



Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun

# Armenian-Turkish Relations

Official public statements, press releases (2008-2011)

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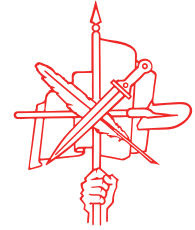
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*ARF-D calls Moscow and Kars treaties invalid, urges end to Armen-Turkey protocols*

*March 15, 2011*

*The 90th anniversary of the signing of the notorious treaty between the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the Government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on March 16, 1921, is being marked. The parties of this treaty, in violation of the basic principles and norms of international law, without the participation and consent of the Armenian party, decided to donate to Turkey the province of Kars and the region of Surmalu, and to hand over Nakhijevan as an autonomous “territory” to the protectorate of Azerbaijan.*



*In the treaty of Moscow, the clauses on Armenia are in gross violation of international law, as treaties can only pertain to the parties to the treaty and cannot create any obligations or rights for a third party not party to the treaty, without its consent.*

*In addition, at the time of signing of the treaty, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic was not a recognized state, and therefore not a subject of international law and, naturally, its government had no authority to enter into international treaties.*

*As for the so-called “government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey” representing the Turkish side, it was merely a non-governmental entity in circumstances where Turkish legal authorities existed. Furthermore, the Turkish side acted on behalf of Mustafa Kemal, who at the time was a criminal on the run, sentenced to death by the Turkish military court and the highest clergyman of the empire.*

*Thus, based on the above-mentioned facts, the Moscow Treaty is illegal and, according to international law, is invalid. Hence, the Republic of Armenia should declare that it does not recognize the treaty signed in Moscow, on March 16, 1921, and the October 13, 1921, treaty of Kars, based on the latter and forced upon the Bolshevik rulers of Armenia, is null and void.*

*Simultaneously, the Republic of Armenia must immediately withdraw from the Armenian-Turkish protocols, which the Turkish side is using to retroactively legitimize the Lenin-Ataturk criminal transaction. Also, the fact that – on the backdrop of renewed agreements of Russian-Armenian strategic partnership and the assurances of strengthening and development of the traditional friendly relations between our two peoples – during these days which mark the 90th anniversary of the signing of the above-mentioned illegal and anti-Armenian treaty, the High-Level Cooperation Council between Russia and Turkey is holding a meeting in Moscow<sup>1</sup> raises concerns.*

*Surely, bilateral relations can provide basis for friendship, if they are based on justice and not directed against third parties.*

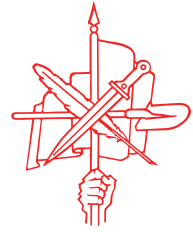
**ARF-D Supreme Council of Armenia**

<sup>1</sup> During their joint conference, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev presented Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan a photograph taken on March 16, 1921 in Moscow and depicting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of Russia and the USSR Georgy Chicherin and representative of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Yusuf Kemal Bey exchange copies of the Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood between Grand National Assembly of Turkey and Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. The Turkish Prime Minister presented to the Russian President a replica of the same treaty signed on March 16, 1921 in Moscow, and a commemorative stamp in honour of the 90th anniversary of the document's signing.

*Press Release on ARF-Dashnaktsutyun Bureau's plenary session*

*May 7, 2010*

*In recent days the Bureau of the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun held its regular plenary session. The activities of the past three months were summarized and evaluated.*



*With regard to future activities, the fundamental items on the agenda were the difficult social and economic situation in Armenia, the unresolved issues of the country's democratization and its ethical atmosphere, the internal and external attempts at drawing lines of division between different segments of the Armenian people, the present stage of Armenia-Turkey relations and the Artsakh<sup>2</sup> conflict resolution.*

*In Armenia, the party will focus its activities on internal issues, having the objective to ensure the recovery of political and state structures, the pursuit of individual and collective freedoms and rights, and of social justice, and identifying and finding ways out of the severe economic situation.*

*Particular emphasis was placed on strengthening the party's organization in Armenia, and the necessity of coming forth with concrete initiatives.*

*While appreciating recent speeches made by the republic's president – his April 22 message and his decision to halt the process of the normalization of Armenia-Turkey relations – it was simultaneously noted that the dangers threatening our national and state interests have not been fully neutralized, and therefore there can be no talk of halting the struggle as long as Armenia's signature remains on the protocols.*

*On the contrary, much more cohesion is necessary to exclude concessions on the issue of Artsakh, to organize the Armenian people around pan-national objectives and to realize radical reforms in our internal life.*

