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INTRODUCTION

The South Caucasus is a geopolitical region located on the border[1] of Eastern Europe[2] and Southwest Asia also referred to as Transcaucasia, or The Transcaucasus. More specifically, the South Caucasus area spans the southern portion of the Caucasus Mountains and its lowlands, lying between the two continents of Europe and Asia and extending from the southern part of the Greater Caucasus Mountain range of southwestern Russia and going southerly to the Turkish and
Armenian borders, travelling between the Black and Caspian Seas. The area includes the southern part of the Greater Caucasus Mountain range, the entire Lesser Caucasus Mountain range, the Colchis Lowlands and Kura-Aras Lowlands, the Talysh Mountains, the Lenkoran Lowlands, Javakheti and the Armenian highlands. The Transcaucasus, or South Caucasus area, is a part of the entire Caucasus geographical region that essentially divides the Eurasian transcontinent into two.

All of Armenia is in Southern Caucasus; the majority of Georgia and Azerbaijan, including the exclave of Naxçivan, fall within this area. The countries of the region are producers of oil, manganese ore, tea, citrus fruits, and wine.

In Western languages, the terms Transcaucasus and Transcaucasia are translations of the Russian zakavkazie meaning "the area beyond the Caucasus Mountains", i.e., as seen from the Russian capital (analogous to the Roman terms Transalpine and Transpadania). The region remains one of the most complicated in the post-Soviet area, and comprises three heavily disputed areas – Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, and Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan. Several wars, including the 2008 South Ossetia war, Ossetian-Georgian conflict, and the Nagorno-Karabakh war have been waged in this region.
CHAPTER I

1. Azerbaijan

Since the beginning of 1988, a conflict continues between Azerbaijan and Armenia over the area of Nagorno Karabagh. The emergence of Nagorno Karabakh conflict is directly related to the break up of Soviet Union. During last years of USSR, national independent movements were highly spread among Soviet Republics. Consequently using this chaos for their profits, minorities living in these republics began to claim the right for self determination and it caused instability in some newly independent republics. As a result of these actions, kin countries began to support the minorities living within the borders of other countries which simultaneously changed the situation from national to regional context.

Nagorno Karabakh conflict can also be included to such kind of problems. During the last years of Soviet Union, Armenian minority groups living in Nagorno Karabakh began to claim their right of self determination and demanded independence of the territory, which was officially and historically belonged and controlled by Azerbaijan SSR. But according to USSR’s constitution, such kinds of actions were never recognized as it was mentioned in the articles of the constitution that, no minority groups or enclaves can demand their independence. Nevertheless, with support of Armenian SSR, Armenians in Karabakh began to increase the spread of propaganda and agitation, which on the other hand made things more complicated. Beginning from February 1988, Armenians began to use force and made Azerbaijanis to leave Nagorno Karabakh. With technical and financial support of Armenian Diaspora and Armenia SSR and Russian military armed forces being deployed in this territory, Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh increased their use of force and caused mass killings and ethnic cleansing in these territories. Thousands of Azerbaijanis were killed or forced to leave their lands they are indigenous to. As the result of Nagorno Karabakh War, more than 20% territories of Azerbaijan were occupied by Armenian separatists and their supporters, and on the other hand about one million of Azerbaijanis became refugees. The war could be stopped only after the intervention of other states to this conflict and cease-fire agreement was signed between Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1994, afterwards the OSCE’s Minsk Group was established to deal with resolution of this conflict.

The mediation process concerning to the solution to the conflict existed between Armenia and Azerbaijan commenced in the frame of CSCE in 1992 February. It was decided to summon a conference on Nagorný Karabakh, in the additional meeting of CSCE Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held on March 1992, ensuring forum for negotiations towards peaceful
resolution of the conflict under the patronage of CSCE on the basis of CSCE principles, commitments and rules. In general, legal and political steps toward solution of conflict is based on norms and principles of the international law, UN Security Council resolutions numbered with 822, 853, 874, 884, related documents and decisions of OSCE and other international organizations. As aforementioned, resolutions of UN, adopted in 1993 due to occupation of territories of Azerbaijan, repeatedly confirmed that absolute respect to territorial integrity, sovereignty and immunity of international boundaries of Azerbaijan Republic and other countries in the region were to be shown. The UN Security Council called Armenia to halt all hostilities, to restore relations on economy, transport and energy, to secure refugees to go back to their homeland, and demanded to withdraw invading army immediately and unconditionally from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan Republic. The UN Security Council supported the solution of this conflict within OSCE Minsk Group by approving efforts of OSCE Minsk Group toward the resolution of it. None of these resolutions have been carried out by Armenia.

Agreement on ceasefire was obtained on May 12, 1994. It was decided to establish Chairmanship Institute of Minsk Conference on December 4-5 1994 at the summit of OSCE’s heads of governments and states, to coordinate all mediation efforts within OSCE. At OSCE Lisbon summit held on December 2-3 1996, Cochairmen and functioning chairman of OSCE recommended basic principles on resolution of Nagorny Karabakh conflict, but Armenia didn’t accept these principles, and was the only country among OSCE 54 member states which voted against principles. The functioning chairman of OSCE made a statement covering those principles. Those are followings:

- Territorial integrity of the Republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia;
- Legal status giving the higher self governing status to Nagorny Karabakh based on the self-determination right within the territories of Azerbaijan;
- Guarantee on mutual commitments that all principles concerning to resolution will be fulfilled by parties about Nagorny Karabakh and security its population

It was formed co-chairmanship institute comprising France, Russia and USA after Lisbon summit in 1997.

