

**ՄԵՐ ԱՆԿԻՒՆԸ**

**ԽՕՍՔ  
 ՇՆՈՐՀԱԿԱԼՈՒԹԵԱՆ  
 ԵՒ ԳՆԱՀԱՏԱՆՔԻ**

**ՏՕՔԹ.Ա. ԳԱԶԱՆՃԵԱՆ**

Ընթացիկ տարուան Օգոստոսի 7-ին, Ա.Գ. Հնչակեան Կուսակցության օրկան «Մասիս» շաբաթաբերորդ արժանավայել պատշաճության մրցույթի արժանակալի նաշկերոյք հանդիսութեամբ մը տօնախմբեց իր հրատարակութեան 28-րդ տարեդարձը: 28-րդ տարին ըլլալով, «Մասիս» եկաւ ջրելու շատ շատերու թերահաւատ, այլ՝ մեծամիտ ենթադրութիւնը, թէ երկար կրնար չի տեսի իր լոյս ընծայումը եմբարդեալ միութեան, բարոյական եւ մարդու թի պակասի տեսակետէն անձեռնտու պայմաններու քերտ: Այսօր, 28 տարիներու իր կենսունակ, մշտանորոգ, հետեւողական եւ գաղափարասուսաց գործունեակութիւնն ու շօշափելի գործընթացը գաղութու ներս, ապացոյց են, որ «Մասիս» կայ, կը ծաղկի ու անհրաժեշտութիւն է որպէս առաջնորդող օրկան, ընդհանրապէս մեր գաղութի ազգային, քաղաքական, ընկերային, հայրենասիրական, եւ մասնաւորապէս, մեր հայրենական կեանքէն ներս:

Ինքնամպատակ չեղաւ «Մասիս» ի հրատարակութիւնը, ինչպէս գայն երկնող եւ հովանաւորող ժողովրդանուէր Մայր Կուսակցության ձեռնարկը: «Մասիս» անհրաժեշտութիւն դարձաւ մեր ազգի ու հայրենիքի գոյութեան պահպանման, պաշտպանութեան ու ազգային ձգտումներուն նուիրագործման նախապարհին:

Ինչպէս զիմք հովանաւորող Կուսակցութիւնը, ինչ կարգի դժուարութեան անգամ մատուցած ըլլար, «Մասիս», շուտով պիտի վերագտնէր իր կենսունակութիւնը: Ապրիլնոր գարթօնմ Բանի կ'ապրէր իր ազգը: Քանի իր ազգը պէտք ունէր իրեն: Իր ժողովուրդն ու հայրենիքը նգնաժամային կացութիւններու մէջ էին:

«Մասիս» միշտ մնաց պատնէշի վրայ: Անոր առաքելութեան սահմանները ուրուագծուած էին իր կազմութեան օրէն: Ան պիտի գործէր իր ժողովուրդի հետ, իր ժողովուրդի նամքով, իր ժողովուրդի համար՝ յանուն անոր յա-

Շաբ.ը էջ 19

**ԹՈՒՐԲԻՈՅ ՆԱԽԱԳԱՅ ԱՔՂՈՒԼԱ ԳԻԼ ԴՐԱԿԱՆ ԿԸ ԳՆԱՀԱՏԵ  
 ԵՐԵՒԱՆ ԿԱՏԱՐԱԾ ԻՐ ԱՅՅԵԼՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ  
 ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԿՈՂՄԸ ՈՉ ՄԵԿ ԱԿՆԱՐԿՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԸՐԱԾ Է  
 ՑԵՂԱՄՊԱՆՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՀԱՐՑԻՆ**

Տեղի ունեցաւ Թուրքիոյ Նախագահի պատմական այցելութիւնը Երեւան՝ Հայաստանի գործող նախագահ Սերժ Սարգսեանի հրաւերով:

Անգարա վերադարձին նախագահ Աբդուլլա Գիլ յայտարարեց, որ Սերժ Սարգսեան «ոչ մէկ անգամ չչի շատակեց այսպէս կոչուած ցեղասպանութեան հարցը եւ ան նոյնիսկ չակնարկեց այդ մասին՝ այդ հարցը ձգելով մէկ կողմ»:

Զրոյցի ընթացքին բանակցութիւններ չեն եղած նաեւ հայ-թրքական սահմանի բացման վերաբերեալ, սակայն, ինչպէս յայտարարեց Աբդուլլա Գիլ, շատ մանրակրկիտ գրոյց տեղի ունեցած է Լեւոնային Հարաբաղի հակամարտութեան վերաբերեալ:

Աբդուլլա Գիլի հետ Հայաստան ժամանած լրագրողներու խումբին մէջ կը գտնուէր Պոլսոյ մէջ լոյս տեսնող «Ժամանակ» օրաթերթի գլխաւոր խմբագիր Արա Գոչուհեան: Ան «Ազատութիւն» ռատիոկայանի հետ հարցազրոյցի մը ընթացքին փոխանցեց, որ, դրա-



Աբդուլլա Գիլ կը ժամանէ Երեւան

կան գնահատելով երեւանեան այցը, Թուրքիոյ նախագահը երախտագիտութեամբ խօսած է Սերժ Սարգսեանի ջերմ ընդունելութեան մասին:

