

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ9708

RELEASED IN PART B1,  
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PAGE 01 ANKARA 08120 01 OF 04 111522Z  
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 SAS-00 /000W  
-----AA0C43 111535Z /38

P 111408Z DEC 00  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9755  
AMEMBASSY YEREVAN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BAKU PRIORITY  
USMISSION USOSCE  
AMEMBASSY TBILISI  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 ANKARA 008120

EXDIS CEDAR **DECAPIED** **Classified by DAS, A/GIS, DoS ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason:  B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)~ Declassify on: 12-11-2025**

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/09/10  
TAGS: PREL, TU, AM, AJ  
SUBJECT: MINSK GROUP CO-CHAIRS BEGAN VISIT TO REGION IN  
TURKEY -- WITHOUT THE RUSSIAN CO-CHAIR

CLASSIFIED BY POLOFF DOROTHY DELAHANTY. REASON: 1.5 (B)  
AND (D)

SUMMARY

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1. (C) IN A DECEMBER 8 MEETING IN ANKARA WITH FOREIGN  
MINISTER CEM AND OTHER HIGH-LEVEL MFA OFFICIALS, SPECIAL  
NEGOTIATOR (AND MINSK GROUP CO-CHAIR) CAREY CAVANAUGH AND  
HIS FRENCH COUNTERPART, AMBASSADOR JEAN JACQUES GAILLARDE,  
PREVIEWED THE AIM OF THE CO-CHAIRS' VISIT AND EXPLAINED THE  
LAST-MINUTE ABSENCE OF THE RUSSIAN CO-CHAIR IN ANKARA.  
CEM EXPRESSED PLEASURE THAT THE CO-CHAIRS, BY STARTING THE  
VISIT IN ANKARA, WERE HIGHLIGHTING THE IMPORTANT ROLE  
TURKEY WOULD HAVE TO PLAY WHEN A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAGORNO-  
KARABAKH CONFLICT WAS IMPLEMENTED. THE TURKS ALSO VOICED  
SUPPORT FOR THE CO-CHAIRS' AIMS OF REINFORCING THE N-K  
CEASE-FIRE AND OF SHAPING THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE LEAD UP  
TO THE ANTICIPATED JANUARY MEETING IN STRASBOURG BETWEEN  
PRESIDENTS ALIYEV AND KOCHARIAN. CEM STRESSED THAT ARMENIA  
NEEDED TO TURN DOWN ITS PUBLIC OFFENSIVE AGAINST TURKEY.  
MFA UNDERSECRETARY ALPOGAN PLACED TURKEY'S POLICY TOWARD  
THE CAUCASUS IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS OVERALL EFFORT TO  
"EXTINGUISH FIRES" AROUND ITS PERIPHERY IN AN EFFORT TO  
PROMOTE STABILITY IN THE REGION, POINTING TO RECENTLY  
IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH SYRIA AND GREECE. ALPOGAN  
REITERATED TURKEY'S SUPPORT FOR THE CO-CHAIRS' WORK AND

**REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer**

PLEGGED TURKEY WOULD "FULFILL WHATEVER IS REQUIRED" OF IT BY AN N-K SETTLEMENT, ALTHOUGH THE TURKS WERE NOT COMFORTABLE WHEN THE FRENCH TRIED TO PRESS THEM ON SPECIFICS. THE RUSSIAN CO-CHAIR, WHO HAD EXPLAINED HE WAS ORDERED TO GO TO BAKU TO HELP ADVANCE THE JANUARY VISIT THERE OF RUSSIAN PRESIDENT PUTIN, WILL JOIN THE OTHER CO-CHAIRS IN NAKHCHIVAN ON DECEMBER 9, MISSING ONLY THE TURKEY LEG OF THE TRIP, BUT ALSO RAISING QUESTIONS ABOUT RUSSIAN POLICY THAT MAY BE CLARIFIED LATER. END SUMMARY.

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2. (U) SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR CAREY CAVANAUGH AND S/NIS/RC DEPUTY KENNETH HILLAS AND FRENCH COUNTERPARTS, ACCOMPANIED BY POLOFF, HAD SEPARATE MEETINGS IN THE MFA WITH DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY ALPOGAN AND FM CEM ON DECEMBER 8. MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL GORKAY, DEPDIRGEN UNAL CEVIKOZ AND CAUCASUS DEPARTMENT HEAD SERAP OZCOSKUN ALSO PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETINGS.