From April 1997, visits of cochairmen to the region intensified. Cochairmen presented comprehensive draft of agreement on regulation of Nagorny Karabakh conflict on June 1st, 1997. According to this draft, armed conflict ought to be stopped and agreement on Nagorny Karabakh status ought to be made.

Although Azerbaijan expressed its readiness for constructive consultation of the existing documents, Armenia absolutely rejected to approach the proposals. On September 19-23rd, 1997, Co-chairmen put forward new project during their visit to the region, based on “periodical
solution” of the conflict. In the first stage these proposals included setting free six regions from occupation, commencing peacekeeping operations of OSCE, return of refugees to their homelands and reconstruction prior means of communication in that area. In the second stage, Lachin and Shusha problems ought to be solved, the main principles on Nagorno Karabakh status had to be accepted, and, as a result OSCE Minsk conference ought to be convened. On April 10th, 1997 presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia made a joint statement, expressing their hope towards resuming negotiations within Minsk Group due to latest proposals of co-chairmen. However, in June 1998, resignation of Levon Ter-Petrosyan and election of a new president Robert Kocharyan dramatically changed the situation, and during the visit of cochairmen to the region, Armenia officially took back its agreement on “periodical” solution of the conflict.

On November 9, 1998 co-chairmen moved a motion about conception based on “common state”. According to the conception Nagorno-Karabakh should have got administrative and state status as a republic, and established common state in the interior of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan rejected the proposal because of contradicting Azerbaijan’s sovereignty and Lisbon principles. After this there were not other proposals and the process of Minsk was put to hopeless situation.

The direct negotiations started between Azerbaijan and Armenia for solving the problem, and giving a push to the process in 1999.

On March, 2002 when Co-chairmen visited the region, proposed a motion about continuation of the negotiations in the level of special representatives of presidents of two countries. The proposal was accepted by both presidents. On 13-15 March and 29-30 July, 2002 there was a meeting between two special representatives near Prague. Since 2004 the direct negotiations between foreign ministers of two countries started in the framework of Prague process.

On January 25, 2005 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted its resolution 1416 titled “The conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh region dealt with by the OSCE Minsk Conference”. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe expressed its anxiety about creation of mono-ethnic territories by driving so many people out the lands and occupying large part of Azerbaijan’s territories. The Parliament affirmed refugees’ right to return to their homelands by stating that the occupation of the land of member country is the violation of the law of membership responsibilities. The assembly called both sides to follow the resolution of UN Security Council and to make armed forces leave the territory.

In may, 2006 joint mission consisting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of co-chairmen’s countries visited the region for the first time since the Minsk Group established. The purpose of the visit was to call two presidents’ attention to the condition that opened the window
of opportunity for reaching an agreement on Nagorno-Karabakh. On June 22, 2006 co-chairmen presented report to OSCE Permanent Council. Co-chairmen stated that if both sides could not come to agreement on principles, they should work together in order to get alternative consent. Co-chairmen stated that there was no need to continue shuttle diplomacy and presidents meeting.

On July 13, 2007 Co-chairmen made a statement appraising the situation arisen after the meeting between Ilham Aliyev and Robert Kocharian on June 9, 2007 in Saint-Petersburg. Co-chairmen stated that the sides could not come to agreement because of differences in position and during the meeting Presidents discussed some obstacles related to agreement on “main principles” of solving the problem.

On November 2, 2008 the presidents of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia signed declaration in Moscow. The declaration stressed that the regulation of the conflict should be based on international law and principles and also decisions made on the international level.

In 2009 the negotiations for solving the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict got intensified. Thus the presidents of two countries met six times, and ministers of foreign affairs met 3 times with the participation of co-chairmen.

2. Chronology of 2009

The Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group (Ambassador Bernard Fassier - France; Ambassador Yuri Merzlyakov - Russian Federation; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Matthew Bryza - United States) traveled to Baku on January 19, 2009, where they met with President Ilham Aliyev and Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov, and to Yerevan on January 20, 2009, where they met with President Serzh Sarkisyan and Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandian.

The Co-Chairs met again jointly with Foreign Ministers Mammadyarov and Nalbandian in Zurich on January 27, 2009, and organized a joint meeting with Presidents Aliyev and Sarkisyan in Zurich on January 28, 2009, on the margins of the World Economic Forum.

The Co-Chairs explored with the two Presidents their thoughts on how to finalize the Basic Principles on the peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, proceeding from the proposal presented to the sides at the OSCE Ministerial Conference in Madrid in November 2007.

The Co-Chairs agreed to work with the Foreign Ministers on elaborating proposals for the consideration of the two Presidents on the most important remaining differences between the sides existing within the framework of the Basic Principles. The Co-Chairs hope the parties will be able to bridge these remaining differences in the nearest future to secure a peace agreement
that is far better for all parties than the status quo. Their goal is a just and balanced agreement based on the Helsinki Final Act principles of territorial integrity, self-determination, and non-use of force.

