



# Turkey – Armenia Manual

*Information and contacts to persons and institutions  
working on Turkey-Armenia relations*

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## **About this Manual**

Even if there are no diplomatic relations and the land border remains closed, there are numerous persons and institutions in Armenia and in Turkey working on bilateral relations and related issues. Who are these persons and institutions, what are their projects and publications and in what areas are they actively working?

This manual is meant to provide answers to these questions through a user-friendly overview introducing key people and key institutions. The manual starts with a short outline of the recent events in Turkey-Armenia relations from 2008 until December 2010. It is then divided into two parts, one on Armenia and one on Turkey. These two parts are not completely symmetrical, but in both country sections you will find information on persons and institutions regularly dealing with Turkey –Armenia relations and joint initiatives. These include:

- media, press and TV with the presentation of important journalists
- politicians
- diplomats
- NGOs and foundations
- think tanks and key actors
- universities and leading academics
- business people and associations

We hope that with this manual all interested in Turkey-Armenia relations will be able to follow joint projects, inform themselves about what is going on and get the contacts to the key players involved in these initiatives. That is why there are a lot of links where you can study in more detail ongoing and completed projects or read articles on Turkey-Armenia relations.

This manual is the joint work of ESI analysts in Turkey and Armenia with the support of Eurasia Partnership Foundation

Istanbul – Yerevan, December 2010

## **Key dates in Armenia-Turkey relations 2008-2010**

### 21 February 2008

President Abdullah Gul congratulates Serzh Sargsyan on winning the presidential election: “I hope your new position will offer an opportunity for the normalisation of relations between the Turkish and Armenian people.”

### 5 July 2008

Sargsyan invites the Turkish president to visit Armenia on 6 September to watch the World Cup qualifying match between Armenia and Turkey.

### 18 July 2008

Ali Babacan, then Turkish Foreign Minister, confirmed that Turkey and Armenia have held a series of secret meetings in Bern in May and July. (Undersecretary of the Foreign Ministry Ertugrul Apakan and his deputy Unal Cevikoz headed the Turkish delegation; Arman Kirakossian, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister of Armenia headed the Armenian side). Babacan and Sargsyan downplay the significance of the talks, however, the Armenian Prime Minister said: “There was no secret or reason to be surprised. Such contact between Armenian and Turkish diplomats never stopped. They have always taken place.”

### 30 August 2008

President Gul accepts Sargsyan's invitation to watch the football World Cup qualification match in Yerevan.

### 7 September 2008

The Turkish and Armenian delegations, headed by the two Foreign Ministers, hold talks regarding Turkey's proposal for a new regional forum in the Caucasus, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and other regional issues. Babacan tells Edward Nalbandian that Turkey supports the Minsk process for the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and adds that his country favours the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all countries in the region.

### 12 December 2008

The Turkish Parliament urges the parliaments of third party countries not to disrupt the process of rapprochement between Turkey and Armenia with efforts to recognize the events of 1915 as genocide. “Politicians and parliaments cannot judge history,” says Parliament Speaker Koksal Toptan

### 15 December 2008

A group of Turkish intellectuals and academics issue a public apology for the killing of Armenians during the First World War. The text, which has been signed by around 30,000 people, reads:

*“My conscience does not accept the insensitivity showed to and the denial of the Great Catastrophe that the Ottoman Armenians were subjected to in 1915. I reject this injustice and for my share, I empathize with the feelings and pain of my Armenian brothers. I apologize to them.”*



Shortly after the intellectuals' campaign is announced, a group of 146 retired Turkish ambassadors issues a counter-declaration. "Today, Armenian terror has completed its mission," it laments. "We are aware that the second phase of the plan includes an apology and the next step will be demands for land and compensation."

#### 16 January 2009

"We have never come this close to a plan regarding the final normalisation of relations with Armenia," says Babacan.

#### 22 January 2009

"We are very close to normalising Armenian-Turkish relations," says Nalbandian. "We can take the next step and resolve the issue if Turkey, like Armenia, approaches it without preconditions and opens the border. [...] After the border opens, we are ready to form a commission in which we can discuss issues relevant to both countries."

#### 22 April 2009

After intense diplomatic manoeuvring (with the United States playing a leading mediating role), Ankara and Yerevan release a joint statement – at midnight – stating that a road map and "a comprehensive framework for the normalisation of their bilateral relations" have been agreed upon.

#### 13 May 2009

The border with Armenia will remain closed until Armenian occupation of Azeri territories comes to an end, says Prime Minister Erdogan during a visit to Baku.

*"There is a cause and effect relation here. Occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh is the cause here and closing of the border is the effect. It is impossible for us to open the border unless that occupation ends."*

#### 31 August 2009

The Protocols on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations and on Development of Relations between Armenia and Turkey are released by the Armenian and Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministries. The protocols envisage the establishment of diplomatic relations and the founding of an intergovernmental commission to address all issues between the two countries, including a sub-commission on history.

The protocols spark harsh criticism from the Armenian diaspora, the Armenian opposition, Azerbaijan and nationalist circles in Turkey.

#### 10 October 2009

The protocols are signed by Edward Nalbandian and Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu in the main hall of the University of Zurich. Head of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Micheline Calmy-Rey, US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner, EU High Representative Javier Solana and Slovenian Foreign Minister Samuel Žbogar attend the signing ceremony.

#### 14 October 2009

Serzh Sargsyan makes a reciprocal visit to Turkey to watch the World Cup football qualifying match between Armenia and Turkey in Bursa alongside Abdullah Gul. The two presidents meet before the match.

21 October 2009

The protocols are submitted to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Turkish Parliament.

24 November 2009

The Speakers of the Armenian and Turkish Parliaments meet in Moscow on the sidelines of the Parliamentary Assembly of Organisation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC).

12 January 2010

The Armenian Constitutional Court decides on the compatibility of the Protocols with the Armenian Constitution. In the decision's preamble the Court states that the protocols cannot be interpreted in a way that would contradict Clause 11 of the Declaration of Independence, which states that Armenia "stands in support of the task of achieving international recognition of the 1915 Genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia."

18 January 2010

In a statement commenting on the Armenian Constitutional Court decision, the Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry declares:

*"It has been observed that this decision contains preconditions and restrictive provisions which impair the letter and spirit of the Protocols. The said decision undermines the very reason for negotiating these Protocols as well as their fundamental objective. This approach cannot be accepted on our part."*

9 February 2010

The Armenian President sends a message to the Turkish President encouraging him to stay committed to the protocols and move forward with the normalisation process. A day later the Turkish President answers positively.

7 April 2010

In Yerevan, Edward Nalbandian meets a Turkish delegation headed by Prime Minister Erdogan's Special Envoy Feridun Sinirlioglu and the Turkish Foreign Ministry Undersecretary. Later the same day, Sinirlioglu meets Serzh Sargsyan, to whom he conveys written messages from Erdogan, Gul and Davutoglu.

12 April 2010

Erdogan and Sargsyan meet in Washington D.C. on the sidelines of a nuclear security summit hosted by U.S. President Barack Obama. According to media reports "the two leaders agreed to carry on the rapprochement process through regular meetings between their foreign ministers." The following day Nalbandian and Davutoglu meet for a working lunch hosted by Hillary Clinton. Their conversation focuses on the previous day's discussions between Sargsyan and Erdogan.

22 April 2010

Armenia suspends the ratification procedure of the protocols with Turkey. The Armenian president states:

*"For a whole year, Turkey's senior officials have not spared public statements in the language of preconditions. For a whole year, Turkey has done everything to protract time and fail the process. Hence, our conclusion and position are straightforward:"*

1. Turkey is not ready to continue the process that was started and to move forward without preconditions in line with the letter of the Protocols.
2. The reasonable timeframes have, in our opinion, elapsed. The Turkish practice of passing the 24th of April at any cost is simply unacceptable.
3. We consider unacceptable the pointless efforts of making the dialogue between Armenia and Turkey an end in itself; from this moment on, we consider the current phase of normalisation exhausted.

*[...] During this period, I have discussed and continue discussing the future of the process launched with Turkey with Presidents Nicolas Sarkozy of France, Barack Obama of the United States, Dmitri Medvedev of Russia, as well as our colleagues in a number of European organisations. We are grateful to them for supporting our initiative, encouraging the process, and exerting efforts to secure progress. The matter of the fact is that our partners have urged us to continue the process, rather than to discontinue it.*

*Out of respect for them, their efforts, and their sincere aspirations, we have decided after consulting our Coalition partners and the National Security Council not to exit the process for the time being, but rather, to suspend the procedure of ratifying the Protocols. We believe this to be in the best interests of our nation.”<sup>1</sup>*

Foreign leaders (US, France, Switzerland, EU, etc.) welcome the decision not to fully withdraw from the process.

Turkey states that it remains committed to the process.

#### 24 April 2010

On Armenian Remembrance Day Barack Obama stated:

*“On this solemn day of remembrance, we pause to recall that ninety-five years ago one of the worst atrocities of the 20th century began. In that dark moment of history, 1.5 million Armenians were massacred or marched to their death in the final days of the Ottoman Empire. Today is a day to reflect upon and draw lessons from these terrible events. I have consistently stated my own view of what occurred in 1915, and my view of that history has not changed. It is in all of our interest to see the achievement a full, frank and just acknowledgment of the facts. The Meds Yeghern is a devastating chapter in the history of the Armenian people, and we must keep its memory alive in honour of those who were murdered and so that we do not repeat the grave mistakes of the past. I salute the Turks who saved Armenians in 1915 and am encouraged by the dialogue among Turks and Armenians, and within Turkey itself, regarding this painful history. Together, the Turkish and Armenian people will be stronger as they acknowledge their common history and recognize their common humanity.”<sup>2</sup>*

The US President does not use the term genocide.

#### 24 April 2010

In Istanbul, several hundred intellectuals organised for the first time in Turkey a commemoration for the victims of the Armenian genocide.

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<sup>1</sup> Televised Address of President Serzh Sargsyan on the Process of Normalisation of Relations between Armenia and Turkey, April 22 2010, <http://www.president.am/events/statements/eng/?id=60>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/statement-president-barack-obama-armenian-remembrance-day>

### 26-29 July 2010

In July 2010 Carnegie Endowment hosted an off-the-record dialogue meeting in Bellagio between Armenian and Turkish experts and Italian politicians to discuss prospects for furthering Track II efforts and sustaining the diplomatic process. The meeting was supported by the Tavitian Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Rockefeller Center. Although this was a one-off event, there is a possibility that a second meeting will be organized in 2011.

The event was largely put together by Thomas de Waal, is a senior associate (specializing in the South Caucasus region) at the Russia and Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment. Se Waal is author of the authoritative book on the Karabakh conflict, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War* (NYU Press, 2003), which has been translated into Armenian, Azeri, and Russian. His latest book is *The Caucasus: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2010). At the Carnegie Endowment, de Waal has worked intensely on Armenia-Turkey relations and recently published a Carnegie Policy Brief, “Armenia and Turkey: Bridging the Gap” (April 2010, updated in October 2010). He also co-authored (with Henri Barkey) an opinion piece in the *Los Angeles Times* entitled “The Truce in Need of a Rescue”, published on 5 February 2010.

### 11-17 September 2010

NATO held its annual disaster response exercise near Yerevan. More than 600 participants from 30 NATO and Partner countries participated, as did 40 observers. The “Armenia 2010” exercise was the first such exercise to be held in the Caucasus. (Link: <http://www.euronews.net/2010/09/15/armenia-hosts-its-first-nato-exercise/> OR [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news\\_66198.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_66198.htm))

In July 2010, it was reported that Ankara was considering temporarily opening the border with Armenia for passage of equipment to be used in a NATO military exercise in Armenia. <http://www.defensenews.com/story.php?i=4709430> However, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs denied these reports. <http://www.panorama.am/en/politics/2010/07/17/arm-turk-boarders/>

### 19 September 2010

A historic religious service - the first in 95 years - took place at the Armenian Church of the Holy Cross on the island of Akhtamar in Van. The event was debated widely in the Turkish and Armenian press.

<http://www.todayszaman.com/news-223398-cross-erected-on-historic-akdamar-church.html>

[http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct\\_publication\\_attachments/Goksel\\_Churches\\_Oct10\\_final.pdf](http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Goksel_Churches_Oct10_final.pdf)

### 21 September

Turkish President Abdullah Gul sent a congratulatory message to President Serzh Sargsyan of Armenia on the occasion of Armenian Independence Day. In his statement Gul is said to have

expressed hope that the protocols serve as a basis for the normalization of the relations between the two countries, and underlined the importance of establishing good neighbourly ties.

<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/15834929.asp>

<http://www.panorama.am/en/politics/2010/09/21/abdulah-gyul/>

### 25 September

Edward Nalbandian, at the General Debate of the 65th Session of the UN General Assembly said:

*"Last year, after intensive negotiations, we achieved agreements and finally signed the Armenian-Turkish protocols. We made a confident investment in a durable rapprochement, while Turkey, unfortunately, backtracked from its commitments and not only refrained from the ratification of the signed protocols, but returned to its initial language of preconditions. One needs to prove his good intentions in deeds and not just in words...Armenia is ready to move forward when Turkey will be once again prepared to normalise relations without any preconditions."*

[http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/pr\\_10/speech\\_un\\_sep25.pdf](http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/pr_10/speech_un_sep25.pdf)

### 1 October

Hundreds of Turkish nationalists held Friday prayers beside the ruins of an ancient Armenian cathedral in Ani, in the eastern province of Kars. Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, or MHP, travelled to Ani with a convoy of several hundred supporters carrying Turkish flags and chanting "Allahu Akhbar" (God is great). The MHP said it was following the example of Selçuk ruler Alp Arslan, who removed the cathedral's cross and prayed there following his capture of Ani in 1064. The move was seen as a response not only to the service held at Surp Khach church (see entry above), but also to a similar service - held at the Sumela Monastery in Trabzon, Turkey - in August 2010.

