

Item Subject: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

RELEASE IN FULL

DECLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 ANKARA 2768 151240Z MAR 96

FOR DEPESEC TALBOTT ONLY THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT ACTION ANKARA. IT IS BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION: QUOTE: S E C R E T BAKU 737 URGENT FOR VICTORI A NULAND TALBOTT/BERGER PARTY

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1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY: RICHARD D. KAUZLARICH, AMBASSADOR, U.S. EMBASSY BAKU. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

2. ~~(S)~~ TORIA, HERE IS THE TEXT OF THE CABLE (SEPTTEL FOLLOWS ON PLENARY SESSIONS) ON THE MEETING OF THE SMALL GROUP IN BAKU. PLEASE ADD MATERIAL FROM TWO-ON-ONES. WE PLAN TO SEND THIS BACK NODIS. ANY OTHER DISTRIBUTION RESTRICTIONS WE SHOULD HONOR?

BEGIN TEXT

2. ~~(S)~~ SUMMARY AND COMMENT. IN TWO SMALLER GROUP SESSIONS AND IN TWO (TALBOTT/BERGER) ON ONE (ALIYEV) MEETINGS WE HAD A SERIOUS DISCUSSION WITH ALIYEV. WE MADE THE POINTS ABOUT OUR BEING WILLING TO BE THE HONEST BROKERS IF THE AZERIS AND THE ARMENIANS DID THEIR JOB IN THE BILATERAL CHANNEL. WE TOLD ALIYEV THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO BE JUST AS TOUGH ON THE ARMENIANS CONCERNING TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY FOR AZERBAIJAN AS WE WERE ON THE AZERIS CONCERNING AUTONOMY FOR N-K. HE LAID OUT WHAT HE NEEDED: TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY; N-K AUTONOMY (NOT INDEPENDENCE); WITHDRAWAL OF ARMENIAN FORCES; RIGHT OF RETURN OF REFUGEES (NOT ALL WOULD RETURN); "FREEING" OF LACHIN AND SHUSHA. HE WANTS THE U.S. TO SOLVE THIS FOR HIM. THE HARDLINE SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT LAID OUT A VERY TOUGH DESCRIPTION OF AUTONOMY. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES ALIYEV WANTED HIM TO DO THAT FOR OUR BENEFIT -- SO THAT WE WOULD APPRECIATE ALIYEV'S MORE FLEXIBLE APPROACH. WE OFFERED TO BE HELPFUL WITH THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS. I DESCRIBED GENERALLY MY MEETINGS WITH PRIMAKOV AND MY BELIEF THAT THE RUSSIANS MIGHT ENTERTAIN THE IDEA OF A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ISSUED IN MOSCOW ON APRIL 18 IF PROPERLY CHOREOGRAPHED. DESPITE THE TOUGH TALK AND DISTRUST OF THE ARMENIANS; ALIYEV WANTS OUT OF THE NO-WAR, NO-PEACE SITUATION HE IS IN. WE CAN HELP, BUT THE AZERIS WANT US TO HAND THEM THE SOLUTION. WE HAVE LOTS OF WORK TO DO WITH BOTH SIDES. THE TWO-ON-ONES FOCUSSED ON ALIYEV'S SENSE OF HIS DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP WITH RUSSIA AND IRAN. HE SAYS THAT HE IS PAYING PRICE FOR CASTING HIS LOT WITH THE WEST ON OIL. END SUMMARY/COMMENT.

3. ~~(S)~~ ON MARCH 13, AFTER THE PLENARY (SEE SEPTTEL),

Declassification Authority: Geoffrey W. Chapman, Senior Reviewer, A/GIS/IPS
4/24/2019

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THE MEETING THEN BROKE INTO A SMALLER GROUP.

-- U.S. SIDE: TALBOTT, BERGER, COLLINS, PRESEL,
KAUZLARICH.

-- AZERI SIDE: ALIYEV, SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT QULIYEV,
FOREIGN MINISTER HASANOV, FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR
GULUZADE AND TRANSLATOR.