The Co-Chairs met September 25 in New York with Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov and Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandian on the margins of the UN General Assembly. The two foreign ministers and the Co-Chairs reaffirmed a commitment to negotiations based on the Basic Principles, and discussed upcoming travel of the Co-Chairs to the region in early October.

As agreed in Moscow July 18, the Co-Chairs will travel to Armenia and Azerbaijan to prepare for a proposed meeting between President Ilham Aliyev and his counterpart Serzh Sarkisyan in Chisinau on the margins of the CIS Summit.

CHAPTER II

3. Georgia

After the collapse of Soviet Union ethnic conflicts flared in Georgia like in some other former Soviet Republics. This problem was especially carried on with hostilities in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The main reason of these conflicts was associated with ignorance of both Abkhazians and Ossetians to be part of Georgia. As a result of this conflict hundreds of people were killed, thousands of people were forced to leave their homes and became refugees. In early 1990s both conflicts resulted with signing of Armistice Agreement and deployment of Russian peacekeepers on conflict border. After this agreement, both Abkhazia and South Ossetia de facto acted as independent states and stated that they would not join Georgia by no means, whereas Georgia repeatedly declared that they wouldn’t yield its territory. Even though tensions were somewhat observed among parties, it was possible to maintain ceasefire. However, on 8, August Russian-Georgian war broke out with sudden attack of Georgian armies to Sokhumi to protect its territorial integrity. The initial toll of this five day war was shocking for Georgia: 410 of citizens were killed, mostly civilians, and over 1700 injured. More than 150 000 people were forced to flee their homes, including 20 000 ethnic Georgians who fled the conflict in South Ossetia remaining displaced. The economic cost ran into the billions.

Two weeks after the end of the war, Russia recognized South Ossetia and Abkhazia, another rebel region, as independent states. Though war broke out in the territory of South
Ossetia, Abkhazian military forces were involved in it with direct back-up of Russia. It clearly showed that Russia is the main factor on the resolution of these conflicts.

Even if it didn’t exist any military conflicts in Autonomous Republic of Ajaria, it was known to be disagreement and diversity of ideas between them and central government. Consequently, Georgian army entered the territory of Ajaria with the command of president Mikhail Saakashvili in 2004 and reinforced the control of central government.

According to the 2002 population census, ethnic Georgians make up 83.8% of the population of Georgia; Azerbaijanis make up 6.5%, and Armenians 5.7%. Large concentrations of Azerbaijanis and Armenians are located near the borders of their kin states in the southern provinces of Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti respectively. This has led to fears by the Georgian government that to devolve power to regions where these minorities are compactly settled risks fuelling secessionism and eventual unification of these regions with their kin states.

In Samtskhe-Javakheti Armenian majority, who make up 94.8% of the total population, according to the 2002 population census. The fact that Javakhetia is part of Georgia has been challenged by Armenian political groups, even though the authorities in Yerevan have been careful, since independence, not to make any claims to it. Yerevan could however be tempted to intervene in favor of its co-ethnic Georgians and the Armenian political organizations are extremely active at local level, which is badly received by the Georgians. In particular, disputes of a symbolic nature (opposing historical accounts, repeated debates on whether such and such a church is Armenian or Georgian, etc.) feature regularly in the public domain. At the start of the 1990s, due to the chaos which reigned in Georgia, Javakhetia managed to a certain extent to avoid being controlled from Tbilisi by the Minister for Foreign Affairs who had been sent to the region on an official visit.

Practically all the eligible posts are occupied by Armenians (parliamentary deputies, those elected to the local councils, etc.), as also the majority of public service posts.

Samtskhe-Javakheti can be considered to become another conflict area in Georgia.

Azerbaijanis as majority population of Kvemo Kartli are not as active as Armenians in Samtskhe-Javakheti. It is not observed efficient political organizing among Azerbaijanis. Low-level possession of Georgian language prevents them taking active part in socio-political life of the country. Kvemo Kartli might be potential conflict area for Georgia but considering the strategic partnership and common interests in regional projects, it can be easily stated that Azerbaijan Republic will never support any activities against Georgian statehood.
4. Chronology of events related conflicts in Georgia in 2009

- **January 19 and 21, 2009** - Russia requested that Georgia allow its experts access to Georgian military installations for evaluation and verification checks in accordance with a 1999 Vienna OSCE document on confidence and security-building measures. Georgia rejected both requests.

- **January 23, 2009** - The Russian Foreign Ministry said on Friday Georgia's expanding military presence on the borders of Abkhazia and South Ossetia continued to be a matter for grave concern.

- **February 16, 2009** - The separatist republic of Abkhazia was seeking to restart regular security meetings on issues concerning its Gali District with representatives from Tbilisi.

- **26 February, 2009** - the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that some 50 ethnic Georgian families had been expelled by Abkhaz militia from the village of Otobaia in the Gali district. According to the statement, this happened after the Abkhaz military failed to enrol a local resident, Irakli Bigvava, who was wounded but managed to escape to Tbilisi-controlled territory

- **27 February, 2009** - the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a statement about four Georgian citizens having been kidnapped by South Ossetians while they were driving from the village of Koda in the direction of the village of Chvrinisi (Kareli district), close to the administrative boundary

- **13-14 March 2009** - As a follow-up to Resolution 1648 (2009), the Chair of the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population of the Parliamentary Assembly, Ms Corien Jonker, visited South Ossetia

- **April 9, 2009** - The Georgian opposition launches mass protests to demand Saakashvili's resignation, accusing him of having mishandled the war with Russia and of having become increasingly authoritarian.