<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=mhp-prayed-at-ani-ruins-2010-10-01>

### 7 October

In an interview to the Italian bimonthly review of geopolitics "Limes," President Abdullah Gul said:

*"I myself took the first steps in the direction of starting the initiative with Armenia. The Armenian question is one that will be solved. Now, maybe, it is the moment for a silent diplomacy."*

<http://temi.repubblica.it/limes/non-ce-solo-leuropa-intervista-al-presidente-della-turchia-gul/15003>

## 12 October

On the anniversary of the Armenian-Turkish protocols (signed in Zurich on 10 October 2009), Armenian Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandian published an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, in which he wrote:

*“Unfortunately Turkey has backtracked from the agreements. Not only has it refrained from ratifying the protocols, but Ankara has returned to the language of preconditions that it had used before the beginning of the process. It seems we speak in different languages. Turkey has attempted to link the Armenian-Turkish normalization process to the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Any Turkish attempts to interfere in the Karabakh process or to link the normalization of its relations with Armenia upon its own perception of progress in the Nagorno-Karabakh talks, harms both processes. The negotiations between Armenia and Turkey were finalized by the signature of the protocols. There is neither "silent diplomacy, nor "a second season" of Zurich, nor any new round of negotiations, according to the information often spread by the Turkish media these days. The only remaining step in this long lasting process is the ratification and implementation of the Armenian-Turkish protocols without further ado.”*

[http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/pr\\_10/101012\\_wall\\_street.html](http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/pr_10/101012_wall_street.html)

## 28 October

On the occasion of Republic Day, the President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan sent a congratulatory message to Turkish President Abdullah Gul. The message states:

*“Your Excellency, I send my sincere congratulation on the occasion of Turkey’s National Holiday – Republic Day. Taking this opportunity, I wish you well-being and progress to the people of neighboring Turkey. Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.”*

<http://president.am/events/news/eng/?pn=12&id=1274>

## 11 November

The Armenian Foreign Minister visited the Indian Council of World Affairs, where he delivered a speech. Addressing President Gul’s comments on “silent diplomacy”, Nalbandian said:

*“Some of the Turkish politicians and some Turkish media outlets like to mention about it, but I do not know with whom a “silent diplomacy” is conducted. The Roman philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius’s writing, the famous Meditations was entitled "Thoughts addressed to himself". Philosophers or some emperors probably address thoughts to themselves, but diplomats address their thoughts to other diplomats if they are looking for diplomatic solutions. The only remaining*

*step in this long lasting process is the ratification and implementation of the Armenian-Turkish protocols without further ado. Armenia will be ready to move forward if Turkey is again ready to go ahead with the normalization process without preconditions.”*

[http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/pr\\_10/101112\\_india.html](http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/pr_10/101112_india.html)

22 November

An inspection team of the Armenian Ministry of Defence left for Turkey to conduct an inspection under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE).  
<http://news.am/eng/news/38930.html>

2 December

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) summit was held in Astana. Hopes of tangible progress towards a resolution of the Karabakh conflict were once again dashed. Gül told journalists that he had briefly talked to Sargsyan during the summit.  
<http://www.todayszaman.com/news-228600-reconciliation-process-with-armenia-not-dead.html>

## Part 1: Basic Facts about Armenia

Official name: Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն-Hayastan<sup>3</sup>

Population: 3.238.000

Area: 29.743 km<sup>2</sup>



Major Cities/population: Yerevan 1.111.300  
Gyumri 146.438  
Vanadzor 104.800

GNP per capita: 1.127.400 AMD (1 USD=360 AMD = 2818 USD)

Head of State: President Serzh Sargsyan

Prime Minister: Tigran Sargsyan

Political Parties (in Parliament):

*Parliamentary election, 12 May 2007*

	<b>Party-List</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>% of vote</b>	<b>Total</b>
Republican Party	41	24	33.8	65
Prosperous Armenia	18	6	15.1	24
Armenian Revolutionary Foundation (Dashnaktsutjun)	16	4	13.1	20
Orinats Yerkir (Country of Law)	8	1	7.1	9
Heritage	7	0	6.0	7
Other/independents	0	6	24.9	6
<b>Total incl. others</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>131</b>

National legislature: Constitution of the Republic of Armenia (adopted in 1995 by referendum and amended in 2005 by referendum)

Next national election: 2012 (Parliamentary) and 2013 (Presidential)

Number of registered associations: According to the USAID NGO Sustainability Index (June 2009),<sup>4</sup> the estimated number of registered public organisations in Armenia, including membership NGOs, foundations, and associations, is upwards of 4.000.

<sup>3</sup> This section is based on the Armenian National Statistical Service latest data, [www.armstat.am](http://www.armstat.am)

<sup>4</sup> USAID information about Armenia, [http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe\\_eurasia/dem\\_gov/ngoindex/2008/armenia.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/dem_gov/ngoindex/2008/armenia.pdf).



## Media

### Newspapers: Journalists/Columnists/Editors

#### Aravot



NGO called Journalists' Team for Sustainable Future, in the period of 2006-2009 *Aravot* published 350 articles on Armenia-Turkey.

*Aravot* (Morning) was established in 1994. It is an independent newspaper. Its circulation is around 3,000 and it is among one of the most and much read respected papers in Armenia. Among the printed media *Aravot* has been one of the leading papers to cover the Armenian-Turkish relations. According to a recent study funded by Eurasia Partnership Foundation and carried out by the



*Aravot* daily was founded by Aram Abrahamyan (photo), who has remained the paper's editor in chief ever since. A musician by training, Abrahamyan received his PhD in Art Theory from the Yerevan State Conservatory. After graduating he worked as a music teacher. He became a researcher at the Arts Institute of the Academy of Sciences where he worked until 1991, the year of Armenia's independence. It was then that he became involved in political journalism. From 1992-1994 he was the spokesman for President Levon Ter Petrosyan.

Abrahamyan champions liberal views, as does *Aravot*. In his editorials he expresses his support for the normalisation of Armenian-Turkish relations and criticizes nationalist rhetoric. He is a regular panellist on Armenian television. Abrahamyan participated in the Yerevan Press Club and organised an Armenian-Turkish project for journalists. He has visited Turkey. [aram@aravot.am](mailto:aram@aravot.am)

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Margarit Yesayan (left) has been a columnist at *Aravot* since 1996. [esmargo@rambler.ru](mailto:esmargo@rambler.ru)

Anna Israyelyan (right), another well-known columnist, has been at *Aravot* since 1997. [annais-1@yandex.ru](mailto:annais-1@yandex.ru)



#### Aravot Daily

Arshakunyats Ave., Building 2a, 15th Floor  
0023, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 528752 (Editor-in-Chief, +374 10 568868)

Fax: +374 10 528752, +374 10 529752

E-mail: [news@aravot.am](mailto:news@aravot.am)

Web: <http://www.aravot.am>

## AZG (Nation)



Azg was founded in 1991. In 1992 it became a daily. The paper's founding editor Hagop Avedikyan is a member of the Ramkavar Liberal Party. Since 1999 Azg has been available online in four languages, including Turkish. It thoroughly covers issues relating to the Armenian diaspora, Armenian culture, Armenia-Turkey relations, Middle Eastern and Turkish politics. It has a circulation of around 3.000.

Azg has covered Turkish-Armenian relations consistently and extensively, paying attention to Turkish domestic politics, the Istanbul Armenian community, etc. Azg often translates articles from Turkish newspapers; it also publishes articles from Armenian diaspora newspapers.



The Lebanese-born Hakob Avedikyan (photo) studied philology at Yerevan State University. He later returned to Lebanon, where he worked for *Zartonk*, the official newspaper of the [Armenian Democratic Liberal Party](#) (Ramkavar), serving as its editor in chief from 1980 to 1990. In 1990 he founded *Azg*, becoming its editor in chief. He keenly follows – and writes on – Turkish politics and the Armenian community in Istanbul. He speaks Turkish.



Hakob Chakryan, an Armenian from Turkey, is an analyst/columnist specialising in Turkey and Armenian-Turkish relations at *Azg*. He is fluent in Turkish. Chakryan's family came from Yozgat and lived in Istanbul till 1968, when his father decided to move to Soviet Armenia. Chakryan became a scholar in the Oriental Studies Institute at the Academy of Sciences, then in the History Institute, all while working for *Azg*. He is a very well known

Turkologist, often delivering lectures, holding press conferences on Armenian-Turkish relations and Turkish politics.

### **Azg Daily**

47 Hanrapetutian str.  
0010, Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 529353, +374 10 581841, +374 10 582483

Fax: +374 10 562863

E-mail: [azg2@arminco.com](mailto:azg2@arminco.com), [azg@azg.am](mailto:azg@azg.am)

Web: <http://www.azg.am>

## Haykakan Zhamanak (Armenian Times)



*Haykakan Zhamanak* was founded in 1997, closed soon thereafter and was reopened in 1999 by Nikol Pashinyan. The paper has always been critical towards the governments of presidents Kocharyan and Sargsyan. Before the 2007 parliamentary elections the paper openly supported the opposition movement: Pashinyan became a leading activist of the “Alternative” Political Movement, a grouping that included most of Armenia’s major opposition forces. Pashinyan then became an active member of the Popular Movement, which supported Levon Ter Petrosyan in the February 2008 presidential elections. He also organised and headed most of the post-election opposition rallies. When bloody clashes took place between opposition activists and the police on 1 March 2008, Pashinyan went into hiding, accused of inciting people to violence in an attempt to violently overthrow the government. He surrendered to the authorities on 1 July 2009. Immediately after being arrested he announced his candidacy for a vacant seat (in the downtown district of Yerevan) in the National Assembly. Running his campaign out of a prison cell, Pashinyan lost the by-election. (The opposition accused the government of falsifying the elections). Though Pashinyan remains in jail, his articles and op-eds appear regularly in *Haykakan Zhamanak*.

The newspaper publishes statements by the opposition Popular Movement (known as the “Armenian National Congress” since mid-2008), speeches by Ter Petrosyan, and detailed accounts of all opposition activities. The average circulation of the newspaper is around 3.000, though in periods of heightened political activity it can reach 10.000.

As one of Armenia’s biggest and most influential dailies, *Haykakan Zhamanak* attentively covers Armenian-Turkish relations. The paper’s position, in line with Ter Petrosyan’s, is to support the normalisation process while criticising the government’s way of pursuing it. According to the Eurasia Partnership Foundation’s research on Armenian-Turkish media (see below), the paper has published 230 articles on the subject from 2006-09. The news genre is mainly commentary/analysis.



Nikol Pashinyan (born in 1975 in Ijevan) studied philology at Yerevan State University. He has been involved in professional journalism since 1993. From 1994-1997 he worked for *Lragir*, an independent online newspaper openly critical of the government and its policies. In 1999 he became the chief editor of *Haykakan Zhamanak*. Pashinyan’s wife, Anna Hakobyan, the newspaper’s co-founder, covers Armenian foreign policy issues, including relations with Turkey. Hakobyan is also the director of *Haykakan Zhamanak*’s publishing company.

### Haykakan Zhamanak

37 Israyelyan Street  
Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +37410 581175, +37410 544339

E-mail: [info@armtimes.com](mailto:info@armtimes.com), [editor@armtimes.com](mailto:editor@armtimes.com)

Web: [www.armtimes.com](http://www.armtimes.com)

## Golos Armenii (Voice of Armenia)



*Golos Armenii (Voice of Armenia)* is a Russian-language newspaper whose readership extends outside Armenia, to Armenian communities in Russia, the US etc.

The editor of *Golos* is the Tbilisi-born Armenian Flora Nakhashkaryan. Another Tbilisi-born Armenian, Marina Grigoryan, is the paper's main columnist, covering a range of topics related to Armenian-Turkish affairs. Nakhashkaryan, a philologist by training and a journalist since 1971, became *Golos*' editor in 1992, one year after its launch. Columnist Marina Grigoryan, also a philologist, previously worked for newspapers like *Communist*, *Respublika Armenii*, *Novoye Vremya* (both Russian-language Armenian newspapers). She has been at *Golos* since 1993. In 2004 she temporarily left *Golos* to become the head of the Information and Public Relations Department for Armenia's Human Rights Ombudsman, where she remained till 2006. She also worked for Radio France International for six years. Since 2008 she edits the Russian version of Armenia Now magazine ([www.armenianow.com](http://www.armenianow.com)).



With the launch of the Armenia-Turkey normalisation process, *Golos* had to find ways to square its traditionally sceptical approach towards the process with its support for the Sargsyan government. However, with the suspension of the ratification process of the protocols in the Armenian Parliament and the Armenian government's critical stance towards Turkey *Golos* is able to comfortably pursue its critical stance on Armenia-Turkey related issues.

### Golos Armenii

Arshakunyats Ave., Building 2a, 7th Floor  
0023, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 529245

Editor-in-Chief: +374 10 527723

Fax: +374 10 528908,

E-mail: [info@golosarmenii.am](mailto:info@golosarmenii.am)

Web: <http://www.golos.am>

Marina Grigoryan:

Tel. +374 10 52 88 39 (office)

E-mail: [magrin18@yahoo.com](mailto:magrin18@yahoo.com)

## Hayots Ashkharh (Armenian World)



*Hayots Ashkhar* was founded in 1997 by a private owner. It is a highly opinionated (currently pro-government) newspaper with a circulation of 3.500. During the Kocharyan period it was very critical of Armenian-Turkish normalisation, but less so when Sargsyan re-initiated the process. The paper has provided extensive coverage of Armenian-Turkish relations, publishing 344 articles on the subject during 2006-2009. *Hayots Ashkhar's* founding editor is Gagik Mkrtychyan (photo). Before 1997 Mkrtychyan worked for *Golos Armenii* and *Yerkir* (the newspaper of Dashnaktsutyun, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, banned in 1995). Vardan Grigoryan is the paper's main columnist on Armenia-Turkey related issues.

### **Hayots Ashkharh**

38, Tumanyan str  
Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 53 88 65 (office)

Fax: +374 10 533221

E-mail: [hayashkh@arminco.com](mailto:hayashkh@arminco.com)

Web: <http://www.armworld.am>

## Television: Commentators/Editors

### H1 Public TV



H1 is a public (state) television channel founded in 1956. It is broadcast around the world through satellite. It provides coverage on every topic, from politics to culture and sports. The broadcasting is always in Armenian.

“Haylur” is the news service of the H1 channel. On Sundays Haylur analyzes the week’s events with in-depth discussions of the most relevant issues.



Samvel Farmanyanyan, former Press Secretary of the President of Armenia, is H1’s Head of the Political and Analytical Programs.

Gevorg Altunyan, the former host of several analytical programs on *Armenia channel* moved to H1 in September, 2010 becoming the deputy director of the Haylur news program and also having a special analytical program on the TV covering a wide range of political issues. Over the past years Altunyan has taken part in analytical programs, news reporting, talk shows, etc. A historian by training, he has been involved in professional journalism since the mid 1990s.



Artur Grigoryan is one of the most experienced TV analysts covering regional affairs, specifically Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenian-Turkish relations. After graduating from the then-prestigious Yerevan Polytechnic Institute in 1986, he began to work for the Armenian State TV Company’s First Channel as an engineer. Within a year he became an assistant film director, director, operator and news reporter. He was subsequently to work as an investigative correspondent, reporter, director and cameraman.

Known for his reporting on Turkey and Karabakh, Grigoryan is one of the best known journalists in Armenia.

[tv1news@yahoo.com](mailto:tv1news@yahoo.com)



Artak Aleksanyan is a young commentator with foreign experience. He often manages talk shows on various political and social issues and does news commentary for H1’s “Haylur” program.

Artak Aleksanyan



Haykaram Nahapetyan is an experienced journalist and a “Haylur” reporter since 2003, currently being H1’s correspondent in the USA. In addition to reporting on regional affairs, Armenia-Turkey, Karabakh, US-Armenia relations, he publishes articles in academic journals, newspapers and websites, including in the Turkish-Armenian newspaper *Agos*.

In June, 2010 Noravank Foundation published a book (in Armenian) by Haykaram Nahapetyan, entitled “Anti-Armenian Activities of Turkish and Azerbaijani Organizations”, where the Armenian Diaspora’s counteractions are presented as well.

<http://www.noravank.am/arm/books/detail.php?ID=4856>

H1 Public TV  
26, Gevorg Hovsepyan  
375047, Yerevan, Armenia  
Tel. +374 10 552751, 551953; (Central desk) 650015

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

E-mail: [support@armtv.com](mailto:support@armtv.com); [hailur@armtv.com](mailto:hailur@armtv.com)

## Shant TV



Shant TV, founded in Gyumri in 1994, is one of the most watched TV channels in Armenia. It has a very strong line-up of entertainment programmes, with shows such as Armenian Superstar, Folklore Stars, Armenia's Got Talent, as well as a range of Armenian TV series. Shant's news section has also attracted great ratings, proving a challenge – despite comparatively restricted means – for much bigger TV stations. Shant TV can be watched via satellite anywhere in the world. Shant's main news programme is Horizon, followed by Herankar (Prospect), an analytical programme where host Nver Mnatsakanyan invites prominent guests to discuss the day's main news.