THE KEYS: TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SELF RULE

4. ~~(S)~~ TALBOTT SAID THAT OUR ASSUMPTION WAS THAT
GULUZADE AND LIBARIDIAN HAD AGREED ON TWO BASIC
PRINCIPLES FOR THE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES: TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY OF AZERBAIJAN AND SELF-RULE (OR THE HIGHEST
DEGREE OF AUTONOMY) FOR AZERBAIJAN. IT IS NOT GOOD
NEWS TO HEAR FROM YOU THAT THE ARMENIAN SIDE NEVER
ACCEPTED THE FIRST PRINCIPLE. WE WILL USE THIS VISIT
TO THE REGION TO BE JUST AS EXPLICIT WITH THE ARMENIAN
SIDE ABOUT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AS WE ARE BEING WITH
YOU ABOUT SELF-RULE. UNLESS WE ARE VERY DISCOURAGED
AFTER THIS TRIP, WE WILL BE BACK IN SOME COMBINATION OF
THE TEAM THAT YOU ARE HOSTING. PRESIDENT CLINTON FEELS
SOME URGENCY AND A SENSE OF OPPORTUNITY. HE BELIEVES
THAT UNLESS YOU AND PRESIDENT TER-PETROSYAN "CUT THE
GORDIAN KNOT" IN THE COMING WEEKS THE OPPORTUNITY WILL
BE LOST. HE IS PREPARED TO USE THE PRESTIGE OF HIS
OFFICE TO HELP YOU DO JUST THAT. BERGER STRESSED THAT
IN ADDITION TO THE APRIL 18 EVENT IN MOSCOW, WE WOULD
WELCOME A MEETING IN WASHINGTON, PERHAPS SOON AFTER THE
APRIL 18 EVENT, BETWEEN PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT
ALIYEV; AND PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRESIDENT TER-
PETROSYAN.

ALIYEV'S VIEW OF STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

5. ~~(S)~~ PRESIDENT ALIYEV SAID THAT HE WANTS TO SIGN A
STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES BUT THEY MUST INCLUDE THE

FOLLOWING:

-- TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF AZERBAIJAN;
-- HIGHEST DEGREE OF AUTONOMOUS STATUS FOR N-K;
-- WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES
(ALTHOUGH THESE CAN REMAIN IN N-K PROPER);
-- RIGHT OF RETURN OF REFUGEES (ALTHOUGH THERE WERE
50,000 AZERBAIJANIS IN N-K NOT ALL OF THEM MUST
RETURN);

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- "FREEING" OF SHUSHA (WITH THE RETURN OF A SMALL NUMBER OF REFUGEES); AND
- "FREEING" LACHIN (BUT THE ROAD FROM ARMENIA TO N-K CAN BE UNDER AN OSCE PEACEKEEPING FORCE.)

ALIYEV CLAIMED THAT THE ARMENIANS ARE ONLY TALKING ABOUT THE STATUS OF N-K. THEY MUST GIVE UP ON THE IDEA OF AN INDEPENDENT N-K -- WE CAN'T ACCEPT THIS; AND THE U.S. CAN'T ACCEPT THIS BECAUSE IT WOULD BE COUNTER TO INTERNATIONAL LAW.

 "YOU MUST SOLVE THIS PROBLEM"

6. ~~(S)~~ ALIYEV ADDED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE U.S. TO LISTEN TO THE AZERIS AND THE ARMENIANS. IN THE END, HOWEVER, THE U.S. MUST BE THE ARBITER; IF NOT, THIS WON'T BE SETTLED. YOU MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THE ARMENIANS HAVE OCCUPIED A LARGE PART OF AZERBAIJAN; THAT THEY RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM RUSSIA AND ARMENIANS IN THE U.S.; THAT THEY ARE MAKING UNJUST CLAIMS. WITH EMOTION, ALIYEV SAID: "YOU MUST, AS A GREAT POWER, SOLVE THIS PROBLEM."

7. ~~(S)~~ BERGER NOTED THE COMPELLING NATURE OF ALIYEV'S POINTS, BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO CLARIFY THINGS. FOR AZERBAIJAN, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IS A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE AND IT MUST BE IN ANY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. ON THE OTHER HAND, ARMENIAN WISHES TO FOCUS ONLY ON N-K STATUS. DE JURE INDEPENDENCE IS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT THERE MUST BE SELF-RULE. WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT "THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF AUTONOMY" JUST WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

 RASUL QULIYEV TOUGH ON AUTONOMY

8. ~~(S)~~ ALIYEV REPLIED: "THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF AUTONOMY IN ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD." SPEAKER QULIYEV NOTED THAT THIS WOULD INVOLVE ATTRIBUTES SUCH AS:

- AN ELECTED PARLIAMENT;
- A CONSTITUTION THAT DOES NOT CONTRADICT THE AZERI CONSTITUTION;
- POLICE (WHEN PRESSED QULIYEV SAID THESE COULD NUMBER ABOUT ONE PER CENT OF THE POPULATION);
- FREE ECONOMIC RELATIONS (ALIYEV ADDED WITH ONE CURRENCY); AND
- ITS OWN BUDGET.

