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EXDIS CEDAR

DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/18/10 TAGS: PREL, OSCE, AJ, AM

SUBJECT: MINSK GROUP MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ALIYEV

- (U) CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR ROSS WILSON. FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).
- 1. (C) SUMMARY: ON DECEMBER 11 PRESIDENT ALIYEV AND THE MINSK GROUP CO-CHAIRS REITERATED THE IMPORTANCE OF AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVING A CONFIDENTIAL

BAKU 05748 01 OF 03 191342Z PAGE 02 PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT OVER NAGORNO-KARABAKH. THEY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANT ROLE TURKEY WOULD PLAY IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT AND NOTED THE BENEFITS OF RESTORING THE **ENERGY AND TRANSPORTATION LINKS CONNECTING** NAKHCHIVAN TO AZERBAIJAN AND ARMENIA TO TURKEY AND IRAN THAT WOULD COME WITH A PEACE SETTLEMENT. THEY DISCUSSED THE PLANS OF THE ARMENIAN AND AZERIBAIJANI DEFENSE MINISTERS TO MEET AT THE NAKHCHIVAN - ARMENIA BORDER ON DECEMBER 15 AND FOR THE TWO PRESIDENTS TO MEET IN STRASBOURG IN JANUARY. ALIYEV TOLD THE MINSK GROUP THAT HE AND KOCHARIAN HAD NOT HAD USEFUL SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS IN MINSK AT THE CIS SUMMIT. HE HAD TOLD KOCHARIAN THAT "THE BALL IS IN YOUR COURT." AMBASSADOR CAVANAUGH SUGGESTED THAT KOCHARIAN SEEMS TO BE CONSIDERING NEW IDEAS AND, BASED ON THE GROUP'S MEETING EARLIER THAT DAY WITH PRESIDENT KOCHARIAN, IT IS POSSIBLE HE WILL HAVE A NEW PROPOSAL TO DISCUSS WITH ALIYEV IN JANUARY.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Martin McLean, Senior Reviewer

ALIYEV PERSONALLY APPEALED TO THE MINSK GROUP CO-CHAIRS TO SUPPORT AZERBAIJAN'S PROPOSED ADDITION TO THE UNGA'S ANNUAL RESOLUTION ON COOPERATION WITH THE OSCE, WHICH WOULD DESCRIBE NAGORNO-KARABAKH AS "THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH REGION OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN." END SUMMARY.

2. (U) BEFORE THE ASSEMBLED PRESS ON DECEMBER 11, PRESIDENT ALIYEV PREFACED HIS DIALOGUE WITH MINSK GROUP CO-CHAIRS CAREY CAVANAUGH (U.S.), JEAN JACQUES GAILLARDE (FRANCE), AND NIKOLAI GRIBKOV CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BAKU 05748 01 OF 03 191342Z (RUSSIA), WITH THE STATEMENT THAT SETTLEMENT OF THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR THE CAUCASUS. CAVANAUGH NOTED THAT SECRETARY ALBRIGHT HAD STRESSED THIS VERY POINT DURING HER RECENT SPEECH AT THE OSCE MINISTERIAL IN VIENNA.

3. (U) CAVANAUGH OUTLINED THE MINSK GROUP ITINERARY, WHICH BEGAN WITH MEETINGS IN ANKARA WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CEM, FOLLOWED BY A FLIGHT TO KARS, A LAND CROSSING FROM TURKEY TO NAKHCHIVAN THROUGH THE SADARAK PORT OF ENTRY OPENED IN MAY 1992, A MEETING WITH AZERBAIJAN REFUGEES IN YENI KARKI, ANOTHER CROSSING FROM NAKHCHIVAN INTO ARMENIA, WHERE TWO SOLDIERS HAD BEEN KILLED IN AUGUST, DRIVING TO STEPANAKERT TO MEET WITH ARKADY GHUKASIAN, DRIVING TO YEREVAN TO MEET WITH KOCHARIAN, AND FLYING TO BAKU TO MEET WITH ALIYEV. HE OBSERVED THAT THE ITINERARY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANT ROLE TURKEY WOULD PLAY IN ANY SETTLEMENT. FM CEM SAID TURKEY STRONGLY SUPPORTS PEACE AND IS READY TO DO WHAT IT CAN TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE REGION. CAVANAUGH NOTED THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC, POLITICAL. AND SOCIAL SITUATION FACING THE PEOPLE OF NAKHCHIVAN, WHO HAVE DIRECTLY SUFFERED FROM THEIR ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF AZERBAIJAN BY THE CONFLICT. HE REPORTED KOCHARIAN'S RENEWED COMMITMENT TO DO WHAT WAS NEEDED TO HALT CASUALTIES ON THE BORDER, AND KOCHARIAN'S VIEW THAT CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS ARE UNACCEPTABLE. THE CO-CHAIRS UNDERSTOOD, CAVANAUGH CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BAKU 05748 01 OF 03 191342Z SAID, THAT AZERBAIJAN WAS TAKING STEPS, TOO, TO ENHANCE BORDER SECURITY.

