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RELEASE IN FULL

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TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PBTS, OSCE, AM, AJ
SUBJECT: OSCE MINSK CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRS PRESENT
COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT PLAN TO TER-PETROSSIAN

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(U) CLASSIFIED BY PETER TOMSEN, AMBASSADOR. REASONS:
1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

1. ~~(S)~~ THE OSCE MINSK CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRS, DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT, DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL BLOT AND AMBASSADOR LOZINSKY, INTRODUCED AND REVIEWED THE CONTENTS OF THE DRAFT COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE KARABAKH CONFLICT FOR PRESIDENT TER-PETROSSIAN IN YEREVAN ON MAY 31. THE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT HE HAD "BEEN WAITING FOR A LONG TIME" FOR SUCH A VISIT FROM THE CO-CHAIRS. HE LAMENTED THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE LAST YEAR, CITED THE CEASE-FIRE AS THE ONLY CONCRETE POSITIVE RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND HOPED THE CO-CHAIRS BROUGHT GOOD NEWS. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY LED OFF FOR THE CO-CHAIRS, STRESSING THE UNITY OF THE THREE GOVERNMENTS IN SUPPORTING THE NEW JOINT APPROACH. FROM THE LEVEL OF THE CO-CHAIR PRESIDENTS ON DOWN, THE THREE GOVERNMENTS HAD WORKED HARD AND TAKEN VERY SERIOUSLY THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES IN MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. THE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WAS A RESULT OF THE MOST CREATIVE THINKING AND DEDICATION THE CO-CHAIRS COULD IMPART, AND IT WAS THE BEST AGREEMENT THEY COULD PROPOSE. TALBOTT NOTED THE PERSONAL INTEREST OF ALL THREE CO-CHAIR PRESIDENTS IN SEEING THE CONFLICT RESOLVED, AND HOPED THIS INTEREST COULD BE USED TO GIVE AN ADDITIONAL IMPETUS TO THE PEACE TALKS. TALBOTT THEN PRESENTED THE AGREED INTRODUCTORY TALKING POINTS OUTLINED BELOW. BLOT AND LOZINSKY MADE INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ALSO STRESSING CO-CHAIR UNITY AND THE NEED FOR THE PARTIES TO WORK SERIOUSLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY FOR PEACE. LOZINSKY THEN OUTLINED AGREEMENT ONE, PER AGREED INTRODUCTORY TALKING POINTS. BLOT FOLLOWED,



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DOING THE SAME FOR AGREEMENT TWO ON STATUS. AFTER THE PRESENTATION, TER-PETROSSIAN REMARKED THAT THE DOCUMENT WAS EXTENSIVE. HE WANTED TO GIVE A SERIOUS RESPONSE, AND SO WOULD DEFER SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS TO HIS EVENING MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION. HE DID, HOWEVER, STRESS THE NEED FOR CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE DOCUMENT, AND ASKED THAT IT BE PROTECTED. THE CO-CHAIRS AGREED. END SUMMARY.

2. ~~(S)~~ ON THE MORNING OF MAY 31, THE MINSK CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRS PRESENTED THEIR AGREED COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT TO PRESIDENT TER-PETROSSIAN IN YEREVAN. THE U.S. DELEGATION WAS LED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT AND INCLUDED S/NIS/RA PRESEL, S/NIS/RA PASCOE, AMBASSADOR TOMSEN, D EDELMAN, S/NIS/RA REMLER AND POLOFF (NOTETAKER). THE FRENCH DELEGATION, LED BY DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL BLOT, INCLUDED AMBASSADOR VAUGIER, MFAOFF MANVILLE, MFAOFF PIERRE FILATOFF, AND 2ND SECRETARY DUTERTRE. THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION, LED BY AMBASSADOR LOZINSKY, INCLUDED AMBASSADOR YUKALOV, AMBASSADOR URNOV AND MFAOFF RECHTCHIKOV. PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR LIBARIDIAN, FOREIGN MINISTER ARZOUMANIAN, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OSKANIAN, AND PRESS SPOKESPERSON ZURABYAN PARTICIPATED FROM THE ARMENIAN SIDE.