«Առաջին հերթին Գիլը ըսաւ, որ իր այցելութեամբ երկու կողմերու միջեւ արդէն վերացած է

Շաբ.ը էջ 5

**ԱՐԵՒՏԵԱՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ  
 ԱՅՅԵԼՈՒԹԵԱՆ  
 ԸՆԹԱՑՔԻՆ  
 17 ԻՐԱՆԱՀԱՅԵՐ  
 ԱՐԿԱԾԻ ԶՈՐ**

Սեպտեմբեր 8-ին, Արեւմտեան Հայաստան այցելութեան ընթացքին, Իրանահայ զբօսաշրջիկներ փոխադրող օթօպիլս մը ենթարկուած է անաւոր արկածի մը, որու պատճառաւ զոհուած են 17 հոգիներ, մինչ 24 վիրաւորներ տեղափոխուած են հիւանդանոց: Անոնցմէ ոմանք կը գտնուի ծանր վիճակի մէջ:

Արկածը պատահած է հայկական պատմական հողերը կատարած այցելութեան վերադարձի ճամբուն վրայ: Իրանի եւ Թուրքիոյ սահմանի մօտ, մեծ արագութեան վրայ ընթացող օթօպիլսը կորսնցնելէ ետք հաւասարակշռութիւնը՝ գլորուելով ինկած է ձորը: Օթօպիլսի ուղեւորները մեկնած էին Արեւմտեան Հայաստան Իրանի՝ Թեհրան, Նոր Զուղա, Թաւրիզ եւ Ուրմիա քաղաքներէն:

**Ս.Գ. ՀՆԶԱԿԵԱՆ ԿՈՒՍԱԿՑՈՒԹԵԱՆ  
 ՅԱՅՏԱՐԱՐՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ ԹՈՒՐԲԻՈՅ ՆԱԽԱԳԱՅԻ  
 ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ ԱՅՅԻ ԱՌԹԻ**

Թուրքիոյ նախագահ Աբդուլլա Գիլի Հայաստան ժամանումի նախօրեակին Ա.Գ. Հնչակեան Կուսակցության Հայաստանի վարչութիւնը հրապարակեց հետեւեալ յայտարարութիւնը:

Թուրքիայի նախագահ Աբդուլլա Գիլի Հայաստան ժամանելու կապակցութեամբ Հայաստանում աշխուժացել են հայ-թրքական յարաբերութիւնները՝ այդ թւում եւ սահմանի բացման անհրաժեշտութեան մասին խօսակցութիւնները: Ելնելով վերոնշեալից հայ իրականութեան առաջին քաղաքական կուսակցութիւնը յայտարարում է.

17 տարի շրջափակումը, Ադրբեյջանին անվերապահ աջակցութիւն յայտնելը, ցեղասպանութիւնը յամաւորէն չճանաչելու փաստը եւս մէկ անգամ ապացուցում է, որ Թուրքիայի պետական քաղաքականութիւնը վերջին 100-ամեակում չի փոխուել եւ շարունակում է մնալ հակահայ: Այս ամէնն արուում է՝ ելնելով իրենց իսկ ազգային շահերից, եւ դա հասկանալի է: Վստահ ենք, որ Հայաստանը պետականորէն պատրաստ չէ բացել հայ-թուրքական սահմանը, քանի դեռ Հայաստանում չեն կատարուել հետեւեալ կարեւորագոյն խնդիրները.

1. Զեւաւորել ժողովրդի մեծամասնութեան վստահութիւնը վայելող, լեզիտիմ իշխանութիւն
2. Զերբազատել Հայաստանի տնտեսութիւնը քրէածին, մոնոպոլիստ եւ օլիգարխիկ տարրերից
3. Օրէնսդրօրէն պաշտպանել ներքին արտադրողի շահերը
4. Բարեփոխել մաքսային եւ հարկային վարչարարութիւնը

Շաբ.ը էջ 4

**ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԱՆԿԱԽՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՕՐՈՒԱՅ  
 ՓԱՌԱՏՕՆ  
 ԿԻՐԱԿԻ ՍԵՊՏԵՄԲԵՐ 21, 2008  
 VERDUGO PARK ԿԼԷՆՏԷՅԼ**

















# Massis Weekly

Volume 28, No. 32

Saturday, SEPTEMBER 13, 2008

## Turkish President Abdullah Gul Sounds Optimistic About The Future Of Bilateral Ties With Armenia Armenian Side Avoids Including Genocide Issue In The Discussions

YEREVAN -- On September 6, Turkish President Abdullah Gul made a historic trip to Armenia at the invitation of Armenian President Serzh Sarkisian. The two leaders watched an international soccer match between their national teams and held an extended closed-door session.

Gul sounded unusually optimistic about the future of bilateral ties, despite skirting the key issues hampering a Turkish-Armenian rapprochement during his talks with Sarkisian on Saturday. Their foreign ministers discussed these issues at length and were reported to make considerable progress during their separate meeting in the Armenian capital.

"I believe my visit has demolished a psychological barrier in the Caucasus," Gul was quoted by the Anatolia news agency as saying on his return to Ankara. "If this climate continues, everything will move forward and normalize." The trip, which lasted for only a few hours, was "fruitful" and "promises hope for the future," he said.