CEM MEETING

3. (C) CAVANAUGH OPENED THE MEETING WITH CEM BY REVIEWING THE AIMS OF THE CO-CHAIRS' VISIT TO THE REGION. THIS WAS THREE-FOLD: HIGHLIGHTING THE KEY ROLE OF TURKEY IN IMPLEMENTING AN N-K SETTLEMENT, REINFORCING THE CEASE-FIRE AND SHAPING THE PEACE PROCESS PRIOR TO PUTIN'S VISIT AND AN EXPECTED KOCHARIAN/ALIYEV MEETING IN STRASBOURG IN LATE JANUARY. CEM STRESSED THAT HE HAD ENGAGED HEAVILY HIMSELF ON THE N-K ISSUE. THE FRENCH CO-CHAIR TOLD CEM THAT PARIS EXPECTS AZERBAIJAN TO HAVE ITS COE MEMBERSHIP CONFIRMED IN JANUARY. CAVANAUGH SAID THAT THE ITALIANS HAD TOLD HIM EARLIER THIS WEEK (REFTEL) THAT THEY WOULD WORK TO MAKE SURE SIMULTANEOUS ENTRY TAKES PLACE.

4. (C) CEM ASKED WHETHER THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL REMAINED IN PLAY OR IF SOMETHING NEW WAS NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION. THE CO-CHAIRS' NOTED THAT THE ALIYEV/KOCHARIAN DIRECT DIALOGUE HAS NOT MADE PROGRESS THIS YEAR. CAVANAUGH SAID THE TWO PRESIDENTS NOW THOUGHT THAT THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL COULD NOT BE IMPLEMENTED. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ARMENIA WOULD NOT SUPPORT IT. SIMILARLY, ALIYEV REMAINED OPPOSED TO THE "COMMON STATE." THE TWO SIDES HAVE BEEN LOOKING -- WITHOUT

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SUCCESS -- FOR WAYS TO COMBINE ELEMENTS OF THE CO-CHAIRS' EARLIER "COMMON STATE" PROPOSAL AND LAST YEAR'S ORIGINAL PROPOSAL DEVELOPED BY THE TWO PRESIDENTS. CEM SAID THAT THEY HAD NO FIRM READOUT ON THE MINSK MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS AND THE CO-CHAIRS UNDERTOOK TO PROVIDE TURKEY A READOUT AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THIS TRIP.

ARMENIA NEEDS TO TONE DOWN

5. (C) CEM NOTED TURKEY'S EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING IRAN AND GREECE. PROGRESS WAS POSSIBLE, DESPITE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES. NEVERTHELESS, CEM ALSO MADE CLEAR THE NEED FOR ARMENIA TO TONE DOWN ITS OFFENSIVE AGAINST TURKEY, EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT GENOCIDE RESOLUTIONS AND THE RECENT DASHNAK CONGRESS IN YEREVAN. NOTING THAT YEREVAN NOW APPEARED TO HAVE STRONGER TIES TO THE DIASPORA, ALPOGAN'S ASSESSMENT WAS THAT ARMENIA WAS NOT/NOT PURSUING A FRIENDLY PATH VIS-A-VIS TURKEY. CEM MENTIONED THAT SOME TURKISH POLITICAL LEADERS -- ALPOGAN

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ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 SAS-00 /000W  
-----AA1060 111604Z /38

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9756  
AMEMBASSY YEREVAN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BAKU PRIORITY  
USMISSION USOSCE  
AMEMBASSY TBILISI  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 ANKARA 008120

EXDIS CEDAR

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TURKEY -- WITHOUT THE RUSSIAN CO-CHAIR

FINGERED TANSU CILLER -- HAD CALLED FOR THE EXPULSION OF  
THE APPROXIMATELY 30,000 ARMENIAN NATIONALS RESIDING AND  
WORKING IN TURKEY IN RESPONSE TO EFFORTS TO PASS A GENOCIDE  
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RESOLUTION IN THE U.S. CONGRESS. CEM MADE CLEAR THIS WOULD  
NOT BE CONSISTENT WITH TURKEY'S OVERALL REGIONAL POLICY.  
SUPPORTING AN N-K PEACE PROCESS WAS A KEY TO STABILIZING  
THE REGION.