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QULIYEV ADDED THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND "DEFENSE" WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AZERBAIJAN. (COMMENT: QULIYEV PUT OUT THE HARDEST LINE FORMULATION WHICH CONTRADICTED ALIYEV ON SEVERAL POINTS -- ESPECIALLY OF THE N-K SECURITY FORCES (SEE PARA 7 ABOVE). EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT ALIYEV ALLOWED THIS TO HAPPEN SO THAT WE WOULD BE IMPRESSED WITH HOW REASONABLE HE SOUNDS COMPARED TO THE REALLY TOUGH GUYS IN HIS GOVERNMENT. END COMMENT.)

. ~~(S)~~ ON A ROLL, QULIYEV SAID HE COULD NOT UNDERSAND WHY THE WORLD WAS SO WORRIED ABOUT 90,000 ARMENIANS (AZERI CITIZENS, HE ADDED) WHEN THE WORLD PUSHED 100,000 SERBS OUT OF THEIR HOMES IN BOSNIA. HE KNOWS THAT COUNTRIES STRONGLY SUPPORT ARMENIA BUT HARDLY SUPPORT AZERBAIJAN WITH ITS 1.1 MILLION REFUGEES. THE U.S. GIVES \$300 MILLION TO ARMENIA BUT GIVES "NOTHING" TO AZERBAIJAN. WHAT DO THE ARMENIANS WANT? WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPERS AND GRANT THE HIGHEST FORM OF AUTONOMY FOR N-K. LIBARIDIAN MAKES PROPOSALS TO GULUZADE KNOWING THAT THEY ARE UNACCEPTABLE. THIS IS A CLEAR INDICATION THE ARMENIANS

DON'T WANT TO NEGOTIATE. QULIYEV CONCLUDED: "PUT YOURSELF IN OUR SHOES. GIVE US YOUR PROPOSAL. IF YOU DON'T PLAY THE ROLE OF AN ARBITER, THIS WON'T WORK."

U.S. ROLE AS HONEST BROKER

10. ~~(S)~~ BERGER REPLIED THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO PLAY THE ROLE OF AN HONEST BROKER; WE CAN PUT IDEAS ONTO THE TABLE, BUT THE U.S. CAN'T MAKE PEACE. WE CAN, HOWEVER, HELP YOU TO MAKE PEACE. TALBOTT CONTINUED THAT WE CAN ALSO HELP OTHERS TO HELP. BERGER JUST CAME FROM ANKARA (AND WE WILL BE GOING BACK THERE AFTER YEREVAN); I JUST CAME FROM MOSCOW WHERE I MET FOR AN HOUR AND 45 MINUTES WITH PRIMAKOV. THE TWO MAIN SUBJECTS WERE THE TERRORISM SUMMIT IN EGYPT AND N-K. I CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT:

-- YELTSIN AND PRIMAKOV WOULD WORK WITH THE U.S. UNDER

THE MINSK GROUP RUBRIC; AND

-- YELTSIN IS PREPARED TO ENTERTAIN THE IDEA OF HIS/RUSSIA'S ROLE IN THE SCENARIO THAT I LAID OUT TO YOU EARLIER, I.E. A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IN MOSCOW AROUND THE G-8 MEETING ON NUCLEAR ISSUES (FOLLOWED BY AN ALIYEV-TER-PETROSYAN VISIT TO WASHINGTON.)

THERE ARE DELICATE MATTERS OF CHOREOGRAPHY OF ALL OF

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THIS BECAUSE THE RUSSIANS HAVE THEIR OWN SUSPICIONS ABOUT OUR ACTIVITY. CLINTON, HOWEVER, HAS A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH YELTSIN. HE IS PREPARED TO INVEST SOME OF HIS CAPITAL WITH YELTSIN TO GET A PEACE IN THE REGION. WHEN THE SECRETARY MET WITH PRIMAKOV IN HELSINKI, HE DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE TIME TO N-K WHICH IS YET FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE EXTENT OF U.S. COMMITMENT. WE WILL BE THE HONEST BROKERS IN YEREVAN, MOSCOW AND ANKARA. BERGER ADDED THAT IN ANKARA HE HAD MET WITH PRIME MINISTER YILMAZ WHO ALSO BELIEVES THAT THIS AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TO PEACE.

