide*, European Stability Initiative, April 2009, p. 27

*near-passage in 2000 of a U.S. Congressional resolution calling the 1915 events genocide.*⁸

It has been expressed that these attempts by the Diaspora constitute the purpose of creating an international character for the so-called genocide.⁹ Furthermore, it has also been expressed that this situation is among the most troublesome issues for Turkey.¹⁰

c. On the Establishment of a History Commission

In April 2005, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's proposal of creating a commission consisting of Turkish and Armenian independent historians and specialists for the examination of the genocide allegations has drawn great attention in the international sphere. Based on reports and articles on this issue, it can clearly be seen that this proposal has been regarded as a positive development. Moreover, different and contradictory statements being made on the Armenian side concerning this proposal and opposing views towards the establishment of a neutral commission consisting of specialists and historians to examine an historical incident has strengthened Turkey's position in resolving the problem within the international arena.¹¹ This situation can also be seen clearly within the reports and articles being examined. In the report published by ARI from Spain, it has been expressed that the proposal of establishing a Joint Historical Commission has been a critical development in the progression for resolving the problem, "a way forward, as apparently agreed, would be to set up a Joint History Commission."¹² It has also been emphasized that Turkey attempts to block this initiative of the international recognition of the Armenian genocide allegations and supports a different way of resolving this problem by examining it within a "broader package of outstanding issues."¹³

Although Armenia has displayed a positive attitude towards the establishment of a commission, it can be seen that they opposed it at the beginning. It can be said that this Armenian opposition arose due to the idea that since many of the state parliaments already recognized the genocide allegations, participation in a commission would open the subject to debate and weaken the Armenian position. Moreover, it is also said that this could damage the Armenian national identity. However, if the commission is going to deal with the 1915 events, Armenian public opinion suspicious of the idea of establishing a commission, has expressed that it should also deal with the pre-1915 period and the Ottoman Empire's policies against Armenians.¹⁴

8 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.2

9 *Turkey-Armenia Relations: A Vicious Circle*, p.18

10 *Turkey-Armenia Relations: A Vicious Circle*, p.18

11 Görgülü (2009) p. 22

12 *Turkey and Armenia Move to Bury the Hatchet*, ARI – Elcano Royal Institute, May 2009, p.6

13 *Changing Armenia-Turkish Relations*, p.2

14 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.6

The positive reaction from Armenia to the establishment of a commission of historians to examine 1915 events¹⁵ also bears the danger of disregard for the works conducted by the commission. The reason for such a development is the common attitude in Armenia that the idea of a commission of historians was proposed in order to prevent the issue from debated in the international arena and prevents further efforts by the Diaspora and Armenia. While Turkey argues that this issue remains a subject of historical concern and be debated, Armenians claim that so-called genocide is a political and contemporary problem.¹⁶ But since it would harm Armenian claims to reject the establishment of a commission, Armenians adopt a positive attitude towards this proposal by Turkey. Therefore it is suggested that the commission could not produce effective and objective research, since Turkish historians are unable to present pro-genocide arguments.¹⁷ In a speech made in July 2008, President Sarkisyan raised doubts on Turkish proposal to establish a commission of historians, while he emphasized that the normalization of relations and the establishment of political dialogue between the two sides is a priority. He also argued that commissions can be established only after mutual political relations are reestablished.¹⁸

Many reports suggest that for normalization of relations, efforts aimed at persuading third countries to recognize Armenian genocide claims must be abandoned, and the problem must be left to historians Civil Society and Research organizations.

*“Armenia should refrain from setting preconditions for relations with Turkey, and remove the 1915 Armenian genocide recognition issue from foreign policy agenda, leaving it to historians and civil societies of Armenia and Turkey.”*¹⁹

It seems that there is a common agreement on the positive implications of the establishment of a commission of historians.²⁰ This positive attitude by the international community²¹ and insistence that if established the commission must be wholeheartedly supported in its work,²² also led to a shift in Armenian attitude.

15 “Cooling Off”, *The Economist*, April 27, 2009
http://www.economist.com/daily/news/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13565679 Last Access: November 12, 2009

16 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p. 6

17 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p. 30

18 *Turkey: Selected Foreign Policy Issues and U.S. Views*, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress US Congress August 2008, p.14

19 *Agenda for Armenian Foreign Policy 2009-2010*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung & Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation, 2009, p. 22

20 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p. 30

21 European Parliament announced that it welcomed Turkish government’s offer to establish a commission of historians for the examination of 1915 events. *Turkey-Armenia Relations: A Vicious Circle*, p.20; *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.4

22 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p. 27

Territorial Claims and Reparations

Related with the recognition of the so-called genocide issue is the problem of territorial claims as well as the reparations issue. The two cases constitute another problematic area concerning the Turkish-Armenian relations. The problem arises as the Armenians both in Diaspora and the Armenian Republic seek for reparations and territorial amends from Turkey as they put forward the claim that their ancestors were forced out of the “historical Armenian” lands while their properties were forcibly confiscated. Especially the Diaspora Armenians continue their efforts in their resident countries via legal cases so as to force Turkish government to pay reparations for territorial and material losses. Considering the recent development in Turkish-Armenian relations many international organizations and Think-Tanks touch upon these claims and Turkey’s response in their evaluations on the future of the bilateral relations.

Firstly, it is well observable that there is no common understanding as to the nature and the legal implications of the territorial claims and reparations issue in the international scene. This is particularly due to the recent developments concerning the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations, as well as to a lack of historical understanding of the underlying reasons. Armenian Diaspora is specifically concerned with the issue, although the problem does not directly concern Armenian and Turkish national authorities. The individual efforts by the Diaspora cause uncertainty, since the cases are handled by the courts in countries where Armenian Diaspora members reside.

Most of the reports on Turkish-Armenian relations do not touch upon the problem of reparations or the territorial claims. If the problem of reparations and territorial claims is included in the legal context and as a result of the so-called genocide claims, then from a legal point of view, the reports indicate that these two issues do not have retroactive applicability.

“The Genocide Convention contains no provision mandating its retroactive application. To the contrary, the text of the Convention strongly suggests that it was intended to impose prospective obligations only on the States party to it. Therefore, no legal, financial or territorial claim arising out of the Events could successfully be made against any individual or state under the Convention.”²³

It is well emphasized that the legal confirmation of the so-called genocide claims saddles the two sides with prospective responsibilities rather than retroactive responsibilities.²⁴ Therefore, it is claimed that official recognition of the Armenian genocide does not bring any material liabilities to Turkey.

“The genocide resolutions have not drawn any link between acknowledgment of genocide and either reparations or territorial concessions. In fact, the trend

23 Noah’s Dove Returns, p. 22; Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders, p.14

24 Noah’s Dove Returns, p. 22

towards international recognition has not carried any material consequences for the Turkish state."²⁵

Thus, it has been argued that the issue of territorial claims and reparations is not among those demands that are listed in genocide resolutions that are presented to different parliaments and Congresses.²⁶ Still, Turkey's concern on the recognition of genocide and the possibility of arising calls for reparations as well as territorial claims remains.²⁷ Thus, Armenian government did not show any efforts to amend or withdraw references to the Declaration of Independence, in which Turkish East Anatolia lands are called Western Armenia, or to the Ağrı Mountain as the national symbol of the Republic of Armenia.²⁸

Despite the legal implications, Diaspora's efforts towards the recognition of the genocide and therefore reparations and territorial claims still continue. In the reports although it is mentioned that Diaspora's stance on those two issues is softening,²⁹ since it is impossible to find neither harmony nor unity among the Diaspora the issue will remain on the agenda as long as the Diaspora, either individually or via an organization, continues their efforts for that specific cause.³⁰ International Crisis Group's report indicates that a resolution that was submitted to the European Parliament in 2008 is in fact an example of these continued efforts. According to the resolution, Turkey is asked to compensate for the losses suffered by the Armenians in a European-like manner.³¹ Thus another resolution which was presented to the American Congress in 2000 produced the same effect in Turkish foreign policy.

To conclude, the overall opinion on the achievability of the territorial claims and the reparations negates the possibility that Turkey would recognize a so-called Armenian Genocide claim, or any compensation which would arise from that recognition. It is indicated that despite the declining trend, the efforts by the Diaspora and the Armenian authorities to pressurize Turkey to recognize Genocide claims and force it to pay reparations would continue to be influential in the course of Turkish-Armenian relations. Thus, it's also possible to argue that Diaspora would never give up these efforts, since the so-called Genocide is one of the main determinants of the Armenian identity for those living outside the Republic of Armenia. During the course of relations, Turkish and Armenian authorities may take significant steps towards rapprochement, even concerning the genocide claims, while Diaspora's role in the reparations and the territorial claims will continue to remain on the agenda.

25 *Noah's Dove Returns*, p. 22

26 *Noah's Dove Returns*, p.23

27 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.13

28 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.14

29 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p. 1

30 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p. 13

31 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.14

3. Opening of Borders

a. Economic Reasons

Many reports indicate that the isolation has been the most detrimental factor that caused Armenia's economy to suffer, which, in return, has led Armenia to become a politically fragile and dependent country in the region. It is also highlighted that Armenian economy's dependency on the Black Sea ports and railways of Georgia hampers country's trade with the rest of the world.

“Landlocked Armenia, dependent on rail and road connections through Georgia and its Black Sea ports, would gain access to the port of Trabzon if the border with Turkey was opened. Trade with Turkey would begin to flourish and foreign direct investment could rise from very low levels as Armenia's risk perception would be lowered”³²

One-sided dependency increases transportation costs for Armenia's trade with the European countries. Moreover, because of the limited access to world markets, a more competitive and developing market could not be established within Armenia. It is highlighted that Armenia presently carries 70% of its trade through its northern borders.

“Armenia has long wanted an open border with Turkey, a natural trading partner, and the 2008 war underlined its dependence on a volatile Georgia to its north for the passage of 70 percent of its imports. Armenians would see normalization with Ankara as a new opening to Western countries and a point scored against their rivals in Azerbaijan.”³³

Trade from the northern border is dependent on the fragile Georgian ports in the Black Sea that leads to higher transportation costs, expensive and low-capacity trade.

The closed border has raised Armenia's transport costs and made it largely dependent on expensive, low capacity and vulnerable rail and road connections through Georgia and its Black Sea ports.²⁵⁷ An open border would lower these costs and increase flexibility. Potential savings from removal of the embargoes and opening of the railway line are variously estimated to range from \$75 million to \$300 million. While access to Trabzon would be a useful strategic complement to Georgia's port of Poti, Turkish Mediterranean ports like Mersin are even more desirable, since cheaper, large ocean container carriers can use them. Increased choice in trade routes would also reduce Armenia's dependence on Russia³⁴

32 Turkey and Armenia Move to Bury the Hatchet, p.6

33 Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders, p.3

34 Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders, p.28

Armenia's isolation and the resulting over-dependency to Georgian ports leave the country vulnerable to any instability that would arise from a regional conflict. Thus, the Georgian-Russian conflict in August 2008 resulted in Armenia's blockade and caused huge economic shock for the country.

It has been argued that another complication that arises from the isolation which increases Armenia's economic and political vulnerability is its increasing economic dependency on Russia.

Armenia may exploit the new-found opening with Turkey as an important new form of leverage to counter its over-dependence on Russia. Such a move is especially important for Armenia in terms of protecting its already fragile sovereignty and independence in the wake of Russia's recent reassertion of power and influence in the South Caucasus region."³⁵

While Russia "counts on Armenia to maintain its influence in the region... Armenia sees Russia as an ally capable of ensuring its security in a hostile environment."³⁶ On the other hand, it can be argued that Armenia is not comfortable with the increasing dependency on Russia, since Russia's role in keeping status quo in its advance hampers the development and stability in the region, as was the case in Russian-Georgian war. Russia's efforts to keep the status quo in the region, namely keep Armenia's isolation and its dependency on Russian economic support, as well as the conflicts that hampers the regional stability, became a problem for Armenia.

On the other hand, there are other political-strategic reasons behind this harmony between Russia and Armenia,³⁷ although Armenia's isolation is an additional factor that increases the dependency of Armenia to Russia. In the end, Armenia is excluded from the regional energy and development projects, while is becoming more and more dependent on Russia. Moreover, Armenia's isolation leaves the country vulnerable in the face of Russian political and economic interference.

Having listed some of the negative impacts of the closed Armenia-Turkey border, it is well observable that nearly none of the reports mention any Turkish economic losses. Although Turkey is already pursuing region-wide energy and trade projects, it is argued that Russia's intervention in Georgia revealed the vulnerability of the ongoing projects and energy transport. Armenia is therefore presented as an alternative option for the future regional projects.³⁸ Normalization of relations is expected to bring about stability and security, which would in turn provide a convenient basis for enhanced cooperation in the region. Thus, it is generally argued that Turkey's efforts for the normalization of relations would bring economic and political gains as well.

35 *Changing Armenia-Turkish Relations*, Fokus Südkaukasus & Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, January 2009, p.4

36 *Armenia, a Russian Outpost in the Caucasus?* by Gaidz Minassian, IFRI, February 2008, p.4

37 *Armenia, a Russian Outpost in the Caucasus?*, pp.7-12

38 *Agenda for Armenian Foreign Policy*, p.37

Armenia

Unlike Turkey, Armenia is expected to highly benefit from a possible opening of border with Turkey. Reports indicate that with the opening of borders, trade as well as investment and financing opportunities with Turkey would commence.³⁹ Also, the opening of borders would decrease Armenia's trade costs and provide Armenia with economic flexibility. It is highlighted that lifting of embargo and the opening of the railway line would provide 75-300 million dollars of saving, as it would also open access to Trabzon and Mersin ports of Turkey.⁴⁰

According to the reports, another benefit for Armenia would arise from the increasing investments to Armenia, since the risks and isolation would be eliminated by cooperation and regional integration. Thus, in-country production is also expected to increase.⁴¹ International Crisis Group suggests that with the opening of border, it is highly probable that the costs of production in the construction sector would be decreased as the Turkish companies enter Armenian market. It is estimated that the amount of bilateral trade, which increased from 30 million dollars in 1997 to 120 million dollars in 2007, would reach 300 million dollars if and when the borders are opened.⁴² Electricity trade has already begun in 2008. Thus, the reports indicate that Armenia would be able to find new partners in railway and electricity sectors, which would enhance security of its arteries of commerce and diminish the possibility of a Turkish threat.⁴³

Another report which was made prepared by the European Parliament suggests that not imports from but exports to Turkey would begin to rise by a factor of 14, while total imports from Turkey are expected to increase by a factor of 2.6.⁴⁴ Same report highlights the possibility of a revival in electricity, metal production, and textile and ironware industries.⁴⁵ GDP would increase 0.67% and payments 0.28%, while 1500 new jobs are expected to be created. Per capita income is expected to increase 0.5% and tax revenues would increase 1.16%. Accordingly, 5 years after the opening of borders, country's economy is expected to grow 2.7%.⁴⁶

Despite the gains, according to some reports, Armenia could also experience problems with the opening of borders in specific areas. Firstly, an uncontrolled opening of the Armenian market to outside world is assumed to break down the competitiveness of the Armenian small producers.⁴⁷ Secondly, it is suggested that Armenian population would possibly emigrate because of the harsh economic conditions in the country.⁴⁸

39 *Turkey and Armenia Move to Bury the Hatchet*, p.6

40 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.28

41 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.28

42 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.28

43 *Armenia and Turkey: A Door Opens Slowly*, p.1-2

44 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.12

45 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.12

46 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, 13-14

47 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.3

48 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.14-15

Politically, many reports underline that Armenia has a fragile political structure. In recent years, and since the independence, Armenia has been witnessing internal political struggles, which are further deepened with the economic problems that arise from the closed borders.⁴⁹ The fragile political conditions in Armenia contribute to the ongoing economic and political dependency on Russia, which in return prevents Armenia from developing a more multilateral foreign policy approach. Armenia's regional position and prestige is therefore overshadowed by the increasing Russian influence. The root of many problems of Armenia, The Nagorno-Karabakh issue could not be resolved although both Azerbaijan and Armenia are seeking ways to find a solution under third party mediation (i.e. Russian patronage). Thus, the competition between Russia and the Western powers that see the region as of critical importance does negate the possibility of a solution, as the parties are either trying to keep the status quo (i.e. Russia) or change the conjuncture so that they could develop alternative policies to contain Russia's regional influence. The instability and insecurity in the region deepened with the eruption of Georgian-Russian war in August 2008.

In many reports, it is suggested that the opening of borders with Turkey is a priority for Armenian foreign policy. One reason is that Turkey is seen as a natural trade partner for Armenia, for reasons outlined in the previous paragraphs.⁵⁰ Moreover, it has been argued that the closed border results in political and economic instability for Armenia, and increases its dependency on Russian Federation.

Thirdly, it is argued that opening of borders would provide Armenia with the proper basis to gain more power during the negotiations with Azerbaijan. Accordingly, this would mean a victory for the government about a very urgent foreign policy issue; therefore strengthen the position in domestic politics.⁵¹

In most of the reports, the opening of border is evaluated not only as an economic relief but also as a politically and socially beneficial development. It is also suggested that the integration of Armenia via opening of borders would help resolve Karabakh problem as well as contribute to regional stability.⁵²

Many reports suggest that the opening of borders would contribute to the Turkish-Armenian human interaction and therefore help eliminate cultural, social and ideological differences. It is also expected that the opening of border would positively influence Armenian public opinion, because it would reduce an exaggerated belief and political movements which are fed with this belief, which foments hatred against the Turks. It has also been argued that with the increasing human interaction, media and press rapprochement would follow and that would help create a common understanding of different public opinions to be voiced and heard.⁵³

49 *Changing Armenia-Turkish Relations*, p.4

50 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p. 4

51 *Changing Armenia-Turkish Relations*, p.1

52 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.3

53 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.14, p.25

Turkey

Compared to Armenia's economic and political gains, the position of Turkey as uttered by Think Tank reports seem to be more limited. At that point, it is suggested that economically Turkey's possible gains will be limited and regional than international. With the opening of borders, it is generally claimed that Turkey's east will benefit economically, especially in the agriculture, tourism and energy sectors. Reports highlight that Armenia is able to offer energy supply, through the possible export of surplus electricity to Eastern Turkey, and as an agricultural producer.⁵⁴ Thus, during the Soviet era, Armenia had exported electricity to Turkey. After President Gül's visit to Armenia in September 2008, Turkey declared its intention to buy Armenian electricity, and today the talks on the electricity imports from Armenia continue. Accordingly, Armenia is expected to supply Turkey with 1.5 billion kw/h of electricity per year, which would gradually increase up to 3.5 billion kw/h in the coming years. Despite the preparatory works were finished, the electricity trade that was to start in April 2009 has not been launched due to technical problems.