Gul arrived in Yerevan to watch the first-ever game between the two countries' national soccer teams at



Abdullah Gul arriving at Zvartnotz airport in Yerevan

Sarkisian's invitation, which was extended in June amid a rare thaw in the Turkish-Armenian rapport. The two men attended the match, which Turkey won 2-0, after a one-on-one meeting and a dinner in the presidential palace in Yerevan.

"This visit will create a good opportunity to improve bilateral relations," Gul said.

Gul told journalists in Ankara the next day that he is "pleased" with Armenia's stated support for the Turkish proposal to set up a new security

Continued on page 4

## Armenian National Congress To Hold Authorized Rally on September 15

YEREVAN -- On September 11 the Armenian National Congress issued a statement announcing the re-scheduling of its planned rally from September 12 to Monday September 15.

Yerevan's municipality had said that while it could not authorize the opposition rally on September 12, it was ready to do so for September 15.

'We have arrived at the conclusion that the most important is to use all opportunities for an authorized rally,' Levon Zurabian, a top representative of the opposition movement, said.

According to the ANC statement, the ruling regime takes no steps to improve the political atmosphere in the country but tries to prevent any expression of democratic and civil freedoms.

Levon Zurabian also said that although the government has authorized only the rally on September 15, and has not authorized the march, the opposition will nevertheless fulfill its constitutional right and hold a march. Levon Zurabian stated that the rally on September 15 is the start of the Autumn struggle which will be decisive and effective.

## Armenia Signs Power Supply Deal With Turkey

YEREVAN -- Armenia has signed a deal to supply electricity to Turkey from the beginning of 2009, Energy Minister Armen Movsisian said Wednesday.

Movsisian told reporters that the deal will see electricity from Armenian thermal power plants supplied to eastern Turkey. "An agreement on this was reached during the recent visit of the Turkish President Abdullah Gul," he said.

"Turkey is a new market for Armenia, as Armenia last supplied electricity to this country during the Soviet period," he added.

The deal was signed between Armenia's state-owned High Voltage Electricity Network company and a privately owned Turkish firm called UNIT, Movsisian said. He said the infrastructure was in place on the Armenian side to deliver the electricity but that repairs to transmission lines and the installation of a new transformer in Turkey would take four to five months.

He said Armenia would initially supply 1.5 billion kilowatts per hour of electricity to Turkey and that the amount would eventually increase to 3.5 billion kilowatts per hour.

## Over 300 Turkish Citizens Visited Genocide Museum In Yerevan

YEREVAN -- According to ArmenPress news agency, over 300 citizens of Turkey have visited the Genocide Museum in Yerevan over the recent few days. Director of the museum-institute Hayk Demoyan said that the Turkish visitors were mainly students, representatives of different organizations and sports fans, who had arrived to watch the football game.

Hayk Demoyan said that the Turkish visitors had very different feelings about what they saw in the museum: some were shocked and felt very painful and remorseful about the genocide, and some were unwilling to accept the facts seriously. Some of the Turks did not complete watching the exhibition at the museum, partly because of psychologi-

cal stress, and partly to avoiding facing reporters.

The "Armenian Sports in the Ottoman Empire" exhibition, which started last week in the museum, was of some special interest to the Turkish visitors. They were completely ignorant of the great Armenian contribution to the development of sports in Turkey.

About 30 newspapers, TV channels and other media prepared different reports about the Armenian Genocide Museum, and interviewed its director.

It is remarkable that Hasan Jamal, grandson of one of the organizers of the Armenian Genocide, Jamal Pasha, also visited Yerevan and laid a wreath at the memorial to the victims of the Armenian Genocide.

## Rep. Sherman Presses Administration for Aid to Armenia in Aftermath of Russo-Georgian Crisis

WASHINGTON, DC -- House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Representative Howard Berman (D-CA) opened a hearing entitled "U.S.-Russia Relations in the Aftermath of the Georgia Crisis" to address concerns and to "consider the future of U.S. relations with Russia in the aftermath of the crisis that erupted with sudden ferocity in the Republic of Georgia five weeks ago".

Testifying on behalf of the Bush Administration, Daniel Fried, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, starting with the region's history, told Members of Congress that the collapse of the former Soviet Union "was marked by ethnically-based violence, especially in the South Caucasus." Fried also explained, in greater detail, the Administration's \$1 billion economic support package that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced on September 3, in an effort to help meet "Georgia's pressing humanitarian needs, repair infrastructure damaged by Russia's invasion, sustain commercial confidence, and restore economic growth." He added that the Administration would be working extensively with Congress, as to fine-tune how the assistance will be delivered.

During a question and answer session with Secretary Fried, Representative Brad Sherman (D-CA), citing a September 3, report from Radio Free



Representative Brad Sherman

Europe/Radio Liberty entitled, "Armenia Claims Huge Losses From Georgian Crisis," pressed the Administration whether they plan on providing additional aid to Armenia.

Fried commented that Armenia is already a recipient of significant amount of aid, although he acknowledged that Armenia has been impacted by the crisis. Sherman added that due to strife, Armenia has suffered an estimated \$680 million in damage to its economy and again asked if additional aid would be provided. Fried responded that there would be more, but would have to look into the figure as to an amount.

## Russia Rejects Parallels Between South Ossetia, Karabakh

MOSCOW -- Russia firmly rejected parallels between the conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh and South Ossetia and Abkhazia that have been drawn since its controversial decision to recognize the independence of the two breakaway regions.