6. (C) HOWEVER, ARMENIA HAD TO TAKE A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE  
PATH. CEM FELT THAT THE ARMENIAN GOVERNMENT HAD CHANGED  
AND WAS NOW ORGANIZING THE DIASPORA. THAT WAS A  
PROBLEMATIC POLICY SHIFT. THERE WAS SPECULATION THIS HAD  
STARTED AFTER THE ASSASSINATION IN OCTOBER 1999, BUT  
CEVIKOZ SUGGESTED IT DATED TO KOCHARIAN'S ELECTION.

CAVANAUGH NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD REPEATEDLY WARNED THE ARMENIANS ABOUT THE PATH -- THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD RAISED THIS VIEW WITH KOCHARIAN. WHILE THERE MAY BE A CHANGE IN POLICY, CAVANAUGH NOTED PART OF THAT COULD BE EXPLAINED BY THE DIRE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ARMENIA AND THE NATION'S INCREASED RELIANCE ON DIASPORA FUNDS. (NOTE: CEM WAS CLEARLY PLEASED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE EU SUMMIT IN NICE, BUT EXHAUSTED FROM HIS RECENT TRAVEL (INDEED, HE CANCELLED A PLANNED VISIT TO TURKMENISTAN THE NEXT DAY). NEVERTHELESS, CEM REVEALED HE HAD BECOME ADDICTED TO CNN COVERAGE OF THE "FLORIDA RECOUNT," STAYING UP PAST TWO IN THE MORNING TO WATCH THE LEON COUNTY COURT ACTIONS AND THE LATEST TWIST FROM THE FLORIDA SUPREME COURT. END NOTE)

ALPOGAN MEETING

7. (C) THE TWO CO-CHAIRS EXPLAINED TO ALPOGAN THE LAST-MINUTE ABSENCE OF THEIR RUSSIAN COUNTERPART, WHO HAD BEEN SENT TO BAKU, DECEMBER 7-9, TO ADVANCE THE JANUARY 15 VISIT THERE OF PRESIDENT PUTIN. THEY EXPLAINED THE AGENDA AND  
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FOCUS OF THE CO-CHAIR VISIT HAD BEEN COORDINATED WITH THE RUSSIANS AND THAT GRIBKOV WOULD JOIN THEM THE NEXT DAY ON THE NAKHCHIVAN BORDER FOR THE REST OF THE VISIT. CAVANAUGH PREVIEWED FOR ALPOGAN THE PURPOSE OF THE CO-CHAIR VISIT TO THE REGION: TO HIGHLIGHT THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF TURKEY IN AN N-K SETTLEMENT; TO REINFORCE THE CEASE-FIRE, WHICH CONTINUES TO EXPERIENCE OCCASIONAL VIOLATIONS ALONG THE LINE OF CONTACT AND ARMENIAN/AZERBAIJANI BORDER; AND TO SHAPE THE PEACE PROCESS IN ADVANCE OF THE PUTIN VISIT TO BAKU AND THE EXPECTED JANUARY MEETING IN STRASBOURG BETWEEN PRESIDENTS ALIYEV AND KOCHARIAN.

8. (C) ALPOGAN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION THAT THE CO-CHAIRS HAD STARTED THEIR TRIP IN ANKARA AND ASKED FOR INFORMATION THE CO-CHAIRS MIGHT OBTAIN ON THEIR VISIT REGARDING THE ALIYEV/KOCHARIAN MEETING IN MINSK ON THE MARGINS OF THE DECEMBER 1 CIS SUMMIT. CAVANAUGH NOTED ARMENIAN AND AZERBAIJANI COOPERATION AT THE VIENNA OSCE MINISTERIAL IN DRAFTING LANGUAGE ON N-K, WHICH WAS EVENTUALLY USED IN THE CIO'S STATEMENT, UNDERSCORING THE CONTINUED COMMITMENT OF THE PARTIES TO THE PEACE PROCESS. BY CROSSING THE TURKEY/NAKHCHIVAN LAND BORDER, CAVANAUGH SAID THE CO-CHAIRS WERE ALSO AIMING TO UNDERSCORE THE BENEFITS FOR REGIONAL TRANSPORT LINKS OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT. ALPOGAN ACKNOWLEDGED THE INTEREST IN EASTERN ANATOLIA IN OPENING AND STRENGTHENING THESE REGIONAL LINKS.