Shant's other well-known commentator is Artem Yerkanyan. Yerkanyan studied Russian literature at the Bryusov State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages in the late 1980s and early 1990s. After finishing his studies he worked with a number of Russian-language newspapers. In 1998-1999 he was a freelance correspondent with ORT (Russian Public Television) in Armenia. In 2000-2003 he worked for the Russian section of Armenian National Television. In 2003 he became editor of Shant's news service. Since 2002 Yerkanyan also works as the Armenia correspondent of *Kommersant*, the famous Russian newspaper.

In addition to providing analysis on Armenia's foreign policy on Shant TV (specifically on Azerbaijan and Turkey), Yerkanyan makes documentary films on Armenian-Turkish issues. (He has produced films on Kars, Stalin's plan to attack Turkey, and the Turkish apology campaign.)

Artem Yerkanyan's contact details:

Tel: +374 10 568769

E-mail: [yerkanyan@rambler.ru](mailto:yerkanyan@rambler.ru)

### Shant TV

Kiyevyan 16, 10<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 277668

E-mail: [info@shanttv.am](mailto:info@shanttv.am)

Web: [www.shanttv.com](http://www.shanttv.com)



## Yerkir Media TV



Yerkir Media is a TV station sponsored by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. Founded in 2003, it went on air in May 2004, broadcasting in Yerevan and the surrounding regions (an audience of up to 2 million viewers). Since 28 May 2010 Yerkir Media TV has had satellite coverage on Hotbird.



Gegham Manoukyan is the director of Yerkir Media's political and analytical programming. Gegham is a longstanding member of the Dashnaksutyun party (since 1990) and a member of its Central Committee. From 1997-2004 he was a member of the ARF's Supreme Council, the party's governing body. He was born in 1970 in Armavir, Armenia. He studied Turkish philology at Yerevan State University in 1987-1993, after which he worked for *Yerkir*, the ARF's official newspaper. When the ARF was banned following accusations that it had attempted to usurp power, Gegham was among those arrested. He remained in prison from 1995 until 1997.<sup>5</sup> When released Gegham became actively involved in party politics and journalism, serving as a member of the ARF's Supreme Council, the party's governing body, from 1997-2004 and as the editor of *Yerkir* daily from 2002-2004. In 2004 he joined Yerkir Media, where he has since held several posts.

Gegham hosts a talk show "Kizaket" (Viewpoint), which airs every Friday. He often invites analysts, politicians, journalists, and academics to discuss Armenian-Turkish relations. He has also hosted several Turkish journalists on his programme and participates in Armenian-Turkish journalists' related projects.

E-mail: [gegham@yerkirmedia.am](mailto:gegham@yerkirmedia.am)

### Yekir Media TV Company

Charentsi St., Building 94  
0025, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 576512

E-mail: [news@yerkirmedia.am](mailto:news@yerkirmedia.am)

Web: <http://www.yerkirmedia.am/>

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<sup>5</sup> Though most ARF members left prison in 1997-1998, a few of them still remain in jail.

## Armenia TV



Armenia TV, founded in 1999, is another widely watched TV channel with satellite (Hotbird and Eutelsat) transmission throughout Europe, Northern America, Russia, the Middle East and Asia. In 2001 billionaire Gerard Cafesjian, a diaspora Armenian, became a shareholder in Armenia TV through his Cafesjian Family Foundation. The channel became the largest private television company in Armenia. Armenia TV produces programmes in its own studios (10 studios with 42.400 sq. feet of space, richly furnished with modern technologies), using its own technical and organisational means. Dozens of programmes, shows and news blocs air on a daily basis. Armenia TV also cooperates with such renowned international companies as Warner Bros and Universal Pictures.

The entertainment section of Armenia TV is much stronger than the political analysis section. Armenia TV owns two other TV channels, TV5 and Armnews/Euronews.

### Armenia TV Office

Yeghvard Highway 1  
0054, Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 366925

Fax: +374 10 366852

E-mail: [info@armeniatv.am](mailto:info@armeniatv.am)

Web: [www.armeniatv.am](http://www.armeniatv.am)

Gevorg Altunyan

### TV 5

Yeghvard Highway 1  
0054, Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 36 69 45 (office)

E-mail: [express@armeniatv.am](mailto:express@armeniatv.am)

## Kentron TV



Kentron (Center) TV was founded in 2002. It is owned by one of Armenia's richest oligarchs, Gagik Tsarukyan, an MP and the chairman of Prosperous Armenia, a political party currently in the governing coalition. Tsarukyan is also chairman of the Armenian Olympic Committee.

Kentron TV has coverage in Yerevan and the surrounding districts, reaching up to 2 million viewers. Its most popular programme is "Urvagits" (Outline), a talk show hosted by Petros Ghazaryan. The show attracts from 30.000 to 50.000 viewers, making it the most widely watched in all of Armenia. Ghazaryan hosts all types of eminent guests, including opposition figures. Ghazaryan has interviewed, among others, Turkish Liberal Democratic Party chairman Cem Tokar, ESI Senior Analyst Diba Nigar Goksel and former ESI Analyst Tigran Mkrтчhyan.



Petros Ghazaryan is the author and host of the "Urvagits" talk show since 2003. Having graduated in Turkology from Yerevan State University, he worked for well known Armenian newspapers *Haykakan Zhamanak* (Armenian Times), *Aravot Daly* (Morning) and *Iravunk* (Right). In 2003 he received the Yerevan Press Club Annual Award for Ensuring Diversity of Opinion on TV. A supporter of the Armenian-Turkish normalisation process, Ghazaryan has participated in most Armenian-Turkish projects and meetings for journalists.

## Kentron TV

Alikhanyan Yeghbayrneri St., Building 2  
0036 Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 391039, +374 10 393232, +374 10 349053, +374 10 396464

Fax: +374 10 349968

E-mail: [urvagic@rambler.ru](mailto:urvagic@rambler.ru)

**Politics: Institutions and people**  
**Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia**

**Edward Nalbandian**



Edward Nalbandian has been Foreign Affairs Minister of Armenia since April 2008. Nalbandian studied at the prestigious Moscow State Institute of International Relations and received his PhD (in political science) from the Institute of Oriental Studies at the USSR National Academy of Sciences.

A career diplomat, Nalbandian began working at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the late 1970s, being subsequently posted to Egypt and Lebanon. After Armenia's independence he was invited to work for the Armenian diplomatic service. He was Armenia's Ambassador to Egypt, Morocco and Oman (with residence in Cairo) in 1994-1998. From 1999-2008 he was Ambassador to France.

His international awards include the USSR Friendship of Nations award (1982), Commander of the Legion of Honour of the French Republic (2001), and the Decoration of the Grand Cross of Saint Gregory of the Holy See (2003).

In September 2008 Nalbandian and his Turkish counterpart launched a series of negotiations which bore fruit in the form of two Protocols on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey. These were signed on 10 October 2009.

**Ministry of Foreign Affairs**  
Government House #2  
Republic Square  
0010, Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 544041  
Fax: +374 10 543925  
E-mail: [info@ArmeniaForeignMinistry.com](mailto:info@ArmeniaForeignMinistry.com)

Homepage of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
<http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/>

## **Arman Kirakossian**



Arman Kirakossian is the Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister of Armenia. He headed the secret negotiations with Turkish diplomats, which paved the way for the “football diplomacy” After 6 September 2008 the negotiations were conducted at the top level by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Armenia and Turkey.

Kirakossian was born in 1956 as the son of John Kirakossian, an eminent scholar and diplomat, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Armenia in 1975-1985. Kirakossian is a historian by education. He has published several dozen articles and monographs on late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Armenian history, particularly on the reporting of the Armenian massacres and the Armenian genocide in British and American sources.

In September 1991, immediately after Armenian independence, Kirakossian was invited to join the Foreign Ministry, where he became First Deputy Foreign Minister. From October 1992 to March 1993 Kirakossian served as Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was later posted to Greece and the US. In 2005 he returned to his post as First Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister.

Tel: +374 10 544041 (ext. 309)

E-mail: [A.Kirakossian@mfa.am](mailto:A.Kirakossian@mfa.am),

## **Arsen Avagyan**



Arsen Avagyan is head of the Turkey Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a leading specialist on Turkey in Armenia. At the Ministry since 1994, he served as the Armenian representative at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) secretariat in Istanbul from 2001-2005. He has simultaneously taught at Yerevan State University. He has published 5 monographs and more than 30 articles in Armenia, Turkey and Russia.

Tel: +374 10 544041 ext. 261

E-mail: [A.Avagyan@mfa.am](mailto:A.Avagyan@mfa.am)

## **Tigran Mkrtchyan**



Tigran Mkrtchyan is the Acting Head of the Ministry’s Department of Media, Press and Public Relations, as well as an Advisor to the Minister. He was formerly an analyst for European Stability Initiative (2007-2010) and the Executive Director of the Armenian International Policy Research Group (2006-2008), where he worked on Armenian-Turkish relations, publishing several academic and op-ed articles in Armenia and abroad. He holds an MPhil degree in International Relations from the University of Cambridge (Chevening Scholar), an MA degree in Classics and a BA degree in History from Yerevan State University. His Cambridge thesis entitled as “NATO and the South Caucasus” was published as a monography by the Lambert Academic Publishers (Germany) in 2010. He was a 2006 John Smith Fellow from Armenia and a World Vision Youth Ambassador from Armenia in 1998.

Tel: +374 10 544041 ext. 356  
E-mail: [T.Mkrtchyan@mfa.am](mailto:T.Mkrtchyan@mfa.am)

### **Tigran Balayan**



Tigran Balayan is the Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has been working at the Ministry since 2002. Balayan is a graduate of the International Relations Faculty of Yerevan State University, from which he also received his PhD. He has authored several articles on Turkish-Armenian normalisation and on Nagorno-Karabakh. He has worked at Armenian diplomatic missions in Russia and Belgium. Balayan also teaches international relations at Yerevan State University.

Tel: +374 10 544041 ext. 214  
E-mail: [T.Balayan@mfa.am](mailto:T.Balayan@mfa.am)

### **Presidential Administration**

#### **Vigen Sargsyan**



Vigen Sargsyan is the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Administration of the President of Armenia. He is also a key advisor to the President on foreign policy issues, accompanying him on most of his foreign visits.

Sargsyan studied at the Yerevan State University Faculty of International Relations, the North-West Academy of Civil Service in St. Petersburg, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in the US. Before being appointed to his current post, he worked as advisor to the Speaker of the National Assembly, Assistant to the Defence Minister, and Assistant to the President. His thesis at Fletcher was entitled “Nagorno Karabagh Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: The Legal Framework”. Sargsyan also teaches at the American University of Armenia and often appears in various international forums.

Tel: +374 10 588712  
E-mail: [vsargsyan@president.am](mailto:vsargsyan@president.am)

### **Parliament: Representatives from Political Parties**

#### **Edward Sharmazanov**



Edward Sharmazanov is a Member of Parliament, the Spokesman of the governing Republican Party, and Party Secretary in the National Assembly. He is also the Party’s public representative on foreign policy issues. Sharmazanov studied at the history faculty of the Armenian State Pedagogical Institute and at the Moscow School of Political Studies. In 2005-2007 he was an aide to the Prime Minister. In 2007 he was elected as a Member of Parliament, where he sits on the Standing Committee of Social Affairs.

E-mail: [eduard.sharmazanov@parliament.am](mailto:eduard.sharmazanov@parliament.am)

## **Aram Safaryan**



Aram Safaryan is the secretary of the second biggest Parliamentary party, Prosperous Armenia, which joined the coalition government together with the Republican and Rule of Law parties. Safaryan is the person who publicizes the party's views on foreign policy. Safaryan graduated from the History Faculty of Yerevan State University and received his PhD in journalism. He worked in academia in the late 1980s and became active in journalism in the early 90s. Between 1993 and 1998 he worked at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, first as Press Secretary, then as an embassy official in Iran. In 1998 he returned to journalism and to his academic post at the University. In 2001-2006 he was Deputy Director for news and public-political programmes at Prometheus channel, which is now known as the Armenian Second TV channel. Safaryan became a Member of Parliament from the Prosperous Armenia party in 2007. He is the Chairman of the Standing Committee on the Protection of Human Rights and Public Affairs.

E-mail: [aram.safaryan@parliament.am](mailto:aram.safaryan@parliament.am)

## **Foreign Affairs Committee**

### **Armen Rustamyan**



Armen Rustamyan is the Head of the Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs in the National Assembly of Armenia. He represents the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), which joined the coalition government of Prosperous Armenia and the Republican Party in 2007. After the Presidential elections of February 2008 the coalition was revised, opening its doors to another party, the Rule of Law. The ARF, having already expressed its concerns after the launch of “football diplomacy” between Armenia and Turkey, quit the coalition on 22 April 2009 after the two sides issued a “road map” to normalisation. The ARF vacated all coalition-led posts except the chairmanship of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs (held by Armen Rustamyan) and the chairmanship of the Committee on Defence, National Security and Internal Affairs (held by Hrayr Karapetyan). Rustamyan is a physicist by training and a graduate of the P. Loumoumba Moscow University of Nations' Friendship. He worked as a scientist until the early 1990s, when he joined the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. As one of a group of ARF members arrested in 1995, he remained in prison until 1998. After being released along with most of his party colleagues, he was elected to the National Assembly in 1999, becoming Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. In 2003 (and again after 2007 elections) he became the committee's chairman. It was under Rustamyan's chairmanship of the Committee that hearings on Armenian-Turkish relations were organised in the Armenian Parliament in December 2007 and October 2009. On both occasions the views expressed were predominantly hard-line.

E-mail: [artakin@parliament.am](mailto:artakin@parliament.am)



### **Kiro Manoyan**



Giro (or Kiro) Manoyan is a Lebanese-born Armenian. His grandparents (from his mother's side) were originally from Harput in Southeast Anatolia. During the 1915 genocide they were saved by Turkish friends. Giro Manoyan moved to Canada in 1976 and studied political science at Concordia University in Montreal. From 1982 to 1989 he served as Executive Director of the Armenian National Committee of Canada. From 1989 to 1991 he worked as assistant editor of the Canadian-Armenian *Horizon Weekly*, and from 1991 to 1999 as its editor.

Manoyan currently lives in Yerevan and – though he is not a member of the Armenian Parliament – is the key spokesman on issues relating to foreign affairs and the “Armenian cause” for the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF). Manoyan is a regular media presence, often offering commentary on Armenian-Turkish relations.

E-mail: [intsec@arf.am](mailto:intsec@arf.am)

### **Styopa Safaryan**



Safaryan is a founding member of the Heritage Party, one of the two opposition parties in the Armenian Parliament. A scientist by education, Safaryan majored in geology and geophysics at Yerevan State University, simultaneously studying politics and local government at the School of Management. In the second half of the 1990s he worked at the National Service of Seismic Protection. In 1998 he began working at the Management

Academy.

In 2002 Safaryan joined the Armenian Center of Strategic and National Studies (established by former Foreign Affairs Minister Raffi Hovhannissian), where he authored several dozen articles in the area of conflict studies.

Elected to Parliament in 2007 as a founding member of the Heritage Party, Safaryan soon became the party's secretary and – as of September 2009 – head of its parliamentary faction. He is also a member of two parliamentary committees – Foreign Relations and European Integration. Safaryan's party has emerged as one of the fiercest critics the Armenian-Turkish rapprochement process and the normalisation protocols.