The move has left observers in Armenia and elsewhere in the region wondering whether Moscow would be prepared to similarly recognize Karabakh's de facto secession from Azerbaijan.

"There are no parallels between the situation over South Ossetia and Abkhazia on the one side and the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement on the other," Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said. "In the case of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, [Georgian President Mikheil] Saakashvili's regime has in recent years consistently sought to undermine all negotiation formats, all settlement mechanisms that had been earlier agreed upon by all parties."

Lavrov argued that, by contrast, the parties to the Karabakh dispute have been fully cooperating with a team of American, Russian and French mediators trying to broker a peaceful settlement.

"None of the parties is walking away from the mechanism formed under the auspices of the co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group," he said. "That process is going on. Furthermore, within the framework of that process a serious body of agreed ele-



Foreign Ministers Eduard Nalbandian and Sergei Lavrov

ments of the eventual settlement has been worked out. Work on the remaining several problems is continuing."

Lavrov spoke at a joint news conference with his Armenian counterpart Eduard Nalbandian held after a meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the six former Soviet republics making up the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Nalbandian, who chaired the meeting, presented a joint statement on the Georgian crisis that was adopted by the ministers.

The statement called for a peaceful resolution of the conflict and endorsed a Russian-Georgian truce agreement brokered by French President Nicolas Sarkozy. The CSTO foreign ministers criticized Georgia's ill-fated military assault on South Ossetia but stopped short of denouncing it as an act of aggression. They also said nothing about the Russian recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

## Yerevan Polls Marred By Violence

YEREVAN -- Pro-government candidates swept weekend local elections in four administrative districts of Yerevan which were partly boycotted by the opposition and marred by a serious brawl.

Official vote results released on Monday gave victory to the incumbent mayors of the northern Kanaker-Zeytun and the southern and Nubarashen districts.

There was only one candidate in Nubarashen and the neighboring Erebuni district, making the outcome of the elections there a forgone conclusion. Their mayors are affiliated with the governing Prosperous Armenia (BHK) and Republican (HHK) parties respectively.

The race was far more unpredictable in the other district, Arabkir. Its incumbent Republican mayor, Hovannes Shahinian, was defeated by Albert Yeritsian a local businessman effectively backed by the HHK. A candidate from the opposition Zharangutyun (Heritage) party, Zoya Tadevosian, came in third.

Both Shahinian and Tadevosian conceded defeat on Monday, the latter claiming that the election was decided by vote buying. Shahinian said he too will not challenge the vote results but gave a different reason. "For me, at stake on Sunday was not my participation in the elections but the security of the community's population, and I consider my mission accomplished," he claimed in a statement.

The statement made no mention of a violent clash on Sunday morning between two groups of men supporting the



Kerobian pictured in the hospital

two main Arabkir candidates. One man, identified as Mher Kerobian, was badly beaten and stabbed in the hip before being rushed to Yerevan's Erebuni hospital with serious injuries. A hospital official told RFE/RL that Kerobian was hospitalized with a fractured skull and broken ribs.

The incident occurred despite increased police presence in and outside Arabkir's polling stations.

The race was even tighter in neighboring Kanaker-Zeytun where the opposition candidate, Manuel Gasparian, was narrowly defeated by the incumbent Republican Mayor Arayik Kotanjian. Gasparian, who represented the Armenian National Congress of Levon Ter-Petrosian, refused to concede defeat, alleging "disgraceful falsifications."

But Vanush Zeynalian, chairman of the district election commission, denied the allegations. "We have no reports of violations that could affect the election results," he told RFE/RL.

Zeynalian said the commission nonetheless agreed to recount ballots in some local precincts on Tuesday.

## Why Cheney Did Not Visit Armenia

The vice president of the United States Dick Cheney offered the foreign minister of Italy Franco Frattini to invite Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan to the EU conference on the energy policy which will take place in October of this year, the Associated Press reports. However, Cheney who visited Georgia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan a few days ago did not arrive in Yerevan. The reasons may be several, either the United States does not consider Armenia as an independent state and sees no reason to negotiate with it or Armenia is not included in the plans of the United States to create a new regional security system or yet Washington has decided not to irritate Moscow, which is going through such a difficult period now, or Cheney has nothing to offer to Armenia.

One way or another, Cheney did not arrive in Yerevan. Instead he sent a clear message to the Azerbaijani people and the entire region. Cheney said the United States has been working with Azerbaijan for almost two decades to build and consolidate its independence, sovereignty and integration as a respected member of the international community, and the United States reaffirms that commitment. The United States is committed to helping resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which begins with respecting territorial integrity. "Achieving a solution is more important now than ever before. That outcome will enhance peace and stability in the region, and Azerbaijan's security as well," Cheney said.

And "on the other edge of the planet", in Moscow, adequate steps are being worked out. "Moscow will break relations with NATO if the membership action plan is extended to Tbilisi, it is officially invited to the alliance," the Russian representative to NATO Dmitry Rogozin said in an interview with the Swiss Le Temps.

Russia has already stopped its participation in the Partnership for Peace program, suspended cooperation with peacekeeping missions for 6 months. The NATO information center is not operating. And finally, Moscow does not give NATO sea craft access to its ports, and so on.