4. (U) ALIYEV CONCURRED THAT TURKEY PLAYS A KEY ROLE IN SOLVING THE CONFLICT. DESPITE SEVERAL RECENT ATTEMPTS TO ENACT ARMENIAN GENOCIDE RESOLUTIONS IN THE U.S., FRANCE, ITALY, AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, TURKEY REMAINS COMMITTED TO

PEACE IN THE REGION. ALIYEV OBSERVED THAT THESE RESOLUTIONS HAVE STRENGTHENED CONFRONTATION IN THE REGION AND WEAKENED THE PEACE PROCESS.

5. (U) ALIYEV EXPRESSED ATISFACTION THAT THE CO-CHAIRS HAD VISITED NAKHCHIVAN TO SEE THE EFFECT OF THE CONFLICT ON THE PEOPLE THERE. HE CALLED THE BRIDGE OVER THE ARAZ RIVER CONNECTING AZERBAIJAN TO TURKEY A LIFE-LINE FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAKHCHIVAN. FIGHTING HAD ISOLATED NAKHCHIVAN FROM

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SUBJECT: MINSK GROUP MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ALIYEV

ITS TRADITIONAL SUPPLIES OF ELECTRICITY AND GAS, AS WELL AS ITS ROAD AND RAIL CONNECTIONS TO THE MAINLAND. HE REMARKED THAT HIS THREE YEARS IN NAKHCHIVAN (1990-93) HAD BEEN HARD.

6. (U) ALIYEV VOICED SATISFACTION WITH KOCHARIAN'S CONFIDENTIAL

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RENEWED COMMITMENT TO THE CEASEFIRE. HE
SPECULATED WHETHER THE RUSSIAN ARMY, WITH BASES IN
ARMENIA, AND IN THE PROCESS OF MAKING TLE
TRANSFERS FROM GEORGIAN TO RUSSIAN BASES IN
ARMENIA, WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO BETTER HELP THE
N-K ARMENIANS. HE EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH THE
CO-CHAIRS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DIRECT
DIALOGUE WITH KOCHARIAN, WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE

NEGOTIATIONS TO A "CERTAIN STAGE" IN 1999. THE CO-CHAIRS HAD WAITED TO "SEE WHAT RESULTS WOULD EMERGE," SO ALIYEV SAID HE HAD NOT APPEALED TO THE CO-CHAIRS TO DO MORE. NOW HE HAD DECIDED TO APPEAL TO THE CO-CHAIRS TO INTENSIFY AND EXPAND ITS ACTIVITIES IN CONJUNCION WITH THE DIRECT DIALOGUE.

- 7. (U) CAVANAUGH RESPONDED THAT THE GROUP HAD DISCUSSED THE POWER AND TRANSPORT CONNECTIONS WITH BOTH AZERBAIJANI AND ARMENIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. A RESTORATION OF THE TRADITIONAL LINKS BETWEEN NAKHCHIVAN AND THE REST OF AZERBAIJAN, AS WELL AS AMONG ARMENIA, TURKEY AND IRAN, WILL ENSURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENTIRE REGION. THE MINSK GROUP HAS BEEN WORKING TO ENSURE THAT THEIR SUPPORTING EFFORTS WORKED IN HARMONY WITH THE DIRECT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS.
- 8. (U) CAVANAUGH NOTED THAT THE ARMENIAN AND AZERIBAIJANI DEFENSE MINISTERS PLAN TO MEET ON THE NAKHCHIVAN-ARMENIA BORDER AT SADARAK ON DECEMBER 15 TO DISCUSS THE CEASE-FIRE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BAKU 05748 02 OF 03 191343Z THE HOPE THAT ALIYEV WOULD BE ABLE TO MEET WITH KOCHARIAN IN STRASBOURG IN JANUARY. ALIYEV RESPONDED POSITIVELY. NOTING THE ISOLATION OF NAKHCHIVAN, CAVANAUGH SAID THE VISIT THERE WAS PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE FOR THE CO-CHAIRS OVER THE LAST YEAR. HE STRESSED THAT IF TURKEY HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN BUILDING BETT ER RELATIONS WITH SYRIA AND GREECE THIS WAS ALSO POSSIBLE WITH ARMENIA. CAVANAUGH SAID THE CO-CHAIRS HAVE TRIED TO GEAR THEIR WORK CLOSELY TO THE DIRECT DIALOGUE. AS THAT DIALOGUE INCREASES, SO WILL THE CO-CHAIRS ACTIVITIES, TAKING CARE NOT TO DO ANYTHING THAT WOULD UNDERMINE THE DIRECT DIALOGUE. HE NOTED THAT ALIYEV'S REMARKS ABOUT THE MINSK GROUP AND THE DIRECT DIALOGUE MIRRORED THOSE MADE BY KOCHARIAN EARLIER THE SAME DAY INCLUDING THE UNDERLYING FRUSTRATION THAT THE PEACE PROCESS HAD NOT VOWED MORE.