E-mail: [ssafaryan@parliament.am](mailto:ssafaryan@parliament.am)

## **Extra-Parliamentary Opposition: Armenian National Congress**

The Armenian National Congress is a political movement led by former (1991-1998) president Levon Ter Petrosyan. The ANC was launched in May 2008 after the February 2008 presidential elections (in which Ter Petrosyan placed second with 21% of the vote) and the ensuing violence (which saw 10 deaths and hundreds of arrests of opposition members). The ANC comprises around 20 political parties and movements. Its main goal is to force the government to step down and hold new elections. It is the strongest opposition force outside Parliament.

### **Levon Zurabyan**



Levon Zurabyan, Ter Petrosyan's former press secretary, is the Coordinator of the ANC. Following Ter Petrosyan's ouster, Zurabyan received a Muskie Fellowship to study towards an MA in International Relations at Columbia University. After returning to Armenia he became an analyst for the International Crisis Group where – among other things – he conducted research on Nagorno Karabakh. After Ter Petrosyan's return to politics in September 2007, Zurabyan left his ICG position and joined the ANC. Zurabyan often represents the ANC's positions

on Armenian-Turkish relations.

E-mail: [levonar@gmail.com](mailto:levonar@gmail.com)

## NGOs

### **Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF)**

Established in 2007, Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF) is the institutional successor of the Eurasia Foundation (EF) that operated in Armenia since 1995. EF/EPF launched its Armenia-Turkey Dialogue and Cooperation program in 2006, supporting bilateral independent research, conferences and discussions, and other types of cross-border partnership programs. Since summer 2007, EPF has supported more than a dozen grant projects to help Armenian organizations establish cross-border links with their counterparts in Turkey (EF/EPF initially acted as a donor in this area but later engaged in project implementation.)”

EPF has provided funding for Armenia-Turkey projects to organisations such as the ICHD, AIPRG, the Yerevan Press Club, Patker Photo LLC, the Analytical Center for Globalization and Regional Cooperation, the Urban Sustainable Development Foundation and the Youth Academy. EPF has focused on three main areas: (a) support for cultural projects; (b) research; (c) exchange visits of eminent journalists and opinion-makers (retired officials, academicians, etc.) to Armenia and Turkey.

In October 2010, EPF, the Union of Manufacturers and Businessmen (UMBA), Yerevan Press Club (YPC), and the International Center for Human Development (ICHD) - which have formed a quadrilateral consortium to engage in joint programming in the context of Armenia-Turkey relations- won the USAID tender with a proposal titled *Support to Armenia-Turkey Rapprochement*. The proposal foresees work on three priority areas: business partnerships, civil society, and informal inter-governmental dialogue. Changes in the operating environment will be adapted to through an open-door grants pool to support innovative ideas in any area related to the process of rapprochement. This work will span until September 2012 and has a budget of nearly 2.5 million USD.

#### **Cultural projects**

In 2007 and 2008 – as part of a project entitled “Musical Bridge across the Armenia-Turkey Border” –EPF supported the Armenian Komitas State Quartet’s visit and concert in Turkey and the reciprocal visit of the Bosphorus Quartet to Armenia. In 2008 it supported concerts (and a master class in Istanbul) by Eduard Tadevosyan from the Komitas State Quartet and Cihat Askin, a renowned Turkish violinist.

In July and December 2008 EFP and the Turkish Anadolu Kultur organised workshops for Turkish-Armenian filmmakers. These included a visit by Turkish film professionals and journalists to Yerevan.

The participants of the first visit included Azize Tan, Director of the Istanbul International Film Festival; Cigdem Mater, Anadolu Kultur Cultural Center Coordinator; Alin Tasciyan, film critic and FIPRESCI jury member; Janet Baris, film journalist; Evrim Kaya, film journalist; and film directors Mehmet Binay, Arin Inan Arslan, Seyfettin Tokmak, and Melek Ulagay Taylan.

Participants of the second visit (in December) included Cigdem Mater, journalist Lusin Dink, cinema journalist Alin Tasciyan, and film directors Ezel Akay, Mujde Arslan, Inan Arslan, Senem Tuzen, Zeynep Guzel, Eylem Kaftan, Firat Mancuhans, Sibil Cekmen and Cem Oztufekci..

In December 2008 Eurasia, the American University of Armenia and Anadolu Kultur supported a photo exhibition by Osman Koker entitled “Armenians in Turkey 100 Years Ago”.

## **Research**

### *Migration Study*

In 2009 EPF commissioned Alin Ozinian to research the situation of Armenian migrants working in Turkey. The research, entitled “Identifying the State of Armenian Migrants in Turkey” was conducted from April to August 2009 with support from the government of Norway. Ozinian’s report is available at:

[http://epfound.am/files/epf\\_migration\\_report\\_feb\\_2010\\_final\\_march\\_5\\_1.pdf](http://epfound.am/files/epf_migration_report_feb_2010_final_march_5_1.pdf)

### *Media Study*

Supported by the Norwegian government and USAID and implemented in partnership with the Istanbul-based [Global Political Trends Center](#) (GPoT), the “Reducing Media Bias in Armenia and Turkey” project featured a pair of research papers on the media coverage of Armenian-Turkish relations in Turkey and Armenia. Both papers were published online in October 2009. The report on media coverage in Armenia, entitled “Coverage of Armenian-Turkish Relations and Turkey in Armenian Media in 2006-2009”, is available at

[http://epfound.am/files/cjteam\\_research\\_report\\_final\\_english.pdf](http://epfound.am/files/cjteam_research_report_final_english.pdf)

The report on media coverage in Turkey is available at [http://epfound.am/files/gpot\\_analysis.pdf](http://epfound.am/files/gpot_analysis.pdf)

## **Visits**

In October 2009 Eurasia and the Hrant Dink Foundation organised a visit by Armenian journalists to Bursa for the second leg of the football world qualifying match between Armenia and Turkey (on 14 October). The Armenian journalists who participated in the programme included Boris Navasardyan (Yerevan Press Club), Petros Ghazaryan, (Kentron TV), Yuri Manvelyan (editor of the tert.am news website), Ruben Markaryan (editor of *Yerkir* weekly), Hakob Chakryan (*Azg*), Anna Israyelyan (*Aravot* daily), Tatul Hakobyan (*Armenian Reporter*), Levon Barseghyan (Asparez Journalists Club, Gyumri).

Two months later, on 17-20 December 2009, EPF organised a visit by Turkish journalists to Armenia. The group met with the Armenian journalists who had earlier come to Turkey, spoke with Armenian officials (including the Minister of Foreign Affairs), held press conferences and gave a number of interviews. The Turkish participants were Ferhat Boratav (CNN Turk), Kadri Gursel (*Milliyet*), Ozgur Ulusoy (*Cumhuriyet*), Senay Yildiz (*Aksam*), Ipek Yezdani (*Milliyet*), David Judson (*Hurriyet Daily News*), Bilge Eser (*Sabah*), Irem Koker (*Hurriyet*), Gokce Aytulu (*Referans*) and Markar Esayan (*Taraf*), as well as Mensur Akgun, Sylvia Tiryaki and Can Yirik (from the Global Political Trends Center (GPoT)).

On 25-27 March 2010 EPF and GPoT organised a high-level visit by retired Turkish officials and top journalists to Armenia. The group included Yalim Eralp (ex-spokesman of the Turkish MFA and former Principal Advisor to Prime Ministers Mesut Yilmaz and Tansu Ciller); Sadi Erguvenç (retired Lieutenant General of the Turkish Air Force, former head of the Intelligence Department at the National Security Council Secretariat and the Strategy and Force Planning Division at the General Staff); Mehmet Ali Birand, (executive editor of CNN Turk and Kanal D anchorman); Erdal Guven (columnist at *Radikal*); Sami Kohen (columnist at *Milliyet*); Anna Turay (Group 7 Public Relations); and Dilhan Deniz Kilislioglu (journalist at CNN Turk).

On 8-11 July nine opinion makers and media professionals from Armenia visited Turkey to discuss with Turkish counterparts the entire range of recent developments in Armenia-Turkey relations. On July 8<sup>th</sup>, the group participated in a conference entitled ‘Turkey-Armenia Policy

Discussions' and discussed the acceleration of the civil society dialogue to address the current diplomatic impasse in bilateral relations. On the second day of the visit, the group was in Ankara to meet with several senior Turkish officials: Feridun Sinirlioğlu, the Director-General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry who spoke on the current situation in Turkish-Armenian relations and explained the Ministry's vision in carrying the relationship forward; Suat Kınıklıoğlu, MP (AKP), Deputy Director of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Spokesperson for Parliament's Foreign Relations Commission, and Yaşar Yakış, MP (AKP), former Minister of Foreign Affairs and ambassador. Mr. Kınıklıoğlu and Mr. Yakış also briefed the group on the government's activities and stance on Armenian-Turkish rapprochement and answered questions from the Armenian journalists and experts.

In September 2010 Eurasia Partnership Foundation (EPF) together with Istanbul-based Global Political Trends Center (GPoT) held a two workshops entitled “*Talks on Turkey/Armenia*” for Armenian and Turkish journalists ( 15 from each country) covering history, culture, political and social structures of modern Turkey and Armenia. Turkish and Armenian experts traveled to Yerevan and Istanbul both to make presentations at the workshops and to give interviews to foreign page editors of leading newspapers and TV channels. The Yerevan workshop took place on 2-5 September with lectures delivered by Zafer Yörük (Lecturer of Media and Politics at Izmir University of Economics) and Behlül Özkan (Lecturer of Foreign Policy at Bogazici University in Istanbul). The topic was ‘Nuts-and-bolts of Turkish domestic politics: the mechanisms, the power, the party system.’ In Istanbul on September 20-22, Armenian experts Heghine Manasyan (Country Director for Caucasus Research Resource Center), and Hovhannes Hovhannisyan (Associate Professor of Theology, Yerevan State University) delivered lectures on Armenia for the Turkish journalists. Coverage of this event available at: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=armenia8217s-european-perpectives-2010-09-23>

On 7-10 October EPF brought five Turkish tour operators to Armenia for a four day familiarization tour and also held a special workshop meeting with Armenian tour operators on October 8<sup>th</sup>. On 4-9 November, Armenian tour operators and media representatives (13 persons in total) paid a return trip to the Eastern parts of Turkey to get to know the region. A workshop meeting with Turkish counterparts was held in Van on 6 November.

On 28 June 2010, EPF announced a call for proposals to produce video reports about Turkey and a series of interviews with political figures and opinion-makers in Turkey. The winning team (Yerkir Media TV) was identified and contracted in the end of July. The finalized video reports were submitted to EPF in late-September 2010. Four short films were broadcasted in November 2010 on Yerkir Media TV channel and 4 talk shows were organized following the broadcast of those films.

One of the last EPF activities in 2010 was the 3-day joint meeting (Armenia-Turkey Policy Discussions) held 22-24 November in Yerevan in which Armenian and Turkish experts wrapped up the year by evaluating the completed projects and their influence on the Turkey-Armenia dialogue process. The second and third days of the meetings were mostly devoted to the design of the future steps and follow-up activities. The participants broke into 4 groups to discuss the four major legs of the future programs, namely state-to-state relations, business development, civil

society and media, and open dialogue projects. Petros Ghazaryan from Kentron TV hosted GPoT Director Dr. Mensur Akgun as a guest on his TV talk show.

## **Eurasia Partnership Foundation Staff**



**Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan** (Country Director)

Ter-Gabrielyan joined EPF with over 18 years of experience in the private, public and NGO sectors. He was previously Senior Policy Advisor and Eurasia Programme Manager for International Alert in London and the Deputy Director of the Center for Regional Research in Yerevan. He has taught courses on politics and economics with a focus on the Caucasus and the United States at both Yerevan State University and Bowling Green State University in Ohio. He has also worked as a business consultant in Moscow. Ter-Gabrielyan holds a PhD from Moscow State University in Turkic Linguistics, a Masters Degree in Society and Politics from Lancaster University, and a Masters in Public Administration from Bowling Green State University.

E-mail: [gtergabrielyan@epfound.am](mailto:gtergabrielyan@epfound.am)



**Vazgen Karapetyan** (Associate Country Director)

Vazgen Karapetyan joined EPF in 1998 as a Programme Coordinator for the newly established South Caucasus Cooperation Programme. In 2003-2004 he studied at the Department of Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill under the Hubert Humphrey Fellowship Programme. Before re-joining the Foundation in 2006, he worked as Programme Manager with Catholic Relief Services in Armenia. Karapetyan is a graduate of the Yerevan State Medical Institute. He also holds an MA in Political Science and International Relations from the American University of Armenia. He is a member of Transparency International's Anti-Corruption Center (Board Member since 2006).

E-mail: [vkarapetyan@epfound.am](mailto:vkarapetyan@epfound.am)



**Artak Shakaryan**

Artak Shakaryan joined the Foundation in 2009 as a Programme Manager for the newly established “Mutual Bias and Objectivity in the Media of Armenia and Turkey” and “Armenian Labour Migration in Turkey” projects. Prior to joining EPF, he held leading positions at the Armenian National Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Sport and Youth Issues. He has a BA and an MA in Turkish Studies from Yerevan State University and a Ph.D. in Ottoman Studies from the Armenian National Academy of Sciences. Shakaryan is fluent in Turkish. As a Turkologist he often appears at press or academic conferences to talk about developments in Armenian-Turkish relations. He also publishes commentary on the subject on his blog, <http://www.blog.co.uk/user/sugartak/> (in English) and <http://www.turkaget.wordpress.com/> (in Armenian and Russian).

E-mail: [ashakaryan@epfound.am](mailto:ashakaryan@epfound.am)

**Eurasia Partnership Foundation**  
56 Zarobyan Str.

0009, Yerevan - Armenia.

Tel: +374 10 586095,

Fax: +374 10 586096

E-mail: [info@epfound.am](mailto:info@epfound.am)



## Yerevan Press Club (YPC)



The Yerevan Press Club (YPC) was founded in July 1995, the first-ever professional association of journalists in post-communist Armenia. (Most of Armenian journalists are members.) YPC is one of the leading organisations promoting and fighting for media freedoms in Armenia. It has been involved in Armenia-Turkey rapprochement efforts since early 2000.

In 2001 and 2002-2003 YPC teamed up with the Union of Turkish Journalists, the People's Foundation of Turkey, and the Diplomatic Correspondents Association to implement an exchange programme for journalists. It included mutual visits to Yerevan, Ankara, Stepanakert (Nagorno-Karabakh) and Istanbul, as well as discussions and media coverage.

In 2007-2009 the YPC implemented another project, “Armenian-Turkish Team Reporting”, which covered media monitoring, media coverage, workshops, visits (to Armenia and Turkey) and publications. Support was provided by the Eurasia Partnership Foundation. The participants involved were Janna Andreyan (*168 Hours* newspaper), Marina Andreyan (PanArmenian.net), Ashot Soghomonyan (*Aravot* daily), Levon Barseghyan (*Shrjapat*), Vercihan Ziflioglu (*Turkish Daily News*), Berivan Tapan (*Cumhuriyet*), Nagehan Alci (*Aksam*) and Mustafa Akyol (*Star*).

On 13-15 September the Yerevan Press Club (YPC) together with Yeni Nesil Journalists Union (Azerbaijan), by the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF), organized a seminar on “The Role of Mass Media in the Karabakh conflict and fostering regional security and cooperation” in Istanbul, Turkey. In addition to Armenian and Azerbaijani participants, there were invitees from Turkey, Georgia, Russia, Germany. Ipek Yezdani from TRT Turk presented Turkish media’s discussions about the Caucasus conflicts. From Armenia, participants included YPC, “Aravot” daily and panorama.am news website representatives.