On the other hand, Russia is trying to reinforce CSTO, without tan-

gible result though, evidence to which is the recent meeting of the CSTO leaders. Even Belarus and Armenia did not support Moscow's plans, and the president of Belarus made an interesting statement that he wished the CSTO became a real organization like NATO where everyone fights in case one country undergoes aggression. And here not everyone has signed this point.

In the meantime, Washington is consistently promoting new oil and gas projects. The minister of energy of Azerbaijan Natik Aliyev stated that Baku will never reject the Nabucco project. This project involves the construction of a new gas pipeline which passes by Russia and connects the Caspian basin with the Near East and Europe. Construction starts in 2009, capacity is 31 billion cubic meters a year, the cost is 7.9 billion euros.

For its part, Ankara also supports the Nabucco project which must run via its territory. Several important pipelines run across the territory of Turkey, particularly Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzrum. It has already been connected to the network of Greece to transport the Azerbaijani gas to Italy. By the way, the tankers sail along the Turkish straights of Bosphorus and Dardanelle.

However, due to the events in Georgia the competitiveness of the pipelines running across Georgia and Turkey has declined. The foreign media report that some Western companies are negotiating the layout of communications via the territory of Armenia. Several options are possible, either the branches of pipelines running via Georgia through Armenia or the layout of direct communications from Azerbaijan to Turkey via Armenia. However, the second option is directly related to the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh and the lifting of the blockade of Nakhidjevan, the Azerbaijani analysts report. They do not rule out a temporary solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue based on a compromise with support from the outside.

Let us come back to Cheney's visit. Why didn't Cheney arrive in Armenia? Does it mean that the issue of the new pipeline through Armenia has been solved? In that case, in what direction has it been solved?

Lragir.am

## Armenia Shuts Down Nuclear Plant For Renovation

YEREVAN -- Armenia has shut down its Metsamor nuclear power station for 85-day renovation works and refueling, the station's chief engineer told AFP Monday.

"The station was shut down on September 5 at midnight and will be launched again on November 29. There will be repairs, refueling, and some measures aimed at boosting security," Movses Vartanian said.

"Meanwhile, there will be no restrictions in energy supply to the customers — other stations will make up for the loss," Vartanian said.

The nuclear plant's two reactors were shut down temporarily in 1988 because of a major earthquake, but one of them resumed operating in 1995 to help stave off a national energy crisis.

ՆՈՐ ՍԵՐՈՒՆԳ ՀԵՌՈՒՍԱՏԵՍԻԼԻ ՅԱՅՏԱԳԻՐԻ  
ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԱՅՈՅՅՈՒ  
CHARTER CABLE 280-ՐԳ ԿԱՅԱՆ  
(ԿԼԵՆՏԵՅԼ, ՊԵՐՊԵՆՔ, ԼԱՔՐԵՍԵՆՈՒ)  
GLOABCAST SATELLITE  
ՀԻՆԳՇԱՐԹԻ ԵՐԵՎԱՆԵԱՆ ԺԱՄԱՆ 10:00-11:00

## Could Turkey Abandon Preconditions For Relations With Armenia?

By Stepan Grigoryan

Two months ago, during a summit in Astana on July 7, Armenian President Serzh Sarkisian extended an official invitation to his Turkish counterpart Abdullah Gul to travel to Yerevan so they could watch together as their national soccer teams played a match. Since then, public opinion in both countries has been divided as to what lay behind the invitation, whether Gul would accept it, and whether he should.

There are, of course, many factors hindering the normalization of relations between the two countries. Several external players, in particular Russia, have no interest in the opening of the Armenian-Turkish border, as this could lead to Armenia turning toward the West. Any positive developments in Armenia's relations with Turkey would be painful for Azerbaijan. And within Turkey, the normalization of relations with Armenia is not viewed as an urgent priority.

Even before Sarkisian's initiative, Turkey was trying to use its strategic partnership with Georgia and Azerbaijan to broaden its influence in the South Caucasus without regard for its lack of formal relations with Armenia. For that reason, it appeared that Armenia needed a normalization of relations more than Turkey did. It was also clear that Turkey required something more substantial than Sarkisian's proposals to begin normalizing relations, a process that would have to include establishing a joint commission to evaluate historical issues, before it would agree to open the border.

### Breakthrough Moment

The situation changed radically, however, after Russia launched large-scale military operations against Georgia on August 8, advancing far beyond the South Ossetian conflict zone. In the wake of Gul's visit to Yerevan, it is obvious that it was the crisis in Georgia, which demonstrated the vulnerability of the countries in the region, that was the deciding factor in this breakthrough in bilateral relations. For that reason, all the problems in Armenian-Turkish relations, including the dispute over the recognition of the 1915 genocide of Armenians and the deadlocked conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, have now been relegated to the back burner.

Turkey was so concerned by the Russian military intervention in Georgia and by the advance of Russian forces into the southern and western regions of the country that in mid-August it dispatched Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Moscow to meet with Russian President Dmitry Medvedev. We can assume that the leaders discussed two issues that are crucial for Turkey. The first was the possibility that Moscow would recognize the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh. Ankara understood very well that Russia would not be content with simply establishing military control over South Ossetia, but would seek to substantiate that military victory by legal measures, such as recognizing South Ossetia as an independent

state.