Reports suggest that another economically beneficial effect of the opening of border for Turkey comes from the tourism sector.⁵⁵ It is indicated that Turkey's Eastern part is host to several Armenian historical sites, such as recently restored Armenian Church of Surp Haç placed on Akdamar Island, "Kız Kilisesi" in Edremit Van and ruins of Ani.⁵⁶ With the opening of borders, it is assumed that Armenian tourist will begin to visit these sites, which in return is expected to revive economic activity in the region.⁵⁷ For historical reasons Armenians see this region, and other places like Adana (for there was a kingdom called "Kilikya Armenian Kingdom" in the past) as of critical importance for Armenian historical identity. This view of Turkish lands as the historical Armenian territory is also the basis for territorial claims. But still, it is argued that the opening of borders, to the degree that it helps develop communication between Turkish and Armenian societies, would provide an opportunity for Turkey to come to terms with the Armenian public opinion.

Thirdly, it is indicated that lower labor costs on the Armenian side will inevitably attract Turkish producers to make investments in Armenia.⁵⁸ Economically, this will help Turkish producers to benefit from the low-cost production and present their products in the Armenian market. Because of the isolation and the high import costs, Armenian consumers seek alternative and cheaper products in all sectors, which present an economic opportunity for Turkish producers.

Another economic and strategic benefit for Turkey if borders are opened is expected to

54 *Changing Armenia-Turkish Relations*, p.4

55 *Armenia and Turkey: A Door Opens Slowly*, p.1

56 *Towards a Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement*, p.29

57 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.3;

58 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.3

enhance Turkey's role as a trade hub country.⁵⁹ Accordingly, this would increase the importance of Trabzon port as well as its competitiveness in international trade by providing the city with an economic hinterland and allow the city to compete with the Georgian port.⁶⁰ Moreover, with the opening of borders, Turkey should host more active north-south, east-west trade corridors.⁶¹ It is claimed that Arpaçay border crossing would yield significant benefits for the local population in the underdeveloped province of Kars, Iğdır, Trabzon and Erzurum.⁶²

Concerning Turkey's political motives, the reports provide a more detailed account of the implications for opening of the borders. It is assumed that one of the most intriguing motives for Turkey to open its border grows out of a necessity to promote the securitization of the Caucasus region, which experience frozen and hot conflicts that carries the possibility to hamper regional security, stability and cooperation. Thus, most of the reports indicate that the international community is becoming more and more aware of the potential role for Turkey in the Caucasus region, as well as the need for a more involved and flexible approach in the regional affairs. Especially after the recent conflict that erupted between Georgia and Russian Federation in 2008, together with the shift of Turkey's initial foreign policy priorities into "zero-problem with neighbors",⁶³ the rapprochement process between Turkey and Armenia is seen more like a securitization process by the international community.

Therefore, an analysis of Turkey's political motives behind the rapprochement process is of critical importance for understanding the formation of a new political conundrum in the Caucasus region.

Reports indicate that Turkey's relations with the European Union, the promise of full membership and relations with the West are basic motivations for the country to show efforts towards the normalization of relations. Thus, it is well known that open borders is an EU membership requirement,⁶⁴ although European Union violated this principle in the membership of Southern Cyprus case. Still, Turkey's efforts to play a more constructive and effective role in the Caucasus is seen as a factor that will boost Turkey's European credentials and image in a critical point during membership negotiations.⁶⁵ It is argued that opening of borders with Armenia would provide Turkey with a relief off the pressures from the Western partners on relations with Armenia and the Diaspora's efforts to isolate and keep down Turkey in the international arena.⁶⁶ Some reports even claim that reconciliation with Armenia would increase "the credibility of arguments that

59 *Closed Armenian-Turkish Border*, p.3

60 *Closed Armenian-Turkish Border*, p.17

61 *Closed Armenian-Turkish Border*, p.18

62 *Closed Armenian-Turkish Border*, p. 16; *Towards a Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement*, p. 29

63 *Turkey and Armenia Move to Bury the Hatchet*, p.6

64 *Turkey and Armenia Move to Bury the Hatchet*, p.1

65 *The Dynamics of Change in the Southern Caucasus*, p. 3

66 *Changing Armenia-Turkey Relations*, p.4

id does not need external pressure to address historical disputes with its neighbors, a position that could help stop international qualification of the 1915 events as genocide.”⁶⁷ Moreover, it is believed that Turkish-Armenian rapprochement would help pro-Turkish sentiments in the European Union gain weight against those proponents of alternative membership status for Turkey.⁶⁸ An open border with Armenia is seen as a sign of positive domestic reform for Turkey.

Reports also suggest that opening of borders should help create alternative communication and transportation route for energy resources and trade. Accordingly, this would also help secure the already existing routes via Turkey and South Caucasus region as this new route will help develop regional cooperation.⁶⁹ The regional integration, it is assumed, would create bonds that prevent conflicts or help solve disputes via dialogue and not by confrontation. It is claimed that the security building process would be strengthened by Turkish-Armenian rapprochement,⁷⁰ pave the way for recognition of borders, and in the last analysis help overcome the “other” perception⁷¹ in Turkish-Armenian relations. Moreover, with the economic and political improvements in the region, the opening of border can also positively affect Kurdish problem by providing stability eastern parts of Turkey.

“...opening of the border has also acquired a new significance for Turkey, as the need to stabilize the eastern Kurdish regions of Turkey has become an even more essential element of Turkish national security.”⁷²

4. Normalization of Relations and Recognition of Territorial Integrity

In the course of the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations, one of the most critical problems has been the issue of the recognition of mutual borders and territorial integrity. The problem arises from the Turkish perception of Armenian Declaration of Independence that refers to Turkey’s Eastern provinces as “Western Armenia”, while one of the most significant Armenian national symbols has been the Ağrı Mountain. Turkey’s concern is further deepened as Armenia “has been refraining from giving official notification to the effect that it is recognizing the 13 October 1921 Kars Treaty which delineated the border between Turkey and Armenia – the treaty that was signed by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic”⁷³ An interview conducted by Nursun Erel with the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Vartan Oskanian in December 2006 reveals unofficial but still rather frequently spoken out rejection of Kars Treaty by the government and state officials. Oskanian claims that:

67 *Towards a Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement*, p.3

68 *Towards a Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement*. p.3

69 *Breaking the Vicious Circle*, TESEV & Caucasus Institute, April 2009, p.10

70 *Breaking the Vicious Circle*, p.14–15

71 *Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p. 25

72 *Changing Armenia-Turkish Relations*, p.3

73 Lüttem, Ömer Engin “Facts and Comments” *Review of Armenian Studies*, Number 10, Volume 4 – 2006

The Treaty of Kars is in force as far as I'm concerned, because Armenia is a successor in recognizing the Soviet treaties. And as long as any treaty hasn't been renounced officially or replaced by a new one, it has been in force. But the problem is that the agreement has been violated so much by the Turkish side. If a legal expert looks at this agreement and the way it's been implemented, I'm not sure if the legal experts would conclude that this is a valid treaty. The violation is from the Turkish side, (because of) having closed its borders with Armenia, and this is a violation of the Treaty of Kars.⁷⁴

In fact, The Treaty of Kars states that certain agreements concluded in the past are void and that no international document not recognized by Turkey will be recognized. In this manner with the Treaty of Kars, Armenia, as with the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, all have officially accepted not recognizing the Sevres Treaty. Moreover, it is not possible to interpret any article of the Treaty of Kars as foreseeing that it shall become null and void in the event that the border between two countries is closed, since there has been no official declaration by the Armenian government stating that the Treaty has been breached or is void also bears that the treaty is still in force.

Reports on Turkish-Armenian relations agree that despite Armenia's readiness and in fact insistence to begin the normalization of bilateral relations without preconditions,⁷⁵ Turkey has concerns on the recognition of territorial integrity, Karabakh issue and the genocide claims. Most reports indicate that Armenia's desire to establish relations without setting preconditions also meant that Armenia actually did not expect Turkey to acknowledge genocide.⁷⁶ But still, it is common knowledge that neither Armenian government nor Diaspora could and would abandon the policy for the recognition of genocide. Obviously, what "unconditional" normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia involves not the genocide propaganda, but the problematic issue of Karabakh settlement, as the Armenian government is both internationally and regionally stranded by the resolution of this critical problem.

International reports present no common understanding of a possible solution of the issue of setting preconditions for the normalization of relations. Some reports suggest that for the sake of building mutual confidence and in order to be able to resolve issues that prevent the two sides from establishing normal relations, Turkey must lay aside setting any preconditions, such as the resolution of Karabakh issue, since Turkey's closure of the border with Armenia was a reaction to the occupation of Karabakh and the surrounding provinces.⁷⁷ Still, Turkey's foreign policy shift is considered to be a critical factor that would lead the way for a possible abandonment of setting preconditions for the normalization process.⁷⁸ And in fact, recent signing of the "Protocol on the

74 "Interview with Vartan Oskanian" by Nursun Erel - TNA/Yerevan, *The New Anatolian*, 04 December 2006

75 *Agenda for Armenian Foreign Policy*, p. 35; *Noah's Dove Returns*, p.1

76 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.6

77 *Forward to the Past: Russia, Turkey and Armenia's Faith*, The Armenian Center for National and International Studies, p.2

78 *Agenda for Armenian Foreign Policy*, p.35

Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia” and “Protocol on Development of Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey” was basically a sign of Turkey’s diplomatic attempt to overcome the issue of preconditions, despite Turkish government’s declaration that Karabakh issue is still on the agenda as the ratification process of the two protocols would inevitably involve consideration of the forthcoming developments in Armenia-Azerbaijan relations on a possible resolution of the Karabakh problem. It can be argued that Armenian side’s reconfirmation of the validity of Kars Treaty, also still far from being persuasive, were also influential in the signing of the Protocols. Therefore, Turkey still reserves the right to reconsider the ratification process by indirectly setting preconditions for the normalization of relations.

Other reports highlight that for the normalization process to be successful, both sides should be ready to make mutual concessions and be released from any precondition that involves third parties.⁷⁹ Many reports emphasize the need for a positive rapprochement process and the critical importance of Turkey’s choice concerning the preconditions. Still, it is also highlighted that Armenia should also fulfill its obligations for achieving progress, such as showing Turkey that Armenia “has no territorial claim on Turkey by explicitly recognizing its territorial integrity within the borders laid out in the 1921 Treaty of Kars.”⁸⁰ It is further argued that such an approach would also encourage Turkish government to be more open in its approach on the incidents of 1915.⁸¹

Since the reports that are examined in this article were written mostly before the signing of the protocols. Therefore, the issues of preconditions and the recognition of territorial integrity remained critically important until the two sides agreed on the current context of the diplomatic accord. The intricacy of the above mentioned reports to the issue of preconditions emanates from the uncertainty as to how this particular problem could influence the normalization process. In the end, both sides seem to agree that mutual concessions were given as the preconditions practically continue to remain on the domestic agenda of the two countries.

5. Turkey-Armenia Relations and the Nagorno-Karabakh Dispute

The Nagorno-Karabakh Dispute is one of the most critical problems in Turkish-Armenian relations. Turkey’s closure of its border with Armenia came as a result of Armenian-Azeri conflict which led to the invasion of Karabakh and the five surrounding provinces by Armenian forces. Today, Armenian and Azeri sides continue negotiations on the resolution of Karabakh dispute under OSCE’s Minsk Group mediation. Although

79 *Breaking the Vicious Circle*, p.15; *Agenda for Armenian Foreign Policy*, pp. 22–23

80 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p. 6

81 *Armenia and Turkey: A Door Open Slowly* p.1

the conflict erupted in Azerbaijan territory, Turkey reacted harshly and closed the border in March 1992.

Reports present different opinions on Turkey's involvement in the Nagorno-Karabakh Dispute. There is a strong emphasis on the Armenian demand that Turkey abandon its position as a party to the conflict, which would initially lead to opening of borders and normalization.⁸² It is suggested that Karabakh dispute must be kept aside from the Karabakh dispute, which is seen as a bilateral issue between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Despite the common vision on Turkey's attitude in the Karabakh dispute, reports also emphasize that Turkey should be more actively and objectively involved in the resolution of the dispute.⁸³ International Crisis Group suggests that Turkey should be "a part of a comprehensive process of conflict resolution... which includes troop withdrawals, deployment of peacekeeping forces and return of displaced persons."⁸⁴ In fact Turkey's emphasis on the resolution of the Karabakh dispute can also be interpreted as a sign of the country's involvement in the process, but Armenian side reads this attitude as a precondition⁸⁵ for the normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia. Thus, reports indicate that Turkey is already eager to act as a negotiator between the two sides, and argue that Turkey's policy of bringing stability and security to the South Caucasus also requires the resolution of this conflict that will inevitably lead to normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia.⁸⁶ It is also emphasized that Armenian side is in "occupier" position and expects Armenia to obey international law as well as UN Security Council Resolutions 822, 853, 874, 884.⁸⁷

Conclusion

Since both Armenia and Turkey were ready for a rapprochement process that is favorable for their interests, then what has changed to motivate sides to begin establishing dialogue? Think-Tank opinion on the future of Turkish-Armenian relations focuses mainly on three factors that promotes rapprochement. Firstly, Georgian-Russian war has revealed that the region is vulnerable and keeping the status quo is no more the justifiable option. Armenian policy on Nagorno-Karabakh, its relations with Turkey and Azerbaijan, as well as the alliance with Russia is still based on keeping the dynamics of the region unchanged. Azerbaijan's increasing military and economic power and Turkey's involvement in the region made it impossible for Armenia to wait "the Karabakh problem to solve itself."⁸⁸ But August War triggered Armenia to move forward

82 *The Closed Armenia-Turkey Border*, p.7; *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.6

83 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.7

84 *Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders*, p.7

85 *Turkey and Armenia Move to Bury the Hatchet*, p.3

86 *Towards a Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement?* p.24

87 *Turkey-Armenia Relations: A Vicious Circle*, p.15

88 *After Soccer Diplomacy: The Turkish-Armenian Relations*, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Spotlight Europe No:10, October 2009, p.2

and begin a facilitating a more active policy in the region. On the other hand, Turkey also became aware of the need to become deeply involved in the region and directly engage regional problems so that it would be possible to pacify probable eruption of future conflicts.

Secondly, international community began to motivate the two sides for reconciliation, after the August 2008 war. Enhanced cooperation with Russia provided Turkey with the necessary support by the most influential actor of the region. On the other hand, with the coming of new US President Obama, Armenian side also began to look for alternative options in the region with the motivation by American policy-makers. President Sarkisyan's domestic policy also forced him to seek succeed in the international arena so as to persuade Armenian public opinion. The success of Armenian domestic politics is strictly bound with international support to Armenian government and its economic implications for Armenian population, which may have persuaded Sarkisyan to take steps for reconciliation. Thus, the intention to realign Armenia's regional role to adopt new alternative policies has been uttered several times, while reports pay much attention to the possibility of Armenia adopt a new regional role.

Thirdly, Turkey's foreign policy shift is seen as a significant factor that influenced the course of Turkish-Armenian relations. The policy of "zero-problem with neighbors" adopted during the advisory office of Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu and was actively implemented during his Ministry has provided a regional outlook for Turkey to adopt a securitizing mission in its neighborhood. This outlook was enhanced by attempts toward establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia and positive reactions from Armenian side and international community. Today, Turkish foreign policy is seen as being more and more actively engaged in regional and international affairs. Reports that were examined in this study clearly exemplify this perception developing in the West and in the rest of the world.

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THE ARMENIAN QUESTION: SCHOLARLY ETHICS AND METHODOLOGY

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Abstract: *Following the assassination of the renowned Turkish Armenian journalist Hrant Dink, two Turkish authors, Temel Demirer and Sibel Özbudun, published an article dealing with the Armenian Question entitled “1,500,001st Ahbarik”. While it is understandable and necessary to express moral outrage over the horrible murder of Dink, the authors’ article goes beyond this point, and engages in the polemics over the tragic incidents of 1915. Moreover, the quotations and footnote citations presented by the authors in their article raises certain ethical questions since on close inspection, these reveal that the authors have not actually consulted or checked the sources they cite. Rather the two authors copied the references from different authors with citation errors and hence without proper acknowledgment. This article will discuss these points by presenting specific examples.*

Key Words: *Temel Demirer, Sibel Özbudun, Armenian Question, Scholarly Ethics.*

Introduction

Following the assassination of the renowned Turkish Armenian journalist Hrant Dink, two Turkish authors, Temel Demirer and Sibel Özbudun, published an article dealing with the Armenian Question entitled “1,500,001st Ahbarik”. After being published in several journals, the article finally appeared in a book, comprised of the authors’ collected essays and entitled *Hayır Evet’ten Önce Gelir, Hukuk(suzluk) Yazıları (No Comes Before Yes, Essays on (Il)Legality)*.¹ Dink, an important bridge between Armenian and Turkish peoples, was also a highly regarded journalist and intellectual of Turkey. While it is understandable and necessary to express moral outrage over the horrible murder of Dink, the authors’ article goes well beyond this point and discusses the subject on a completely different level. It should be noted that the title of the article runs parallel to the expression “1.5 million + 1,” which was earlier formulated by the English journalist and author Robert Fisk, whereby Hrant Dink’s name has become an instrument for the politicized genocide debates.

1 Sibel Özbudun and Temel Demirer, *Hayır Evet’ten Önce Gelir: Hukuk(suzluk) Yazıları (No Comes Before yes, Essays on (Il)Legality)*, Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 2008, pp. 161–179. The first page of the article, page 169, provides a list of journals the article has been published in previously.

In discussing the 1915 Armenian relocation, which they describe as an act of “genocide,” the authors arrived at various conclusions, some of which are highly contentious. Moreover, the authors’ article and attitude raises certain “technical and ethical” problems. This short critique, which essentially focuses on such “technical and ethical” problems, does not seek to provide a comprehensive analysis of the tragic events of 1915. It is, therefore, beyond the scope of this short article to assess whether or not there was a deliberate or systematic policy of genocide toward the Armenian population during the First World War.