**Boris Navasardian** is the President of the Yerevan Press Club. Having studied journalism in Rostov on Don (Russia), his home town, Navasardian worked with several Russian-language Armenian newspapers (including *Komsomolets*, *Respublika Armenii* and *Zerkalo*) between 1979 and 1995. In 1995 he founded the YPC. An optimistic supporter of the normalisation process, he recently declared:

“Maybe the first round has ended but it does not mean that there will not be other ones which may be more successful. Today we are in the phase when the difficulties which impeded the two countries to reach the desirable result are being analyzed. One of our goals will be to analyze the past one and a half years and try to come forth with certain initiatives which will help to carry out the coming rounds more effectively.”

E-mail: [boris@ypc.am](mailto:boris@ypc.am)

## Yerevan Press Club (YPC)

9B, Ghazar Parpetsi str.  
0002 Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 53 00 67; 53 35 41; 53 76 62

Fax: +374 10 53 56 61

E-mail: [pressclub@ypc.am](mailto:pressclub@ypc.am)

Web: [www.ypc.am](http://www.ypc.am)

## International Center for Human Development (ICHD)



**INTERNATIONAL  
CENTER FOR  
HUMAN  
DEVELOPMENT**  
THINK TANK

Established in March 2000, the International Center for Human Development (ICHD or the Center) is one of the best-known think tanks in the Caucasus. In 2007 ICHD became a member of the [Policy Association for an Open Society \(PASOS\)](#), a network of policy centres in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The annual turnover of the Center (as of 2009-2010) totals over 1.5 million USD. The Global Think Tank Index ranked ICHD among the top 25 think tanks in [Eastern Europe](#) in 2008 and among the top 30 in [Central](#) and Eastern Europe in 2009.

The ICHD conducts research on topics like anti-corruption, migration, economic planning, and Armenia-diaspora relations. It was the main Armenian think tank involved in Armenian-Turkish track-two diplomacy initiated in early 2000 and supervised by the Center for Global Peace at the American University (with the financial support of the US State Department). The ICHD has implemented the following Armenia-Turkey related projects.

- 2001-2003: Leadership Development and Capacity building in the Caucasus; training for 100 individuals in Yerevan, Vienna, Paris, New York, Prague, Saint Petersburg and Athens
- 2001-2002: Virtual Agricultural Wholesale Market (VAWM), exhibition (Gyumri) and website launch
- 2002-2003: Regional Economic Working Group; two conferences in Istanbul
- 2003-2004: Business Leaders; conferences and workshops in Shirak, Lori and Istanbul
- 2003-2004: Marketing Network of the Caucasus, MANEC; business consultancy website launch

In 2009, the ICHD organised a series of fourteen town hall discussions across Armenia on the future of Armenian-Turkish relations (detailed information in Armenian is available online). The project was supported by the Eurasia Partnership Foundation.

In April 2010 the ICHD signed a Memorandum of Cooperation on normalizing Armenian-Turkish relations with three partners: the Union of Manufacturers and Businessmen (Employers) of Armenia (UMB(E)A), the Yerevan Press Club (YPC), and the Eurasia Partnership Foundation.

Following the town hall meetings held in 2009, from April 2010 onwards, ICHD held six town hall meetings in Armenia taking up issues of public interest and concern to both Turkey and Armenia.

For more information on the townhall meetings and the Bridge project activities which will continue until December 2010 please visit: <http://ichd.org/?com=module&module=static&id=502>

The ICHD has two publications on Armenian-Turkish relations:

## Armenian-Turkish Track 2 Diplomacy Projects: Assessment of Best Practices



This publication discusses the successes and failures of Track Two Diplomacy projects between Armenia and Turkey since 2001 and suggests a list of recommendations for interested stakeholders.

Available online at <http://www.ichd.org/download.php?f=374&fc=Download>

## Unsilencing the Past



Published in Armenian by the ICHD, David Philips' *Unsilencing the Past* is a personal account of the Turkish-Armenian track-two projects initiated by the US State Department in early 2000. The main emphasis is on the biggest and most spoken-about project of that period, the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC). The presentation of the Armenian translation of the book in Yerevan took place on 4 February 2010.

TARC was founded in 2001 July in Geneva, with oversight of its activities entrusted to David Philips, a State Department official with experience in track two diplomacy in Turkey and Cyprus. The core of the commission's work consisted of meetings and heated discussions on border opening, and economic and cultural relations. It was the issue of the Armenian genocide, however, that proved most divisive, undermining progress at nearly every turn.

Members of TARC were:

Gunduz Aktan (Ankara), Ustun Erguder (Istanbul), Sadi Erguvenc (Istanbul), Ozdem Sanberk (Istanbul), Ilter Turkmen (Istanbul), Alexander Arzoumanian (Yerevan), David Hovhannissian (Yerevan), Van Z. Krikorian (New York) and Andranik Migranian (Moscow).

The Armenian version of the book is available at:

<http://www.ichd.org/download.php?f=387&fc=Download>

For a review of the book, go to

[http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=322&debate\\_ID=2&slide\\_ID=22](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=322&debate_ID=2&slide_ID=22)

The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the ICHD is former Prime Minister Armen Darbinyan. Tevan Poghosyan the ICHD's Executive Director since its establishment in 2000.



In 2001 Poghosyan also became executive director of the Armenian Atlantic Association. In 2002 he started lecturing on Conflict Management and Leadership at the Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University. From 1997 to 1999 he served as Director of the Nagorno Karabakh Public Affairs Office in the US. From 1996 till 1997 he worked at the Central Bank of Armenia. Poghosyan graduated from the Political Science Department of the American University of Armenia in 1996 and from the Computer Science Department of Yerevan State Engineering University in 1994. The Armenian-Turkish border,

Poghosyan recently remarked, “is more than about Turkey-Armenia; it will be a route opening up to the region.”<sup>6</sup> E-mail: [tpoghosyan@ichd.org](mailto:tpoghosyan@ichd.org)

**International Center for Human Development**

19 Sayat Nova Ave.,  
0001, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 582638, +374 10 528321

Fax: +374 10 527082

E-mail: [mail@ichd.org](mailto:mail@ichd.org)

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<sup>6</sup>ESI Interview with Tevan Poghosyan

## Center for Proposing Non-Traditional Conflict Resolution Methods (CCPNTCRM)



CCPNTCRM was founded in December 1999 and registered as an NGO in 2001. Its activities are focused on the six countries of the wider Caucasian region: Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Turkey and Iran. The Center has been examining the principal causes of the conflicts in the Caucasus and seeks to find ways to prevent them. It has advanced its mission through (a) regional integration and peace-building initiatives and (b) regional economic cooperation (business and conflict) initiatives.

CCPNTCRM was one of the organisers of the 2002 Mayors of the Region project, which saw mayors from Turkey (Kars, Erzurum, Iğdir and Artvin), Armenia (Gyumri, Vanadzor, Ijevan and Artik) Azerbaijan (Gyanja, Aghstava and Ghazakh) and Georgia (Ninotsminda, Akhalkalaki, Akhaltsekha and Marneuli) attend meetings, discussions and training seminars in Kars and Gyumri.

In 2007 the Center's representatives participated in the Kars Forum, showcasing cheese and fish from Armenia (Gyumri). CCPNTCRM later implemented a project called "Caucasian Cheese", organising a cheese exhibition in Gyumri in May 2008. The fair was attended by cheese producers from Turkey, Azerbaijan, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno Karabakh, Armenia and Georgia. The Caucasian Cheese, produced in Kars and Gyumri, is sold in limited quantities in Turkey (Kars), Georgia (Tbilisi, Javakheti) and Armenia (Gyumri, Yerevan).



Artyush Mkrtychyan (in the photo with the "Peace Cheese" producers), formerly an adviser to the Prime Minister of Armenia and since 1999 the Executive Director of CCPNTCRM, has been actively involved in promoting reconciliation and normalisation with Turkey. Mkrtychyan studied at the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute, the Gyumri branch of the Yerevan Economics Institute and attended the Tbilisi Arts Academy. In the 1980s and early 1990s he worked in the industrial sector. In 1994 he co-founded the Style

Arts Museum, Armenia's first private fine arts museum. In 1999 he became Executive Director of the Gyumri Development Foundation.



Mkrtychyan has published articles on conflict resolution and conflict prevention. He has also participated in many bilateral projects with Turkey, including businessmen's forums, journalist exchanges, student visits, and the joint cheese production initiative.

E-mail: [gdf@web.am](mailto:gdf@web.am),

Web: [caucasuscenter@web.am](http://caucasuscenter@web.am)

CCPNTCRM has organised (or participated in) the following Armenia-Turkey related initiatives:

- December 2001 - November 2002: “Virtual Agricultural Wholesale Market and Fair” sponsored by American University, Center for Global Peace
- March - May 2003: “Peace at home, peace in the world” training sessions for teachers and schoolchildren in Gyumri, sponsored by the US Embassy
- September 2003 - December 2003: “Friendly Caucasus 1” training for Armenian, Turkish, Azeri journalists, sponsored by ICCO-Interchurch Organisation for Development Co-operation
- May - December 2004: “Friendly Caucasus 2” training for Armenian, Turkish, Azeri and Georgian journalists and NGO leaders, sponsored by the Council of Europe’s Confidence Building Measures programme
- 2004: “Caucasus Business Directory”, sponsored by American University - Center for Global Peace
- 2007: Business Forum, Kars
- 2007: “We are in the Same Boat”, European Youth Foundation, study camp for Armenian, Azerbaijani, Georgian and Turkish disabled young people from orphanages
- 2008: European Youth Foundation, Contact Making and Information seminars for Armenian and Turkish Youth Leaders and Youth Workers
- 2008-2009: Caucasian Cheese, US Embassy in Armenia, International Alert
- 2008: Caucasian Cheese presentations in Yerevan, Tbilisi, Gyumri, Kars, King’s College London (Caucasus Business and Development Network), European Security Institute (CBDN), various European embassies in Ankara (CBDN)
- 2009-2010: Caucasian Bouquet of Wines, US Embassy in Yerevan, International Alert
- 2010: “Cheese Diplomacy”, enlarging public dialogue and cooperation space in the Caucasian region with new players in the peace process, Black Sea Trust

See the 22 May 2008 article on the Caucasian Cheese (“Cheese and Politics”) in *The Economist* [http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?Story\\_ID=E1\\_TTQTNJNV](http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?Story_ID=E1_TTQTNJNV)

**Caucasian Center for Proposing Non-Traditional Conflict Resolution Methods (CCPNTCRM)**

12 Gai Street  
3104, Gyumri - Armenia

Tel: +374 312 46044

Fax: +374 312 46044

E-mail: [caucasuscenter@web.am](mailto:caucasuscenter@web.am)

## **Armenian International Policy Research Group (AIPRG)**



The Armenian International Policy Research Group (AIPRG) is an NGO that researches and encourages the discussion of public policy issues in Armenia. AIPRG targets research in areas of economic and public policy critical for Armenia's development.

AIPRG reaches out to its target audiences through many programmes and activities. The Group organises conferences and workshops, engages in research through grant programmes, supports public-private sector debate, publishes an academic journal, and disseminates relevant research.

In 2006-07 AIPRG took up the issue of the economic consequences of the Armenian-Turkish border opening by supporting research projects and holding discussion events. In January 2007 the research findings and other papers were presented at an AIPRG-organised international conference entitled "Social-Economic Consequences of opening Armenia-Turkey Border". All papers are available online at: <http://www.aiprg.net/en/content/29/#Turkey-Armenia>

In December 2006 AIPRG held meetings with TESEV at the Caucasus Research Resources Center (CRRC) in Yerevan to discuss the obstacles to Armenia-Turkey normalisation.

In 2007 AIPRG presented the findings of its research in Armenia (in the border regions) and in Turkey (in Istanbul and Ankara, in cooperation with ARI Movement and the TABDC). The Turkish press covered the AIPRG visit quite thoroughly (see [http://www.aiprg.net/UserFiles/File/Media\\_reactions.pdf](http://www.aiprg.net/UserFiles/File/Media_reactions.pdf))

Arman Gabrielyan is the Executive Director of the AIPRG. Konstantin Atanesyan is one of the founding members of the AIPRG and a member of the Board of Directors.

### **Armenian International Policy Research Group (AIPRG) - Washington DC**

P.O. Box 28179

Washington, DC 20038-9998 - USA

Tel: +1 202 458-2589, +1 202 623-4327;

Fax: +1 202 522-3124

E-mail: [info@aiprg.net](mailto:info@aiprg.net);

### **Armenian International Policy Research Group (AIPRG) - Yerevan**

Armenian State University of Economics, Room 202

128 Nalbandyan Str

25, Yerevan - Armenia

E-mail: [arman.gabrielyan@yahoo.com](mailto:arman.gabrielyan@yahoo.com)

Konstantin Atanesyan

Senior Evaluation Officer, IEGCR

Tel: +1 202 458-2589

Fax: +1 202 522-3124

E-mail: [katanesyan@worldbank.org](mailto:katanesyan@worldbank.org)

Web: [www.worldbank.org/IEG](http://www.worldbank.org/IEG)



# Caucasus Center of Peace-Making Initiatives (CCPMI)



The Caucasus Center of Peace-Making Initiatives (CCPMI) is best known for its Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Azerbaijani film festivals. CCPMI was established in 1997 in Yerevan and officially registered in 2002. It aims to consolidate social demand for peace and restoration of good-neighbourly relations in the South Caucasus and to promote the settlement of “frozen” conflicts on the basis of human rights and freedoms. CCPMI organises public awareness activities, discussions, meetings, conferences and performances.

## First and Second "23,5" Turkish Films Festivals in Armenia

CCPMI has organised Turkish Film Festivals in Armenia in 2009 and in 2010. In March 2009 the “23.5” festival was held at the “Moscow” cinema in the heart of Yerevan. The festival featured 7 Turkish short films in the animation, theatre and documentary genres (these were shown together, lasting over 90 minutes). The event was sponsored by the British Embassy in Yerevan.



The second festival was organised on 25-27 March 2010. It received support from the British Embassy in Yerevan, the Turkish-Armenian weekly *Agos* was a media supporter of the project. Seventy-seven short films were submitted from Turkish cities ranging from Ankara to Izmir for inclusion in the 2010 festival – ten were chosen and featured (with Armenian sub-titles or English voiceovers). The Festival was held at the Business Center of the American University in Armenia.



Earlier in February 2008 Georgi Vanyan (see below) had attempted to organise the first ever Turkish film festival in Armenia. The would-be organiser, the Center of Peace-Making Initiatives, faced organisational and political difficulties, however, and was unable to realize the event.

### **Master class**

In 2007 December CCPMI organised a master class by Nursun Erel from the *New Anatolian* for Armenian students of journalism. (Erel is a former adviser to Prime Minister Tansu Ciller.) Each of the classes – one four-hour class per day over seven days – was attended by 40 students. CCPMI arranged interviews for Erel with the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun), the Foreign Affairs Minister and a number of Armenian activists. Erel was interviewed live on Shant TV.