The second issue was Russia's stance toward the continued functioning of the oil and gas pipelines, and also the highways, that link Azerbaijan and Turkey via Georgia. That issue arose because Russia had engaged in maneuvers in western Georgia to secure control of the ports of Poti and Batumi and the strategic Gori-Poti highway and railway.

Without going into detail, we can say that the war led to the disruption of economic ties across the entire South Caucasus region. The ports of Poti and Batumi were bombed, some stretches of the Tbilisi-Batumi railroad were rendered unusable, and widespread damage was inflicted on Georgia's economic and energy infrastructure.

Armenia suffered serious economic damage because the territory of Georgia is the lifeline that connects it by trade and economic routes to Russia and Europe. According to Armenian government statistics, during the military phase of the Georgian conflict, Armenia's trade turnover fell by a factor of eight.

But Azerbaijan and Turkey also experienced difficulties. Exports via the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum gas pipeline were temporarily halted because of the fighting. Almost all energy and transport projects linking Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey were suspended, and today the Georgian economy is on the verge of collapse. In other words, it turns out that limiting its regional cooperation with Georgia and Azerbaijan could not shield Turkey from serious repercussions.

### A Broken Link

It used to be difficult to envisage a situation in the South Caucasus in which Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey did not constitute a self-sufficient system. But as soon as the Georgian link in the chain gave way, the entire system began to break down, and it became clear that in this emergency situation, Armenia could be indispensable. In fact, the August events in Georgia have demonstrated just how important it is to have alternative mechanisms for regional cooperation.

For example, if Armenia had not been excluded from the oil and gas pipelines built in the South Caucasus — if even one or two of those pipelines had transited Armenian territory — then the countries of the region could have exported oil and gas via Armenia even amid the Georgian crisis. Or it would have been possible to compensate at least partially for the disruption in Georgian rail traffic by rerouting trains via the railroad from Kars in eastern Turkey to Giumri in Armenia, and then to Tbilisi.

It is of paramount importance that the Turkish leadership, which was the first to realize just how serious the situation was, has come to understand all these problems. We can therefore expect serious and concrete new initiatives from them in the near future — first and foremost addressing the open-

Continued on page 4

## Turkish Journalist Says Border Opening Unlikely Without 'Progress' on Karabakh

A Turkish journalist writing for one of the world's leading newsmagazines calls it unimaginable that any government in her country will reopen the land border with Armenia without "being able to report some progress on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue."

In an interview with RFE/RL Amberin Zaman, who is the Turkey correspondent for The Economist and wife of US Charge d'Affaires in Armenia Joseph Pennington, said that in taking that step Turkey would need to tell the Turkish public and Azerbaijan that "this is helping move forward the peace process in Nagorno-Karabakh."

"Because that's indeed why the border was closed in the first place," explains Zaman, who is also the columnist for the Turkish daily newspaper Taraf and had worked for such leading newspapers and media organizations as the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, the Voice of America, the Daily Telegraph, also covering as reporter the 1992-1994 war in Karabakh.

"But I think that the primary goal is to establish diplomatic ties and the fact that Armenia and Turkey will be talking officially and openly will certainly have an impact on helping serve Karabakh."

Turkey closed its border with Armenia in 1993 out of solidarity with its Turkic ally Azerbaijan that was suffering military defeats from ethnic Armenians fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh for independence from Baku.

The unresolved Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute and the Armenian campaign for international recognition of the 1915 mass killings of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire as genocide continue to be the main obstacles to the normalization of bilateral ties between the two neighboring states.

Still, Zaman points out the existing ties between Armenia and Turkey, including direct air links and the opportunity for Armenian ships to call at Turkish seaports. She says that unlike the opening of the whole land border, the reestablishment of the rail link does not appear that unimaginable given the recent war in Georgia.

"Turkey can say that it is reopening this rail in order to help send humanitarian supplies to help with the reconstruction of Georgia and indeed Azerbaijan too, because the disruption of rail links has had a very negative impact not only on Armenia, but also on Azerbaijan. So Turkey can step in and say it is doing it for regional peace. So that would not be unimaginable," Zaman says.



Amberin Zaman

"As for opening the land border, I don't see that happening in the immediate future. And I think there has to be some give on Karabakh before that happens."

Overall, the Turkish journalist believes that both Armenia and Turkey have every reason to be "extremely optimistic about the way things are going."

She describes the recent visit of the Turkish leader to Armenia as "a historical moment" in relations between the two countries.

"I believe that the visit went extremely smoothly. I had the opportunity to actually see both presidents during halftime. They seemed incredibly relaxed, very happy, they sounded extremely cordial and the messages that we heard after the match from both sides were extremely positive," Zaman says.

"There was a lot of risk taking on both sides," says Zaman, praising both leaders for "courageous decisions".

"I think it was an extremely courageous decision on the part of President Sarkisian to extend this hand of friendship. It was politically risky given the domestic political situation here [in Armenia]. And certainly [it was] quite risky for Abdullah Gul too, because he wasn't quite sure what he'd face in Armenia."

While acknowledging how important the genocide issue is viewed by Armenians, Zaman also thinks that "there will be so much else that will be discussed that people will stop focusing on this issue."

"It is because we haven't been talking that the conversation has been dominated by the genocide issue," she says.

"I think that Turkish people deep down know that some terrible things happened in their country to the Armenian people who were part of our country, who were sons of our soil, just as we are, and I think there is this recognition that it's time to heal the wounds of the past."