Technical Problems

A close examination of the article reveals that the authors are not in command of the subject matter that they discuss, and have approached the issue from quite a narrow and ideological perspective. The article is also problematic with respect to the accuracy of the quotations presented and the cited sources. In addition, the authors do not seem to be familiar enough with certain individuals on whom they provide speculative assessments.

The authors correctly note that a greater emphasis should be placed on the human dimension of the tragic occurrences of 1915. Within this context, the authors approvingly quote another observer, Markar Eseyan as stating that “before anything else, it is necessary to develop a moral and scrupulous approach” with regard to the tragic events of 1915, and, thus, indicate their belief that the Armenian issue should be approached in this way. However, the authors’ attitude displayed in the article casts doubt on their sincerity on these points. The authors’ use of Ahmet Refik (Altınay)’s account and attempt to conceal the massacres committed against the Muslims is a case in point. In a booklet published in the armistice period, the anti-Unionist author Ahmet Refik spoke of “the Armenians’ Van massacre” (p.164), an expression which he used to describe the massacres of the Muslim population committed by the Armenians in the province of Van. In using Ahmet Refik’s account, however, the authors rendered this specific expression in modern Turkish as “Armenians’ Van battle” (p.164). Because of this seemingly minor alteration made by the authors, the readers with limited knowledge on the subject will not be able to realize that Ahmet Refik is, in fact, referring to the massacres committed against Muslims in Van. Such attempts on part of the authors to cover up the massacres perpetrated upon the Muslim population, unfortunately, do not contribute to the development of a “moral and scrupulous approach” on the catastrophic events of 1915.

The article under review also addresses some questions on several aspects of the Armenian tragedy, some of which are significant in demonstrating the extent of the authors’ research and knowledge on the subject. One such question is the following: “How close was it to the battlefield that of the 63 thousand Catholic Armenians in the State of Ankara – these were an apolitical community being culturally and politically different than the Gregorian Armenians – 61 thousand were subjected to the relocation?” (p.175). The number 63 thousand, which the authors put as the number of Catholic

Armenians in the nonexistent “State” of Ankara, in fact represents the total number of Catholic Armenians in the whole of the Ottoman Empire (63,967). It should also be clear to the readers that it would be unrealistic to argue that all of the Catholic Armenians of the empire were living only within the “province” of Ankara, which the authors incorrectly refer to as a state.

In support of their contentions, the authors also present some interesting quotations and passages from certain sources. However, some of these quotations contain serious inaccuracies and are presented in quite a different form than the actual versions in the original sources. One such quotation presented by the authors is the statement made by (Hafiz) Mehmet Emin Bey, the deputy for Trabzon, during his speech on the Armenian Question in the Ottoman Parliament:

Hafiz Mehmet, himself an ardent Unionist and a member of the Ottoman Parliament, stated that, “I saw [this] with my own eyes. They were putting the Armenians on boats in Samsun, and then were killing them by tipping them into the sea. I have talked to Talat about this, [but] I could not prevent it.” In any case, it was Talat Pasha who arranged the whole affair. (p.168)

The statement quoted above, which the authors attributed to the Trabzon deputy (Hafiz), is taken from an interview conducted with Taner Akçam by the Turkish journalist Neşe Düzel and published in 2005 by the Turkish daily *Radikal*.² Yet, the quotation has been rendered rather differently from Mehmet Emin Bey’s actual speech in the Ottoman Parliament. First of all, the incident did not take place in Samsun, but in the district of Ordu. Second and more importantly, the statements made by Mehmet Emin Bey about the incident which he saw with his “own eyes” actually indicates the opposite of what the authors made him say:

There was a prefect in Ordu district. He loaded a boat with the Armenians on the pretext of sending them to Samsun, and had them tipped into the sea. I heard that Governor [of Trabzon] Cemal Azmi had treated them in the same way. I could not go that far. I had to return from the district of Ordu. As soon as I arrived here, I told what I witnessed to the Interior Minister [Talat Pasha]. Thereafter, they sent an inspector and dismissed the prefect. They put him on trial.³

2 Neşe Düzel, “Atatürk ‘katiller’ diye bağırıyordu (Atatürk was screaming ‘murderers’),” *Radikal*, 30.05.2005. The complete interview can be found on the following website: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=154213>

3 In the rest of the speech, Mehmet Emin Bey states the following about Governor Cemal Azmi: “But I could not have them do anything about the Governor. Perhaps I have struggled for three years but nothing happened.” Here, the difference between a witnessed incident and a rumor should also be kept in mind. In addition to this, in the same speech Mehmet Emin Bey also related how he and the Greek deputy Kofidi Efendi complained to Talat Pasha about a lieutenant-governor that engaged in violent acts against the Greek population in Samsun and how Talat Pasha had dismissed the governor the following day: “We came here together with Kofi Efendi and told Talat Pasha. Thereafter, he [Talat Pasha] dismissed the lieutenant-governor the following day.” *Meclisi Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*, Term 3, Assembly year 5, vol. 1, Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 1992, p.300.

As can be seen from the above passage, Mehmet Emin Bey does not speak of an event that he saw with his “own eyes” and which he could not prevent after having talked to the Interior Minister Talat Pasha. On the contrary, according to Mehmet Emin Bey’s statements, the district prefect was removed from his post and put on trial. Therefore, the authors seem to have not been careful enough with regard to the reliability of the sources they utilized and accuracy of the quotations they presented.

The authors also discuss the role and activity of the prisoners that were released during the war. According to the authors, these people were released so as to annihilate Armenian convoys which were subjected to the relocation:

Upon an amnesty decreed by the Interior Ministry and the Ministry of Justice, thousands of ferocious criminals have been released from the prisons of Istanbul and other provinces to be used in the massacres, and after receiving the military training, they have been sent in the form of bands to their “mission” zones to eliminate the Armenian problem. Their mission was to ambush and destroy the Armenian convoys which were deported, and it can be said that they have thoroughly fulfilled their duties (p.173).

The authors, however, fail to adduce anything in support of this critical assertion while also indicating their lack of knowledge in that the use of prisoners for military duty during wartime had precedent and was used by other countries during the First World War.⁴ Moreover, the authors seem unaware that the persons whose names they held in high esteem and whom they mention with praise also rejected this allegation. For instance, in his testimony given at the Yozgat Trial “Cemal Bey, the lieutenant governor of Yozgat” whom the authors list in their article among the “real and sane Turks” and whom they praise as the “honor” of Turks, had indicated that this accusation was not correct. At the 11th session of the Yozgat Trial, the public prosecutor asked Cemal Bey the following question: “When we entered the Great War, a band was formed out of the able-bodied men from the prisons. There is the possibility that this could be about the Armenians. Is this the case?” In response, Cemal Bey stated that “These [prisoners] have not been released for the Armenians. In fact, I had been hearing that those who still kept misbehaving among these murderers were being hanged by the telegraph poles.”⁵

Ethical Problems

Throughout the article, the two authors present various passages dressed in quotation marks by referring to certain sources. However, a careful inspection of the footnotes provided by the authors reveal that the two authors have not actually seen or checked the

4 For example, “During World War I, U.S. courts released almost 8.000 men convicted of serious offenses on condition of their induction into military service.” Guenter Lewy, “Revisiting the Armenian Genocide,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol.12, No:4, 2005, p.8.

5 Nejdet Bilgi, *Yozgat Ermeni Tehciri Davası (Yozgat Trial)*, Istanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2006, p.256; ?İkdam Version”.

sources they cited. Rather the authors seem to have copied these quotations and references, along with citation errors, from the works of other authors who had earlier utilized these sources. The limited examples discussed below may help to give the readers an idea on these points.

Plagiarism: On the Figures Given by Eşref Kuşçubaşı

In discussing the treatment accorded to the Christian populations in Western Anatolia in 1914, Temel Demirer and Sibel Özbudun provide the following information:

Eşref Kuşçubaşı, a leader in the Special Organization, says that alone in 1914, and in the first months of the war, the number of deported from “the Greek-Armenian population...who were settled and concentrated in the Aegean region, especially in the coastal areas” was 1,115,000 (p.172).

As their source for the sentence given within quotation marks in the above quote, the authors refer to the sixth page of a book by the Turkish author Cemal Kutay entitled *Birinci Dünya Harbinde Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa ve Hayber’de Türk Cengi (The Special Organization in WWI and the Turkish Battle at Khayber)* which comprises Kutay’s interviews with Eşref Kuşçubaşı, a prominent member of the Ottoman Special Organization (hereafter S.O.). Unfortunately, the general flow of the sentence given above, which the authors present as their own sentence, has been lifted from another book without proper acknowledgement. In discussing the deportation of Christians in Western Anatolia, in his book entitled *Ermeni Tabusu Aralanırken Diyalogdan Başka Çözüm Var mı? (As the Armenian Taboo is Exposed, Is There Any Solution Besides Dialogue?)*, Taner Akçam wrote the following:

Kuşçubaşı says that alone in 1914 and the first months of the war, the number of deported from ‘the Greek-Armenian population... who were settled and concentrated in the Aegean region, especially in the coastal areas’ was 1.150.000.⁶

As his source for the sentences given within quotation marks in the above passage, Akçam refers to the sixth page of Kutay’s aforementioned book. However, page six of the book in question does not contain any number or information which could form any basis for the above quotation. The sixth page is the last page of Cemal Kutay’s preface for his book and does not contain any statement made by Eşref Kuşçubaşı. Rather the number mentioned above can be found on the 60th page of Kutay’s work:

[I]t was plainly visible that if the Greek-Armenian population of 1,150,000 in the Aegean region, settled and concentrated especially in the coastal areas, had not

6 Taner Akçam, *Ermeni Tabusu Aralanırken Diyalogdan Başka Çözüm Var mı? (As the Armenian Taboo is Exposed, Is There Any Solution Besides Dialogue?)* Istanbul: Su Yayınları, 2002, p.225.

*been taken to the interior a short time before the outbreak of the war and during the first months of the war, then even the defense in Çanakkale [Gallipoli] would not have been possible.*⁷

When referring to this sentence and the figure given on the 60th page of Kutay's book, Taner Akçam mistakenly refers to the page "6" of the book in question. Taner Akçam repeats this reference error in all of his works that use this specific figure and statement from Kuşçubaşı.⁸ Following this reference error, Demirel and Özbudun, who have copied the quotation and reference word for word from Taner Akçam, also cites the incorrect page number of "6" in Kutay's work as a reference for their assertions. In addition, the two authors also make a copying error by incorrectly giving the number as "1,115,000", the correct version of which is given by Akçam and Kutay as 1,150,000. The figure of "1,150,000" deported, which is given for "1914 alone" is grossly exaggerated. There is no other source that verifies and corroborates the existence of a population movement on such a massive scale "in 1914 alone". That Akçam and the authors make this assertion by referring to Kuşçubaşı also does not change this reality.

Plagiarism: Celal Bayar and Numbers

Immediately after quoting the statement of Eşref Kuşçubaşı examined above, the authors contend that:

Celal Bayar, who quotes extensively from Kuşçubaşı's memoirs, gives separate figures for specific cities. The total number of these is the same as the figure above [i.e. 1,150,000] (p.172).

As their source for this assertion, the authors refer to the fifth volume and the 1576th page of Celal Bayar's memoirs, the title of which the authors give as *Ben de Yazdım (I, too, Have Written)*, and which they likely have not seen or checked. Unfortunately, this sentence, too, has been copied word for word and without proper acknowledgement from Taner Akçam's book mentioned above. In his footnote, Taner Akçam, after having provided an (inaccurate) reference to Kutay's book, adds the following information:

*Celal Bayar, who quotes extensively from Kuşçubaşı's memoirs, gives separate figures for specific cities. The total number of these is the same as the figure above.*⁹

7 Cemal Kutay, *Dünya Harbinde Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa ve Hayber'de Türk Cengi (The Special Organization in WWI and the Turkish Battle at Khayber)*, İstanbul: Tarih Yayınları, 1962, p.60.

8 Taner Akçam, *İnsan Hakları ve Ermeni Sorunu, İttihat ve Terakki'den Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2002, p.191 footnote 452 Taner Akçam, *Armenien und der Völkermord: Die Istanbul Prozesse und die türkische Nationalbewegung*, Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2004, p.43; p.373, note 102. Taner Akçam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide*, London: Zed Books, 2004, p.147, p.156 note 120. Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006, p.106, p.403 note 150. Taner Akçam, *Ermeni Meselesi Hallolunmuştur*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008, p.100 footnote 77.

9 Taner Akçam, *Ermeni Tabusu...(As the Armenian Taboo...)*, p.205 footnote 251

In support of this assertion, Akçam refers to page 1576 of the fifth volume of Bayar's work *Ben de Yazdım: Milli Mücadeleye Giriş (I, too, Have Written: Joining the National Struggle)*. However, since Akçam earlier referred to Bayar's memoirs in his study, in his subsequent references to these memoirs, Akçam provides an abridged version of its title as *Ben de Yazdım (I, too, Have Written)*. Not realizing this, Demirer and Özbudun, who lifted the sentence and the reference exactly from Akçam, assume that this abridged version, provided in Akçam's footnote, is the full title of the Bayar's memoirs and therefore they cite the title of this memoir in this incomplete form in their article. Another point demonstrating that the authors have copied the sentence and reference from Akçam is that they are again repeating a mistake made by Akçam. Notwithstanding Akçam's claims, the total of the figures given in Bayar's memoirs do not make 1,150,000 as had been claimed. The total of the figures given in Bayar's memoirs is 760,000:

*There were 120,000 Greeks concentrated in the region of Ayvalik gulf; 90,000 in the Çanakkale region (including the town itself); 190,000 in the capital of İzmir; 130,000 in the region from Urla peninsula and southeast İzmir to Çeşme; 80,000 in the environs of Aydın; 150,000 in and around Akhisar, Manisa, Alaşehir, and Uşak.*¹⁰

As Demirer and Özbudun have not actually seen or checked the source they cite, they could not notice this discrepancy and repeated Akçam's mistake in claiming that the total of the figures given in Bayar's memoirs is 1,150,000. Within this context, it is necessary to draw attention to another issue. Immediately after the above figures, Bayar's memoirs provide the following information as an addition: "As a result of the continuous emigration made from Greece [to these islands], there gathered a population of up to 150,000 in Mitylene, 70,000 in Chios, and 100,000 in Samos."¹¹

Presumably, adding these figures given for the islands to the other numbers mentioned above, Akçam reaches a figure close to "1,150,000". From this point, Akçam, thus, concludes that the figures provided by Bayar confirms and corroborates the number given by Kuşçubaşı in Kutay's aforementioned book. However, it should be noted that none of these three islands, which were lost to the Ottomans in 1912, were within the borders of the Ottoman Empire by 1914. Therefore any Ottoman-controlled population movement on these islands would be out of question. Moreover, a closer inspection of Bayar's memoirs reveal that the figures provided are given for population concentration in specific regions and have no relation whatsoever to the number of people deported. In addition as the figures in question seemed exaggerated, Bayar has added a footnote of caution stating that "[the accuracy of] these numbers have not been checked by myself."¹² Furthermore, upon hearing these figures, İsmail Canbolat, the general director

10 Celal Bayar, *Ben de Yazdım: Milli Mücadeleye Giriş (I, too, Have Written: Joining the National Struggle)*, Vol.5, Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1967, p.1576

11 Celal Bayar, *Ben de Yazdım... (I, too, Have Written)*, p.1576

12 Celal Bayar, *Ben de Yazdım... (I, too, Have Written)*, p.1576, footnote 1.

of security, is said to have remarked “How can this be possible? If a fourth of this number arrives at Mtylene, they would not be able to find a place to sleep.”¹³

Another book by Kutay, which apparently neither Akçam nor the authors have seen, provides a more accurate and precise information with regard to the origin of the figures in question. According to this work by Kutay, which also includes detailed statements of Kuşçubaşı, the figures in question were obtained from a book prepared by the University of Athens upon the request of Greek Government. Under a subtitle which reads “Why Are the Greek Offices Prone to Exaggerations?? Kutay’s book provides the following information about these figures:

In addition, we had the information which our agents at Athens relayed from the Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry. This was the information taken from a book entitled “The Greekdom in the Aegean” and which the Greeks had the University of Athens prepare. According to the figures given here:

There were 120,000 Greeks living in the region of Ayvalık gulf; 90,000 in the Çanakkale region (including the town itself); 190,000 inside İzmir; 130,000 in the region from Urla peninsula and southeast İzmir to Çeşme; 80,000 in the environs of Aydın; 150,000 in and around Akhisar, Manisa, Alaşehir, and Uşak.

The same book also noted that as a result of the continuous emigration made from Greece [to these islands] only in the last two years, there was a population upwards of 150,000 in Mtylene, 70,000 in Chios, and 100,000 in Samos. İsmail Canbolat [general director of security], who listened to these figures, smiled and said “How can this be possible? If a fourth of this number arrives at Mtylene, they would not be able to find a place to sleep.”¹⁴

As can be clearly seen from the above passage, the figures given are identical to those provided in Bayar’s memoirs. In addition, the figures (which are described as being exaggerated) refer to the amount of population living in specific regions, and are entirely unrelated to the number for deported or relocated. As Demirer and Özbudun have never seen or checked the source they refer to, it has not been possible for them to take note of any of these confusing issues and figures.

Plagiarism: Colonel Seyfi, İsmail Canbolat and Teşkilatı Mahsusa

According to the authors the Ottoman Special Organization (Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa) had conducted operations to exterminate the Armenian convoys during their relocation. The authors even provide names of certain people who were supposedly in charge of these operations:

13 Cemal Kutay, *Emiki Eterya’dan Günümüze Ege’nin Türk Kalma Savaşı*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1980, p.213.

14 Cemal Kutay, *Emiki Eterya’dan Günümüze...*, pp. 212–213

Colonel Seyfi (Seyfi Düzgören who became a brigadier-general of the Turkish Republic which was to be established some time later), Director of Security Canpolat were also among the prominent persons in charge of S.O.'s annihilation campaign (p.172).

In support of their allegations, the authors refer to two different sources which again appear to have not been consulted or seen by them. The first one is a British Foreign Office document for which the authors give the following reference “Archive of British Foreign Office, FO 371/4173 File 345,” but provide no information on the date and the author of the document and to whom it was sent.