- **April 16, 2009** - Abkhazia's leader reiterated on Thursday that his republic does not want peace observers from the European Union, but said they should continue to be deployed in neighboring Georgia as a safeguard against aggression.

- **27 April 2009** - Abkhazia had urged NATO member states not to go ahead with a planned military exercise in Georgia, expressing deep anxiety and concern over the plan.

- **May 6, 2009** - NATO conducts military exercises involving hundreds of troops in Georgia amid condemnation from Moscow.
2009 May - Georgian authorities say they quelled a mutiny by a tank battalion at the Mukhrovari army base, describing it as part of a Russia-linked coup against President Saakashvili. Russia denies any involvement.

From the Beginning of 2009 - a Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights examined seven applications against Georgia as a result of the hostilities in South Ossetia at the beginning of August 2008

A parliamentary election was held in early June 2009 in South Ossetia. Under laws of Georgia, the elections were illegal. The European Union, the United States, and NATO consider the elections illegal, and rejected their results.


On June 30, 2009 The 17-year-old Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe observer mission in Georgia ends after Russia blocks its extension.

On June 29, 2009 Russia mobilises thousands of troops at the border with Georgia during its biggest military exercises since the August war.

2009 July - UN observers leave Georgia after 16 years of monitoring the Abkhazia cease-fire line. The UN Security Council failed to extend the mission because of a Russian veto.

July 7: During a visit to Moscow US President Barack Obama calls on Russia to respect Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and defends the country's right to join the NATO.

July 22-23 2009: US Vice President Joe Biden visits Tbilisi and reiterates US support for Georgia amid Washington's efforts to improve relations with Russia.

July 27: The EU prolongs for one year its ceasefire monitoring mission in Georgia and demands unhindered access to Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

2009 September - EU report on 2008 conflict with Russia puts large part of blame on Georgia.

5 December 2009 Georgia agreed to deploy 1000 troops to Afghanistan making investment in its own security, against its neighbor. Georgia is keen on strengthening ties with NATO and is making one of the largest contributions to the US-led surge in the fight against the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan.

12 December 2009 - presidential elections took place in the breakaway region of Abkhazia.
5. Conclusion

2009 started for Georgia with the influence of the Five day war. In this year weren’t expected improvement in the solution of conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Even it was observed dead lock in these conflicts. Recognition of these separatist republics by Russia and some Latin American states like Nicaragua and Venezuela negatively affected to the peace process in the country.

Besides Abkhaz’s and Osteen’s Georgia worsened relations with Russia. However, pre war unfriendly relations with Russia after war situation followed with broken diplomatic, economical relations and closer of borders. Mutual accusations of parties in aggression were proving of the fact that normalization of relations is far away.

The Five day war proved that in a case of restoration of their territories through military way independent states like Georgia and Azerbaijan will face with strict position of Russia. In order to defend separatist republics in South Caucasus, Russia won’t stop violate sovereignty of independent states of this region.

CHAPTER III

6. Armenia

Armenia is the upland state of the South Caucasus region, possessing 29,800 sq/km land area and 3 million populations. Deprived of natural sources and from geographical point of view, located in the unsuitable territory, Armenia is neighbor with Azerbaijan in the East, Georgia in the north, Turkey in the west, Iran in the south. It does not possess sea border and transportation to sea is generally is making over Georgia.

While a state which has this kind of geographical condition needs to make good relationship with its neighbors, however Armenia is living serious problems with its neighbors except Iran. Its political and economical relations are in the high level only with Iran.

Actually, the origin of all these problems come from Armenian ideology which is older than Armenian history and the core principle of this ideology is The Great Armenia State (The east districts of Turkey, Nagorno-Karabakh district of Azerbaijan, Chavaheti district of George the north of Iran, and the south of Russia –Krasnodar region is considered Great Armenia which is nonsense).

Armenia which is located in the historical land of Azerbaijan has invaded 22 percent of current Azerbaijan territory which is recognized by the world community. Having territory
claims against Turkey, Armenia is utilizing genocide claims as pressure means against Turkey in the international arena. Living problems with Azerbaijan and Turkey as well as Georgia connected to the demands of Armenia over Cavahezi, Armenia has been outside of energy and transportation projects which Azerbaijan, Turkey and Georgia participate, such as Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipe line and other projects. Therefore, the dependence of Armenia have increased from the other neighbor, named Russia. After earthquake which happened in 1998, the one of the fourth population of Armenia began to move neighbor countries, especially Russia, and supply their families with help of money that they earned there.

Because our theme is not disconnection of Armenia with neighbor countries, but its relations with them, we will discuss the relations of this country with Iran and Russia, including Georgia within Russia and Iran. We will also touch the developments of the latest years, especially developments over Turkey-Armenia relations and attitude of Armenian opposition against this newness.