*Special emphasis was placed on working individually within different Armenian circles and in that way counter Turkey's new tactic of splitting the Diaspora. It was decided to use every available means to spoil all of Turkey's attempts at drawing in any segment of the Armenian people into a vicious trap.*

*Decisions and recommendations were given for all the issues on the agenda.*

**ARF-D Press Office**

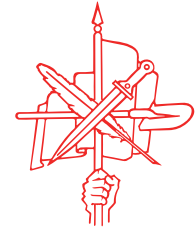
<sup>2</sup> Mountainous Karabakh

## Statement on the Constitutional Court decision

January 12, 2010

*Fellow compatriots;*

*On January 12, 2010 the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Armenia examined the constitutionality of the obligations undertaken by Armenia according to the signed Armenian-Turkish protocols.*



*Thus began the internal process of ratifying the Protocols that endanger our national interests and contradict the founding principles of our state, as stipulated in the Constitution.*

*The ARF-Dashnaksutyun had, from the start, rejected the three main points in the protocols which it considered to be preconditions aiming at: undermining the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide; legitimizing the current border between Armenia and Turkey; and linking the normalization of the relations between Armenia and Turkey with the resolution of the Mountainous Karabakh conflict in Azerbaijan's favor.*

*We were, and still are, convinced that the signed protocols contradict with Armenia's Constitution to a degree sufficient to provide the Constitutional Court with valid legal basis to consider the protocols unconstitutional.*

*While, unfortunately that did not occur, we are convinced that the mounting indignation expressed in Armenia and the Diaspora against the protocols – which endanger our state's national interests – is yielding results.*

*First, as the decision reached by the Constitutional Court also indicates, the signing of the protocols is the result of the poor performance of Armenia's Foreign Minister. Second, the Constitutional Court through its expressed legal position has set the establishment of diplomatic relations and the opening of the common existing border as the exclusive object of the protocols. Moreover the Constitutional Court did refer to the expressed concerns regarding the protocols and has provided enough legal basis for the Republic of Armenia to express reservations.*

*Specifically, the Constitutional Court asserts that the protocols are exclusively of a bilateral interstate nature and that the Republic of Armenia can not undertake any obligation concerning a third party. This in regards to the Artsakh issue.*

*On the issue of the Armenian Genocide, any obligation that Armenia undertakes can not contradict the provisions of the preamble of Armenia's Constitution and article 11 of Armenia's Declaration on Independence, namely that the Republic of Armenia supports the international recognition of the Genocide of Armenians in Ottoman Turkey and in Western Armenia.*

*The legal assertion of the interstate borders between Armenia and Turkey can not be realized through these protocols. The border issue is an open one. It can be resolved solely based on an*

*inter-state agreement to be discussed in the future, based on the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Armenia.*

*The ARF-Dashnaktsutyun, appreciating these legal evaluations, asserts that they can completely diffuse the existing dangers, if at the time of ratification, based on this decision of the Constitutional Court, according to international law, become an integral part of the protocols as reservations.*

*Fellow compatriots;*

*We can and have the right to consider that the Constitutional Court's decision is the concrete achievement of our pan-Armenian struggle that has brought together political and social organization, as well as the whole nation.*

*However, the challenge still lies ahead. By multiplying our efforts, we should pressure and force the authorities of Armenia to complete this process and to bring it to a logical conclusion.*

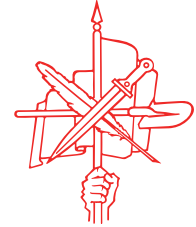
*Our final goal is to normalize Armenian-Turkish relations without undermining our national and state interests, and specifically without any concessions from our just rights and the rights of the generations to come.*

**Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun**

*Declaration on the signing of the Armenia-Turkey protocols*

*12 October 2009*

*The protocols on establishing relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey were signed on October 10.*



*On this occasion, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation declares:*

*a) Consultations, which took place over the last several weeks after the protocols were made public, although not always under free and transparent conditions, proved that there are serious concerns and great counteraction regarding these documents; that the Homeland and the Diaspora have the same approach to fundamental issues concerning all Armenians. It was made clear that the struggle for the Armenian Cause is simultaneously a struggle for the fate and development of our independent statehood.*