The other source that the authors use is one that does not actually exist: the 297th page of the second volume of Fuat Balkan's memoirs. Following the authors' false reference, the readers who do not have any preliminary knowledge on the subject may try to find, in vain, the second volume of Fuat Balkan's memoirs, which does not exist. What the authors are actually trying to refer to is the memoirs that were partially published in the 23rd issue (on pages 296 and 297) and the second volume (August 2, 1962) of a journal entitled *Yakın Tarihimiz (Our Recent History)*.¹⁵ In the previous and subsequent issues of the journal, the other parts of the memoirs were also published.¹⁶

Both of these sources cited by the authors as a reference for their claims have been lifted from the Turkish translation of the Armenian scholar Vahakn N. Dadrian's articles, which are published in Turkish in the form of collected essays¹⁷ It is remarkable that in neither of these sources is there any information on or any reference to İsmail Canbolat, the general director of security, whom the authors incorrectly name as “Canpolat”. It, thus, becomes rather difficult to comprehend how, on the basis of these two sources, Demirer and Özbudun could arrive at the conclusion that İsmail Canbolat was among the prominent persons in charge of “S.O.'s annihilation campaign” toward the Armenians.

Colonel Seyfi (Düzgören)'s name is mentioned in both sources. However, the information contained in these sources is entirely unrelated to the authors' allegations. According to the memoirs of Fuat Balkan, Colonel Seyfi had spoken rather positively on the services of Fuat Balkan in Western Thrace during the First World War and requested that Fuat Balkan be sent to the same region to assume new duties:

Starting the conversation, Seyfi Bey recounted, at length, how I worked under his command in the Special Organization throughout the whole First World War, especially the services I rendered for the motherland through the blows I have inflicted on the enemy forces in Western Thrace – with such praising expressions

15 “Fuat Balkan'ın Hatıraları,” *Yakın Tarihimiz (Our Recent History)*, Vol.2, No: 23, August 2, 1962, pp.296–297.

16 In 1998 these memoirs were republished in the form of a book by Arma Yayınları. See Metin Martı (haz.), *İlk Türk Komitacı Fuat Balkan'ın Hatıraları (Fuat Balkan's Memoires)*, İstanbul: Arma Yayınları, 1998.

17 Compare, Vahakn N. Dadrian, *Ermeni Soykırımında Kurumsal Roller (The Role of Institutions in the Armenian Genocide)*, Collection of Dadrian's Articles, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2004, p.45, footnote 5 and 6. See also: the same book page 132, footnote 75; p.133 footnote 78; p.134.

that blushed me. And he wanted my appointment with the utmost possible speed for the duty which would be carried out in Western Thrace rather than being uselessly kept here. Addressing İsmet Bey, he said:

*“- You’ll not have any financial difficulties. I have transferred the entire secret funds of the S.O. to you. He should be immediately sent to the duty.”*¹⁸

The above passage is the only instance in the relevant source which contains any reference to Colonel Seyfi Bey, and which Sibel Özbudun and Temel Demirer attempted to refer to when declaring Colonel Seyfi among “the prominent persons” in charge of the S.O.’s annihilation campaign toward the Armenians.

The British document, which the authors refer to without examining, concerns the ill treatment which Colonel Seyfi is said to have accorded the prisoners of war during the war. There is no mention of either Armenians or the S.O. in the entire text of the document, which provides the following information in regards to Colonel Seyfi:

*Seifi Bey, Chief of Military Intelligence at the Turkish War Office. It was chiefly owing to the studied and brutal indifference of this man to the constant requests of the American Embassy on behalf of the prisoners of war in Turkey that a great part of the mortality and suffering among them was due. Seifi Bey was vested with great power and might have relieved the conditions of the prisoners and it may be stated that he did as much as, if not more than, his associates to check and prevent the extension of assistance.*¹⁹

To conclude on the basis of this document that Colonel Seyfi was among “the prominent members” of the S.O. “charged with the extermination” of the Armenian deportees requires quite a vivid imagination. However, as the authors have not actually consulted the document which they refer to, they also see no problem in using this document in this manner.

Plagiarism: Eşref Kuşçubaşı and Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa

In discussing the activities and the assignments of the S.O., the two authors, by referring to Kutay’s interviews with Kuşçubaşı, write that:

Eşref Kuşçubaşı, one of the principal leaders of the S.O., described the function of the organization as accomplishing the duties which the Government and the security forces “absolutely could not”, and also as the “execution of measures against non-Turkish nationality population clusters” (p.172).

18 “Fuat Balkan’ın Hatıraları... (Fuat Balkan’s Memoires), p.297. Also see: Metin Martı, *İlk Türk Komitacıları...*, p.50.

19 Public Record Office F.O. 371/4173, Folio 345. Report by the US Acting Secretary of the State William Philips, dated 20 Mach 1919, and sent to the US Ambassador in England.

As their source for the phrases given within quotation marks in the above passage, the authors refer to the pages 18, 38, and 78 of Kutay's aforementioned book that contains the interviews he conducted with Kuşçubaşı. Unfortunately, the phrase "*execution of measures against non-Turkish nationality population clusters*" given within quotation marks does not exist in the book, neither in the pages to which the authors refer nor in the other pages. Instead, there is another sentence that may seem similar, but essentially different to the one above:

*It is certain that during these years, the S.O. had rendered services which the visible forces of the government and law enforcement agencies could absolutely not accomplish, not only through the secret intelligence [gathering], but also through measures taken outside the Ottoman State, as well as in areas lying within its borders, but whose commitment and loyalty to the central [government] always raised suspicions and in which the non-Turkish races and nations formed the majority.*²⁰

Although the passage given above may seem similar to the text provided by the authors, the phrase offered by the authors within quotation marks (which reads "*execution of measures against non-Turkish nationality population clusters*") does not actually exist in the book. The discrepancy between these two versions of quotations creates a rather difficult situation for the authors to explain, who are expected to cite their sources by actually checking and reading these sources. Again, the real source of the authors' quotation is another work by the Armenian scholar Vahakn N. Dadrian that has been translated into Turkish. In this study, Dadrian states the following:

*[t]he other, a principal Special Organization Chief who had "assumed duties" in connection with the Armenian deportations, admitted to having accomplished things which the government and the law enforcement agencies "absolutely couldn't," namely, "the execution of measures against non-Turkish nationality population clusters".*²¹

As the source for the quoted passage above, the Turkish translation of Dadrian's article cites the pages 18, 38 and 78 of Kutay's book. The main reason for the difference between Kutay's original text and the quotation given by Dadrian is that the text has been translated twice. Dadrian had first used the quoted passage in his lengthy essay published in *The Yale Journal of International Law* in 1989 in English.²² Subsequently in 1995, this lengthy essay was translated into Turkish by Yavuz Alogan and was published in the form of a book by Belge Yayınları. Therefore, the quoted passage has been subjected to translation twice, first by Dadrian from Turkish to English, and then by Dadrian's

20 Cemal Kutay, *Birinci Dünya Harbinde... (The Special Organization in WWI...)*, p.18

21 Vahakn N. Dadrian, *Ulusal ve Uluslararası Hukuk Sorunu Olarak Jenosid: 1915 Ermeni Olayı ve Hukuki Sonuçları (Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law)*, İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1995, p.58.

22 Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Genocide as a Problem of National and International Law: The World War I Armenian Case and Its Contemporary Legal Ramifications," *The Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol.14, No:2, 1989, p.276.

translator from English to Turkish. Not realizing this point and the discrepancy that occurred between the two versions of the texts, Temel Demirer and Sibel Özbudun seem to have seen no harm in attributing their quotation and reference to Cemal Kutay's original book while, in fact, copying the sentence and the reference from Dadrian.

Within this framework, it is necessary to note that even though the text preserved in the original book by Cemal Kutay, and the version presented by Dadrian may seem similar, there exists a crucial difference between the two versions of quotations. In the original book, Eşref Kuşçubaşı spoke of the S.O.'s measures taken "*in areas?* in which the non-Turkish races and nations formed the majority" and not against a group of population. Dadrian, on the other hand, alters this expression into another one which reads "the execution of measures against non-Turkish nationality population clusters," and whereby he renders a certain population group as a target. Other scholars have also noted that Dadrian has on different occasions misrepresented the words of Eşref Kuşçubaşı.²³

Conclusion

On the basis of these examples, it seems appropriate to conclude that the author's article engages in serious violations of scholarly ethics and constitutes an act of disrespect toward their readers. Throughout, the authors arrive at inaccurate, controversial and even distorted conclusions on the basis of sources which they have not actually consulted or seen. The authors, who write and pass judgments on history, do not respect the scholarly and ethical requirements of the task, even at a minimum level.

The authors need to update and expand the level of their knowledge on the tragic events of 1915 since they are not familiar enough with the existing literature on the subject. Their interpretations of these tragic incidents remain bounded by a biased line drawn by scholars such as Dadrian and Akçam, which fail to provide a fair and accurate assessment of the tragic events of 1915. However, the in-depth knowledge on any given event alone cannot guarantee the accuracy of the conclusions that would be drawn since conformity to scholarly ethics and methodology are the indispensable preconditions in reaching accurate conclusions. Unfortunately, the article under review fails to fulfill both of these indispensable preconditions.

Demirer and Özbudun also dress their subtitles with rather meaningful quotations such as "*One of the most difficult things in the world is to think and say what everyone says without thinking*" (p.164). They seem, however, not to have grasped the essential message conveyed in this quotation, especially when one takes into consideration their conduct in the article in question. Therefore, Temel Demirer and Sibel Özbudun have to think more seriously about what this quotation might actually signify in relation to their article and the shortcomings associated with it.

23 Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide*, Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2005, p.85.

CONFERENCE REPORTS

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39th WORLD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY CONFERENCE REPORT

**The spirit of the 39th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology:
Can sociology arrive at a reformulated understanding of dilemmas of humanity in
the contemporary world?**

The 39th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology (IIS) took place at Yerevan State University, Yerevan, Armenia during 11-14 June 2009. The theme of the Congress was “Sociology at the Crossroads”. As mentioned by the Conference Organizers, the Congress in Yerevan had the same spirit of the five previous World Congresses of the IIS, which aimed at highlighting the dilemmas of human existence and societal institutions in the contemporary world. As usual, the encounter of various theoretical approaches among the members of the international community of sociologists was also one of the leading objectives of this Congress. Sociologists from more than forty countries participated to the Congress and more than eighty sessions were held.

The organization of the 39th World Congress, specifically in Yerevan was an indication of a search for the extension of sociological dialogue to new issues and regions of the world. Organizers have clearly expressed that the realization of the IIS Congress in Armenia was a conscious decision. It was mentioned in the opening presidential session that Armenia has been at the crossroads of civilizations. It is important to remind that historically, the Caucasus has always been a region where different Empires’ interests clashed, with a long history of conflicts and wars. It is possible to argue that nothing much has changed nowadays.

Currently, global actors are competing for power in the region, while regional actors are also trying to increase their influence. However, it is essential to realize that both global and regional actors determine their strategies by limiting their considerations to short term strategic and economic interests. They mostly ignore historical and sociological aspects and data. Such a myopic view is a high risk in a region in shaping. As known, the collapse of the Soviet Union caused the formation of new nation-states and a revival of nationalism during the process of national identity formation. Since the collapse,

these newly independent republics experienced a complicated transition period. Referring to Durkheim, this was defined by some colleagues as a situation of *anomie*.

In several sessions, many scholars have underlined the strategic importance of the region and the significance of Armenia and other countries of the region. Thus, the establishment of security and stability should be the main objective, not only for the benefit of the countries of the region, but also for the benefit of global actors. The new shape of the region will be to a certain extent, dependent on the capability of the global actors in understanding the factors that are influential in the region. Such understanding necessitates sociological knowledge. The need for sociological studies was also clearly expressed. Many of them have said that the region is an important laboratory for sociologists.

The following observation was crucial in the discussions: many colleagues touched upon the issue that sociology as a scientific discipline is not quite capable of finding solutions to the existing social problems. Thus, they have referred to the crisis of sociology; the necessity of considering the transnational dimension and transnational cooperation; the need for self-reflexivity in sociology; the need for establishing new intellectual avenues and the need for mobilizing the potential of sociology against eurocentrism and ethnocentrism. It was argued that the relative marginalization of the discipline, which is also one of the main reasons for its weakness in finding solutions to social problems, is due to this crisis. It was also indicated that sociology has lost, to a certain extent, its imagination and its potential to predict the future. Thus, sociologists have to rethink their discipline, think globally and develop a strong interdisciplinary engagement, which will render prediction and warnings about the future possible.

Within this framework, some colleagues have mentioned the weakness of the link between sociology and politics, or in other words, between sociologists and those in the position of decision-making. Related to this weakness, some have complained about the inefficient use of sociological knowledge for the well being of human societies. It was pointed out that sociologists can build bridges between different communities and can contribute to the resolution of certain conflicts, provided that their views are taken into serious consideration by those possessing the political power.

Sociologists can mobilize their knowledge and work together on new projects aimed at extending the sociological dialogue among the members of the transnational community of sociologists. It is important to consider the extension of a sociological dialogue to new regions of the world, and the potential of collaborative works among sociologists of different regions of the world. Such a dialogue has the capacity to develop new understandings with the help of a self-reflexive attitude, which will end the crisis of sociology.

Relatedly, the vitality of grasping the transnational dimension, which requires a transnational collaboration among the sociologists of different societies and regions of the world, was also among the main ideas expressed. In that perspective, the 39th World

Congress of IIS that took place in Yerevan was an important activity that made possible the encounter of sociologists from different countries. These included scholars from Armenian diaspora and from Armenia, Turkish scholars, scholars from many western European countries, from the US, as well as scholars from Africa, Iran, post-Soviet republics and Eastern Europe. This time in Yerevan, although from different cultural, ethnic, and ideological backgrounds, the sociologists' capacity to speak the same language and their potential for academic collaboration, was an impressive sight to witness.

In addition to the academic dimension, this Congress in Yerevan had also, for some colleagues, a personal and emotional dimension. It was a very good occasion for those sociologists from Armenian origin living in different countries to visit their historical homeland, including sacred places like the Saint Etchmiadzin Cathedral, which is the spiritual centre of all Armenians. As known, Etchmiadzin maintained its central role throughout centuries for Armenians independently of the residence of the Catholicos who moved to another place between 484 and 1441. Etchmiadzin continues to play a consolidating role for the Armenian nation and especially for the Armenian diaspora. I had the opportunity to observe that, for many scholars from the Armenian diaspora, this visit to Armenia had a very symbolic meaning.

My own experience as a Turkish sociologist was quite promising. The hospitality and gallantry which are specific to the region and especially to the South Caucasus were the most impressive characteristics that need to be highlighted. After having learned that it was impossible to enter Armenia with a Green (Official) Passport that Turkish civil servants possess, except official visits, I contacted the conference organizers in Armenia. The problem was immediately solved with an invitation letter from the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which gave me the possibility to enter the country without a visa. The Congress provided me with the opportunity to meet Armenian colleagues from Armenia including the president of the Armenian Sociological Association, who were very welcoming and ready for academic collaboration with Turkish sociologists. It was also thought-provoking to discern the relative differences between the attitudes of colleagues from Armenia with whom I felt that I share many cultural elements, especially as a Turkish citizen having roots in the South Caucasus, and those from the diaspora, the latter being more distant. However, it was equally thought-provoking to experience the power of personal interaction, which in most cases, wipes out this distance. Outside the congress hall, in shops, restaurants and museums, the people who were from where I come, did not change their attitudes when I said 'from Turkey'. In some cases, they hesitated for few seconds and then, continued to behave in the same manner. Thus, officially, academically, and also as a Turkish tourist walking in the city, I did not experience any negative attitude during my six-day visit.

Despite many conflicts related to issues having their sources deep in history, I had the opportunity to observe, especially among Armenian scholars, a belief in sociology in action, to construct a better future for all of us. While discussing with them, I have observed a readiness to come together and work together on topics of common interest. Through

sociological projects, it may be possible to generate collaborative bonds between sociologists from Armenia and Turkey. I had also the impression that such collaboration is possible on an entirely academic basis which will hopefully have political consequences and without sharing the same thesis about events of the past, requiring however, a sincere respect to each others' views. It is clear that such a new and challenging understanding which will take as starting point the accord signed in Zurich on October 10, 2009 between Armenia and Turkey, will definitely facilitate a large-scale collaboration between the sociologists of both societies. This will be most probably followed by institutional collaboration in the near future. This requires the courage to interact, to be ready for debates, and to large-scale collaborations among the sociologists of Armenia and Turkey. Such a large-scale academic initiative has to begin with an entirely new understanding and may be a good starting point aimed at contributing to the normalization of relations between the two societies. If realized, it can be an excellent example for other cases of conflict.

The development of relations among sociologists of both countries, who are capable of understanding the perceptions of different groups and nations, can contribute to the rapprochement between the two countries, by preparing mechanisms for exchange of thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and beliefs among people of both societies. It is vital to realize that the signing of the accord in Zurich between Armenia and Turkey is about the political dimension of establishing relations, once ratified in the parliaments of both countries. This is not necessarily enough for the normalization of the relations at the societal level. At this point, sociologists, as intellectuals operating outside the government, may play a role and they may mobilize their creativity and potential in reconciliation and in contributing to the development of democracy. The support of the intellectuals, academics, and non-governmental institutions of both societies is vital for the success of the above-mentioned political initiative.

As it is essential to realize that it is not possible to solve any conflict without the consent of the people involved, the re-establishment of trust between the two nations is essential. Sociologists have the potential to contribute to this re-establishment. They may also issue warnings concerning the chauvinistic nationalism and the formation of a destructive national identity. These characteristics of sociology, which was in fact present in the very formation of the discipline, should be developed with the help of self-reflection, as already mentioned, and will allow sociologists the possibility to revive their creativity and imagination.

I strongly believe that creating an atmosphere of scientific dialogue among Turkish and Armenian sociologists and discussing the ways sociology can arrive at a reformulation of an entirely new understanding that will put aside the old rhetoric is possible. An inclusive collaboration among sociologists and 'sociology in action' have the potential to contribute to the normalization of the relations between Armenia and Turkey, and to re-establish trust between the two nations. It is within this framework of reference that I have decided to share my observations, impressions and views as a sociologist.

“TURKEY-ARMENIA RELATIONS FROM PAST TO PRESENT: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH” ORGANIZED BY THE POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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Political Psychological Association (Ankara) organized a conference entitled “Turkish-Armenia Relations from Past to Present: An Interdisciplinary Approach” in 25-26 December 2009 at University of Ankara Rectorate conference room. During the conference, scholars, experts and journalists made presentations, exhibiting different perspectives to the subject. Participation to the conference and during the presentations was observably high. President of the Center for Eurasian Studies (AVİM) Retired Ambassador Ömer Engin Lütem had also made a speech entitled “Evolution and Present State of the Armenian Problem”. This report will try to summarize presentations made by the participants in the conference.