7. **Armenian –Russian relations**

Although Russia is not borderer neighbor of Armenia, it is very significant ally of Armenia. Russia had declared itself as a protector of existence of Armenia and this has been accepted by Armenia under pressure of Russia. Although there have been thoughts and views against Russia in Armenia sometime, Armenian government have been enforced to refuse these views, accepting that they will not be able to apply their policies without Russia.

Outnumbered Russian military bases are located in Armenia, as well as some significant military bases of Armenia are in the hands of Russia. The borders of Armenia are protected by outnumbered Russian army. Russia considers this country as its polis section area.

In addition, Russia is also the necessary ally of Armenia in economical relations. There are a substantial amount of Russian investments in both energy sector and economy sector in this state. The relations which are beneficial to Russia are intensifying Armenian dependence from Russia. There is a risk that the conflict of Georgia connected to Russia can affect to Armenian-Russian relations, because only transportation way between Russia and Armenia goes through Georgia. In this case, Armenia tries to diminish its dependence from Russia, making relations with Iran.
8. Armenian–Iran relations

The common interests of Armenia and Iran over some themes, especially over Azerbaijan subject have brought these states together and resulted with the creation of long-term Armenian-Iran alliance. These two countries have played significant role in the historically distribution of Azerbaijan territory and they have captured some parts of Azerbaijan illegally. Armenia is tending to make strong steps with Iran, especially over energy, transportation and trade sector. The projects which were implemented by Iran and Armenia go as follows.

The First great project is natural gas pipe line that is the significant project between these two countries. The project works began in 1992 and was secured with the signing of the project in the intergovernmental agreement. After the long and difficult discussions, the latest agreement was signed on May, 2004 and now the project is almost completed. Armenia has already completed the second part of pipe line in a short time which is in the Armenian side. The 41 kilometer of the whole 141 kilometer pipe line is over Armenia and the other 100 kilometer of pipe line is over Iran side. This pipe line which cost approximately 220 million dollar will significantly decrease Armenian gas dependence from Russia. Armenia will purchase approximately 2-2.5 milliard m$^3$ natural gas with means of this pipe line. Armenia will pay to Iran for this substantial amount of gas with help of electric energy which it will sell to Iran. According to the agreement, correlation between gas and electric energy will be 3/1 relation. For instance, in a year for 6 kilowatt-hours, 2 milliard m$^3$ gases will be changed. Later, the pipe line can be extended till Georgia. Armenia will give electric energy to Iran from the fifth modulus of Hires Electric Station which is still being built by Iranian electric company with help of 160 million dollar Iranian credit.

In this case, Russia did not just observe the project without intervention. It was able to reduce the size of pipe line, using its influence. According to the project, the pipe should be 1420 mm; however Russia changed it from 1420 mm to 700 mm associated with its interests under its influence. Russia tried very hard to diminish the volume of natural gas which would be sent from Iran to Armenia. In this case, Iran would not be able to send natural gas to Europe over Georgia, then over Ukraine and Black sea.

The second great project is the railway project. This project which would be in the price of approximately 1.5-2 milliard dollar has been indented to be implemented with the support of Asian Development Bank, World Bank and RR (Russian Railways) which is considered the Russian Side in the project. During his official journey to Tehran, the Head of Republic, Sarkisyan declared that agreement about this project has been signed and the project will be
completed in five years. According to the project 410 kilometer of the railway which is only 470 kilometer will extend over Armenia. Later, the passing of Armenia to Arabian Gulf have been intended through this railway.

The third great project is the oil pipe line project. At first the project was discussed at the level of ministers and then it was made official, after meeting of Heads of states on 14 April, 2009. It has been planned to build 300 km pipeline with 250 mm pipes which will be in the price of 240 million dollar.

Armenia is planning to get passage to the world and to decrease its risks and dependence from other counties with help of these projects. The time will demonstrate that if Armenia is successful or not. However it is clear that Armenian population is suffering from embargoes and in this case, Armenia needs to make good relations with its neighbors to make matters better. This means that Armenia has to refuse its claims based upon Armenian ideology which is originally incorrect; however there are so many oppositions in this theme.

9. Armenian-Turkey relations, the recent developments

Because of Armenia’s territory and genocide claims against Turkey and after Armenian occupation of Azerbaijan territories caused Armenian-Turkey relations to became worse. It is long-term that there are no official relations between these two countries. Only air territories of the states are open. However, there is unofficial trade between Armenia and Turkey which is over 200 million dollar and the trade is related to Turkish companies which sell food and textile products to Armenia. Selling is generally making by land over Georgia. But, because of Armenians insisting on wrong policy, they cannot get more opportunities.

At the recent times Armenia and Turkey have tended to come closer with the contribution of Turkey. Within “Zero Problems with Neighbors Policy” Turkey tries to change its previous policy over Armenia and make good relations with it. According to these thoughts, again with contribution of Turkey the protocols were signed between these two states toward stimulating relations in October of 2009. The foreign ministers of the states such as The USA, Russia, Switzerland, and Slovenia, participated in the signing ceremony of the protocol which was held in Zurich city of Switzerland.

For the implementation of the signing protocols, the ratification of the protocols by each state is necessary which the main problem is. The signing of the protocol by Armenia means the refuse of Armenia against its lies which Armenia has declared over the world falsely. Currently, Armenian Constitution court accepted that protocols are not against to constitution, however opposite to protocol, Armenia still shows some Turkish land as Armenian territory in its
constitution. Turkey declares that unless territories occupied by Armenia will be freed, the protocols will not be ratified by Turkish legislature and the borders will not open. Although the name of Karabakh is not written in the protocol, there are some principles, stressing Karabakh conflict. Because of such kind of problems negotiations are still continuing and it seems that negotiation will continue so long.