### **Georgi Vanyan**



Georgi Vanyan is the chairman of the Caucasus Center of Peace-Making Initiatives. Born in Azerbaijan, Vanyan studied theatre acting and drama in Yerevan. From 1984 till 1994 he worked in the Yerevan State Theatre of Pantomime, the “Yerevan” theatre studio and Armen Film productions. In 1997 he moved to the field of education, becoming a principal at a school in Yerevan, where he remained until 2005. In February 1998 Vanyan became a member of Nor Ughi (A New Way), a political party. A

year later he became party board member and vice president. During the 1998 presidential primaries he ran the campaign headquarters for presidential candidate (and former Education Minister) Ashot Bleyan. In 2002 Vanyan quit politics, becoming a member of the CCPMI founders’ board. He is now chairman of the Center. E-mail: [vanyan@southcaucasus.com](mailto:vanyan@southcaucasus.com)

### **Caucasus Center of Peacemaking Initiatives (CCPMI)**

Apt. 53, 14 Shinararneri Street  
0038, Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 91 401459 (Armenia), +995 99 753754 (Georgia)

E-mail: [ccpmiam@yahoo.com](mailto:ccpmiam@yahoo.com), [info@southcaucasus.com](mailto:info@southcaucasus.com), [vanyan@southcaucasus.com](mailto:vanyan@southcaucasus.com)

Web: [www.southcaucasus.com](http://www.southcaucasus.com)

### **Civil Society Institute (CSI)**



Though not known for conducting research on Armenian-Turkish relations or implementing any large-scale projects in the field, the Civil Society Institute has promoted dialogue between Armenian and Turkish civil societies. Established in 1998 (as the Civil Society Development Union), CSI is the Armenian member

organisation of the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH).

On 14-15 March 2009 CSI and the Ankara-based Civil Society Development Center organised the Armenia-Turkey NGO Forum, a two-day meeting of 50 representatives from Turkish and Armenian NGOs. The event was organised with the support of the British Embassy in Turkey.

CSI often organises lectures and presentations on Armenian-Turkish relations, as well as meetings with professors, media or civil society activists. Examples include:

- 25 May 2010; CSI hosted Styopa Safaryan, Head of the Heritage party's parliamentary faction, to talk about the foreign policy of Turkey and the Armenian-Turkish protocols. There was a discussion about the interests and the role of the neighboring states and superpowers in the region.
- 10 May 2010: a lecture on "Turkey's foreign policy in 2009" by Turkologist Artak Shakaryan. The presentation touched on the major principles of Turkish foreign policy, the Armenian genocide, Turkey's domestic politics, and the Turkish-Armenian border.
- December 2009: a meeting between senior pupils of the Aregnazan School and Burcu Becermen, a representative of the Istanbul-based International Hrant Dink Foundation.
- 2 December 2009: a meeting between representatives of more than 20 Armenian NGOs and members of the Dink Foundation.
- 11 December 2008: a meeting with Sergey Harutyunyan, an expert from the Political Development Research Center. Harutyunyan talked about Kemal Ataturk's doctrine, the evolution of Turkish foreign policy, Turkey's relations with its neighbours, and Turkey-EU affairs.
- 4 December 2008: a discussion on the memory of genocide as a factor in Turkish and Armenian politics with Harutyun Marutyan, a leading researcher at the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia.
- 19 May 2008: "Armenia and Turkey: Regional Interests in the light of European Integration Processes", a debate on Armenia-Turkey relations. The seminar brought together experts from Turkey and Armenia, professors, and students. It featured remarks and presentations by Stepan Grigoryan (the head of the Analytical Center for Globalization and Regional Cooperation), Naira Gevorgyan (the local representative of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Diba Nigar Goksel (analyst at European Stability Initiative and editor of *Turkish Policy Quarterly*), Cem Toker (leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party, Turkey), Arda Batu (member of the board of the ARI Movement and faculty member of Yeditepe University, Turkey), and Karen Nahapetyan (professor at Yerevan State University).
- 26 September - 2 October 2008: a seminar on conflict transformation for students and graduates of international relations and political science from Armenia and Turkey. The meeting also featured discussions on Armenian-Turkish relations with Arman Kirakosian (Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister), Kiro Manoyan (head of the International Secretariat of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation), Charles Lonsdale (UK Ambassador to Armenia), and Armen Martirosyan (head of the Heritage Party). The participating students also took part in a round table on "The perspectives of opening the Armenian-Turkish border" at the Armenian Center for National and International Studies.
- December 2007: conference on the impact of opening the Turkish-Armenian border. CSI hosted representatives from the Armenian International Policy Research Group, who presented their research on the social and economic consequences of opening the border. The meeting, attended by students, journalists and academics (as well as Sefa Kaplan from *Hurriyet*) also featured discussions of Armenian-Turkish relations.
- April 2007: a discussion (organised in cooperation with the Dilijan youth club) on the issue of the Armenian genocide and relations with Turkey. The guest lecturer was Tigran Zakaryan from the Genocide Institute.

**Civil Society Institute**  
Aygestan 11th str., 43 building  
Yerevan, Armenia

Tel: (+37410) 574317

Fax: (+37410) 559634

E.mail: [csi@csi.am](mailto:csi@csi.am)

Web: [www.csi.am](http://www.csi.am)

## Caucasus Institute (CI)



The Caucasus Institute is both a post-graduate institute (university) and think-tank. In the area of education the Institute organises post graduate (one year MA) courses in journalism and political science. As a think tank it provides a forum for debate and conducts research and consultancy on the Caucasus and its development. Its publications, disseminated throughout the Caucasus and the former USSR, provide an insight into the problems of the region.

The Caucasus Institute is a grant-based institution. It has received funding from the UNDP, the Eurasia Foundation, OSI, the Council of Europe, the Heinrich Boll Foundation, as well as regional embassies of EU countries.

CI has been involved in Armenia-Turkey projects for several years. Along with the Heinrich Boll Foundation it has organised student exchanges with schools in Poland (ten students for 2 weeks) and Turkey (3 students for one week). CI Director Alexander Iskandaryan is often invited to Turkey – to Bilgi and Bosphorus universities in Istanbul, specifically – as a guest lecturer.



Alexander Iskandaryan (photo), one of the best known experts on Caucasus politics, often appears in the media to deliver commentary on current trends in regional, international and local politics. During the Soviet era he studied and lived in Moscow. He was a deputy director of the Caucasus Studies Center at the Academy of Sciences.

E-mail: [iskand@caucasusinstitute.org](mailto:iskand@caucasusinstitute.org)



Sergey Minasyan has headed the Caucasus Institute's Political Studies Department since March 2006. Minasyan studied at the International Relations Department of Yerevan State University. He is a political scientist and holds a PhD in History, having written his thesis on the military history of Armenia. His numerous publications focus on regional security and conflicts in the South Caucasus. Since 2002 he has lectured on the theory of international relations and regional security at various institutes and universities in

Armenia. He often appears in the media and makes presentations on Armenian-Turkish relations and the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

E-mail: [sergey@caucasusinstitute.org](mailto:sergey@caucasusinstitute.org)

The Caucasus Institute has held several roundtable discussions and workshops on Armenia-Turkey relations since 2006, featuring eminent academics, journalists and civil society representatives from Armenia and Turkey.

## *Caucasus Institute Projects, Conferences, and Roundtables on Armenia-Turkey Relations*

*14-17 October 2010: Caucasus Institute was the partner of Heinrich Boll Foundation in the first meeting of 'Ani Dialogue' held in Yerevan.*



The Ani Dialogue was established by the South Caucasus and Turkey offices of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the Caucasus Institute and aims to support the dialogue process between Turkey and Armenia. Within the frames of this project, the Caucasus Institute organized a workshop and meeting between Turkish and Armenian civil society representatives.

The project was named after the ancient Armenian capital Ani which is situated in the territory of Turkey and on the border of Armenia. In reference to similar formats like the Petersburg Dialogue, the Ani Dialogue aims at supporting the rapprochement of Armenia and Turkey from a bottom-up perspective. It is supposed to become a permanent forum, where representatives of the civil society of Armenia and Turkey can meet and talk about cross border problems, challenges and possible cooperation. The project's aim is also to shape regional policy making in the states of the Southern Caucasus in the discussed fields of socio economic development, culture, environment and human rights.

During the first Ani Dialogue Meeting in Yerevan from 13th to 17th October 2010, altogether 40 civil society representatives from Armenia and Turkey worked together on the topics of

- Research and Academics + Education
- Journalism and Media
- Culture and Heritage
- Environment
- Human Rights and Democratization

The Ani Dialogue's participants involve such names as writer Mıgırdiç Margosyan, Bianet coordinator Ertuğrul Kürkçü, photojournalist Özcan Yurdalan, the Human Rights Foundation's Coşkun Üsterci, the Helsinki Citizens Assembly's Emel Kurma and researcher Alin Ozinian. There are also journalists and young people from academic and civil platforms of both countries. They are participating in workshops in their areas of specialization to develop joint projects. Participation in the events within the Ani Dialogue is open to representatives of the civil society in Armenia or Turkey, who are interested and already engaged in the dialogue process between Armenia and Turkey.

The website of the Ani Dialogue as well as the call for papers are available in Armenian, Turkish and English: <http://ani-dialogue.eu/index.html>

28 May 2010: Caucasus Institute in cooperation with TESEV organized a conference revolving around questions such as “Turkey-Armenia Rapprochement: Quo vadis?” and “Will Challenges Halt Rapprochement?” in Istanbul. The conference also discussed the publication “Turkey-Armenia Dialogue Series: Assessing the Rapprochement Process” authored by Aybars Görgülü, Alexander Iskandaryan and Sergey Minasyan. (link to the publication <http://caucasusinstitute.org/upload/files/CI-TESEV-2010.pdf>)

21-22 May 2010; The “Caucasus 2009” International Conference was held in Yerevan by the Caucasus Institute. From Turkey, Mitat Çelikpala (TOBB University of Economics and Technologies, Ankara) delivered a speech.

27 April 2010: a presentation of CI’s policy brief on “Armenia and the Armenians, Turkey and the Turks in Armenian Media Coverage”. The roundtable started with a presentation by the head of the research team, Hrant Mikaelyan, followed by a discussion of Armenian-Turkish relations.

5 March 2010: “Turkey-Armenia Dialogue Series; Assessing the Rapprochement Process”, a roundtable organised in collaboration with the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV).

3 October 2008: “Armenian-Turkish Diplomacy: The View from Turkey and Implications for Turkish-Azerbaijani relations”, featuring Richard Giragosian, an analyst from Jane’s Information Group, and Alexander Iskandaryan, Director of the Caucasus Institute.

10 June 2008: “Turkey’s European Integration and Armenia” roundtable, supported by the South Caucasus Bureau of the Heinrich Boll Foundation. The discussion – featuring Ralf Fucks, Co-President of the Heinrich Boll Foundation and Ruben Safrastyan, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies – focused on the development of Turkey’s relationship with EU countries and its impact on Ankara’s relations with the Southern Caucasus.

16-18 March 2008: Armenian-Turkish Student Exchange. CI students Angelina Haroutyunyan and Nikolay Torosyan travelled to Turkey in the framework of a project run by the CI and the Heinrich Boll Foundation. In Turkey, the students visited Bosphorus University, Galatasaray University and the editorial office of Agos, and met with representatives of the Helsinki Association.

29 November 2007: “Turkey after the Presidential Election: Institutional Change and Internal Transformation”, a lecture by Ruben Safrastyan. Discussion focused on the transformation of Turkey’s political system; the emergence of a civil society; a decreasing role of the military in Turkey’s political life; the impact of domestic political change in Turkey on regional politics and economics; and the perception of Turkey by the Armenian public and political elites.

### ***Caucasus Institute Workshops on Armenia-Turkey***

21 November 2008: “Turkey-Armenia Dialogue Series: Breaking the vicious cycle”, a workshop on the current state of affairs and the obstacles in Turkey-Armenia relations.

1-4 August 2008: “Caucasus Neighbourhood; Turkey and the South Caucasus”, international conference in Istanbul. The conference brought together policy experts and NGO representatives from Turkey and the countries and unrecognized entities of the South Caucasus.

## **Publications**

Turkey-Armenia Dialogue Series (together with TESEV)

Aybars Gorgulu, Alexander Iskandaryan and Sergey Minasyan, “Assessing the Rapprochement Process”, Working Paper, May 2010,

[http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD\\_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/ERM\\_Ass.%20the%20Rap.%20Process\\_2010.pdf](http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/ERM_Ass.%20the%20Rap.%20Process_2010.pdf)

“Breaking the Vicious Circle”, TESEV-Caucasus Institute Joint Report, Istanbul, April 2009.

[http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD\\_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/TESEV-CI%20Turkey%20Armenia%20Rapor.pdf](http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/TESEV-CI%20Turkey%20Armenia%20Rapor.pdf)



A. Iskandaryan (ed), “Caucasus Neighbourhood: Turkey and the South Caucasus”, 2008 (in Russian and English). The volume focuses on the roles played by Turkey and the countries and unrecognized entities of the South Caucasus in regional integration and the management of local ethno-political conflicts.

## **Caucasus Institute**

39 Yeznik Koghbatsi  
0010 Yerevan, Armenia

Tel: 00 374 10 54 06 31, 54 06 32

Fax: 00 374 10 54 06 32

E-mail: [contact@caucasusinstitute.org](mailto:contact@caucasusinstitute.org)

Web: [www.caucasusinstitute.org](http://www.caucasusinstitute.org)



## Civilitas Foundation



Civilitas Foundation is an NGO founded by former Foreign Affairs Minister Vardan Oskanian. The Director of the Foundation is Salpi Ghazaryan, a former special assistant to Minister Oskanian. The Foundation has two programme areas: the Council on International Relations and the Democracy and Development Initiative.

Through the Council on International Relations, Civilitas highlights Armenia's role in global and regional processes. The Development and Democracy Initiative leverages domestic, international and diaspora resources to affect change in Armenia. In its support of democratization, Civilitas focuses on education and media. In promoting uniform development, the Foundation promotes rural development, environmental awareness and education.

On 7 October 2010 Civilitas hosted Ragıp Zarakolu, Turkish activist, one of the founders of the Human Rights Association in Turkey, together with the authors of the “Dialogue on the Armenian Taboo” published in France, Michel Marian and Ahmet Insel. The guests were visiting Armenia within the framework of a week-long book fair in Yerevan. Mr. Zarakolu met with the founder of Civilitas and former foreign affairs minister Vartan Oskanian.

### *Neighbours about Each Other* (<http://www.caucasusneighbors.com>)

In September 2009 Civilitas – with support from the Eurasia Partnership Foundation and in cooperation with the Hrant Dink Foundation in Turkey – began to implement a project entitled “Neighbours about Each Other”. The programme attempts to enhance awareness and understanding of the thinking, perceptions, fears and expectations in Turkish and Armenian societies. Civilitas selects and translates articles about Armenia and Armenians in the Turkish press, making them available for re-publication in Armenia. The Dink Foundation does the same in Turkey. Both sets of articles are also translated into English.

The pilot project started in 2009. Until the end of December around 90 articles were translated into Armenian from Turkish sources. These include *Hurriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Yeni Safak*, *Sezonlinenet*, *Sabah*, *Taraf*, *Action*, *Zaman*, *Agos*, *Dunya*, *Radikal*, *Turkiye*, *Referans*, *Star*, *Yeni Cag*, *Bugun*, *Gunes*, CNN Turk, and *Posta*.

Armenian sources include *168 Zham* (168 Hours), *Azg* (Nation), *Haykakan Zhamanak* (Armenian Times), *Zhamanak*, *Lragir.am*, *Azatutyun.am* (Radio Liberty Armenian Service), *Armenian World*, *Chorrord Inqnishkhanutyun* (Fourth Sovereignty), *Hraparak* (Square), *7or.am*, and *Aravot* (Morning) daily.