In the first presentation entitled “Historical and Political Dimension of Turkish-Armenian Relations”, Prof. Dr. Semih Yalçın from Gazi University Department of History claimed that there has been no Armenian problem for Turkish society, since all problems concerning this issue were all resolved at Lausanne Conference. However Yalçın argued as of today that the issue is tried to be brought back as a problem. Yalçın highlighted that from the viewpoint of Turkish-Armenian relations, 77-78 Ottoman-Russian War was a breaking point, which was followed by Balkan Wars and in the First World War, the state suffered increasing number of defeats which caused the Armenian problem to reach peak levels. Underlining that Tehcir (relocation) was a precaution against losing control over Ottoman lands, Yalçın claimed that Turkish state has also ignored Armenian problem in the beginning that was brought to international attention, but soon this shortfall was overcome by amplified academic and political attention to the issue. Prof. Yalçın argued that Armenian theses that the relocation was the cause for Armenian uprisings were ungrounded and in fact these uprisings constituted the main cause for the decision to relocate in this region.

Retired Ambassador and President of AVİM (Center for Eurasian Studies), in his presentation entitled “Evolution and Present State of the Armenian Problem” presented an overall and detailed analysis of Turkish-Armenian relations and the Attitude of the Armenian society. Touching upon the critical issues of Armenian

nationalism and Diaspora nationalism, Lütem argued that the fear of assimilation which arrived in about 1946 lies at the core of the current Armenian genocide claims that became a permanent discourse among the Diaspora and Armenian society. Thus, according to Lütem, opinion leaders of the Armenian society announced that in order to be able to overcome the threat of assimilation, it is necessary to refer and emphasize genocide as a propaganda tool while expand the idea of enmity towards the Turks, and to keep Armenian identity strong. Lütem indicated that Armenian terrorism which began in the 70s aimed to bring this propaganda for the recognition of Armenian genocide into international attention, thus we see several resolutions and decisions taken by different countries all over the world began to emerge in the 80s. Lütem argued that Armenian genocide propaganda was transformed into an “Armenian Genocide Industry” when Armenian terror ended to become an international political movement. As a result of the activities of this industry, the process was politicized and especially after 2000 Armenian genocide claims were slowly beginning to gain ground in Europe. Lütem indicated that Turkey recognized Armenia, but since the mutual problems could not be resolved, diplomatic relations could not be established, since Turkey’s three demands (1. Recognition of the territorial integrity, 2. Reaching a mutually agreeable solution about genocide claims, 3. Armenia reviewing its Karabakh policies) from Armenia were not acknowledged, Azerbaijan territory was occupied and consequently Turkey closed its borders with Armenia. Lütem underlined that the signing of the Protocols would bring mutual gains for both sides, but if examined, Turkey is more advantageous compared to Armenia in this process. Moreover, Lütem argued that ant possibility of a bottleneck during the process would be more harmful for Armenia than it would possibly be for Turkey.

In his presentation entitled “Psychological War and the Armenian Problem”, Dr. Murat Köylü from the 21st Century Turkey Institute argued that in the international arena and within Turkey, a psychological war is taking place. Köylü claimed that the propaganda activities that are defined in American intelligence field manuals as “limiting enemy’s will and capacity to exploit its power by delivering intentionally selected information and resources” are used in order to inject the Armenian problem into Turkey’s and global agenda, which Köylü argues had been successful until today.

Associate Professor Vahdet Keleşyılmaz from Gazi University Department of History, in his presentation entitled “A Humanist Approach to Turkish-Armenian Relations” argued that the Armenian problem must be evaluated as a whole while humanist perspective should be highlighted. Keleşyılmaz emphasized that when looked into the past, it is observable that Armenians are “the children of this country” even if religion, belief and values may differ, and common culture and common language must be taken as the fundamental basis for communication. In that respect, Keleşyılmaz claimed that the reasons behind relocation should not be forgotten, that the Ottoman state executed a responsible and inevitable policy, and that the suffering stemmed from state’s incapability and inability. Keleşyılmaz argued that the Armenian propaganda which prioritizes Armenian psychological suffering does not take Turkish suffering into

consideration, and that the psychology of wars and defeats deeply affected Ottoman policies before and during the relocation.

In his paper themed “The Juridical Dimension of the Armenian Issue”, Başkent University, Faculty of Law, Assoc. Prof. Sadi Çaycı dealt with the juristic validity of concepts such as the “recognition of genocide claims” and “apology” in terms of judicial process and practicality of the genocide law in the Turkish-Armenian relations. Çaycı, who mentioned the “Crime of Genocide (Prevention and Punishment) Law of 1948 and the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes convention of 1968, questioned the identifiability of the issue with reference to these two conventions. Hereunder, Çaycı argued that the Ottoman Empire made efforts to compensate all probable moral and material damages and losses that may occur as a result of the endeavors to defend the homeland and suppress riots, investigate and prosecute the offenders and the deportation. Çaycı added that there are evidences that the Armenian had revolted against the Ottoman Empire and collaborated with enemy forces. He also emphasized that the legal relations between Turkey and Armenia have been settled with the article 15 of the Kars Treaty, the article 5 of Ankara Treaty and the article 58 and appendix VIII of the Lausanne Treaty. Çaycı stated that the 1915 incidents lie beyond the scope of the law of genocide, issues between Turkey and Armenia have not been settled yet but the Armenian side is still trying to impose a new legal framework on Turkey.

In his presentation themed “The Moral Aspect of the Armenian Issue”, METU Philosophy Department Chief, Prof. Ahmet Inam made assessments on the issue of morality, beginning from the antic Greek period to our day. Inam stated that in the West; morality evolved on individual basis and was defined not only through actions but also through characters. He focused on the practicality of this principle -which was defined as virtue morality by Aristotle- in International Relations. Inam accordingly stated that coexistence can only happen in an ideal state; but today’s conception of an ideal state and the moral responsibilities and characters of states are defective. In this context, he also dealt with the concept of “sojourn” which is one of the most significant qualities of Anatolia and states that in contrary to the West, “sojourn” and “hospitality” have developed as common moral values in Anatolia. These concepts conjure up the mutual responsibilities in Turkish-Armenian relations. Inam concluded that free will and honesty are the only ways to develop a moral approach towards Turkish-Armenian relations.

Chief of the Department of Psychology at the Ankara University Faculty of Medicine and President of the Political Psychology Association Prof. Dr. Abdulkadir Çevik, in his presentation entitled “Turkish-Armenian Relations: Psychological Dimension” argued that common values such as language and culture exists between Turkish and Armenian societies. Çevik highlighted that today some of the common values began to be lost and reasons behind this loss must be examined. Çevik indicated that Turkish society has also experienced sufferings in the past, but these sufferings are ignored by taking pride in the victories and successes. He claimed that it would a mistake to examine the past from a modern perspective. Çevik also argued that Armenians were attracted by the sympathy

towards the Jews after the Holocaust, but still Turkey's intervention in Cyprus in 1974 is claimed to play a huge role in the emergence of positive attitudes towards Armenian genocide claims. Çevik suggested that migrations cause national identity to suffer retrogress, desperation, marginalization and other difficulty experiences, which led to a struggle to overcome the assimilation via uniting society around hatred against the Turks. Çevik argued that Turkish society never uses otherization to define its identity or mourn the sufferings in the past, and underlined that any attempt for the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations in the 90s and after 2000. Çevik suggested that Armenia's attack against Karabakh was in fact of symbolic value that Armenians could not dare to attack Turkey but what was seen as a part of the Turkish identity, namely Azerbaijani territory.

Prof. Hikmet Özdemir from Ankara University Department of Political Science (Mülkiye) has begun his speech by commemorating Gündüz Aktan. Özdemir, who has indicated that Turkish-Armenian relations have a unique depth and complexity, has also stated that Armenians have put forth a one-sided assertion and attempted to implement the Genocide Convention for the period before the Convention was signed. Özdemir has expressed that the events taking place in Anatolia during that time was due to the Ottoman Armenians resistances taking place under the command of the general staff of the hostile states and has underlined the fact that as a result of these resistances, massacres were committed against civil Ottoman society. He has also stated that a similar relocation has taken place by the U.S. against the Japanese community against the threat of a likely Pacific operation and that similar policies are being conducted worldwide. Özdemir has emphasized that the Ottoman State had no intention of annihilation, that no document or order exists which could prove this intention, and that those being negligent have been put on trial and punished. Moreover, he has drawn attention to the fact that commissions have been established for the protection of those being relocated and that this stands as the most important evidence in showing that no deliberate negligence exists within the state. Özdemir has stated that the Armenian resistance should not exist on any platform which is not based on the principles of international law. Özdemir who has expressed that the Armenian propagandas, from 2005 onwards, have also been put on the very top of the agenda in Turkey, has emphasized that the smear campaign continues to be carried out in Turkey. He has also said that it is necessary to be careful against the activities carried out under three headings of the restoration of monuments, visiting of Turkish territories by Armenians and the historical reviews of families.

In his presentation entitled "Diaspora's View of Turkey", director of International Strategic Research Organization, Assoc. Prof. Sedat Laçiner has characterized the Armenian Diaspora as one of the most influential Diasporas in the world. Laçiner has drawn attention to the idea that the Diaspora has been concentrated upon a case which holds them so close together that they could shed blood for this cause and that the emigration the Armenians have been exposed to and the events before and after 1915 have caused the creation of today's Armenian Diaspora. He has said that the Armenian society is based on the Anatolian culture; therefore, the divergence taking place after

1915 has led to a heavy destruction for the Armenians. Thus, Laçiner who has emphasized that the Armenian identity has been reformed after the emigration, has described Armenian nationalism as a “malcontent nationalism”. He has stated that the Armenian community has no story of victory and that generally they remember grievances and losses, therefore statelessness exist at the center of this dissatisfaction. Laçiner who has stated that the Armenian political parties, by using these emotions, have started creating new political identities for the Armenian community being exposed to assimilation, has also expressed that this hatred exists at much higher levels within the 2nd and 3rd generations. He has indicated that this hatred of the Armenian Diaspora against Turks will only be abolished if communication channels open between the two sides and that the base of the Armenian identity will also be gotten rid of. Laçiner has also stated that he is hesitant of the abolishment of this psychological barrier between the Turks and Armenians and has reacted because of this reason.

Member of Linguistics, History and Geography Faculty (DTCF), Ankara University, Prof. Dr. Birsen Karaca, in her presentation entitled “The Contributions of Armenian Scriptwriters to the Efforts in Establishing a New Social Consciousness”, has analyzed the references existing in the Armenian literature and media during the process of creating a social consciousness. Within this framework, Karaca has based her research on the reason for including the Armenian allegations, these allegations showing a continuity and targeting Turkey. In her research, she has examined the Turkish image within the Armenian social consciousness being described as representing all bad characteristics not belonging to Armenia within the scope of cinema, literature and articles published in the media. Karaca has stated that after the second half of the 20th century, “genocide” has been used instead of the word “relocation” found in all these articles. This way, Karaca has emphasized that the relocation has started to be explained in a way that is far from the historical truth. Karaca who has put forth that the Armenian social memory is focused on the 1915 relocation, has also stated that the Armenian terror has tried to be justified by asserting that it has arisen due to the 1915 events and that rather than regretting the Armenian terrorist activities, grudge and revenge has been brought forth.

TURKSAM Coordinator Asst. Prof. Dr. Şenol Kantarcı in his speech entitled “The Role of Armenian Diaspora in Turkish-Armenian Relations” suggested that Armenians had been one of the most loyal and progressive part of the Ottoman Empire. But with the role of major developments in international politics such as the emergence of Industrial Revolution that was followed by the emergence of nationalism, nationalities in the Ottoman Empire were attracted by the national and independent state idea, which lead to revolts and dissolution. Armenians were among the sympathizers of the nationalism movements, which were soon induced by countries such as Russia, France, Britain, United States and Germany. According to Kantarcı, these states had ambitions in the Ottoman lands and they aimed to gain more influence in the region. During the World War I, Ottoman Empire found itself encircled and fighting in several fronts, which forced the state to take precautions against the internal conflicts that may have harmful effects

on the integrity of the state. Kantarcı argued that the relocation of the Armenians took place in extraordinary conditions, but still Ottoman state successfully relocated these Armenians by making huge efforts. He argued that today Armenian problem is a reflection of the past experiences, as foreign involvement in the problem, such as an alienated and marginalized Diaspora has an active role today in Turkish-Armenian relations. Moreover, Kantarcı argued that unless Karabagh problem is resolved Armenia's aggression could not be tolerated.

Murat Yetkin from the Radikal Newspaper has shared his views about the process starting with his interview conducted with the Armenian President Sarkisian in 2008 to the signing of the Protocols. By touching upon the fact that Armenia does not have the luxury to ignore Turkey, Yetkin has conveyed that Armenia must develop its relations with Turkey.

Prof. Dr. Temuçin Faik Ertan, Director of the Institute of Turkish Revolution History has touched upon the problems existing during the process of explaining and examining the Armenian question. According to him, the education system in Turkey has not been able to provide enough information to the students at the sufficient level and depth. By criticizing the defensive approach taken by academicians and politicians in Turkey against Armenian allegations, Ertan has underlined that Armenians must prove their allegations. Ertan has stated the Ittihat and Terakki have made a difficult decision during that period under strained political and military conditions. He has emphasized that today Armenian question is a political subject being based entirely on global and regional origins.

Ercan Çitlioğlu, the Director of the International Security and Strategic Research Center of Bahçeşehir University, has assessed the decision, draft and other documents which have brought the genocide allegations on the agenda. When examined historically, Çitlioğlu has expressed that the U.S. has been the greatest supporter of the Armenian allegations both on the provincial level and within the international sphere. Moreover, he has drawn attention to the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation which has been a breakthrough for the U.S. in bringing the international recognition of the Armenian genocide allegations on the agenda. Çitlioğlu who has expressed that the Armenian terror starting in 1975 has been a result of this breakthrough, has also stated that during the same period, draft resolutions in the U.S. have started to be put on the agenda on 24 April. By drawing attention to the American activities in Anatolia before the First World War, Çitlioğlu has said that the U.S. has always been at the center of the Armenian question before 1915 when the problem first arose, and after. Stating that the Treaty of Lausanne is a victorious document, Çitlioğlu has emphasized the necessity to review the Lausanne records in depth in order to bring light upon the process of reaching this victory. Çitlioğlu, reading extracts of the dialogues of Dr. Rıza Nur with the foreign representatives found in the records of the Minority Commission, has expressed that Turkey's proud and honorable attitude displayed during the victory of Lausanne has been forgotten today.

BOOK REVIEWS

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CAUCASUS AFTER THE COLD WAR

(SOĞUK SAVAŞ SONRASI KAFKASYA)

Author: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kamer Kasım

Ankara, USAK Publications, 2009, 292 pages (in Turkish)

Caucasus has been the center of power struggles throughout the history. Experts estimated that With the Soviet Union's disintegration there would be a power vacuum, which will be filled by the West. However, this was not truly anticipated, as new states which emerged in the Caucasus after the dissolution of the Soviet Union tried to establish relations with various regional and global actors. However, independence brought conflict as secessionist movements and ethnic struggles lead to clashes. Instability in the region complicated consolidation efforts and state-building processes for the countries in the region. All of the newly formed states in the Southern Caucasus faced serious security problems in addition to economic, political and social problems which all the former Soviet republics experienced. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kamer Kasım's book entitled "Caucasus after the Cold War" examines foreign policies of the states in the region from a historical point of view as well as evaluating major problems common to the states in the region. Kasım's work presents a detailed insight that is of critical importance to have a sound knowledge of the foreign policies of the states in the region and international actors which are influential in the Caucasus.

One fundamental characteristic of Kasım's work is that the regional politics is not only examined in terms of the foreign policies of the Caucasus states but also of those states that are influential in the region. In addition to those chapters that deal with Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, Kasım also adds chapters on Turkey, Iran and Russia as regional actors and United States as a global actor. Thus Kasım's work makes a methodological differentiation of the degree of the actors' involvement in the region. Russian Federation is identified as a regional actor, while United States' is defined as a super power, which emerged as the sole international actor after the Cold War. The debate on Russia's role in the international politics and whether revival of Russia's economic and political influence makes it a superpower is a controversial issue for contemporary IR literature. Kasım's work emphasizes that Russia's influence and its foreign policy is comparable to those regional powers such as Iran and Turkey.

Accordingly, “Near Abroad” policy is a specialization of foreign policy priorities for Russian Federation into a regional perspective, therefore giving up empire and superpower ambitions for the sake of holding onto its influence in the ex-Soviet territories. Therefore Russian Federation’s involvement in the Caucasus region is defined in terms of regional rather than global perspective.

Secondly, theoretical approach to the subject matter in Kasım’s work, namely foreign policy issues in Caucasus and strategies to handle them, are discussed in terms of classical balance of power theory. Therefore his work, although includes various approaches to study politics in Caucasus, prioritizes a realist perspective. Ethnic conflicts, energy politics and secessionist movements are defined as major common problems, while socio-economic development, regional integration, state-building and national identity problems are also analyzed in detail.

Thirdly, Kasım mainly argues that integrationist powers are less influential compared to disintegrationist powers. Therefore, foreign involvement in regional politics negatively influences integration efforts, while causing regional problems to become permanent/frozen conflicts. Kasım suggests that struggle for influence in the region and the disadvantaged role of integrationist powers in the region hampers national economic development projects, transportation of energy resources to the West and interregional integration.

Another influence of foreign involvement in the region, although indirectly, is that enduring regional conflicts and inability to provide regional integration also threatens the structure and integrity in these countries. Therefore Kasım claims that one critical issue for Caucasus states is to hold the states intact, secure and stable and only then it would be possible to provide grounds for integration, development and security. Foreign involvement plays a crucial role in this picture.