10. Nagorno Karabakh Issue Of Armenia

Nagorno Karabakh problem was discussed by free parties and OSCE Minsk Group initiatives in 2009. It could be affected by external political issues that key actor Armenia wasn’t in. If we classify generally, protocol acts of Turkey and meetings of Minsk Group declared this problem again to solve with common consensus. But we can quite clearly observe that, activities of Minsk Group weren’t different from circumstances of last years because group made radical decisions which are about to solve problem with main arguments.

First impact was on Turkish-Armenian close relations in April. It effected Nagorno Karabakh discussions in international arena and commonly Azerbaijan displeased these new relationships between Armenia and Turkey. Relations of Turkey and Azerbaijan had been stretched because of last news. Turkish side declared for many times an issue that if Armenia wants to close Turkey, they should leave Nagorno Karabakh and other local zones of Azerbaijan. Also Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Baku and he declared again it in assembly of Azerbaijan. But Armenian leader Serzh Sargsyan wanted to share this event without Karabakh conflict if Turkey wants to be together with Armenia: “Relations between Armenia and Turkey are a separate issue, discussed during bilateral talks, while negotiations on the Nagorny Karabakh are a different topic for discussions”

In May 2009, presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia met in Prague with mediatorship of Minsk Group. Co-chairman Matthew Bryza said that two sides talked positively and they agreed basic points which are about solving process. But after Azerbaijan declared that Armenia wasn’t affirmative in their meeting and they have no any idea about positive future. Also another important meeting was in July. Presidents of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia met in Moscow and they discussed last circumstances which based aims that created on 2007, like Madrid principles. There was no any practical decision in speeches of leaders after the meeting but Russian representative Yuri Merjlikin and two co-chairmen of Minsk Group Mathew Bryza ve
Bernard Fassier talked about new visits on August and September to region and possible convention again of two states in October. At the same time Turkey and Armenia prepared protocols to improve relationship between each other two months later, but there was no any information about Nagorno Karabakh conflict. We should look at the old basic steps which are referred by new meetings. Co-chairmen and Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs Edward Nalbandyan defended updated version of Madrid Principles before and after the meetings. What did Madrid principles contain? These principles are task about to solve Nagorno Karabakh conflict with some steps which had been agreed by Azerbaijan and Armenia with initiatives of Minsk Group in 2007. According to this:

- Armenia shall leave local zones which are around Nagorno Karabakh territory,
- Corridor which provides a connection between Karabakh and Armenia shall be opened,
- All immigrants shall return to their lands,
- There will be an international guarantee which shall provide regional security,
- Armenians who live in Karabakh shall keep determination rights,
- States shall provide initiatives to implement legal status of the territory.

In October, protocols were signed but Armenia didn’t abandon its same demand about Karabakh. Deputies of Azerbaijan and Armenia met in Russian assembly Duma in last days of October. This meeting had a meaning a support positions to new process among leader to solve territorial problem which is expected by Azerbaijan.

In November, co-chairmen of group met in Yerevan to discuss Karabakh problem with Armenian leader Serzh Sargsyan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Edward Nalbandyan to create a new meeting in next step with leader of Azerbaijan, İlham Aliyev. Serzh Sargsyan’s spokesman Samuel Farmanyan gave a speech to inform Azerbaijani side to end their claims on Karabakh that if they doesn’t abandon, they will recognize Karabakh as an independent state.

Co-chairmen met in Baku as last activity of 2009. But it can not be called as an effective because nobody informed media what they did and spoke about the problem. Minister of Foreign Affairs Elmar Memmedyarov and President İlham Aliyev conferred co-chairmen. After spokesman of Minister of Foreign Affairs Elhan Polohov said that “Minsk Group should be very active than old times.”

On 17-th January of 2010 American co-chair of OSCE Minsk group Robert Bradtke met with the “president” of “Nagorno-Karabakh Republic” Bako Saakyan in Stepanakert
The possible regulations about Nagorno-Karabakh conflict were discussed during meeting.

Bako Saakyan: “The conflict can not be settled in the absence of direct dialogue between Azerbaijan and “Nagorno-Karabakh Republic”.-he added during his speech.

Let’s remember the similar speech of Serzh Sargsyan in Beirut on 9 October in 2009 at the meeting with Armenian communities of the Near East, Egypt, Iran and Persian Gulf. He said OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs reiterated this position several times. Serzh Sargsyan: “Nagorno Karabakh conflict will be solved, when we own what we have been fighting for since 1988”-stated.

In his turn during meeting with Bako Saakyan Robert Bradtke underlined: “Any means of military solutions of current conflict is absolutely unacceptable.”

On 19-th January of 2010, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia Edward Nalbandyan met with the co-chairs of OSCE Minsk group Yuri Mezlyakov (Russia), Bernard Fassier (France), Robert Bradtke (USA) and representative of OSCE Anjey Kasprchik in Yerevan. Issues related to the Karabagh conflict were dicussed during meeting.