The Armenian, Turkish and English articles are posted online by Civilitas at <http://www.caucasusneighbors.com>. The Turkish articles are posted online by *Agos* at [www.agos.com.tr](http://www.agos.com.tr).

## Tatul Hakobyan



Tatul Hakobyan studied at Yerevan State University's Journalism Department and completed a Masters course in journalism at the School of Journalism and Media Management in Georgia. He has since worked for various media outlets, including *Ankakhutyun* weekly, *Yerkir Daily* (1998-2000), *Azg Daily* (2000-2005), Armenian Public Radio (2004-2008) and the US-based *Armenian Reporter* (2008-2009). He joined the Civilitas Foundation as an analyst in November 2009.

Hakobyan has thoroughly covered the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and Armenian-Turkish relations. His reportage-like book on the Karabakh conflict, *Green and Black: Artsakh Diary*, was published in September 2008 and is one of the most thorough and detailed analyses of the Karabakh conflict. In 2010 the book was translated and published in Russian, Western Armenian and English. Since 2007 Tatul Hakobyan has been working on his second book, *Looking from Ararat: Armenians and Turks*, to be published in 2011.

Links to Hakobyan's pieces in the *Armenian Reporter*

<http://www.reporter.am/index.cfm?objectid=0071BA40-9920-11DE-AD800003FF3452C2>

<http://www.reporter.am/index.cfm?objectid=6C5C88D6-512F-11DE-92C40003FF3452C2>

E-mail: [tatul.hakobyan@gmail.com](mailto:tatul.hakobyan@gmail.com)

Nork-Marash, Armenakyan str  
202 v, Yerevanm - Armenia  
Tel: + 374 10 500 119 (office)

### **The Civilitas Foundation**

One Northern Avenue, Suite 30,  
Yerevan, Armenia

Tel/Fax: +374 10 500 119

E-mail: [info@civilitasfoundation.org](mailto:info@civilitasfoundation.org)

Web: [www.civilitasfoundation.org](http://www.civilitasfoundation.org)

## **Analytical Center on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC)**



The Analytical Center on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC) is an Armenian public-policy institution. It is well known for organising international conferences which achieve significant media coverage in Armenia. (It usually publishes its conference proceedings as books.) In recent years the ACGRC has been involved in promoting Armenian-Turkish civil society contacts. In addition to Turkey, the Center has partners in Germany, Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, the US, Belarus and other countries.

### **Projects involving Armenia-Turkey relations**

#### **4<sup>th</sup> Armenia-Turkey Civil Diplomacy Dialogue (18-20 October, 2010, Istanbul)**

With the support of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) the Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC), conducted the fourth “Armenia-Turkey Civil Diplomacy Dialogue” project in Istanbul. In addition to usual round table discussion, roundtable meetings were held at Kadir Has University (KHU) and Bogazici (Bosphorus) University with academics, NGO representatives, and students.

#### **Common future for Armenia and Turkey (28-30 June 2010, Istanbul)**

The ACGRC in cooperation with Society and Democracy Association (Turkey), and with support from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung organized a two day workshop in Istanbul on Armenia-Turkey relations. The workshop, facilitated by Dr. Edward Kaufman (University of Maryland), was attended by 20 university students from Armenia and Turkey. After the workshop the participants adopted a declaration calling for more cooperation on the civil society, bilateral and regional levels specifically pointing out to steps that could be undertaken in the short term.

Declaration text is available at

[http://domkaukaski.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=449&Itemid=38](http://domkaukaski.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=449&Itemid=38)

#### **Armenia-Turkey Civil Diplomacy Dialogue (2009-2010)**

The ACGRC organised three workshops (two in Yerevan and one in Istanbul) and established a platform for high-level experts-analysts from Armenia and Turkey (12 from each).

#### **Armenian-Turkish Protocols (2009-2010)**

The ACGRC held five one-day seminars on the Armenian-Turkish protocols in Yerevan, Vanadzor, Yeghegnadzor and Gyumri.

### **Turkey-Armenia Dialogue (2009-2010)**

The ACGRC organised:

- a one-day seminar in Yerevan on “The European Union and Turkey: Problems and Perspectives for Turkey’s European Integration”
- a roundtable with Turkish experts at the editorial office of *Aravot*
- a seminar on “Armenian-Turkish cross-border cooperation: feasible initiatives from Armenian and Turkish sides” in Vanadzor
- a seminar on cross-border cooperation in Gyumri. The seminar was attended by 80 representatives of local civil society institutions, university lecturers, students and representatives of youth unions.

### **Trust Building in Armenian-Turkish Relations through civil society actors cooperation (2008)**

Within the framework of this project two distinguished Turkish experts – Diba Nigar Goksel (Editor-in-Chief of *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Senior Analyst at European Stability Initiative) and Ozgul Erdemli-Mutlu (at the time, member of the ARI Movement and manager of the Women Entrepreneurship and Leadership Centre in Istanbul) – visited Armenia. Goksel and Erdemli-Mutlu gave interviews to Armenian media and visited several think tanks and NGOs.

### **Cooperation of Analysts and Civic Activists of Armenia and Turkey as a Unifying Factor in Armenian-Turkish Relations (2007-2008)**

The ACGRC organised two international conferences: “Armenia and Turkey: Regional Interests in Light of European Integration Processes” and “Armenia and Turkey: Regional Interests in Light of European Integration Processes”. The Center also polled / interviewed political parties and non-governmental organisations in Armenia and Turkey. Some of the interview-polls were published in the *Turkish Policy Quarterly*.

## Publications

- “Essays on History of the South Caucasian Countries” (2009)
- “Positive Examples of Coexistence from the History of Peoples and States of the South Caucasus. Collection of papers by historians and analysts from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia” (2009)
- “Agenda for Armenian Foreign Policy 2009-2010” (2009)  
[http://domkaukaski.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=314&Itemid=37](http://domkaukaski.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=314&Itemid=37)
- Public report for the “Trust Building in Armenian-Turkish Relations through Civil Society Actors’ Cooperation” project (2009)
- Materials from the international conference on “Global Challenges and Threats: Are Joint Efforts between Armenia and Turkey Possible?” (2008)
- Materials from the international conference on “Armenia and Turkey: Regional Interests in Light of European Integration Processes” (2008)



**Stepan Grigoryan** is the director of the Analytical Centre on Globalization and Regional Cooperation.

Grigoryan completed his PhD studies in Physics and Mathematics. From 1990 to 1995 he was a member of the National Assembly of Armenia. From 1995 until 2000 he worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, first as a diplomat in the Armenian mission to Russia and then as an advisor to the Foreign Affairs Minister. In 2002 Grigoryan became founding Chairman of the Board of the ACGRC. He has participated at the Vilnius Forum and worked as an expert with the South Caucasus Institute of Regional Security (SCIRS) in Georgia. He is an author of more than 300 articles published in journals and newspapers. E-mail: [grigoryanstepan@yahoo.com](mailto:grigoryanstepan@yahoo.com)

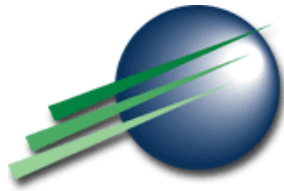
### **Analytical Center on Globalization and Regional Cooperation (ACGRC)**

42apt, 22b Halabyan  
0036 Yerevan – Armenia

Tel/Fax: + 374 10 35-70-26

Web: <http://www.acgrc.am>

## Armenian Center for National and International Studies (ACNIS)



The Armenian Center for National and International Studies (ACNIS) is a strategic research centre based in Yerevan. Founded in 1994, it is the institutional initiative of Raffi K. Hovannisian, Armenia's first Minister of Foreign Affairs, who remains ACNIS' President.

ACNIS is currently headed by Richard Giragosian, a frequent commentator on Armenia and regional issues for the Turkish and international media. Giragosian is an analyst specialising in international relations with a focus on economics, military security and political developments in the former Soviet Union, the Middle East and Asia. He is also a guest columnist for the Turkish-language edition of *Newsweek* and an editorial consultant for *Turkish Policy Quarterly*. Giragosian worked for nine years at the US Congress. He has also worked as a consultant for various organisations, including the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), World Bank, International Crisis Group (ICG) and the US military.



E-mail: [director@acnis.am](mailto:director@acnis.am), [giragosi@msn.com](mailto:giragosi@msn.com)

ACNIS holds a number of public events, including seminars, roundtable discussions and briefings, all of which cover issues ranging from foreign policy to domestic topic of critical significance. Summaries of most events and all reports are available on the ACNIS website ([www.acnis.am](http://www.acnis.am)).

### **Recent ACNIS work on Armenian-Turkish issues “One year later: the Armenian-Turkish ‘protocols.’ Where we have come & where are we going?”**

*13 October 2010, Yerevan*

ACNIS hosted a special briefing on 13 October, with ACNIS Director Richard Giragosian assessing the past year of developments in Armenian-Turkish diplomacy. The briefing was formally entitled, “One year later: the Armenian-Turkish ‘protocols.’ Where we have come & where are we going?”

The briefing featured special guest Burcu Becermen, from the International Hrant Dink Foundation, who discussed the future of Armenian-Turkish relations and presented an overview of the “Beyond Borders” initiative, which promotes people-to-people contacts and cooperation between Armenian and Turkish civil society organizations.

### **“One year later: the Armenian-Turkish protocols. What has changed?”**

*12 October 2010, Yerevan*

The Armenian Center for National and International Studies (ACNIS) convened its third “ACNIS Youth Forum” on 12 October entitled, “One year later: the Armenian-Turkish

protocols. What has changed?” timed with the one-year anniversary of the signing of the Armenian-Turkish “protocols.”

ACNIS Youth Forum assessed the issue of Armenian-Turkish diplomacy and from a youth perspective, discussed what has changed and what was significant about the protocols.

Three ACNIS interns offered presentations examining the issue of Armenian-Turkish protocols. Analyzing the past year of difficult Armenian-Turkish diplomacy since the signing of the protocols, Armine Badalyan began with a presentation entitled, “Looking back: what happened?” that was followed by a presentation, “Where are we now?” by Emma Petrosyan, that assessed the current deadlock in diplomacy between the two countries.

ACNIS intern Stella Aleksanyan then gave the third and final presentation, entitled, “Looking to the Future: where are we going?” that focused on evaluating the road ahead for Armenian-Turkish relations. A group of ten high school students from the “Quant” School in Yerevan also actively participated in the Youth Forum.

### **23 September, 2010**

ACNIS hosted a group of Turkish journalists who were in Yerevan within the framework of a visit organized by the Istanbul-based Hrant Dink Foundation.

#### **“Armenian-Turkish Diplomacy: An Update”**

On 22 April 2009 ACNIS held a seminar on developments in Armenian-Turkish diplomacy, timed to coincide with preparations for the 24 April commemoration of the Armenian genocide. Guests included prominent Armenian-American historian and scholar Richard G. Hovannisian, Professor of Armenian and Near Eastern History at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and ACNIS Founder Raffi K. Hovannisian.

The seminar featured four main presentations. ACNIS Director Richard Giragosian reported on a recent visit to Turkey and offered an assessment of the current stage of Armenian-Turkish negotiations. Professor David Hovannisyan, the Director of the Center for Civilization and Cultural Studies at Yerevan State University, presented an overview of Armenian-Turkish relations. Ms. Vercihan Ziflioglu, a reporter with the Istanbul-based *Hurriyet Daily News*, offered a Turkish perspective on the recent developments. Ashot Soghomonyan of Yerevan State University concluded with a presentation on “The Challenge of Armenian-Turkish Relations.”

#### ***“Closed Briefing” on current developments***

On 6 August 2009 ACNIS organised a closed briefing to address three of the most significant current developments in the region: the fallout from Iran’s post-election crisis, with a focus on the implications and lessons for Armenia; an update on the status of Turkish-Armenian diplomacy; and a review of the mediation efforts for a negotiated resolution to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

#### ***Armenian-Turkish Diplomacy & Nagorno-Karabakh: “Deal or No Deal?”***

On 5 November 2009 ACNIS convened a roundtable discussion on recent developments in Armenia-Turkey relations and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The event was attended by several ambassadors and senior diplomatic officials from the European Commission, the EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, representatives from the Council of Europe and the OSCE, as well as staff from the British and U.S. embassies and the Armenian Ministry of Defence.

ACNIS Senior Analyst Manvel Sargsian presented an analysis of the Armenian-Turkish “protocols” signed on 10 October in Zurich and Richard Giragosian gave an assessment of developments since the signing of the protocols. The two presentations were followed by a lively exchange between Armenian parliamentarians, leading Armenian analysts, experts and journalists. The Center has published each of the presentations and a report from the meeting.

The following is a brief summary of Turkey-related publications released in 2009:

“The Ruling Authorities’ Lack of Legitimacy and the Society’s Psychological Problems in the Domain of Armenian-Turkish Diplomacy,” by ACNIS Analyst Armine Ghazarian, May 2009 (in Armenian)

“What Can Erdogan Say to Azerbaijan?,” by ACNIS Senior Analyst Manel Sargsian, May 2009 (in Russian)

**ACNIS Special Briefings Series No. 1, Iran, Turkey-Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh**

ACNIS Special Briefing No.2: “Turkish-Armenian Diplomacy: Where are we?”

“Armenian-Turkish Relations: an Unwilling Dialogue,” by Manvel Sargsian, September 2009 (in Russian)

“The Psychological Peculiarities of ‘Normalizing’ Armenian-Turkish Relations,” by Armine Ghazarian, October 2009 (in Armenian)

“The Genocide Factor in Armenian-Turkish Relations,” by Manvel Sargsian, October 2009 (in Russian)

**ACNIS Policy Brief No. 4, Armenian-Turkish Diplomacy & Nagorno-Karabakh**

“Nagorno Karabakh is yet again at the Epicentre of International Attention,” by Manvel Sargsian (in Russian)

“Armenian-Turkish Diplomacy & Nagorno-Karabakh: Deal or no Deal?,” by Richard Giragosian, November 2009 (in English)

### **Armenian Center for National and International Studies**

75 Yerzinkian Str.

0033, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 528780 or 274818;

Fax: +374 10 524846

E-mail: [root@acnis.am](mailto:root@acnis.am) or [info@acnis.am](mailto:info@acnis.am)

Web: [www.acnis.am](http://www.acnis.am)



## The Urban Foundation for Sustainable Development



The Urban Foundation for Sustainable Development (UFSD) was founded in 2004. Through provision of technical advisory services, working with civil society institutions and community mobilization, its stated mission is to promote democratic transition of Armenia. The UFSD is the spin-off of the Urban Institute (Washington D.C.) team that successfully implemented a multimillion USAID funded Earthquake Zone Recovery Project in 1999-2004.

Its Main Activity Directions are:

- Democratic transition and Human rights
- Cross-border peace and regional integration
- Housing and infrastructure

The UFSD partners with organizations such as VNG International, Habitat for Humanity Armenia, Helsinki Committee, Internews; Network of local NGOs, local self-governance bodies, local media, Communities Association of Armenia

### **Armenian-Turkish Dialogue projects in the frame of a cross-border peacebuilding projects**

In cooperation with its Turkish partner, the Marmara Educators Association, and with the support of Eurasia Partnership Foundation, UFSD organized the “**Armenian-Turkish Dialogue in the light of European integration; vision of youth**” project between September 2007 and February 2008. The project partners conducted Vox Populi in Armenia and Turkey to reflect on the wider public opinion in the two countries with respect to the European integration processes and the prospects of improving the Armenia-Turkey dialogue and cooperation. A 20 minute long film was shot accordingly in which the interviewer approached people randomly in the street and asked about their opinions on various aspects of Turkish Armenian relations. This was followed by a round table discussion in Istanbul between 5 Armenian and 5 Turkish youth. A TV talk show was presented in Armenia (recorded and then shown on Vanadzor local TV) hosting 2 political scientists from each country. (Salim Kocabaş, Cafer Ulu, Shushan Khatlamajyan, Avetik Ishkhanyan). The project assessed the validity of the assumption that at some point the European aspirations of both Turkey and Armenia will diminish the historical and political differences between the two countries. In addition, the project explored the willingness and capacity of the younger generation to play a significant role in this process.