Massis Weekly on the Internet

[www.massisweekly.com](http://www.massisweekly.com)

Updated every Friday

[www.HayastanInfo.net](http://www.HayastanInfo.net)

Armenian-English-German  
News . Information . Comments

## Shushi's Stellar Performance At Yerevan's Opera House

By Karen Saraydarian-Arslanian

The Shushi Armenian Dance Ensemble of St. Vartan Cathedral, NY, recently celebrated its 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary this year, with the privilege of performing in two outstanding events in Yerevan. Shushi dancers, their families, and accompanying artists, a group exceeding 100 travelers, took a truly memorable, two-week long trip to Armenia, from the end of June to mid-July, 2008. In addition to the honor of performing to audiences in Armenia, the trip was vital in enhancing our youth's awareness of Armenia's historical, cultural and spiritual virtues.

Following considerable planning and numerous rehearsals, Shushi performed at the famed Opera House in Yerevan, on July 3, 2008, which proved to be a stellar event, primarily as a result of the tremendous efforts of the group's director and choreographer, Seta Paskalian-Kantardjian. This event would not be possible without the patronage of the "Hayastan" All Armenian Fund, to which Shushi is truly grateful. Also respectfully acknowledged for the success of the event are the professional staff of the Alexander Spendiaryan National Academic Opera & Ballet Theatre, and the moving compositions of Aram Khachaturian,

Khachatour Avetisian, Ara Gevorgian and many others featured.

Along with the Shushi Ensemble, the performing cast members at this spectacular Opera House event were, from Los Angeles, artistic musical director Andranik Mouradian and popular vocalists Hermineh Amirian, Armen Hovanessyan, Anahit Ishkhanian, Hovig Krikorian, Sosie Mardirossian, and Salpi Mailian, from New York, Vagharshak Ohanyan, and from Yerevan, Leyla Saribekyan, and the Vahagn Drum Ensemble of Yerevan, directed by Araz Ortinyan. As a token of appreciation, as recognized by the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramgavar), Mr. Haroutiun Arakelian awarded Seta a gold medal, in an emotional moment at the conclusion of the performance.

On July 6, 2008, Shushi gratefully performed at the Nubarashen Army Base. The Nubarashen district of Yerevan, built by AGBU and named after AGBU founder Boghos Nubar, recently celebrated its 75th anniversary, and is rapidly evolving as a metropolitan area. At Nubarashen, Anahit Ishkhanian enthusiastically roused over one thousand soldiers, who joined in the dancing alongside Shushi. This moving, novel experience stirred renewed patriotism and ethnocentrism



in the hearts of the Shushi members, and others in attendance.

Highlights of Shushi's trip included a visit to Holy Etchmiadzin, where Shushi was graced with a private audience with His Holiness Karekin II, attendance to a performance at AGBU's Nork Children's Center, a tour of COAF-assisted villages of Kerakert and Lernagog, and a heartfelt visit to the Zadik Orphanage, where the members and the residing children gleefully interacted, and even danced together, in a loving union.

Shushi's all-encompassing trip also included a comprehensive tour to beautiful, historic monasteries at Khor Virap, Noravank, Tsaghkadzor, and Lake Sevan, the temple at Garni, and the Armenian Genocide Monument and Museum at Sartarabad. The group also toured Yerablur, the beautiful Three-Hills Memorial for the heroes of the Karabagh War, and Matenedaran. Following a visit to the beautiful rock-formed monastery at Geghart, Shushi attended a special concert organized by Hasmig Leyloyan, a renowned Kununist, who performed along with

well-known singers, in a program dedicated to Shushi's 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The tour culminated with a visit to Tsitsernagaberd, where Shushi members solemnly encircled the eternal flame and laid flowers around it, in remembrance of the martyrs of the Armenian Genocide, and as an affirmation of our unwavering responsibility to uphold practices of our Armenian culture and Christian faith.

All facets of Shushi's visit to Armenia were truly memorable. Together with their families, Shushi members enjoyed the beauty of Armenia and fellowship with local Armenians, proving to unify our ties to our past and present Armenia, and affirm our shared love for our heritage.

As the new season for Shushi begins September 8, 2008, plans for the 2008-2009 season include Shushi's special program dedicated to the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Diocese, on October 12, 2008, and a long-awaited trip on the Armenian Heritage Cruise, January 11-18, 2009, where Shushi will give a spectacular performance for Armenians all over the world, in the Caribbean.

## Turkish President Abdullah Gul

Continued from page 1

and cooperation grouping in the region. The so-called Caucasus Security and Stability Platform would comprise Turkey, Russia and the three South Caucasus states.

"The most important issue in the Caucasus is the Karabakh issue. My visit to Yerevan may contribute to the resolution of this problem," he said.

Still, the Turkish leader made clear he and Sarkisian avoided discussing the two main obstacles to the normalization of bilateral ties: the unresolved Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute and the Armenian campaign for international recognition of the 1915 Armenian genocide in the Ottoman Empire. "He did not mention or even hint at the so-called genocide claims," Gul said of Sarkisian.