The next meeting will take place in Sochi City of Russia on January 25. OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs have already arrived in the region with a view to preparation for the meeting.

11. Armenian opposition and Nagorno -Karabakh conflict

After 1988 elections, Levon Ter-Petrosyan was removed from the state headship, who was liberal leader and returned to the country as opposition to go against Kocharyan government who was the supporter of Russia. After coming to Armenia, Levon Ter-Petrosyan made its candidate for presidential elections in February 2008 which created alarm in the country. The opposition of Armenia gathered over the leadership of Ter-Petrosyan who defended the more suitable solution of Nagorno -Karabakh conflict and developments of Armenia’s relations with its neighbors, tried to put into effect colorful revolutions such as happened in Georgia and Ukraine several years ago. However, Kocharyan government was managed to bring their candidate to power and madee Armenian opposition silent with help of administrative means. Contrast to this, the opposition groups is strongly defending their claims. Miras and Dashnak parties were trying to dispose Sarkisyan Government, making great meeting to celebrate the 18th anniversary of Nagorno-Karabakh and turning that meeting against Sarkisyan Government on the second day of September. Even if, it was spoken about meetings such as made by Nari Unanyan in 1999 to dispose government.
While problems were occurring for Sarkisyan, on the 31\textsuperscript{th} evening of August, the information was publicized about the protocol which took attentions of the whole world to Yerevan. Sarkisyan took advantages of that condition, being against the opposition. Armenian opposition declared that they are against the protocol and Sarkisyan was called as a traitor. Disorder is continuing in the state.

In conclusion, it seems that Armenia has not been saved from its fateful conditions because of its continuing aggressive policy. The reason of this is clear. If Armenia does not refuse its false policies, it will be impelled to live in a difficult condition so long time. Therefore, Armenia should revise its foreign affairs in a short time and act in peaceful and reconciled manner. If peace does not be, Armenia will not develop (Sina qua non).

12. Armenian Diaspora and Nagorno Karabakh

Armenian question began to emerge in the result of Berlin Agreement which was signed in 1787. In the verge of the collapse of Ottoman Empire, many other countries that were against of Ottoman Empire helped Armenians as their means of influence. After the collapse of Ottoman Empire those countries began to continue their plans in the Caucasus in order to increase their influence in that region. From 1965 Armenian claims were even intensified and in the result those claims became a part of Armenian foreign policy after its independence.

Under such circumstances international organizations, interest groups and governmental and non-governmental organizations played very important roles to propagate Armenian lies. The independence of Armenia brought out two important problems with itself which caused a lot of problems and disturbed peace and stability in the region. The first problem was its claims against Turkey and the second problem was its territorial claims from neighboring countries including Turkey and Azerbaijan.

In order to achieve its objectives and goals it was important to draw attention and support of powerful countries. To get that support, Armenian lobby, Diaspora and for-profit organizations strengthened their activities and in the result they were able to get achieve their goals. Armenian Diaspora and other Armenian organizations and societies were able to convince many countries to their lies.

Armenian Diaspora, especially Armenian Lobby in USA was very successful to convince people and achieved their goals. Those abovementioned organizations have very powerful influence to US government with their financial aids and in that way they are able to persuade others to believe to myth of Armenian Genocide.
Armenians in abroad began to establish different organizations and lobby agencies in order to strengthen their influence. These kind of organizations were mainly established in countries where the majority of Armenians live abroad, such as USA, Canada, France, UK, Lebanon, Russia and etc. These Diaspora organizations work in many different areas of interests and establish cultural, religious, educational and even political organizations. Among political organizations Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutun), Social Democratic Hinchak Party, and Ramgavar (Armenian Liberal Democrat Party) are good examples. There are about 750 thousands Armenians in USA, 50 thousands in Canada, and in Europe France is the most Armenian populated country with about 300 thousands of Armenians. In Middle East there are about 200 thousands of Armenians who are mainly populated in Iran and Lebanon. In Australia, there are about 30 thousands of Armenians. The total amounts of members of Armenian Diaspora are estimated as 4-5 millions of Armenians. The existence of Armenian Diaspora in USA, Europe and Middle East are very old. But the emergence of Armenian Diaspora in Canada and Australia are not old enough. For example, the migration of Armenians to Australia mainly began from 1960’s. The main activities of Armenian Diaspora in abovementioned countries are mainly based on expanding the ideas of Armenian Genocide and make other nations to believe in those lies and on the other hand they aim to influence the governments of those countries to recognize Armenians as the victims. They establish different seminars, symposiums and conferences with the help of governmental and non-governmental organizations and make other peoples believe in their myth of Armenian Genocide.

Dashnaksutun, Social Democratic Hinchak Party, Ramgavar, Armenian Assembly of America (AAA) and Armenian National Committee are political parties and put their activities in political means. Armenian Assembly of America and American Armenian National Committee, play very important role in order to convince the US Congress to recognize Armenian Genocide. On the other hand those parties are the main branches of Armenian Diaspora of USA. They also played important role in decisions related against Azerbaijan and Turkey, which was resulted in prevention of US aids to Turkey and Azerbaijan.