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10. (C) CAVANAUGH RECONFIRMED THAT THE CO-CHAIRS WOULD NOT MAKE A NEW PROPOSAL TO THE TWO PRESIDENTS, AS THEY ARE IN NO BETTER POSITION THAN THEY TO DEVELOP A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR A SETTLEMENT. ALPOGAN AGREED. CAVANAUGH NOTED THAT WHILE ALIYEV REMAINED COMMITTED TO FINDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, THERE WAS MORE TALK IN AZERBAIJAN OF THE NEED TO RETURN TO FIGHTING, PARTICULARLY DURING LAST MONTH'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN. THIS MAY REFLECT GROWING LEVELS OF FRUSTRATION, BUT IN THE U.S. VIEW RENEWED FIGHTING WOULD BE A DANGEROUS MOVE THAT COULD POSE STRATEGIC AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL THREATS TO AZERBAIJAN AND ALIYEV, IF NOT THE ENTIRE REGION.

ANKARA - LOOKING FOR GOOD NEIGHBORS

11. (C) ALPOGAN STRESSED THAT ANKARA'S POLICY IS TO "EXTINGUISH FIRES" AROUND TURKEY, AND THAT IT WAS DOING "WHATEVER POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE STABILITY" ON ITS PERIPHERY, NOTING IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH SYRIA AND GREECE AND THE

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ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 SAS-00 /000W  
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P 111408Z DEC 00  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9757  
AMEMBASSY YEREVAN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BAKU PRIORITY  
USMISSION USOSCE  
AMEMBASSY TBILISI  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 ANKARA 008120

EXDIS CEDAR

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ACTIVATION OF A DIALOGUE WITH EACH. ALTHOUGH BASIC MISUNDERSTANDING REMAIN BETWEEN TURKEY AND THESE TWO STATES, THE RELATIONSHIPS WERE MUCH IMPROVED. HE STRESSED THAT THERE IS THE POLITICAL WILL IN TURKEY TO SUPPORT A POLITICAL SOLUTION ON N-K. HE POINTED TO TWO KEY ELEMENTS

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FOR REALIZING THIS: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC  
RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND ARMENIA, AND A RESOLUTION OF  
THE N-K CONFLICT. WITHOUT AN N-K SETTLEMENT, HE SAID, IT  
WILL BE DIFFICULT TO HAVE STABILITY. NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, HE  
ALSO MADE A PITCH FOR TURKEY'S PROPOSAL FOR A CAUCASUS  
STABILITY PACT, MAKING CLEAR THIS WAS NOT A CONDITION FOR  
AN N-K SETTLEMENT. HE REITERATED TURKEY'S WILLINGNESS TO  
SUPPORT ANY N-K SETTLEMENT THAT IS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH  
SIDES, AND HE DREW ATTENTION TO WEIGHT OF TURKISH PUBLIC  
OPINION CONCERNED ABOUT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND  
CONTINUED DIRE PLIGHT OF IDP'S IN AZERBAIJAN.

12. (C) IN RESPONSE TO THE CO-CHAIRS POINT ABOUT THE  
IMPORTANT ROLE OF TURKEY IN A SETTLEMENT, ALPOGAN SAID  
ANKARA "SUPPORTS THE CO-CHAIRS EFFORTS" AND "IS READY TO  
FULFILL WHATEVER IS REQUIRED OF US" BY AN N-K SETTLEMENT  
AND THAT MEETS THE NEEDS OF TURKEY'S BROTHERS IN  
AZERBAIJAN.

[REDACTED]

1.4(B)  
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IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH ARMENIA

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13. (C) CAVANAUGH CALLED ALPOGAN'S STATEMENTS ON N-K  
USEFUL.