3. ~~(S)~~ TER-PETROSSIAN BEGAN BY WELCOMING THE DELEGATION AND NOTING THAT HE HAD BEEN "WAITING A LONG TIME" FOR SUCH A VISIT. HE STATED THAT HE HOPED THE CO-CHAIRS BROUGHT GOOD NEWS, AS THERE HAD BEEN ALMOST NO PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON KARABAKH FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. THE ONLY THING WE HAVE IS THE CEASE-FIRE, WHICH IS STILL HOLDING, HE COMMENTED. REFERRING TO THE RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS ON THE ARMENIAN-AZERI BORDER, TER-PETROSSIAN ASSURED THE DELEGATION THAT THESE INCIDENTS WERE NOT SERIOUS. PRESIDENT ALIYEV HAD ALSO SAID THEY WERE NOT SERIOUS, AND SINCE THE TWO RARELY AGREED ON ANYTHING, IN THIS CASE IT MUST BE TRUE, TER-PETROSSIAN QUIPPED. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE CEASE-FIRE; "THE REST DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU'VE DECIDED," HE SAID.

4. ~~(S)~~ DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT LED OFF REMARKS BY THE CO-CHAIRS, THANKING TER-PETROSSIAN AND EXPRESSING CONDOLENCES ON THE RECENT DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT'S BROTHER. TALBOTT NOTED THAT THE CO-CHAIRS REPRESENTED THREE IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, WHICH, FROM THE LEVEL OF THEIR PRESIDENTS ON DOWN, HAD GIVEN ENERGY, DEDICATION AND HOPE TO BRINGING PEACE TO THE CAUCASUS. THE PRESIDENTS OF THE THREE CO-CHAIR COUNTRIES HAD MET EARLIER THIS WEEK IN PARIS. THE CO-CHAIRS WOULD LIKE TO USE THE SHARED INTEREST OF THEIR PRESIDENTS TO GIVE AN ADDITIONAL IMPETUS TO THE PEACE PROCESS, TALBOTT STATED.

5. ~~(S)~~ TALBOTT NOTED THAT TER-PETROSSIAN WAS A LONG-

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TIME ADVOCATE OF CO-CHAIR UNITY; THIS HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED. TALBOTT THEN PROCEEDED TO ELABORATE INTRODUCTORY TALKING POINTS, WITH HIGHLIGHTS AS FOLLOWS:

--A UNIFIED APPROACH WAS HAMMERED OUT AT THE MAY 15 MEETING OF MINSK CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRMEN IN WASHINGTON.

--THAT APPROACH IS EMBODIED IN A DRAFT COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT THAT REFLECTS THE MOST IMAGINATION AND CREATIVE THINKING THE CO-CHAIRS CAN BRING TO THIS

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ISSUE.

--THE DRAFT INCORPORATES THE IDEAS OF ALL THREE CO-CHAIR COUNTRIES, AND REPRESENTS THE BEST AGREEMENT THE CO-CHAIRS CAN PROPOSE.

--ALL THREE PARTIES WANTED THE CO-CHAIRS TO COME UP WITH A DOCUMENT; THE CO-CHAIRS TOOK THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES SERIOUSLY, AND NOW IT WAS TIME FOR THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY.

--THE DOCUMENT WAS BALANCED, DEMANDING EQUAL SACRIFICES FROM EACH SIDE.

--CHANGES WERE TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE OTHER PARTIES, AND THE CO-CHAIRMEN STOOD READY TO HELP FACILITATE SUCH TALKS.

--THE NUMBER OF NEGOTIATING CHANNELS IS NOT IMPORTANT, BUT THE PARTIES MUST AGREE ON AN AGENDA FOR TALKS.

--THE CO-CHAIRS SEE TWO AGENDAS FOR TALKS; THE FIRST AGENDA INCLUDES TROOP WITHDRAWALS, RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSONS, A PEACEKEEPING FORCE AND SECURITY MEASURES.