According to Kasım, there is a critical role of regional and global actors to play in the Caucasus to resolve regional conflicts such as Karabakh, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Turkish-Armenian and Azerbaijan-Armenia relations. Still Kasım anticipates no immediate solution to these conflicts even by the mediation of regional and global powers. Kasım suggests that even in the case of a positive mediation, these conflicts do not seem to be resolved in the near future. Accordingly these conflicts could be transformed so as to break into new forms of conflicts. Kasım’s argument is especially valid considering the recent developments in Turkish-Armenian relations, which entered a new phase with the signing of the two Protocols for the establishment and development of bilateral relations in October 2009. Putting the theory into practice and considering the developments in Turkish and Armenian politics concerning the bilateral relations, the unresolved problems are beginning to be transformed into new conflicts as these problems are getting more and more interrelated with each other and internationalized.

In chapters that deal with the foreign policies of the countries in the region, Kasim highlights the need of those countries to establish cooperative relations with regional and global actors for the establishment of security and stability. Thus, Kasim underlines that each of these states saw the necessity to become a part of one or another security mechanism to secure their regional roles and economic, political development. This approach is closely linked with Barry Buzan's Regional Security Complex theory, which assumes that regions-in-transition attempt to become a part of a regional security complex in order to survive the competition within an 'uncharted' region. But compared to Kasim's claim, Buzan's analysis also suggests that this complicated condition of the countries in a region with no security integration provides a suitable ground for non-regional actors to penetrate into these regions in order to consolidate their influence. Therefore, Kasim's arguments fit into the regional politics predicted by Buzan, while the role of the region-specific requirements of the Caucasus countries to become a part of a specific security mechanism are analyzed in a more detailed informative figure.

Kamer Kasim's book entitled "Caucasus after the Cold War" provides an insightful analysis of the foreign policies of the main actors in the Caucasus by theoretical and methodological hypothesis, which he supports with detailed historical information on the subject. Thus, it is obvious that a critical region such as Caucasus and its economic, political and therefore social transformation can only be understood by evaluating the foreign policies and the factors that define these policies of the countries in the region. Kasim's work would be a helpful resource for researchers interested in the region.

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

In the following page, you can find the original photocopies of the documents mentioned to Prof. Dr. Seçil Karal Akgün's article entitled "Ottoman Armenian Intricate Relations with Western Powers Before and During the Peace Settlements of the First World War" published in the last issue of our Journal (issue 18).

Document 1

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1916

The Reverend James L. Barton,
14 Beacon Street,
Boston, Massachusetts.

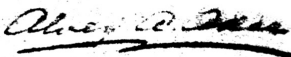
Sir:

There is herewith enclosed to you a paraphrase of a telegram from the American Ambassador at Constantinople, dated January 26th, communicating a message which the Armenian Patriarch requests be delivered to the Armenians in the United States, concerning the steps to be taken by them to most efficiently aid the Armenians in Turkey.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:


Second Assistant Secretary.

867.48/236

3

Document 1-a

The American Ambassador to Turkey, in a telegram dated January 26, 1916, states that the Armenian Patriarch requests that the following be communicated to the Armenians in the United States:

First. They should contribute as generously as possible to the relief funds to be distributed through missionaries, and also to funds to be distributed through the Patriarchate in order to maintain the moral ties between the Patriarchate and the Armenian people. Funds can be transmitted to the Patriarchate through the American Embassy at Constantinople.

Second. Armenians in other countries should abstain from public utterances and demonstrations of a character calculated to jeopardize the safety and lives of Armenians in Turkey.

Third. Armenians throughout the World should continue at all times to appeal to the humanitarian feelings of the allies of Turkey and of neutrals to aid in keeping alive the Armenians in Turkey until the arrival of normal times once more.

Document 2

TRANSLATION

March 29, 1916.

SUBJECT: PORTE

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

No. 80136/90.

Note Verbale.

The Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs has had the honor of receiving the note verbale which the Embassy of the United States of America was pleased to address to it on November 24, 1915, relative to the ^{American} missionaries Rev. Alpheus N. Andrus, Dr. Thom, and Miss Agnes Fenenga, who were established at Hardin.

The Department of the Interior, to which a request for information in this connection was made, states in reply that these missionaries had direct relations with the Armenian Revolutionary Committee and the rebels of Midiat, and that the money and effects seized by the local authorities did not belong to them but to some Armenians. These sums of money are at present deposited in the public treasury and the effects are cared for by the commission constituted for the purpose, to settle the property left by the Armenians.

As to the valuables and other objects belonging to these missionaries, they were delivered by the said Imperial authorities to their representative or attorney, and no damage has been done to their real property.

These Americans travelled freely as far as Sivas, without being the object of any bad treatment by the Imperial authorities, who, on the contrary, even allowed them to stop for several days where they wished to do so.

Consequently,

To the Embassy of the United States of America.

Document 2

Consequently inviews of the relations since the said missionaries with the Armenia Revolutionary Commitities, the Imperia.

Minister of Foreign Affairs regrets to be unable to comply with the regrests with fonned the purpose of the said verbal.

Document 2-a

No. 1356
Note Verbale.

April 18, 1916.

The Embassy of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge receipt of the Note Verbale of the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated March 25, 1916, No. 66134/90, relative to the case of three American missionaries who were compelled to leave Hardin and proceed to Nivas, and to state in reply that the contents thereof have been communicated to its Government.

This Embassy cannot, however, allow to pass unchallenged the allegation contained in the said note verbale to the effect that ^{three} three American citizens were carrying on direct relations with the Aramian Revolutionary Committee and the rebels at Midiat. That these three Americans should have been engaged, even indirectly, in any undertaking inimical to the Imperial Ottoman Government or tending to disturb local peace and order, this Embassy cannot readily believe, and it therefore requests the Imperial Ministry to furnish it with any substantial evidence to such effect which may have been submitted to the Sublime Porte by the local authorities.

To the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Sublime Porte.

Document 3

see p. 796 for source in which these documents were printed

PART I: CONTINUATION OF THE WAR--PARTICIPATION OF U. S. 791

RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE ARMENIAN
NATIONAL DELEGATION

File No. 701.67m51

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Sharp)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1917, 5 p. m.

2294. Investigate fully and report promptly status of Armenian representative accredited to France. What status does this representative claim, what does he state to be the purpose of his mission, and how is he received by French Government?

LANSING

File No. 701.67m51/1

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

Paris, June 2, 1917, 11 a. m.

[Received 4.30 p. m.]

2144. Your 2294, May 29, 5 p. that there is no Armenian representative. Conversations have, however, taken place with officials of the Foreign Office and the situation and condition of Armenia in Europe. Foreign Office states that the representative is of the sort but is considered to be one who is well versed in Armenian affairs. He is well known to me personally and seems to be well as at Petrograd which latter beginning of the war where he has been mentioned in the same manner as the former Egyptian statesman. See my despatch No. 5030, January 8.¹

Foreign Office informs me that the representative accredited to France. I have had some time from time to time between me and the Ambassador here. I have discussed with Nubar Pasha regarding Armenians both in Turkey and in Europe. He has no credentials of any kind but is well known here and in London as well as in Paris. I have seen him since he has visited since the beginning of the war. He has been discussed with Russian Government here. He is well known to me personally and seems to be very familiar with all Armenian affairs. He is the son of Nubar Pasha, my despatch No. 5030,

SHARP

File No. 701.67m51/2

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Secretary of State

No. 5500

PARIS, June 1, 1917.

[Received June 13.]

Sir: Referring to my telegram No. 2144 of this date [June 2], I have the honor to enclose a communication from Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons,² together with letters written, in triplicate, by

¹ Not printed.

² American lecturer for French Ministry of Foreign Affairs; communication not printed.

Document 4-a

794 FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1917, SUPPLEMENT 2

7. A national assembly elected by all the resident population would be called in the course of the last year of the delegated power's mandate. And as Armenia should rule itself at the end of the organization period, the government would then be transferred to the national assembly upon which should rest the duty of enforcing and maintaining, under the joint protection of the powers, the final organic law of autonomous Armenia framed to that end.

8. It is well to refute in advance the argument used by the Turks in their press to oppose any autonomy plan. They would lead one to believe that there are not enough Armenians left in Turkey to form an autonomous nation. This is but specious reasoning. Before the war the Armenian population of the Turkish Empire amounted to about 2,100,000. The population of Cilicia formed 407,000, that of the six vilayets 1,163,000 of that total. In the six vilayets, where are the bulk of the Kurd people and a good many various races, the Armenians were nevertheless in the majority, numbering 40 per cent of the total, and they outnumbered the Turks and Kurds together anyway.

If on the other hand the situation is viewed from the standpoint of economic and moral importance, it is found that the Armenians held from 69 to 86 per cent of the trade, industries and various occupations. Their schools, which are all supported by the communities exclusively, represented more than 80 per cent of the whole number.

Finally the Armenians, who only numbered 2,100,000 in the aggregate population of 20,000,000 of the Empire, handled 60 per cent of the import trade, 40 per cent of the export trade and 80 per cent of domestic trade.

Notwithstanding the large number of victims of massacre and deportation, the greater part of the Armenians were able to escape or survive the attempt at extermination. According to the Blue Book, published by Lord Bryce who drew his information from the most trustworthy documents, an estimate of 1,500,000 for the number of survivors would not be far off the truth.

9. We must not forget either that the number of Armenians in the whole world exceeds 4,000,000 and that a large number of those who to escape persecution emigrated in the last 30 years to Europe, Egypt and America would hasten back to their native land when autonomy would make them sure of a peaceful and industrious life under laws of justice and liberty.

It is not amiss to mention in conclusion that there were barely 400,000 Greeks in Greece when the Kingdom was established, and from 600,000 to 700,000 Serbs or Bulgarians when Serbia and Bulgaria were set up as principalities.

RUCHLOS NUBAR

PART I: CONTINUATION OF THE WAR—PARTICIPATION OF U. S. 705
File No. 867.48/678

The President of the Armenian National Delegation (Rughos Nubar) to the Secretary of State
(Translation)

PARIS, September 12, 1917.
[Received November 3.]

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, the Armenian question having now become one of the international questions that will have to be determined by the future peace congress wherein the United States Government will wield a decisive influence, the Armenian National Delegation commissioned by H.H. the Catholics, Kevoik V, Supreme Patriarch of the Armenians, to lay before the Allied powers the just claims of his people, deems it necessary to have a representative in Washington. It has designated as such representative Mr. Miran Sevassly who has already been elected by his fellow countrymen president of the Armenian National Union of America.

I therefore have the honor to beg Your Excellency kindly to receive and recognize him as the representative in the United States of the Armenian National Delegation, and to vouchsafe him your lofty benevolence and invaluable support in the duties he will have to perform as intermediary between your Government and the delegation.

On the other hand, Mr. Pasdermadjian, whom H.H. the Catholics recently sent to the United States as his special representative, has no doubt already presented to Your Excellency the letters accrediting him in that capacity, and it has already been agreed, with the concurrence of our two delegates, Messrs. Sevassly and Pasdermadjian, that, joined in close collaboration, they will both labor for the same cause which is the liberation of the Armenian provinces from the Turkish yoke.

During the recent afflictions that have overwhelmed Armenia, the United States in general and its Government in particular have given the Armenians such effective proofs of their sympathy and deep interest that our hearts and hopes have more than ever turned to them, fully confident that we have in them defenders who will powerfully contribute to our emancipation and the restoration of our national life.

It therefore affords me particular pleasure to take this opportunity to beg Your Excellency, in the name of H.H. the Catholics, whom I represent, as well as in my own and in that of all Armenians, to accept the expression of our deep and unalterable gratitude, together with the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

RUCHLOS NUBAR

Document 4-b

Nubar Pasha—once addressed to you for your personal information, one to the Honorable Henry Morgenthau and another to Dr. van Dyke.

On account of your telegram No. 2294 of the 29th ultimo in reference to the question of Armenian representation in Paris, I have, in transmitting Dr. Gibbons's letter, made reference as above to my telegram No. 2144.

W. G. SHARP

[Enclosure—Translation]

The President of the Armenian National Delegation (Doghos Nubar)
to the Secretary of State

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AT THE PEACE CONGRESS

PARIS, May 24, 1917.

1. After the recent massacres and deportations it is impossible to leave the Armenians, with their consent, under Turkish domination. Besides it would amount to keeping alive a source of disorders and conflicts that could not fail again to disturb European peace.

2. Nor can there be any question at this time, as in 1913, of merely granting reforms to the Armenians. For the Turks have again given conclusive proof that they cannot be trusted to keep their promises; by tearing up the Reform Act of February 8, 1914, which would have then settled the Armenian question if carried out in good faith. So there is no solution left but to free the Armenians from the Turkish yoke.

3. At this date, after the Russian revolution whose Government has declared it wishes neither conquests nor annexations, we are confronted with the one solution that will realize the Armenians' national aspirations, the constitution of an autonomous Armenia exclusively composed of all the Armenian territory in Asiatic Turkey. For it must be well understood that the Armenian provinces that have suffered from Turkish oppression are alone concerned and that none of the Armenian regions in Persia and Russia comes into consideration.

This autonomous Armenia would consist of the six vilayets of Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, Diarbekir, Manuret-ül-Aziz and Sivas, together with Cilicia and the ports of Mersina and Alexandretta on the Mediterranean and of Trebizond on the Black Sea, which are the natural outlets needed by the Armenians to develop the commercial and economic conditions of their country and rebuild their national life.

4. The autonomous Armenia thus constituted would be entrusted in the protectorate and, if so, which? Or will the protectorate be jointly exercised by all the powers?

Under the old régime, it was part of Russia's plan to annex or at least assume alone the protectorate of a part of Armenia; but with the advent of the new régime, the only solution left for consideration is that which provides for a joint protectorate of the powers. Again, this joint protectorate, which would be tantamount to a neutralization of Armenia, would be warranted by the international interests involved in those regions of Asia Minor.

5. That solution alone would gratify the national aspirations. It would at the same time fulfil the war aims of the Allies, which are the principle of nationalities and the liberation of oppressed peoples. The powers themselves would also find manifold advantages therein, for, an Armenia so constituted, with equal rights offered to all the powers, would open to them a field for their commercial, economic and educational activities. It would further be a factor in pacification, forming a buffer between the Turkish state of Anatolia, Russia, Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria.

As for the Bagdad Railway, concerning which the powers will no doubt arrive at a special agreement, it would be given at the ports of Mersina and Alexandretta two terminals in neutral territory which would guarantee to all the powers free traffic with Persia and India.

6. There will necessarily be a first period of organization for the term of which the peace congress might delegate one of the protecting powers to assume the duty of restoring the social life of Armenia. That mandate would last 10 or 15 years and come to an end when financial, economic, executive and political conditions are fully organized, as was done by the United States in Cuba and will be done in the near future in the Philippines.

The delegated protecting power would, for the purpose, have at its disposal a loan guaranteed by the powers, independently of an indemnity fund which will no doubt be allowed by the peace congress to compensate the victims of massacre and deportation. It would be empowered to send to Armenia, there to restore order and safety, a sufficient armed force which it would undertake gradually to withdraw before the expiration of its mandate and which would be replaced by an Armenian *gendarmérie*, as fast as that corps is organized.

Document 4-c

796 FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1917, SUPPLEMENT 2

File No. 867.48/676

*The Secretary of State to the President of the Armenian National
Delegation (Boghos Nubar)*

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1917.

SIR: The Department acknowledges the receipt of your letter of September 12, 1917, in which you state that the Armenian National Delegation deems it necessary to be represented in Washington, and has designated as such representative, Mr. Miran Sevasly, who has been already elected by his fellow countrymen, president of the Armenian National Union of America.

I am [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

○

U.S. Department of State. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations
of the United States, 1917. Supp. 2, 2 vols. Washington, D.C.:
USGPO, 1932. Vol. 1, pp. 791-96.

Document 4-d

46

BELGE VI
DOCUMENT VI*Délégation Nationale
Arménienne**21, Avenue du Président Wilson**Edouard Paucot, 3983**Adressa Télégraphique:
Délégation - Paris**Paris, le* December 23th, 1920

My dear Shishmanian,

Before you leave Paris, I want to tell you how much pleased I have been to meet you again in Paris. I knew your distinguished military services in France and in Cilicia and especially the glorious part which you had taken in the battle of Arara, but I can now better appreciate the important role you played in the education of the military spirit of our countrymen in Adana, and particularly in the training of the "Groupements Arméniens", which have done such excellent work in Adana.

Besides, I am pleased to point out the very appreciable services which you rendered to the Armenian National Delegation during your short sojourn in Paris by supplying it with documental and highly interesting reports on events which had happened in Cilicia and of which both the French Government and ourselves had such an imperfect knowledge.

I therefore express once again my best thanks and appreciation for your work.

Believe me, Dear Shishmanian,

Very sincerely yours,

Edouard Paucot

Document 5

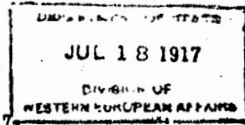
28

BELGE II
DOCUMENT II

WCD 10050-71



WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON.



Amica

July 17, 1917

*Go Rome July 23, 1917
File 2. 283. J.B.K.*

From Secretary of War.

To Secretary of State.

Subject: Organization of Armenians to fight for the Allied cause.

1. Reference to your memorandum of July 2, 1917, enclosing a despatch from the American Ambassador at Rome transmitting copy of a letter from the Comitato "Armenia Indipendente", recommending and requesting assistance to organize an armed force of Armenians under a flag of "free Armenians" to fight for the Allied cause, it is recommended that no assistance be given to a project of this nature at this time, owing to the fact that the Government is engaged, at present, in expending large sums of money and making preparations for the execution of plans of military operations already decided upon.

2. If such a project should be favorably considered, its execution should have the approval of an Allied war council.

96722/9

hwh

W. B. Baker

(Newman D. Baker)

FILED
AUG 1 1917

Document 6

29

BELGE III
DOCUMENT III

(Memorandum dated December 1st, 1920, sent to the French Government by the Delegation Nationale Armenienne on the Cilician Question.)

PRESENT STATUS OF THE CILICIAN QUESTION.



At a time when the fate of Cilicia is about to be decided it is necessary briefly to recall some facts, and to call attention to the solution which the Delegation Nationale Armenienne submits to the Government of France, a solution which, while taking into consideration the present and the obligations of the Treaty of Sevres would also satisfy the very modest prayers of the Armenians of Cilicia by protecting also the interests of France.

In October, 1916, following an accord concluded between the Allies regarding the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, the French Government declared to the Delegation Nationale Armenienne, that the Armenians should earn the liberation of their country by furnishing volunteers for an expedition into Asia Minor.