Even after the independence of Armenian Republic from USSR, Turkish Armenian relations worsened because of three factors. These factors were the claims of Armenian Genocide, territorial disputes, and the massacre that Armenians did against Azerbaijanis during Karabakh War. As it was mentioned before the main aims of Armenian Diaspora and Lobby organizations are mainly assembled on those factors.

The myth of Armenian Genocide is targeted in order to camouflage their true faces and the terrorist acts that were committed against civil and sane people. From 1968 to 1991, Armenian terrorist organization ASALA committed about 110 terror acts in about 38 cities of 21
countries. 38 of those acts were with weapons, 70 of them were with bombs and one of them was expansionist act. In the result of these terror acts 42 Turkish diplomats and 4 foreign citizens were assassinated, and 15 Turks and 66 foreigners were harshly injured. Therefore we can see that who is who.

In 2009 new ways to new problems that were emerged between three states. This time Armenian government stepped forward. That was in the result of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Turkey, and their isolationist policy against Armenia. In the result of isolation Armenia became aware that the worsening relations between its neighbors are against its economical development and welfare. Many international and regional project bypassed Armenia, and also the war between Russia and Georgia also was a great blow for Armenia, as Georgia was the only country to connect Armenia with Russia. With the close down of Borders between Russia and Georgia, Armenian and its people lived very hard times. On the other hand with the impact of Global Economic Crisis, the situation ever worsened and the state budget of Armenia get decreased to half fold. The Global Economic Crisis also decreased foreign aids from Diaspora and lobby organizations, which was one of the main recourses of aid of Armenian people. On the other hand during election campaigns Barack Obama gave promise to Armenians that he will recognize the Armenian genocide. But after the election he didn’t do anything to recognize Armenian Genocide and it upset Armenians.

One of the main issues that emerged with Armenia was the football diplomacy. That was the great advantage for Armenian government to normalize its relations with Turkey. But many objections emerged among people before and after the match and they were opposed to normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia. Armenian Diaspora and lobby organizations opposed to idea, too. That was why Sarkisian had to pay visits to Russia, Lebanon, France and USA in order to satisfy Armenian Diaspora and convince them that the normalization of relations is for the profit of Armenia. During these visits Sarkisian also made a request to Armenian Diaspora not to object to that process. In the result of football diplomacy there emerged rapprochement between the two countries, but it was very interesting why the Diaspora objected to that development.

2009 was a very important year for Armenia, including the recent issues that emerged recently. One of the reasons of the importance of 2009 was the Protocol that was signed between Armenia and Turkey. Although the protocol was signed in order to solve border problems, Armenian Diaspora and Lobby organizations again objected to this protocol. Despite the objection of the Diaspora, Armenian government was very interested in this agreement. But it’s very important not to forget that there is a strong and powerful role of Armenian Diaspora and lobby organizations and Armenian government can’t act without taking them into consideration.
Armenian Diaspora objected to signing of the agreement because they thought that this can result in failure of recognition and expansion of Armenian Genocide. That’s why Sarkisian again had to pay visit to different countries in order to get the consent of Armenian Diaspora.

Sarkisian began his first visit with France, where he faced the protests against him. This kind of objections and protest also grew in USA and even Diaspora members wrote a letter to Hillary Clinton not to put pressure to Armenian government to sign the protocol.

During the meetings that took place at Beverly Hills Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles, protested against the protocol that was going to be signed on October 10th between Ahmet Davutoglu, the minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Edward Nalbandian, the minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia.

The protocol that targeted the normalization and development of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey were protested in big cities such as Paris, Los Angeles, New York, Beirut, Rostov and etc. The protesters accused Serj Sarkisian for betraying Armenians. Other objection came from Sweden, the leader of Armenian Federation of Sweden Vahagn Avediyan mentioned that the result of signing protocol will worsen the relations between Armenia and the Diaspora, and that even Diaspora Armenians will cut off their financial aids to Armenia. As the result of the protests Armenian domestic policy even worsened because of Diaspora’s cutting financial aids to Armenia. The situation was that bad that Sarkisian went to Russia and asked Russian Armenians to increase their financial aids to Armenia. Even in the result of the signature it was clear that Armenian government can’t achieve anything without the help of Armenian Diaspora. The protocol also failed, as the result of the emerging Azerbaijani concerns. That was the result of mutual cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan, too.

One of other important issues was the decision that was made by the US government. According to decision, US Senate decided on to give $41 million to Armenia and $8 million to Nagorno Karabakh as financial aid. The US government also kept the balance in its military aids to Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The leader of Armenian National Committee of USA Aram Hamparyan sent his message of thanks to Mrs. Loui, Mr. Adam Shiff, Steve Rothman ve Frank Lobiondo for their role in decision of financial aid to Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh. On the other hand the decision is very confused as despite recognizing Nagorno Karabakh as the part of Azerbaijan, the US Government gives financial aids to separatist regime. It proves the bifacial diplomacy of powerful countries against the weaker ones. From here we can also see the role of Armenian Diaspora and lobby and their importance in decision making processes.

But there’s also one truth that about 20 percent of Azerbaijan’s territories is under occupation of Armenians and that Armenia is an expansionist and troublemaking state. Even
though many decisions were made against Armenian occupation and about the withdrawal of Armenian soldiers from Nagorno Karabakh, no action was put forward. About one millions of Azerbaijanis can’t return to their homes and live under bad conditions.