*b) The consultations proved that the protocols and the process include provisions satisfying the three fundamental preconditions which Turkey has put forth since the first days of the independence of the Republic of Armenia. It also became apparent that the same concerns existed in those Armenian circles who were defending the Armenian President's policy.*

*c) These concerns were finally clearly expressed by the President of the Republic of Armenia in his address to the Armenian people on October 10. The President of Armenia disclosed the existence of those very same dangers and preconditions that the Dashnaktsutyun had expressed. In particular, the President of the Republic of Armenia affirmed that:*

- 1. Any kind of relations with Turkey cannot put into question the veracity of the Armenian Genocide and the fact that the Armenian people have been dispossessed of their homeland.*
- 2. There exists a border issue between Armenia and Turkey.*
- 3. The signed documents cannot in any way be related to the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.*

*We are convinced that had the president expressed these positions earlier, it could have steered the consultations correctly and could have resulted in the refusal to sign the protocols. At any rate, this position must guide all the representatives of the Armenian authorities, as well as those who defended the now-signed protocols.*

*d) Turkey's unconstructive position during the signing ceremonies of the protocols is an eloquent testament that Turkey is realizing the process in favor of accomplishing its own preconditions, which was sufficient foundation for Armenia to refuse to sign. The scandal that occurred during the signing ceremony is a testament to the failure of our diplomacy in Armenia-Turkey negotiations. The presence of the foreign ministers of the United States, the Russian Federation, France, the European Union and Switzerland and the efforts to ensure the signing of the protocols at any cost is in fact pressure being brought to bear, especially on the*

*Republic of Armenia. We are convinced, that Armenia should not have succumbed to those pressures. It is equally unacceptable for the world's power centers to exert pressure on small nations, through political, economical or other means.*

*e) We are entering a new stage of the struggle following the signing of the protocols. The new announcements being made from Turkey are a testament to that country's objective, which is to weaken Armenia and the Armenians and to enforce new concessions.*

*Under these conditions it is necessary, through all possible means to prevent the ratification of the protocols which are a blow to the interests of our state and nation. That objective demands the widening and deepening of our pan-Armenian unity; not to open the door to any expression of national discord and to be prepared to endure potentially dangerous new developments that await pan-national issues.*

*The Armenian Revolutionary Federation is steadfast in its struggle to ensure the failure of the ratification of the protocols. For that objective, the Dashnaktsutyun will use all political and constitutional means all the way to regime change, if necessary.*

*The Armenian Revolutionary Federation is appealing to the all Armenians to arm themselves with confidence and resolve. We are compelled to prevent the ratification of the protocols with our combined powers and by doing so to neutralize the real dangers threatening Armenia and the Armenians, in the name of the Republic of Armenia, liberated Artsakh, the unity of our people and the right of our generations to live in dignity in the world.*

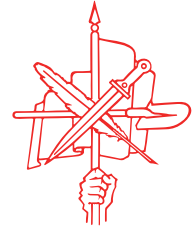
**Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun**



*Statement on publication of Armenia-Turkey protocols*

*September 1, 2009*

*On Aug. 31, protocols on the establishment and development of relations between the republics of Armenia and Turkey were officially announced. Armenia and Armenians entered a new phase, which is encumbered with numerous threats and danger.*



*The Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun (ARF-D) warned about these concerns from the onset of the political process by intermittently expressing the following positions:*

- As neighboring states, Armenia and Turkey are bound to take steps to normalize relations. However, good neighborly relations can be established between the two countries only when Turkey recognizes the Armenian Genocide and reestablishes the rights of the Armenian people. The establishment of relations without preconditions and the lifting of the blockade are merely first steps.*
- The proposal by Armenia to establish relations without preconditions is deemed a serious concession.*
- It is unacceptable to establish relations with Turkey at the expense of our state's sovereignty and viability, as well as the national rights of our future generations.*

*Based on these principles, the ARF on several occasions cautioned that Turkey was leveraging the process to benefit its own interests (impeding the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide, advancing a pro-Azeri resolution to the Nargorno-Karabagh conflict) and was communicating with Armenia through both obvious and veiled preconditions.*

*Published documents contain the well-known preconditions of the Turkish side, that is, to call into question the veracity of the Armenian Genocide and to invalidate the unwavering rights of the Armenian people. Furthermore, immediately following the release of the protocols, Turkey, through official statements, reiterated its third precondition: It will not undertake any steps that would contradict Azerbaijan's interests. This means that Turkey will continue to use the Karabagh issue as a precondition.*