--THE SECOND AGENDA INVOLVES THE DETERMINATION OF THE STATUS OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH.

--THE CO-CHAIRS RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL TAKE COURAGE AND STATESMANSHIP TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT; WE ASK THAT THE PARTIES DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO SHAPE AND LEAD PUBLIC OPINION FOR A SOLUTION BASED ON COMPROMISE.

--THE AGREEMENT ON STATUS MAY TAKE LONGER TO NEGOTIATE. THEREFORE, THE DOCUMENT IS SEPARATED INTO TWO AGREEMENTS, SO EACH CAN PROCEED AT ITS OWN PACE.

--THE CO-CHAIRS ARE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN INTENSIVE SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY ON ALL ISSUES. WE WILL FOCUS, HOWEVER, ON SUBSTANCE, AND NOT MODALITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS. WE WILL HELP REVITALIZE THE MINSK GROUP NEGOTIATIONS AND THE DIRECT CHANNEL. WE HOPE FOR TRANSPARENCY AND SERIOUSNESS FROM THE PARTIES.

--THE PREAMBLE TO THE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT STRESSES THE BENEFITS OF PEACE FOR THE ENTIRE REGION.

--THERE ARE STEPS THAT CAN BE TAKEN BEFORE A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT IS REACHED.

--IN KEEPING WITH COMMENTS MADE BY THE PRESIDENT IN THE INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, THE CO-CHAIRS WILL ASK THAT ALL SIDES EXERCISE MAXIMUM SELF-RESTRAINT IN COMMENTS MADE IN PARLIAMENTARY AND OTHER PUBLIC SETTINGS. THE CURRENT FRAGILE ATMOSPHERE SHOULD NOT BE IRRITATED.

--WE HAVE INCLUDED A LIST OF CBMS THAT COULD BE PURSUED IMMEDIATELY, INCLUDING JOINT COMMUNICATIONS TO PREVENT CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS LIKE THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN OCCURRING ON THE ARMENIAN-AZERI BORDER.

--THE CO-CHAIRS REPRESENT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S EFFORTS TO ASSIST PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. WE ASK THAT YOU GIVE US THE SERIOUS RESPONSE THIS EFFORT DESERVES.

--DEPENDING ON YOUR RESPONSE, THE THREE CO-CHAIRS ARE PREPARED TO ASK OUR PRESIDENTS TO MEET DURING THE DENVER SUMMIT IN LATE JUNE AND INVOKE THE ATTENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO GIVE AN ADDITIONAL IMPETUS TO THE SEARCH FOR PEACE.

6. --(S) IN HIS INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL BLOT STRESSED THE UNITY OF THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP. TER-PETROSSIAN QUIPPED THAT THIS WAS ONLY HALF THE PROBLEM -- THERE STILL REMAINS THE PRB LEM OF GETTING AGREEMENT BETWEEN ARMENIA, NAGORNO-KARABAKH AND AZERBAIJAN. BLOT SAID HE HOPED THAT THE RECENT SHOW OF



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COOPERATION BY THE THREE CO-CHAIR PRESIDENTS IN PARIS WOULD SET A GOOD EXAMPLE FOR MOVING TOWARD PEACE IN KARABAKH, AS WELL. HE CITED THE IMPORTANCE OF USING THE DENVER SUMMIT TO PUSH THE KARABAKH PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. WHEREAS IN THE PAST, THE PARTIES HAD TENDED TO PLAY THE MEDIATORS OFF ONE ANOTHER, NOW THAT THE CO-

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CHAIRS WERE UNITED, THE PEACE PROCESS COULD MOVE FORWARD.

7. ~~(S)~~ RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR LOZINSKY SIMILARLY STRESSED CO-CHAIR UNITY. EVERYTHING MENTIONED BY THE OTHER CO-CHAIRS IS SUPPORTED BY RUSSIA, HE EMPHASIZED. IN THE PAST, THERE WAS A TENDENCY TO FORUM-SHOP, BUT NOW THAT THREE INTERESTED MINSK GROUP MEMBERS WERE LEADING THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT, THERE WAS A NEW IMPETUS TO THE PROCESS. THE CO-CHAIRS HAD DRAFTED A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT, WHICH WOULD BE THE BASIS FOR THE UNITED APPROACH.