9. (C) AFTER DISMISSING THE PRESS, ALIYEV SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD TALKED FOR A LONG TIME, HE AND KOCHARIAN HAD NOT HAD CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS AT THEIR MEETING AT THE CIS SUMMIT IN MINSK EARLIER THIS MONTH. ALIYEV SAID HE TOLD KOCHARIAN THAT THE BALL WAS IN HIS COURT SINCE ALIYEV HAD MADE THE LAST PROPOSAL, WHICH HAD BEEN REJECTED IN THE END BY KOCHARIAN. KOCHARIAN COUNTERED WITH THE COMMON STATE CONCEPT, WHICH ALIYEV PROMPTLY REJECTED ARGUING THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE RAISED AGAIN. ACCORDING TO ALIYEV, THE TWO PRESIDENTS

ALSO REHASHED EARLIER MINSK GROUP PROPOSALS, WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BAKU 05748 02 OF 03 191343Z HAD BEEN REJECTED BY ONE OR THE OTHER SIDE.

10. (C) ALIYEV NOTED THAT HE HAD BEEN SHARPLY CRITICIZED BY THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN AZERBAIJAN DURING THE RECENT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO SOLVE THE CONFLICT. HE WAS NOT AFRAID OF BEING OVERTHROWN, BUT "THE PEOPLE'S TRUST" IS FADING BECAUSE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO RESOLVE N-K. KOCHARIAN HAD TOLD HIM THAT 2001 WOULD SEE A TURNING POINT IN THE PEACE PROCESS. ALIYEV SAID HE RESPONDED BY NOTING HE HAD PUBLICLY STATED THE SAME WITH REGARD TO 2000 AND NOW WAS BEING CRITICIZED FOR IT.

11. (C) CAVANAUGH TOLD ALIYEV THAT FM OSKANIAN HAD NOTED THE ARMENIANS WERE ALSO MORE AND MORE DISSATISFIED WITH THE SITUATION. OSKANIAN HAD TOLD THE GROUP EARLIER THAT DAY THE ARMENIAN

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PEOPLE RECOGNIZED THAT THE STATUS QUO WAS UNACCEPTABLE. CAVANAUGH SAID ARKADY GHUKASIAN STRESSED THE NEED FOR RESOLUTION EVEN MORE BY INCREASINGLY NOTING THAT THE N-K ARMENIANS ARE IN LIMBO NOW. KOCHARIAN HAD INDICATED TO THE GROUP

THAT HE WAS, CRYSTALLIZING HIS THINKING ABOUT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BAKU 05748 03 OF 03 191343Z IDEAS AND SEQUENCING OF STEPS, CONSIDERING SOME NEW ELEMENTS OF A POSSIBLE SOLUTION. CAVANAUGH OBSERVED THAT IT WAS THE CO-CHAIR'S HOPE KOCHARIAN WOULD PUT FORWARD CONCRETE IDEAS. HE HAD MADE CLEAR THAT HE WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ALIYEV'S CONCERNS IN DEVELOPING THOSE IDEAS.

12. (C) ALIYEV RAISED AZERBAIJAN'S PROPOSED ADDITION TO THE UNGA'S ANNUAL RESOLUTION ON COOPERATION WITH THE OSCE. HE NOTED THAT BEFORE LAST YEAR, THE U.S. HAD ALWAYS SUPPORTED AZERBAIJAN'S POSITION THAT THE TEXT OF THE LANGUAGE SHOULD REFER TO THE "NAGORNO-KARABAKH REGION OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN." LAST YEAR 54 STATES HAD SUPPORTED AZERBAIJAN'S AMENDMENT TO THE TEXT - THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COUNTRIES HAD MADE PASSAGE POSSIBLE, BUT THE THREE MINSK GROUP CO-CHAIR COUNTRIES HAD ABSTAINED. HE NOTED THAT THE EU MEMBER STATES WOULD PROBABLY FOLLOW THEIR LEAD. ALIYEV ASKED WHETHER THE GROUP HAD ALREADY DECIDED THAT N-K IS NOT PART OF AZERBAIJAN. ALIYEV ARGUED THAT NOT SUPPORTING THE AZERIBAIJANI AMENDMENT WOULD ENCOURAGE THE ARMENIANS TO PUSH FOR FULL INDEPENDENCE AND THIS. FOR AZERBAIJANIS WOULD CREATE A DOUBT ABOUT THE INTENTIONS OF THE CO-CHAIRS. ALIYEV PERSONALLY APPEALED TO THE MINSK GROUP CO-CHAIRS TO SUPPORT THE AZERIBAIJANI LANGUAGE IN THE UNGA. CAVANAUGH, GAILLARDE, AND GRIBKOV SAID THEY WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH DECISION-MAKERS IN THEIR CAPITALS.

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WILSON

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