*The ARF continues to insist that Armenia's foreign policy has veered from its national doctrine and predictable developments will have irreversible consequences.*

*With these considerations, during this domestic deliberation stage, the ARF will utilize all means available to expose the existing dangers within the protocols in an effort to neutralize them.*

*We call on the Armenian people and the political forces in Armenia to properly assess the Armenia-Turkey relations process with its negative consequences and, in the most unified manner, deter the possible irreversible losses.*

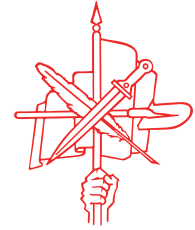
**Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun**

## Statement on leaving the governing coalition

27 April 2009

*The Armenian Revolutionary Federation announces the cessation of its participation in the political coalition.*

*We deem it necessary to explain this step in view of its political significance and consequences, and the public's interest.*



*First of all, the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun joined the coalition in order to overcome through the unity of forces the crisis facing the country following the presidential elections and the threats to the independence and security of the two Armenian states, and with the aim of making coordinated reforms.*

*During this period there were certain achievements, but insurmountable disagreements on matters of principle emerged with respect to the direction of the foreign policy.*

*It has always been our conviction that one of the main directions of the state's national security strategy is the universal recognition and condemnation, especially by Turkey, of the Armenian Genocide. This is seen not only in the context of the restoration of historical justice, but also as a way to improve the overall environment of mutual trust in the region, while also preventing similar crimes in the future. In this sense, as we have already announced, we find unacceptable and condemn the agreement by Armenia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the joint statement with Turkey, on the eve of April 24 and when the leaders of Turkey are making anti-Armenian announcements and restating preconditions for the normalization of relations. We also have principled disagreements with the position of the authorities of Armenia on certain issues being discussed in the Armenia-Turkey negotiations. We will publicize our positions regarding those issues when they are discussed in public.*

*Henceforth, in the political landscape of Armenia the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun will assume a new role, that of an opposition force. Our main priorities will be:*

- 1. To become a full-fledged alternative to the authorities, proposing our own programs and solutions on all major issues.*
- 2. As opposition to assume the role of effectively counterbalancing and restraining the authorities.*
- 3. To take the necessary actions to heal and crystallize the political landscape, to form civilized relations between the authorities and the opposition, to establish social justice and to strengthen democracy.*
- 4. To carry on comprehensive activities emanating from electoral promises, showcasing the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun's ideological and political character.*

5. *In the processes of normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations and the resolution of the Karabagh conflict, to be guided exclusively by our state-national interests and goals.*

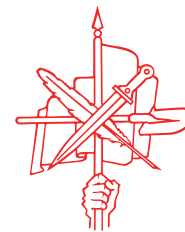
*We appreciate the work carried out jointly with our coalition partners and we wish them success in their endeavors in the interest of our state and people.*

***Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaksutyun  
Supreme Council of Armenia***

*Statement on the publication of the April 22 Armenia-Turkey joint statement*

*23 April 2009*

*The pivotal issue on Armenia's political and state agenda in recent months has been the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations.*



*The ARF-Dashnaktsutyun has declared time and again, that good-neighborly relations between the two countries can only be established after the recognition by Turkey of the Armenian Genocide and the restoration of the rights of the Armenian people. The lifting of the blockade and the establishment of diplomatic relations, without preconditions, can only serve as first steps on this path. It is absolutely unacceptable for us that relations with Turkey be normalized at the expense of Armenia's sovereignty, the viability of its existence, or the national and state rights of future Armenian generations.*

*Deeply committed to these principles, we find unacceptable and condemn the signing, by Armenia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the April 22 joint statement with Turkey.*

*The statement comes on the eve of the commemoration, on April 24, of the greatest tragedy of the Armenian people. The leaders of Turkey have recently made anti-Armenian announcements in general and on the Artsakh issue in particular, and have restated preconditions for the normalization of relations. The release of the statement at this time and in these circumstances is a blow to the interests of Armenia and the Armenian people.*

*Noting that this process implies a negative change in the direction of Armenia's foreign policy, the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun will, in the coming days, discuss the expediency of its continued participation in the governing coalition.*

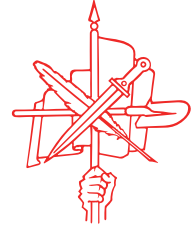
**Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun**