This demand may be explained by the fact that the Western front was then passing through one of its most alarming moments of the War, one in which the Allies, especially France, could not send even the weakest sort of a detachment to the East.

The President of the Delegation Nationale Armenienne eagerly accepted the proposition that was put to him, in exchange for which he obtained from the French Government a solemn promise to grant--after the War-- the widest possible autonomy under French protection to the Armenian territories which, according to the 1915 Accord, would come into the French zone of influence.

Immediate arrangements were made, an appeal was sent out by the President of the Delegation to Armenians who, armed with the hope of freeing Cilicia, their homeland, rushed from all sides to enlist. Thus was created the Legion d'Orient, later named Legion Armenienne, for it was made up almost exclusively of Armenians. Under the command of French officers and French staffs, the Legion took part in the Palestine-Syria campaign. It fought valiantly and its French leaders as well

- 1 -

Document 6-1

* (Footnote by John A. Shishmanian) It was said, at the time, that an army of one million Turks was prevented from being sent to the Eastern Front. J.A.S.

as Field Marshal Allenby, Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition, rendered official tribute to its tenacity and bravery.

But these are not the only military services that the Armenians have given to the Allies. From the very outbreak of the World War, refusing to accept the offer of the Turks, who promised them independence if they would join them in order to allow the Ottoman troops to reach the Transcaucasus to raise the Turanian population, and they did not hesitate to align themselves with the Allies. And in continuing the War for nearly a whole year on the Caucasian front, after the collapse of Russia, the Armenian Volunteers, under their own leaders, prevented the German forces from obtaining oil, as has been declared by General Ludendorff himself, who states that this was one of the causes of the inferiority of the German army and its notably feeble resistance.

On the other hand, by their action, the Armenian Volunteers held in the Caucasus, important Turkish forces and prevented them from fighting elsewhere.* They thus came to the assistance indirectly but very effectively, of the allied troops fighting in Mesopotamia and in Palestine, and later in the Salonica campaign, the victorious outcome of which unquestionably was one of the most powerful causes that led to the defeat of the Central Powers.

Nevertheless, in spite of her promise, the Treaty of Sevres abandons that largest part of Cilicia to the Turks, while it takes from them the region of Smyrna and of Thrace. The Armenians of Cilicia, to whom this freedom was promised and who fought against the Turks in order to obtain it, therefore see themselves once more returned to the domination of their ancient oppressors.

But recent events in Greece have modified the situation. The new direction of Greek politics at the fall of Mr. Venizelos brings up the question again. We do not ask for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres, but whether it is revised or not, it seems at the least that negotiations will break open from which diplomacy could take advantage, if it wishes, to come to the aid of Armenians in order



Document 6-2

to realize in Cilicia their very modest prayer and at the same time protect French interests.

The Armenians, considering what has already been done, and the signing by France of the Treaty of Sevres, no longer ask for the liberation of Cilicia, but while submitting to Ottoman sovereignty, they simply demand that the Christian population not be abandoned to the administration of Turks whom the Allies themselves have recognized to be incapable of governing non-Turkish peoples, and as they declared first in the letter of Mr. Clemenceau to the Ottoman Delegation that came to the Peace Conference in Paris and later in the declaration that was issued at the Conference at Spa.

The only solution then, is to grant to these peoples an autonomous Christian administration under French protection, with a mixed gendarmerie under French command into which may be introduced other national elements. This gendarmerie could be organized within a short time and its finances assured out of the resources of the country itself as soon as pacified.

We repeat that this solution which alone will make life possible to the Christian people of Cilicia would offer to France certain advantages which may be summed up as follows:

- 1:- It can be brought about by diplomacy alone without affecting the Treaty of Sevres. And France is able to do it readily, since Cilicia, under the Tripartite Accord is part of the French zone of influence, and because of this same "Accord" she need not withdraw her troops until the execution of the Treaty is effectually assured.
- 2:- It would call for no further sacrifice either of men or money.
- 3:- It would avoid all international difficulties, for it would not affect either the letter or the spirit of the Treaty of Sevres. The autonomous Christian administration could be brought about by a simple irade of the Sultan.



Document 6-3

32

- 4:- It would perpetuate the peace of the northern region of Syria and establish security on the Syrian boundary.
- 5:- It would permit France to evacuate Cilicia by means of its mixed gendarmerie as above mentioned.
- 6:- It would make more real the privileges of an economic, commercial and agricultural order in this region which is richer than any of the other regions placed under her mandate.

As to the 250,000 Christians of Cilicia whose official and traditional guardian is France, and who have returned to Cilicia under her own encouragement, they could by this solution enjoy a real security, no longer subject to vexations, injustices and the arbitrariness of an administration that has more than proved its incapacity to rule over non-Turk races and whose sad memory has not yet been effaced.

THE PRESIDENT

Delegation Nationale Armenienne

BOGHOS NUBAR

THIS TRANSLATION WAS DONE BY JOHN A. SHISHMANIAN, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT SENT NO REPLY TO THIS MEMORANDUM.



Document 7

TRANSLATION BY JOHN A. SHISHMANIAN

BELGE IV
DOCUMENT IVCILICIA & THE WAR of 1914-1918

(The following is a translation of a statement prepared by the Delegation Nationale Armenienne, at Paris, and signed by its President, Boghos Nubar.)

Paris December 9, 1920.

On the circumstances and conditions under which the "Orient" was created in 1916.

We deem it useful to recall the circumstances under which an accord was brought about between the French Government and the Delegation Nationale Armenienne in October, 1916, on the subject of Armenian Volunteers and to give certain details of the commitment on the part of the French Government.

In 1916, certain conferences took place between the Quai d'Orsay and the Delegation Nationale Armenienne. I was then called to London and after my conferences with Mr. Georges Picot and Sir Mark Sykes, who in the name of their respective governments had negotiated the Accord of 1916 relative to the fate of Turkey in Asia, I had a last meeting with them on October 27 at the Embassy of France, where the conditions upon which the Delegation Nationale Armenienne undertook to furnish Volunteers for an expedition into Cilicia were settled.

It was at a most critical period of the war, and the Allies could not think of withdrawing any of their forces on the Western front to be sent to the East; that is why Mr. Georges Picot had been instructed to call for Volunteers against the



Document 7-1

34

-2-

Turks. Need I state that we hastened to offer this additional cooperation to the Allies? I say "additional" because since the outbreak of the war the Armenians had never ceased to fight at the side of the Allies.

During the interview, Mr. Georges Picot brought out the necessity to the Armenians of acquiring a new realization of their national aspirations. I replied: "They are ready to do that". And I added, however, that the Volunteers would not offer themselves in really effective numbers unless they were assured of being enlisted against their ancient enemy, to liberate their native soil. Armenian Volunteers who were residents of France, had already been fighting for two years on the Western front; but under these present circumstances it seemed that those of our (Armenian) other communities would not willingly enlist elsewhere than in Cilicia.

Mr. Picot agreed with this and declared himself in accord with my position. He only asked in order to avoid any misunderstandings, if an expedition into Syria or on the coast of Smyrna, or even in the Balkans, undertaken for the purpose of defeating the Turks, would be considered in harmony with our plans. I replied that the object being to liberate Armenia, a landing carried out for strategical reasons in Syria or in Asia Minor, would surely satisfy our demands; but as to the Balkans, this would be doubtful.

Mr. Picot agreed and added that his question had no other motive than to define the issue and avoid all misunder-



Document 7-2

35

-3-

standings. This point having been clarified, I added that to allow me to support with greater energy a call for Volunteers and to obtain better results, I should be placed in a position to give assurances that at the end of the War, France would include Cilicia within the boundaries outlined in the 1916 Accord of the Allies; would create an autonomous Armenia to permit the race to reconstruct itself and for Armenian nationality to develop under the protection of France.

Mr. Picot then authorized me to give that assurance.

Consequently, it was agreed that I send a dispatch to my son in Egypt, where many Armenian refugees were eagerly awaiting the call to enlist, instructing him to take all the necessary steps in order to encourage enlistments advising the Volunteers that I had received formal assurances from the French Government that after the victory of the Allies, the aspirations of the Armenian people would receive full satisfaction in Cilicia.

It was thereupon decided in brief:

- 1- That the Volunteers would be utilized exclusively as a landing party in Asia Minor for the purpose of fighting their traditional enemies and to free their native soil.
- 2- That France promised -- after an Allied victory -- to give autonomy to Cilicia placed under her protection.
- 3- That the following telegram addressed to my son in Egypt, be sent in code by way of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was done that same day:

"October 27, 1916

"Arakel Bey Nubar, Cairo

Referring to my letter of October 6, on the question of Volunteers. Having since then, received formal assurances that upon an Allied victory, our national aspirations shall be satisfied, I direct you to take the necessary steps to encourage



Document 7-3

36

-4-

and facilitate the enlisting of the greatest number of Volunteers possible, with such precautionary measures as are indicated in my said letter, and all other precautions that may be deemed necessary. Shall return to Paris this week."

NUBAR



Such were the commitments on both sides.

The Armenians, relying upon the promise to free Cilicia, their homeland, responded to the appeal in large numbers, and the Government of the Republic (French) sent a Commission to Egypt under the direction of M. le Commandant Romieu to organize the corps of Volunteers that would be assembled and drilled on the island of Cyprus.

This Commission arrived at Cairo in November, 1916, and made contact with all the Armenian groups, and thus was created La Legion d'Orient later renamed La Legion Armenienne, because it was almost exclusively made up of Armenians. Commandant Romieu addressing himself to prominent Armenians confirmed to them this London Agreement and allowed them to read a letter from Mr. Briand, the President of the Conseil des Ministres, declaring that he was in complete accord with the Delegation Nationale Armenienne.

And the Commandant declared in these words:

1- That the constitution of the Legion d'Orient had as its main object to give to the Armenians the freedom of Cilicia and thus to create for them a new realization of their national aspirations.

2- That the Armenian Legionnaires would fight against the Turks and only in Cilicia.

3- That the Legion Armenienne would form a nucleus of the future Armenian army.

As soon as organized, the Legion d'Orient took part under the flag of France and the command of French officers in

Document 7-4

37

-5-

the Palestine Campaign, where it formed the largest part of the French contingent. It fought valiantly and its leaders paid tribute to its bravery. It was cited in the Orders of the French Expeditionary Corps (1) and Field Marshall Lord Allenby, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, has testified to their valor and to their splendid military bearing (2).

As to Cilicia, the commitments recited herein were carried out from November, 1918, to December, 1919, lands of Syria and Cilicia entrusted to the administration of Mr. Georges Pirot, officially were known as "le Commissariat General de la France en Armenie".

During this entire period, I received official communications concerning Cilicia, which came from the "Service Administratif en Armenie" and from the "Colonel, Administrateur en Chef en Armenie".

(1) "The Commanding Officer of the French Detachment under whose command the Armenians fought, has brought to light the endurance and the spirit of the Armenian soldiers, whose loyalty to the Allies never faltered".

(2) Dated October 12, 1918:

"Delegation Nationale Armenienne, Paris. My sincere thanks to you and to Armenians for your kind telegram of congratulations. I am proud of having had a group of Armenians under my command. They fought brilliantly and had a great share in the victory."

ALLENBY

Allenby



Document 7-5

38

-6-

Finally by official permission, upon orders of the High Commissioner, Mr. Georges Picot, 208,000 Armenians, refugees in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, were returned to Cilicia -- "Into their homeland" said the French authorities.

The Armenians therefore have carefully carried out their commitments.

Nevertheless, the treaty of Sevres, signed by France, leaves the greater portion of Cilicia under Ottoman sovereignty, while it presents autonomy to the Kurds (Article 62) who made war against the Allies and who with the Turks had participated in massacring Armenians who were the allies of France. The Kurds to whom France had made no promises. Those who loyally supported the cause of the Allies are sacrificed, while those who fought the allies are favored.

And yet, we could even be content today by obtaining an autonomous administration in Cilicia under Turkish sovereignty and French control. This autonomous administration could be accomplished through diplomatic channels. It would require nothing more than an irade from the Sultan.

The Delegation Nationale Armenienne hopes that the government of the Republic will be pleased to make its decision, which while preserving the interests of France will also permit her to keep her promises and attain the modest satisfaction of our demands. Otherwise, it means the abandonment of those whom France herself brought back into Cilicia and whose brothers fought at her side against the Turks.

The President
Delegation Nationale Armenienne.
BOGHOS NURAR



RECENT DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT 1: LETTER OF A GROUP OF RETIRED TURKISH AMBASSADORS TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MRS.NANCY PELOSY

DOCUMENT 2: STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA ON ARMENIAN REMEMBRANCE DAY, APRIL 24, 2009

DOCUMENT 3: PROTOCOL ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

DOCUMENT 4: PROTOCOL ON DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

**LETTER OF A GROUP OF RETIRED TURKISH AMBASSADORS TO
THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MRS.NANCY PELOSY**

April 1st, 2009

Once again, extremist factions within the American-Armenian communities have launched their yearly campaigns asking the US Congress the adoption of a resolution recognizing their claims of “Armenian Genocide”.

We, a Group of Retired Turkish Ambassadors, whose friends and colleagues have been brutally murdered by Armenian terrorists, categorically object to such political initiatives based on false and untenable premises.

The arguments set forth in the draft resolution are inaccurate, unfounded and are no more than tendentious assertions. If adopted, it will constitute a monumental symbol of one-sidedness, and an affront to the dignity of the Turkish people whose ancestors are accused of a detestable crime they had not committed. The silence of the draft Resolution on the losses and sufferings of the Turkish people during the same period is another regrettable aspect.

The “FINDINGS” in Section 2 of the draft resolution calls for a detailed rebuttal which we are ready to provide in an appropriate setting in the Congress. Here we shall draw Your attention to a few points of overriding importance:

- The “post-World War I Turkish Government” was not a government legitimately representing its people, but merely a remnant of the Ottoman Government under the captivity of British troops. It had no authority beyond the city of Istanbul under occupation. The so-called “court martial” formed in /1919 by that government were no more than the tools of the occupation forces. Their judges, who had even refused to hear the witnesses of the defendants, were appointed by the political opponents of the “Young Turks”. Even the British lawyers considered these courts to be a “farce” and an offence to the credibility of the British and Ottoman Governments.
- According to international law, the crime of genocide cannot be ascertained by parliamentary sub-committees or other political organs, but only by competent and impartial courts.
- Documents in the US archives (derived mainly from missionaries who had relied on Armenian sources) have been dismissed by the British Attorney General in 1920 as “personal impressions and opinions” unsuitable for use in

legal proceedings. At the time the British had the possibility of obtaining any document they wanted in Turkey.

- US Ambassador Morgenthau never visited Eastern Anatolia. When writing his “story”, he relied on the words of his two Armenian assistant-interpreters. His efforts to convince the United States to declare war against the Ottoman State was well known, as were his personal political ambitions. Most of the subsequent American ambassadors, including Admiral Bristol, as well as the American Observer Mission have contradicted his allegations. The reports of Captain Emory Niles and Mr. Arthur Sutherlands on the atrocities carried out by Armenian gangs and volunteers attached to occupation forces can be found in the American archives albeit in a mutilated form (U.S. 867.00/1005).
- The three Ministers mentioned by name were tried in absentia not for the “massacre” of the Armenians, but for having dragged the State into World War I on the side of Germany. Two of them were subsequently assassinated by Armenian terrorists, as were 31 innocent Turkish diplomats who had not yet been born at the time of these events. All members of the Ottoman Parliament and high level officials detained by the British Government and deported to the Island of Malta were later released for “lack of evidence” of war crimes.
- It has been clearly established that the presumed words of Hitler were the invention of a journalist, and were not recorded in any archive.
- Personal merits or stance of Mr. Lemkin cannot change the internationally recognized legal principle that only a competent court can rule whether or not the crime of genocide has been committed.
- Neither the United Nations, nor the Genocide Convention have ever recognized or made mention of “an Armenian Genocide”, as suggested in the draft resolution. The special UN Working Group refused to endorse the “Whitaker Report” containing this allegation on the grounds that it was not the Group’s task to pass judgment on history.
- Statements such as the “first genocide of the 20th Century” are thoughtless assertions against the Turkish nation, are morally unjust and ethically wrong, given the facts of history. In the Balkans alone, the 19th and 20th centuries witnessed the death of millions of Turks and Muslims subjected to ethnic cleansing, as a result of massacres, diseases and hunger. Only a part of them succeeded to reach Turkey in a pitiful state. No missionary or relief organization helped them; their sufferings were scarcely reported in the West, they remained as the forgotten sons and daughters of history.

The collusion and cooperation of the elements of the Armenian population with the invading Russian, French and British forces, and the destruction and massacres they have committed against civilian populations is a fact attested to not only by official Ottoman records, but also by several American, British and Russian sources. Secretary of State R. Lansing is unequivocal when he reports to President Wilson: "The betrayal of the Armenians against the State is the cause of their relocation". Official records set forth that an Armenian Delegation wanted to participate in the Peace Conference as "the representatives of the Armenians who were de facto participants in the war on the Allied side against the Ottoman State". The memorandum they submitted on February 28, 1919 to the Conference confirms their "betrayal", alongside the extreme territorial claims they had advanced. . As Secretary Lansing has admitted, the relocation of the Armenian population in Eastern Anatolia was prompted by real security concerns.

It is acknowledged, however, that under the conditions of war, the relocation process could not be managed as it should have been. During the relocation, unwarranted deaths and suffering was witnessed mainly due to disease, bandits and tribal attacks (in particular of those who had found refuge in Anatolia after their expulsion from their homelands by Armenians); but the same tragic destiny was shared also by Turks and other Muslim populations. More than 2.5 million of them perished in the same war; according to some estimates 518,000 Turks and some Jews were killed by Armenian para-military troops and gangs. It was these very organizations that had spearheaded the uprisings, fought against the Ottoman armies, massacred hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians. and destroyed entire settlements and communities. Their objective was to prepare ethnically clean territories for a future Armenian state in areas where they never held a majority. There is extensive documentation that these groups were armed and organized by Tsarist Russia and France, and received financial help from missionary organizations.