[REDACTED]

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FOR HIS PART, ALPOGAN SAID THE PUBLIC DEBATE ABOUT THE  
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RECENT U.S. CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON THE ARMENIAN  
GENOCIDE HAD TAKEN THE PEACE PROCESS A STEP BACKWARDS. HE  
POINTED AT THE ROLE OF THE ARMENIAN GOVERNMENT IN PROMOTING  
THE RESOLUTION, CALLING IT A "DISCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT."  
WHEN PRESSED BY GAILLARDE, ALPOGAN SAID IT WAS HARD TO  
CONTEMPLATE AN ARMENIAN/TURKISH DIALOGUE -- EVEN ON A  
TECHNICAL LEVEL -- UNLESS THE ARMENIAN POSITION ON GENOCIDE  
RESOLUTIONS IN WESTERN LEGISLATURES CHANGES. (NOTE: ALPOGAN  
MADE THIS STATEMENT NOTWITHSTANDING RECENT ARMENIAN-TURKISH  
TALKS LAST WEEK ON THE MARGINS OF THE BLACK SEA ECONOMIC  
COUNCIL MEETING IN YEREVAN, ABOUT WHICH THE FRENCH WERE NOT  
AWARE.

[REDACTED]

1.4(B)  
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B1

14. (C)

[REDACTED]

1.4(B)  
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CAVANAUGH SAID THAT WITH A SETTLEMENT, THERE WAS NO QUESTION ABOUT THE CONTINUATION OF SECTION 907. ON THE RUSSIAN TRANSFER OF EQUIPMENT TO ARMENIA, CAVANAUGH SAID IT WAS NOT A VIOLATION OF RUSSIA'S CFE COMMITMENTS BUT THAT WE HAVE NOTED TO THE RUSSIANS OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE POTENTIAL IMPACT ON THE MILITARY BALANCE IN THE REGION AND ITS EFFECT ON THE PEACE PROCESS.

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WORRIED ABOUT RUSSIA

15. (C) CEVIKOZ SAID THAT RUSSIA'S NEW VISA POLICY FOR GEORGIA HAD COMPLICATED THE SITUATION IN THE REGION. TURKEY IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE RECENT RUSSIA DECISION TO CUT GAS AND ELECTRICITY SUPPLIES TO GEORGIA. CEVIKOZ ASKED WHAT POLICIES COULD BE DEVELOPED TO AVOID AN ESCALATION OF TENSION BETWEEN GEORGIA AND RUSSIA. CAVANAUGH SAID DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. THE U.S. HAD TOLD RUSSIA OF ITS CONCERNS REGARDING THE IMPOSITION OF THE NEW VISA REGIME AND THE GAS/ELECTRICITY CUTS. ALPOGAN MENTIONED THAT TURKEY BUYS RUSSIAN ELECTRICITY VIA GEORGIA. HE SAID AN N-K SETTLEMENT WOULD ALSO ALLOW TURKEY TO BUY RUSSIAN ELECTRICITY VIA ARMENIA.

16. (C) TURNING TO THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN, MFA CAUCASUS DEPUTY DIRGEN UNAL CEVIKOZ NOTED THAT THE COE DECISION TO RATIFY AZERBAIJAN'S COE MEMBERSHIP

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ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 SAS-00 /000W  
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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9758  
AMEMBASSY YEREVAN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BAKU PRIORITY  
USMISSION USOSCE  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 ANKARA 008120

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 2/09/10

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WOULD BE KEY. INCREASED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS FOR THE 11  
DISTRICTS UNDERTAKING A REVOTE IN AZERBAIJAN SHOULD HELP  
ENSURE THE ELECTIONS ARE MORE DEMOCRATIC. IF AZERBAIJAN  
GAINS PERMANENT COE MEMBERSHIP, HE ARGUED, IT WOULD LIMIT  
POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN BAKU. CAVANAUGH STRESSED ALIYEV  
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WANTS A RESOLUTION DURING HIS TENURE IN OFFICE, BUT THAT  
THERE ARE REPORTS OF A GROWING LEVEL OF FRUSTRATION AMONG  
REFUGEES. HE ALSO NOTED THAT WE WERE WORKING ON BRINGING  
THE ARMENIAN AND AZERBAIJANI DEFENSE MINISTERS TOGETHER ON  
THE BORDER ON DECEMBER 15. IN CLOSING, ALPOGAN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE ASSESSMENT OF THE CO-CHAIRS AFTER  
THEIR VISIT TO THE REGION.

16. (U) S/NIS/RC AMBASSADOR CAVANAUGH AND DEPUTY HILLAS  
HAVE CLEARED THIS CABLE.

PEARSON

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