*Press Release on ARF-Dashnaktsutyun Bureau's plenary session*

*December 2, 2008*

*The ARF-Dashnaktsutyun Bureau held its plenary session in Beirut, Lebanon, during November 29-December 1.*

*The agenda included the approval of plans based on proposals-decisions of previous plenary sessions, the evaluation of completed activities, forthcoming organizational and public relations tasks, the discussion of internal and external challenges facing Armenia.*



*The plenary session discussed the new situation in the South Caucasus, the tasks to be undertaken by the party, its affiliate organizations and the Armenian Cause offices in defending the statehood, and the immediate steps to be taken regarding the Artsakh issue, the recent developments in Armenian-Turkish relations, and the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide.*

*It was reiterated that the final settlement of the Artsakh issue is possible only through peaceful negotiation process, where the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh is a negotiating party.*

*Considering that following the Moscow Declaration Azerbaijan has not backed down from its warmongering rhetoric, it is extremely important to continue keeping the issue on the pan-national agenda, as an issue related to the existence and security of Armenia and the Armenian people. For us, the basis of the negotiating process should be the fact of self-determination by the people of Artsakh, expressed on two occasions, through the 1991 independence and 2006 MKR constitutional referendums. The mutual concessions can only be equal, proportionate, and concurrent and part of a comprehensive settlement package.*

*Reaffirming that as neighboring states Armenia and Turkey should continue their efforts towards normalizing relations, it was stressed that thus far Turkey has not taken any positive steps. On the contrary, there are attempts to use the ongoing meetings as hindrance to the genocide recognition process, and make the relationship of the two states conditional to Armenia's relations with a third state, namely Azerbaijan.*

*In this context, it was appreciated that the highest authorities of our country are in complete accord that the recognition and condemnation of the Armenian Genocide in general, and by Turkey in particular, is one of the strategic directions of Armenia's foreign policy. On the other hand, it was stressed, that the present importance of regulating Armenia-Turkey relations should not be valued more than the rights of generations to come.*

*Decisions were adopted regarding all the discussed issues, always based on the party's fundamental policy, that the foremost issue for the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun is ensuring the independence, security and utmost self-reliance of the Republic of Armenia.*

**ARF-D Press Office**

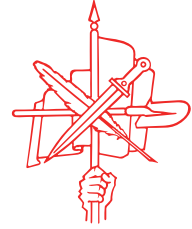
*Press Release on ARF-Dashnaktsutyun Bureau's plenary session*

*September 10, 2008*

*The Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaktsutyun held a special plenary session in Yerevan on September 9-10.*

*The main issues on the agenda were the complicated military and political situation created in the region and Armenian-Turkish relations.*

*After thoroughly discussing the internal and external challenges facing Armenia, the plenary session of the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun Bureau considered it necessary to draw the public's attention to several of the ARF-D's fundamental positions regarding Armenian-Turkish interstate relations.*



*a) Armenia and Turkey, as neighboring states, must work toward the normalization of bilateral relations. However, we are convinced that good neighborly relations can only be established after the recognition by Turkey of the Armenian Genocide and the restoration of the rights of the Armenian people. The unconditional lifting of the blockade and the establishment of diplomatic relations can only serve as first steps on this path.*

*b) The initiative of the President of the Republic of Armenia and the subsequent meetings of the Presidents and Ministers of Foreign Affairs must be followed by concrete positive steps by Turkey. The ARF-Dashnaktsutyun will actively strive to ensure that official meetings do not become merely propaganda opportunities for Turkey.*

*c) It is totally unacceptable for the ARF-Dashnaktsutyun that Armenian-Turkish relations be normalized at the expense of Armenia's sovereignty, viability of its existence, or the national and state rights of future Armenian generations.*

*d) Turkey can aspire to promote regional initiatives if it radically changes its "Armenian policy." Turkey must not be party in the Artsakh conflict; it should not talk to Armenia with preconditions, and must relinquish its policy of deepening the divisions in the South Caucasus, of blockading and isolating Armenia.*

*e) Since 1998 Armenia is pursuing a foreign policy based on national-state ideology, one strategic direction of which is the universal recognition and condemnation, including by Turkey, of the Armenian Genocide. Armenia views this not only as a restoration of historical justice, but also as a way to improve the overall situation and mutual trust in the region, thus preventing similar crimes in the future.*

*The ARF-Dashnaktsutyun has considered and considers the continuation of this direction one of its fundamental tasks.*

**ARF-D Press Office**