It is a common knowledge that relocation of populations during wars and national emergencies is not a measure that has been resorted to solely by the Ottoman State. The exchange of Greek and Turkish populations (as seen fit, inter alia, by Winston Churchill) was agreed to at the Lausanne Peace Conference. During the Second World War, as a precautionary measure, the United States had interned 300,000 of its own citizens of Japanese origin for several years under dire conditions for fear of their collaboration with an enemy thousand of kilometers away in another corner of the globe. US Courts later recognized this measure as legitimate. At the end of this war, six million German inhabitants of Central Europe were deported to Germany by a decision taken at the Potsdam and Yalta conferences. The insufficient organization, logistics and in particular poor protection provided by the victorious Allied armies were the main causes of the death of at least 1,000,000 Germans. If the Ottoman armies fighting on five fronts could not provide sufficient protection to relocated groups, or could not prevent losses caused by natural causes and diseases, this was not due to an intent to destroy these groups but resulted from the insufficiency of their means and resources under war conditions.

In fact, immediately after the War, Allied Governments were unable to put forth a single genuine document proving the Ottoman Government's intent to annihilate their Armenian subjects. However, there is abundant documentation to the contrary. The Ottoman Ministry of Interior had given strict instructions for the protection of these people, monitored their progress, warned or punished those officials who had failed their duties and diverted considerable sums for logistics from the war budget. We are not aware of another example of a government that permitted its subjects to receive foreign humanitarian assistance while acting at the same time with the intent of killing them. By permitting the continuation of the activities of the American missionaries and the distribution of relief material to relocated Armenians without hindrance, both the Ottoman and Nationalist governments had showed that they did not harbor such intent. Besides clearly attesting to this fact, report No.192 of the "Near East Relief" approved by the joint session of the Senate –House of Representatives on 22 May 1922, provides invaluable information regarding the numbers of those assisted (obviously alive) and the emigration movements, thus confuting the exaggerated numbers presented as corresponding to the victims of the relocation.

How could this be designated as genocide if the State took all measures possible under the conditions of war to ensure the protection of the relocated population?

The malicious exaggeration that 1,500,000 Armenians died has no factual basis. According to Ottoman census figures, the total Armenian population at that time in Turkey was 1,294,000. It is estimated that about 900,000 of them living in Eastern Anatolia were to be subjected to relocation; meaning their transfer and resettlement within the territory of the same state. Ottoman documents also show that 220,000 of the relocated subjects later returned to their homes. Even if credit is given to American documents only, the report of the American Consul in Aleppo informing his government of the safe arrival and resettlement of 500,000 Armenians in his consular area appears to challenge these exaggerated figures, which presume a death toll higher than the total Armenian population of Anatolia. The registers of several Western Governments recorded large numbers of Armenian immigrants and refugees. Russian records and the Report No.192 of the "Near East Relief" show that no less than 350,000 Armenians followed the retreating Russian forces or preferred to emigrate instead of returning to their homes at the end of the War. The 132,000 children mentioned in the draft resolution as being adopted by American families should be added to these figures. A simple calculation made by demographers is sufficient to prove the unrealistic exaggeration of these figures: If the present global Armenian population is accepted as the descendants of the such a limited number of Armenians to have survived the relocation, this would mean a population explosion unheard in the history of mankind. By the same rate of growth, the present day population of Turkey would have reached three hundred million, almost equal to the population of the United States, instead of the present 72 million.

Prominent scholars (Turkish, American or others), refute these exaggerations as the remnants of war propaganda (as later acknowledged by British historian Arnold Toynbee) or as the products of ethnic and religious bias. The same bias also explains the lack of any reference to Turkish-Muslim deaths.

Of course, the number of casualties is important. However, in order to qualify such unfortunate events as “genocide”, it is not the numbers, but irrefutable proof about the existence of the intent to destroy a people as such that needs to be established. At the end of the same war, Allied governments who were in possession of all official records and archives could not produce any credible document or evidence proving this element of intent. They consequently released all the ministers and parliamentarians who were detained or interned in Malta for prosecution of war crimes.

As the Republican generations of our nation, we may not relish delving into the sad pages of our history. However, this does not mean that we are not prepared to face the truth. We acknowledge also the human suffering in the histories of other nations including those of the colonial period. We object, however, to the misuse of these events for revanchisme and narrow political or other interests. In our country, speaking for or against a version of the events of 1915 is not prohibited by law in contrast to the practices of some other countries. The Turkish Government has formally proposed the formation of a commission composed of Turkish and Armenian scholars and the opening for their examination of all state archives, including the archives of the Armenian organizations that had spearheaded the uprisings. The refusal so far to accept joint and impartial research is the irrefutable evidence of the lack of good-will behind the genocide accusations. We have therefore to conclude that not us, but those who refuse objective research, are afraid of facing the truths of their own history. We will wait patiently for a positive answer, because it is only through dialogue that reconciliation can ever be attained between the Turkish and Armenian nations.

We hope that the Honorable members of the Congress will recognize the risks of the formalization by legislative fiat of such contested allegations by political decisions, parliamentary or otherwise. To attempt to codify history in a political context is bound to have serious implications well beyond the subject matter of that Resolution. “Genocide” is a legal concept defined in the 1948 UN Convention and only a due and impartial legal process by a competent court can certify its existence and issue an indictment to this effect. We would expect that the Congress of the United States, itself an edifice of law, to refrain from acting as a self-appointed tribunal.

We believe that the final objective of any survey of the events of the late 19th and early 20th centuries should be to promote peace and mutual understanding between the Turks and Armenians. These two peoples lived together for almost ten centuries in friendship and cordiality. We should therefore ask: What other interests are served besides the self-serving interests of the “Armenian Genocide” industry, were the Congress to adopt such a resolution? Will it help the on-going delicate process of

normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia or the resolution of the issue in contention? Will it serve the interests of Armenia, or of the United States? And finally, what impact it would have on Turkish-American relations which are no less important today than they were in the past?

Some in the Republic of Armenia or elsewhere may consider such allegations as politically useful, even a convenient cover for the occupation of a fifth of the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the expulsion of more than one million people from their homes. Even recent history shows that such illusions can only serve to fuel feelings of injustice and pave the way to enmities and new conflicts. Victimized and offended peoples would legitimately consider any cooperation with the aggressors and offenders as immoral. The feelings of the Turkish people, which consider Azerbaijan as a sister nation, cannot be much different.

Turkey was among the first to recognize (for the second time in modern history) the independence of Armenia, lending a helping hand for the development of relations based on legally binding bilateral and multilateral treaties. The responsibility of the present unsatisfactory state of relations falls upon the extremists supported by Diaspora organizations which do not seem to care about the harmful consequences of an indefinite postponement of the normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia. These elements prevent the Armenian State from following the path of reason, moderation and reconciliation.. No reasonable observer can overlook the benefits which a land-locked Armenia with scarce natural resources, reduced to the position of a forward military base of the Russian Federation stands to gain from regional cooperation in the Caucasus. The harm done to the true interests of the Armenian people struggling with poverty is obvious.

The Honorable members of Congress should therefore take into consideration that the adoption of this resolution will undoubtedly pose new barriers to the Turkish and Armenian governments in their search for common understanding and solutions concerning these issues.

The adoption of this draft resolution will inevitably create serious complications affecting Turkish-American relations as well. How one can imagine that the Turkish people could overlook the injustice done by the highest political authority of its long-time ally if the Congress fails to take the slightest trouble to consider arguments other than those raised by ethnic Armenian activists? For some governments and political bodies to act under the impulse of local political interests may be attractive; however, we believe such motives should not overshadow their even more important responsibility in regards to international moral, legal, strategic and political implications of their actions. With regard to extreme Armenian claims, the Turkish people will assess the actions and policies of our friends and foes on the basis of what stand they take on our views and arguments.. Provoking sentiments of injustice and discrimination can only benefit the radical ideologies

It is unthinkable that the Turkish people tolerate and forget about the injustice done, if the US Congress adopts this draft Resolution. That is bound to have a serious debilitating effect on Turkish-American relations which can reach the desirable level only with the support of their peoples. The many possibilities of cooperation between Turkey and the USA in the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Balkans, in Afghanistan and Iraq, in the field of energy, in the joint struggle against terrorism and other transnational challenges are likely to suffer as a result. The goodwill already generated by the planned visit of President Barack Obama to Turkey may be lost.

We certainly would not relish the happening of such negative developments in the relations of the two allies who had fought against common foes side by side in the distant corners of the globe. What we are asking now from the Honorable members of the US Congress is to be fair and refuse to adopt this draft resolution based on the distortion of the history. It is only through justice, fairness and truth that Turkish-American friendship and cooperation can endure and the real interests of the Armenian nation can be served.

STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA ON ARMENIAN REMEMBRANCE DAY, APRIL 24, 2009

Ninety four years ago, one of the great atrocities of the 20th century began. Each year, we pause to remember the 1.5 million Armenians who were subsequently massacred or marched to their death in the final days of the Ottoman Empire. The Meds Yeghern must live on in our memories, just as it lives on in the hearts of the Armenian people.

History, unresolved, can be a heavy weight. Just as the terrible events of 1915 remind us of the dark prospect of man's inhumanity to man, reckoning with the past holds out the powerful promise of reconciliation. I have consistently stated my own view of what occurred in 1915, and my view of that history has not changed. My interest remains the achievement of a full, frank and just acknowledgment of the facts.

The best way to advance that goal right now is for the Armenian and Turkish people to address the facts of the past as a part of their efforts to move forward. I strongly support efforts by the Turkish and Armenian people to work through this painful history in a way that is honest, open, and constructive. To that end, there has been courageous and important dialogue among Armenians and Turks, and within Turkey itself. I also strongly support the efforts by Turkey and Armenia to normalize their bilateral relations. Under Swiss auspices, the two governments have agreed on a framework and roadmap for normalization. I commend this progress, and urge them to fulfill its promise.

Together, Armenia and Turkey can forge a relationship that is peaceful, productive and prosperous. And together, the Armenian and Turkish people will be stronger as they acknowledge their common history and recognize their common humanity.

Nothing can bring back those who were lost in the Meds Yeghern. But the contributions that Armenians have made over the last ninety-four years stand as a testament to the talent, dynamism and resilience of the Armenian people, and as the ultimate rebuke to those who tried to destroy them. The United States of America is a far richer country because of the many Americans of Armenian descent who have contributed to our society, many of whom immigrated to this country in the aftermath of 1915. Today, I stand with them and with Armenians everywhere with a sense of friendship, solidarity, and deep respect.

Armenian National Institute:
http://www.armeniangenocide.org/Affirmation.408/current_category.4/affirmation_detail.html

**PROTOCOL
ON
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
BETWEEN
THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
AND
THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

The Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia,

Desiring to establish good neighbourly relations and to develop bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other fields for the benefit of their peoples, as envisaged in the Protocol on the development of relations signed on the same day,

Referring to their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe,

Reconfirming their commitment, in their bilateral and international relations, to respect and ensure respect for the principles of equality, sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs of other states, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers,

Bearing in mind the importance of the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of trust and confidence between the two countries that will contribute to the strengthening of peace, security and stability of the whole region, as well as being determined to refrain from the threat or the use of force, to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes, and to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Confirming the mutual recognition of the existing border between the two countries as defined by the relevant treaties of international law,

Emphasizing their decision to open the common border,

Reiterating their commitment to refrain from pursuing any policy incompatible with the spirit of good neighbourly relations,

Condemning all forms of terrorism, violence and extremism irrespective of their cause, pledging to refrain from encouraging and tolerating such acts and to cooperate in combating against them,

Affirming their willingness to chart a new pattern and course for their relations on the

basis of common interests, goodwill and in pursuit of peace, mutual understanding and harmony,

Agree to establish diplomatic relations as of the date of the entry into force of this Protocol in accordance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 and to exchange Diplomatic Missions.

This Protocol and the Protocol on the Development of Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia shall enter into force on the same day, i.e. on the first day of the first month following the exchange of instruments of ratification.


Signed in Zurich on October 10, 2009 in Turkish, Armenian and English authentic copies in duplicate. In case of divergence of interpretation, the English text shall prevail.

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ADINA



Ahmet Davutoğlu
Dışışleri Bakanı

ERMENİSTAN CUMHURİYETİ ADINA



Edward Nalbandian
Dışışleri Bakanı

**PROTOCOL
ON
DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS
BETWEEN
THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

The Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia,

Guided by the Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia signed on the same day,

Considering the perspectives of developing their bilateral relations, based on confidence and respect to their mutual interests,

Determining to develop and enhance their bilateral relations, in the political, economic, energy, transport, scientific, technical, cultural issues and other fields, based on common interests of both countries,

Supporting the promotion of the cooperation between the two countries in the international and regional organisations, especially within the framework of the UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the BSEC,

Taking into account the common purpose of both States to cooperate for enhancing regional stability and security for ensuring the democratic and sustainable development of the region,

Reiterating their commitment to the peaceful settlement of regional and international disputes and conflicts on the basis of the norms and principles of international law,

Reaffirming their readiness to actively support the actions of the international community in addressing common security threats to the region and world security and stability, such as terrorism, transnational organised crimes, illicit trafficking of drugs and arms,

1. Agree to open the common border within 2 months after the entry into force of this Protocol,

2. Agree to conduct regular political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries;

implement a dialogue on the historical dimension with the aim to restore mutual confidence between the two nations, including an impartial scientific examination of the historical records and archives to define existing problems and formulate recommendations;

make the best possible use of existing transport, communications and energy infrastructure and networks between the two countries, and to undertake measures in this regard;

develop the bilateral legal framework in order to foster cooperation between the two countries;

cooperate in the fields of science and education by encouraging relations between the appropriate institutions as well as promoting the exchange of specialists and students, and act with the aim of preserving the cultural heritage of both sides and launching common cultural projects;

establish consular cooperation in accordance with the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963 in order to provide necessary assistance and protection to the citizens of the two countries;

take concrete measures in order to develop trade, tourism and economic cooperation between the two countries;

engage in a dialogue and reinforce their cooperation on environmental issues.

3. Agree on the establishment of an intergovernmental bilateral commission which shall comprise separate sub-commissions for the prompt implementation of the commitments mentioned in operational paragraph 2 above in this Protocol. To prepare the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission and its sub-commissions, a working group headed by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be created 2 months after the day following the entry into force of this Protocol. Within 3 months after the entry into force of this Protocol, these modalities shall be approved at ministerial level. The intergovernmental commission shall meet for the first time immediately after the adoption of the said modalities. The sub-commissions shall start their work at the latest 1 month thereafter and shall work continuously until the completion of their mandates. Where appropriate, international experts shall take part in the sub-commissions.

The timetable and elements agreed by both sides for the implementation of this Protocol are mentioned in the annexed document, which is an integral part of this Protocol.

This Protocol and the Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between

the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia shall enter into force on the same day, i.e. on the first day of the first month following the exchange of instruments of ratification.

Signed in Zurich on October 10, 2009 in Turkish, Armenian, and English authentic copies in duplicate. In case of divergence of interpretation, the English version text shall prevail.

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Annexed document: Timetable and elements for the implementation of the Protocol on development of relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey

Timetable and elements for the implementation of the Protocol on development of relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia

Steps to be undertaken	Timing
1. to open the common border	within 2 months after the entry into force of the Protocol on the development of relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia
2. to establish a working group headed by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs to prepare the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission and its sub-commissions	2 months after the day following the entry into force of the Protocol on the development of relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia
3. to approve the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission and its sub-commissions at ministerial level	within 3 months after the entry into force of the Protocol on the development of relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia
4. to organize the first meeting of the intergovernmental commission	immediately after the adoption of the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission and its sub-commissions at ministerial level
5. to operate the following sub-commissions: - the sub-commission on political consultations; - the sub-commission on transport, communications and energy infrastructure and networks; - the sub-commission on legal matters; - the sub-commission on science and education; - the sub-commission on trade, tourism and economic cooperation; - the sub-commission on environmental issues; and - the sub-commission on the historical dimension to implement a dialogue with the aim to restore mutual confidence between the two nations, including an impartial scientific examination of the historical records and archives to define existing problems and formulate recommendations, in which Turkish, Armenian as well as Swiss and other international experts shall take part.	at the latest 1 month after the first meeting of the intergovernmental commission

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- ORSAM GUEST**
-  Prof. Raymond Hinnebusch evaluated Syrian foreign policy and Turkey-Syria relations. According to Hinnebusch Syria values relations with Turkey for several reasons.
 -  Rıza Çolak, Representative of the Iraqi Turkmen Front in Talafar: "There is no such thing as Sunni-Shiite conflict in Talafar. We are all brothers and sisters."
 -  Christer Asp, The Kingdom of Sweden's Ambassador to Ankara, assessed Turkey-EU relations and Turkey's changing role within the international system.
 -  Mohammed bin Nasser Hamed Al-Wohabi, Ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman, stated that Turkey is a stabilizing and balancing element in the Middle East.
 -  Baodad Amreuev, Kazakh

FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

 **Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoğlu's Visit to Lebanon and Turkey's Relations with Lebanon**

When we look at Turkey's relations with Lebanon from the past to the present, we see that these relations have developed on the basis of cooperation and, at times, conflict. However, since 2005, we have seen Turkey's relations with Lebanon develop rapidly in the fields of economy, politics and security.

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 **Northern Iraq Notes II: Sulaymaniyah Observations**


All the PUK authorities we interviewed said that the elections were a big gain for democracy. Probably, the reason for these statements isn't only the development of democracy. We got the impression that the Change List, formed by the PUK's veteran leaders, may reunite with the PUK.

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 **Turkey-Azerbaijan Relations: How to Switch from Brotherhood Slogans to Strategic Partnership?**

It is time to develop a closer relationship. By adding block into place each year, a common future that is based not only on bureaucrats and politicians but also on the entire nation and with the aim of improving friendship, peace and prosperity between Turkey and the Azerbaijan will be built.

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 **The Importance of the Turkey-Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) High Level Strategic Dialogue Meeting**

According to the GCC members, Turkey is the

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-  **IRAQ'S PIVOTAL POINT: TALAFAR**
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EVENTS

-  **ORSAM-TRT Cooperation for the Documentary of Turkish Straits**
The topics of the documentary film include the issue of Turkish Straits.
-  **ORSAM Middle Eastern Studies Summer School Completed**
ORSAM held a summer school program from July 1-15, 2009.
-  **Tal Afar Conference in Istanbul**
A conference was held on "Tal Afar: From the Invasion to the Present," on June 13, 2009 in Istanbul.
-  **Obama's Middle East Policies Discussed**
New American Policies and the future of Turkish-American relations were a topic at the meeting.
-  **The Priorities of Turkey's Iraq Policy Evaluated**
A brainstorm was arranged at ORSAM seeking to answer the question: "What should the

Your Link to Middle East