The Turkish daily "Hurriyet" claimed on Monday that Foreign Ministers of the two countries Babacan and Nalbandian reached agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey and the opening of their border. Citing unnamed Turkish diplomats, the paper also said Gul and Sarkisian agreed to "speed up efforts" to form two commissions tasked with looking into the Armenian massacres and dealing with economic issues of mutual interest.

## Turkish President Says Ankara 'Making A Move' In Caucasus

In an interview with RFE/RL's Azerbaijani Service, Turkish President Abdullah Gul said that Turkey is "making a move" in the Caucasus and that his recent trip to Yerevan will "serve stability in the region."

Gul told RFE/RL that he reaffirmed his support for the peace pro-

cess between Azerbaijan and Armenia, but said that the Minsk Group, a body created by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to foster a peaceful resolution of the conflict, has "failed to achieve important results."

"Now, in the Caucasus, the stones have been moved and we are also making an effort and we are making our move. If the move brings results then we will all be happy," Gul said.

Turkey has recently boosted its regional profile, preaching a message of stability in the Caucasus. President Gul has announced plans to create a Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Pact that would include the three South Caucasus countries plus two regional heavyweights, Turkey and Russia.

In the interview, Gul emphasized how Nagorno-Karabakh is not just a bilateral issue between Armenia and Azerbaijan, but affects the whole region.

"Peace and stability is in the interest of everyone and to have that we have to resolve problems. But to resolve the problems we have to have discussion and dialogue," Gul said.

Gul also said that if there is peace and stability in the Caucasus, then all issues related to energy could be resolved automatically.

He reaffirmed his support for the Western-backed Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline, the flow of which was disrupted by last month's war between Russia and Georgia.

But he also said that Turkey has plans to "bring Russian gas through Turkish territory to the world market." "There will be a time when the current existing routes are not enough," he said.

## Could Turkey Abandon Preconditions For Relations With Armenia?

Continued from page 3

ing of the Armenian-Turkish border and the establishment of formal diplomatic relations. In that context, it is worth pointing out that Abdullah Gul's visit to Yerevan was primarily political, and the soccer match between the Armenian and Turkish teams was of secondary significance, even though it served as a perfect pretext for the two leaders to meet.

It's a shame that the Armenian-Turkish border was not opened even temporarily to allow Turkish soccer fans to travel to the game. But just the fact that a Turkish president has visited Armenia constitutes a serious breakthrough in Armenian-Turkish relations — not just from a political perspective, but also from a psychological one.

Even a few days ago, it would have been difficult to imagine the president of a country hostile to Armenia traveling to Yerevan. There is no doubt that this visit will help to surmount the huge psychological barrier of mutual distrust and tension that exists between the Armenian and Turkish

peoples. The visit will also contribute to the creation of a new atmosphere of good neighborly relations.

It is likely that the Armenian-Turkish border will be opened in the wake of Gul's visit. This would serve as a major stimulus for more active trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, and for including Armenia in regional transport and energy projects. In the long term, it would contribute to Armenia's reorientation toward the West and integration into the European Union and NATO.

Gul's visit will also almost certainly lead to a reexamination of Turkey's relations with Armenia. It is possible that Turkey will very soon abandon its preconditions for normalizing relations. Yerevan has also clearly affirmed its readiness to establish diplomatic ties without preconditions. The situation that has arisen in the South Caucasus requires decisive actions from the leaders of both states.

**Stepan Grigoryan is chairman of the board of the Analytical Center for Globalization and Regional Cooperation in Yerevan.**

















# ՆՈՐ ՍԵՐՈՒՆԴ ՄՇԱԿՈՒԹԱՅԻՆ ՄԻՈՒԹԻՒՆ NOR SEROUNT CULTURAL ASSOCIATION

## CO-SPONSOR

City of Glendale

## MAJOR SPONSOR

DIAGEO

JOHNNIE WALKER



## SPONSORS



STACY ADAMS  
COLLECTION

GA Gianni Couture

Commerce Casino  
THE WORLD'S LARGEST POKER CASINO

MISSION  
WINE & SPIRITS  
Your Destination for Sophisticated Tastes

Wells Fargo Bank

Vrej Pastry

Pacific Western  
Bank



Glendale West Pharmacy  
and  
Medical Supply



Glendale Medical  
Pharmacy

COLOR DEPOT

## MEDIA SPONSORS

amga  
Television

Massis Weekly  
Armenian Observer  
Kach Nazar  
Nor Hayastan

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

# FESTIVAL

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21 2008  
VERDUGO PARK, GLENDALE  
11:00 AM - 7:00 PM



ԵՐԳ ՈՒ ՊԱՐ  
ԱՐՈՒԵՍՏԻ ԳՈՐԶԵՐՈՒ ԵՒ  
ԳԻՐԵՐՈՒ ՎԱՃԱՌԸ  
ՓՈՐԵՐՈՒ ԽԱՂԵՐ  
ՆԱՐՏԻ ՄՐՅԱՇԱՐԸ  
ՀԱՄԱԴԱՄ ՃԱՇԵՐ  
Խորված պատրաստուած  
Moon Mart-ի կողմէ:



Sako • Robert Chilingarian • Ararat Amadyan • Maggie  
Harut Hakopyan • Armen Hovanissyan • Sokrat  
Artsrun • Hovik Krikorian • Vahe Nersisyan  
Alfred • Alen • Levon Katerjian  
&  
Vartan & Siranush Gevorkian Dance Academy