8. ~~(S)~~ AFTER HANDING OUT COPIES OF THE DOCUMENT, LOZINSKY OUTLINED THE CONTENTS OF AGREEMENT ONE REGARDING CESSATION OF THE ARMED CONFLICT, CLOSELY FOLLOWING AGREED INTRODUCTORY TALKING POINTS. HE CONCLUDED BY URGING THE PARTIES TO BE SERIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE IN DISCUSSING THE AGREEMENT. THE AGREEMENT IS CAREFULLY BALANCED, AND, THEREFORE CONCESSIONS IN ANY AREA WOULD DEMAND COUNTER-CONCESSIONS IN ANOTHER. THE IDEAS PRESENTED WERE COMPLEX AND ORIGINAL. IT IS TIME FOR THE PARTIES TO CHANGE THE PAST UNFORTUNATE RECORD OF TALKS ON THESE ISSUES, AND ACHIEVE AGREEMENT.

9. ~~(S)~~ DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL BLOT THEN REVIEWED THE TALKING POINTS FOR AGREEMENT TWO ON STATUS. HE NOTED THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS BASED ON DISCUSSIONS IN THE BILATERAL CHANNEL AND ON THE NON-PAPER CIRCULATED BY THE RUSSIANS. THE CO-CHAIRS RECOGNIZED THAT THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION IN THE CONFIDENTIAL CHANNEL WAS A TRADE-OFF: TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY FOR STATUS. TER-PETROSSIAN INTERRUPTED TO STATE THAT THERE WERE NEVER ANY CONFIDENTIAL TALKS, SINCE ONE SIDE IN THE TALKS DID NOT TAKE THE CONFIDENTIALITY SERIOUSLY. BLOT PROCEEDED THROUGH THE TALKING POINTS, DISCUSSING THE PRINCIPLES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION, SECURITY FORCES FOR KARABAKH, THE PROBLEM OF CITIZENSHIP, AND TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. HE CONCLUDED BY STRESSING THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PARTIES, AND IT WAS UP TO THEM TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS. HE STATED THE READINESS OF THE CO-CHAIRS TO PRESERVE THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE CONTENTS OF THIS AGREEMENT, AND TO CONDUCT SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY TO ASSIST THE PARTIES IN REACHING AGREEMENT. THE CO-CHAIRS WOULD BE ENERGETIC AND PERSISTENT, BUT THE PARTIES ALONE COULD DETERMINE THEIR FATE.

10. ~~(S)~~ AFTER THE CO-CHAIR PRESENTATIONS, TER-PETROSSIAN NOTED THAT THE DOCUMENT WAS EXTENSIVE. OF COURSE, HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO SAY ANYTHING SERIOUS REGARDING A REACTION UNTIL HIS EVENING MEETING WITH THE DELEGATION. IF HE REACTED NOW, HE SAID, IT WOULD NOT BE SERIOUS.

11. ~~(S)~~ TER-PETROSSIAN WENT ON TO STRESS THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE DOCUMENT. "THERE WILL NOT BE ANY REACTION BY PUBLIC OPINION IN THIS CASE," HE STATED. HE NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF FACE-SAVING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS -- BECAUSE OF THIS, CONFIDENTIALITY WAS ESSENTIAL. HE ASKED WHETHER THIS DOCUMENT WAS CONFIDENTIAL REGARDING THE MINSK GROUP. THE CO-CHAIRS RESPONDED THAT IT WAS.

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THE MEETING THEN ADJOURNED UNTIL THE NEXT SESSION WITH
TER-PETROSSIAN SCHEDULED FOR LATER THAT EVENING.

12. (U) DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO EMBASSIES BAKU,
ANKARA, MOSCOW, PARIS AND USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE.
TOMSEN

~~SECRET~~