11. ~~(S)~~ ALIYEV SAID THAT HE WANTED TO EMPHASIZE ONE POINT: HE PERSONALLY BELIEVES THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT TIME TO MAKE PEACE. AZERBAIJAN NEEDS PERMANENT PEACE "AS IT NEEDS AIR AND WATER." SINCE LAST YEAR THE U.S. HAS MADE A LOT OF EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD. IN JANUARY, I HAD A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THIS WITH YELTSIN AND PRIMAKOV. COMPARED TO PREVIOUS TIMES, NOW THE RUSSIAN WANT TO MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORTS. IF THE U.S. AND RUSSIA AGREE ON THIS, AND AZERBAIJAN WANTS PEACE, THEN WHO IS IMPEDING THIS? IT IS THE NON-CONSTRUCTIVE POSITION OF ARMENIA THAT IS BLOCKING PEACE. IF YOU DON'T DO SOMETHING, WE WILL BE IN A DIFFICULT POSITION. WE WANT PEACE BUT WE CANNOT CONTINUE LIVING IN THIS SITUATION.

12. ~~(S)~~ TALBOTT AND BERGER THEN MET WITH ALIYEV PRIVATELY THE FOLLOWING MORNING WHERE ALIYEV DESCRIBED THE PRESSURES THAT AZERBAIJAN FACED FROM BOTH IRAN AND RUSSIA. HIS POINT WAS THAT HE HAS CAST HIS LOT WITH THE WEST; IS ALONE WITH TWO THREATENING NEIGHBORS; AND NEEDS U.S. SUPPORT. ALIYEV ALSO RAISED FSA 907. BERGER HANDED OVER A LIST OF POSSIBLE PROJECTS WE MIGHT SEEK CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR IF THEY ARE OF INTEREST TO AZERBAIJAN.

 POSITIVE (BUT TOUGH) PUBLIC POSTURE

13. (SBU) ON MARCH 14, IN THE SMALL GROUP-SETTING BUT WITH THE TV CAMERAS PRESENT, ALIYEV THANKED TALBOTT AND BERGER FOR THEIR VISIT. HE NOTED THAT HE HAS CONVEYED THE AZERI POSITION THAT AZERBAIJAN WANTED AN END TO THE MILITARY CONFLICT; THAT THE AZERI POSITION WAS JUST. AZERBAIJAN WANTS TO PUT AN END TO CONFLICT AND ACHIEVE PEACE. IT IS PREPARED TO MAKE SEVERAL STEPS. AZERBAIJAN IS AGAINST THE RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES. ANY SOLUTION MUST ENSURE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF AZERBAIJAN; WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THE RETURN OF REFUGEES. N-K, HE SAID WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF AZERBAIJAN AND "I WANT THE ARMENIANS OF N-K WHO

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ARE CITIZENS OF AZERBAIJAN" TO LIVE IN PEACE." N-K CAN HAVE THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF AUTONOMY BUT THIS MUST BE CARRIED OUT UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW. AZERBAIJAN

STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE BILATERAL CHANNEL. THESE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS CAN'T BE JUST A FORMALITY, HOWEVER, BUT MUST DEVELOP A DEEPER CHARACTER TO ACHIEVE THE "BIG" PEACE.

14. (SBU) TALBOTT REPLIED THAT THESE CONVERSATIONS OVER THE LAST TWO DAYS WERE EXACTLY WHAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HOPED WOULD TAKE PLACE. THE BILATERAL CHANNEL IS IMPORTANT AND AZERBAIJAN AND ARMENIA MUST WORK TOGETHER. THE U.S. WILL HELP. ACHIEVING PEACE DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU AND YOUR NEIGHBORS CAN DO, BUT MEMBERS OF THE MINSK GROUP CAN HELP AS WELL. WE UNDERSTAND YOUR POSITIONS BETTER THAN 24 HOURS AGO AND LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU IN PURSUIT OF AN N-K SETTLEMENT. END TEXT

KAUZLARICH
UNQUOTE
GROSSMAN

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@INFO: D(00)

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~~SECRET~~ ANKARA 002768

FOR DEPESEC TALBOTT ONLY

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS SENT ACTION ANKARA. IT IS BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION:

QUOTE:

~~SECRET~~ BAKU 737

URGENT FOR VICTORIA NULAND TALBOTT/BERGER PARTY

E.O. 12958: DECL: 1.6 (XL)

TAGS: AMGT