Between September 2009 - December 2009 UFSD implemented a project entitled “**Armenian-Turkish Dialogue : European integration & Gender Issues,**” supported by the British Embassy in Armenia. The project promoted dialogue between Armenian and Turkish women on various issues of European integration, value system, and gender issues. UFSD's partners in this project were Marmara Educators' Association of Turkey and the Journalists and Writers Foundation. Organizations produced video vox-pops in the two capitals asking the passers-by to explain how they perceive the current and future relations of the two neighbors. Subsequently, a workshop was held on the perceptions of ordinary citizens of the two countries towards each other.

Since 2009 UFSD has been an Associate Member of the Middle East Strategic Research Center at Zirve University, Turkey.

The UFSD published a book titled “The attempt to dialogue: the reality” available in Armenian and Turkish.

Armenian version: <http://www.urbanfoundation.am/upload/Arm-Turkish%20dialogue-youth-broshure.arm.doc>

Turkish version: <http://www.urbanfoundation.am/upload/Arm-Turkish%20dialogue-youth-broshure.tur.doc>

Urban Foundation for Sustainable Development (UFSD)

Tel: +37410512070

Fax: +37410512076

E-mail: [ufsd@aua.am](mailto:ufsd@aua.am)

[www.urbanfoundation.am](http://www.urbanfoundation.am)



## Ararat Center



Armen Ayvazyan is the Director of the Ararat Center for Strategic Research. He is also a professor of political science at the Armenian State Academy of Governance, an adjunct professor at the American University of Armenia, and a senior researcher at Matenadaran (the Institute of Medieval Manuscripts).

Ayvazyan received his doctoral degree in 2004, having written his thesis on “Essential Elements for Armenia’s National Security Doctrine”. In 1997-1998 he was a visiting Fulbright Scholar at Stanford University. From 1992 to 1994 he worked as Assistant to President Levon Ter Petrosyan, Adviser to the Foreign Minister of Armenia, and Acting Head of the Armenian Delegation to the OSCE.

Ayvazyan’s stance on relations with Turkey – which he often articulates in leading Armenian newspapers, Armenian and Russian websites, and Armenian talk shows – is extremely hawkish. Normalisation, he argues, should not take place until and unless Turkey meets certain conditions: stopping the blockade, recognizing the genocide, paying reparations, and returning territories in eastern Turkey. Ayvazyan believes that Turkey’s unequivocal support to Azerbaijan means that is keen on weakening and destroying Armenia. He has written dozens of articles on the Armenian-Turkish “conflict” and ways of solving it. These are available on his personal website (and on that of the Ararat Center):

<http://www.hayq.org/index.php?p=8&l=eng>

<http://www.ararat-center.org/index.php?p=22&l=eng#haytur>



**“Ararat” Center for Strategic Research**  
Yerevan, Armenia

Tel: + 374 10 274833

E-mail: [ayvazyan@ararat-center.org](mailto:ayvazyan@ararat-center.org),

Web: [www.ararat-center.org](http://www.ararat-center.org), [www.hayq.org](http://www.hayq.org)

## Asparez Journalists' Club, Gyumri



Asparez is a Gyumri-based journalistic organisation. Founded in 2000, it is an organisation that stands for freedom of speech, the protection of journalists and citizens, and free access to information. It is often critical of the government and local authorities. Over the last decade Asparez has organised around 950 press conferences and 250 debates on a wide area of issues, ranging from democracy and freedom of speech to Armenian-Turkish relations and the border opening. It has also implemented 45 projects, 28 of which have been grant-based.



**Levon Barseghyan** is the founding Chairman of Asparez. Having received degrees in geophysics and press photography at Yerevan State University, Barseghyan was a geography teacher in 1991-1992 but later focused exclusively on journalism. In 1992-1994 he was a reporter, cameraman, chief editor, acting director and presenter for Tsayg, a Gyumri-based TV company. He later moved to Shant TV, where he worked as a journalist, cameraman and director of news (1995-1996), acting director (1996), production director (1997-2000), and presenter (1996-2000). In 2000 he founded Asparez, where he remains chairman.

### *Armenia-Turkey related projects*

Asparez conducted small scale public opinion surveys (of up to 1000 people) on the border opening in 2002, 2004 and 2005. Between 50% and 60% were in favour of opening the border; 25% were against; the remainder were not sure.

In April-November 2007 members of Asparez visited the Turkish city of Kars, meeting journalists, NGO leaders and academia representatives. They reported on the meetings – and on local realities – in a number of entries on the Asparez website and in two extensive articles in *Shrjapat*, a Gyumri weekly. In September and October Armenian and Turkish media and NGO representatives played a pair of football friendlies in Kars and Gyumri. In May and early June Asparez Club members, headed by Levon Barseghyan, visited Kars, meeting journalists from CNN Turk, the Ihlas and Dogan news agencies, NGO members and local media representatives. Barseghyan also visited Kars after President Gul's visit to Armenia, as part of the Armenian-Turkish Team Reporting Project. He met film director Israfil Parlak, the editors of *Kars Postasi*, *Huryurt* and *Olcek*, journalists from Kavkaz Radio, the local representative of the Kurdish DTP (Demokrati Topulumm Parti), and Alijan Alibeyoglu, the brother of a former Kars mayor. He reported on his visit in an article published in *Shrjapat* ("The last 200 kilometres of the Iron Curtain").<sup>7</sup>

### **Asparez Club**

96 Pushkin str,  
Gyumri - Armenia

Tel: + 374 312 30622

E-mail: [info@asparez.am](mailto:info@asparez.am) or [levon@asparez.am](mailto:levon@asparez.am)

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<sup>7</sup> Levon Barseghyan, "The last 200 kilometers of the Iron Curtain", Asparez Club, NGO, Gyumri, <http://www.asparez.am/news/news2009jan/26.1.2009-kars.htm>

## City Research Center



City Research Center is a Gyumri-based grassroots NGO established in 2002. The Center was founded by the former prime minister of Armenia, Armen Darbinyan, and a group of intellectuals from Gyumri.

CRC strives to support the citizens of the South Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia in developing a stronger appreciation of historic and cultural values. Expressions of visual and audiovisual art, music and crafts are used to encourage the

region's cultural growth and promote social and regional harmony.



Ashot Mirzoyan is the Manager. He is an architect and urban planner. Currently he studies cultural management.

Projects related to Turkish-Armenia rapprochement include:

*An International Movement, "Cultural Caucasus" – on going* ([www.cityresearch.org/culturalcaucasus](http://www.cityresearch.org/culturalcaucasus))

The CRC began promotion of intercultural dialogue and understanding among the South Caucasus states in 2004 by cleaning and beautifying the historical sites in the region. Annual activities took place in Gyumri, Armenia (2004), Gori, Georgia (2005), Ardanuc, Turkey (2006), Shouakhevi, Ajara, Georgia (2007).

In October 2007 the CRC conducted an intercultural action among the young citizens of Gyumri (Armenia), Kars (Turkey) and Akhaltsikhe (Georgia) within the "All Different – All Equal" Campaign of the Council of Europe.

In October 2008 CRC conducted a colloquium entitled "Partisans of Peace" in Kars, Turkey. Young citizens from the region came together for an intercultural meeting where collective creativity was used as a means for reaching understanding and tolerance.

### *Pathways to Cultural Spaces*

<http://www.rhiz.eu/artefact-34488-en.html>

This ongoing project aims at developing cultural spaces and audiences in the underrepresented communities in North Armenia, West Georgia, and Eastern Turkey through enhancing various interactions (cultural actor + audience; cultural actor + cultural actor; audience + audience).

The program entails:

Gathering and processing the Information:

- surveying the cultural elements of the region (**arts**: music, painting, architecture, performing art; **local culture**: crafts, amateur art, cuisine, oral histories, etc.);
- registering the results of the survey (recording meetings with people, photographing and filming the processes, making diaries, etc.), analyzing and storing the collected information

Building self-supportive sustainable network

- Creating links among the cultural actors through stimulation of different forms of contacts; opening up spaces for collective creativity through education, networking initiatives, etc.

***Dialogue in Motion (ber\_A\_ber)***

<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=117614154919647&ref=ts>

This ongoing project aims to establish cultural links between Turkey and Armenia through bringing together professionals and non-professionals in the audio-visual field and creating synergy in their production. Joint work is planned to be presented to the wide public in both Armenia and Turkey. The first workshops took place in August 2010 in Gyumri and Kars, where 6 short film scenarios were shot. A second round of workshops and film production in Gyumri and Kars, and subsequent public events including Istanbul and Yerevan are planned.

***Online Film Festival IF SQUARE, 2010***

[\(http://www.ifistanbul.com/\)](http://www.ifistanbul.com/)

In partnership with Anadolu Kultur, City Research Center organized “!f<sup>2</sup>” on-line screenings in Gyumri. “!f<sup>2</sup>” is an experiment within !f istanbul AFM International Independent Film Festival to build local and transnational partnerships to enable festival films to reach wider audiences.

**City Research Center**

Address: 12 Gai str. 3107 Gyumri, Armenia

Phone: +37431252011

Fax: +37431246044

E-mail: [alex@cityresearch.org](mailto:alex@cityresearch.org)

Web: [www.cityresearch.org](http://www.cityresearch.org)

## Civic Development and Partnership Foundation



Civic Development and Partnership Foundation (CDPF), founded in 2006, is an Armenian non-profit organization. Its mission is to support further advancement of civil society in Armenia by promoting development opportunities and providing quality services to Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and funding for CSO projects.

In accordance with its mission, CDPF has implemented over 10 projects, distributed and administered 77 advocacy and election grants, and awarded and administered 54 scholarships.

### **Address:**

Armenia, 0019, Yerevan, Proshyan St., 11/5 Building

T/F: +374-10-586012 , 586013

E: [cdpf@cdpf.am](mailto:cdpf@cdpf.am)

URL: <http://www.cdpf.am/>

### **Armenia-Turkey related project:**

#### **Emerging Leaders Program (October 2010- July 2011)**

Emerging Leaders Program is aimed to create a cadre of Armenian, Turkish and American young professionals who lead local non-profit organizations to promote the development of civil society and economic opportunities. The Program will bring together emerging grass root leaders aged 21-35 from Armenia, Turkey and USA that will work together to create community-based projects to build NGOs capacities, deepen ties between the three countries and strengthen civil society.

Selected participants will take part in study tours to USA and Turkey and will host the USA and Turkey participants in Armenia. The study tours will include thematic discussions, trainings, professional site visits, and job shadowing activities and will be followed by on-line communication and conferences. The Program will provide participants with opportunity to share



their experience and best practices, and create new links between organizations in those three countries. Preliminary study tours periods are: USA – February 2011, Turkey and Armenia – April 2011. All costs related to the study tours will be covered by the Program.

The Program is implemented jointly with Academy for Educational Development (USA) and Civil Society Development Center (Turkey) with the support of the US Embassy in Ankara, Turkey.

### Internews Media Support NGO



## INTERNEWS

Internews Media Support NGO promotes freedom of expression and open media. The organization's activities proceed from the belief that civil society cannot exist apart from independent and strong mass media. Towards this end, Internews organizes training courses for established and emerging journalists, promotes media literacy, advocates for improved media legislation and protects journalists' rights. The NGO develops multi-format information on human rights, European integration, civic conflict, migration, elections, national minorities, gender and many other issues for a wide range of target audiences.

Internews has been working in Armenia since December 1995 as a branch of the US based Internews Network. The Armenian Media Support Internews NGO was registered in 1996. The NGO is a founder and member of [Internews International Association](#).

#### **Contacts:**

3 Arshakunyats Ave, 3rd floor, Yerevan, Armenia

Phone: 010 586320

Fax: + 374 10 56-90-41

armens@internews.am

Internews

URL: <http://www.internews.am>

**Armenia-Turkey related project:**

[Dialogue-Building between Turkey and Armenia](#) (July 2010-December 2011)

The project expands opportunities for independent reporters and media outlets in Armenia and Turkey to develop and disseminate balanced information on their neighbor's cultural, political and economic context. For this purpose Internews supports Armenian and Turkish media professionals to carry out extended field reporting within their neighboring country. Through an exchange tour they will collect alternative views of government representatives, political party leaders, social activists and industry colleagues. This initiative will yield bi-lateral flow of news, social and analytical reports. Further, Internews trains students of university film and journalism departments to documentary film techniques and provides mentoring for the production of small films featuring a social theme from their neighboring country.

The project includes

- seminar on documentary film production
- educational and cultural training
- individual consultation on the topic of the film
- meetings, research and discussions
- filmmaking

Six participants each will be selected from Armenia and Turkey. The Armenian participants will produce 10-minutes-long documentaries in Turkey, while their Turkish counterparts will do the same in Armenia. The films will reflect the life of the people in the neighboring country through the eyes of the authors.

The project is jointly implemented by “Internews” Media Support NGO, Yerevan Press club, GPOT (Turkey), Cam film (Turkey) INTERNEWS NETWORK.

“Dialogue building between Armenia and Turkey” is implemented with the assistance of The Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL), US Department of State.

**Project Harmony**



PH International began operations in Armenia in 2000, and has since implemented a number of high-profile projects focused on rural development, secondary education, professional development, information technologies, and juveniles' legal socialization. PH International works in partnership with local Ministries, regional government authorities and international and local organizations to support grassroots development throughout all regions of the country.

PH International's work in Armenia has included the implementation of U.S. State Department sponsored [Internet Community Development Program](#), [Armenia School Connectivity Programs](#), and the Gegharkunik region Teachers' Computer Literacy Consultancy (TCON), organized within the framework of the WB-funded RA Education Quality and Relevance Program. The objective of all abovementioned undertakings was to introduce modern Information Technologies into Armenian communities in innovative, sustainable ways, with a focus on educators, students and minority populations.

**Address:**

PH International - Armenia

8/8 Paronyan str. | Yerevan, Armenia | 0015

**Contacts:**

T (+374 10) 53-86-76 |

F (+374 10) 53-67-83 | E [ph-am@ph-int.org](mailto:ph-am@ph-int.org)

URL: <http://www.ph-int.org/arm/eng/>

**Armenia-Turkey related project:**

**Armenia-Turkey-US Youth Leadership Program (October 2010-January 2012)**

Youth LAB (Leadership Across Borders) program is funded by the Public Affairs Section of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara, Turkey, and is implemented by the Yerevan and Vermont offices of PH International, in cooperation with Ari Movement in Turkey.

Key activities of the program:

- Online activities exploring themes of leadership, multiculturalism, youth culture, volunteerism, community service, global and local issues, concepts of identity, and tolerance
- A two-week camp in the U.S. in July 2011, following by a one-week homestay experience in American host families
- In December 2011, a few days visit of Armenian and American students to Turkey, with one American and one Armenian student housed in a Turkish participant's home
- In December 2011, a few days visit of Turkish and American students to Armenia, with one American and one Turkish student housed in an Armenian participant's home

- Online interaction for joint design of cross-border and/or local community projects, and implementation of the designed projects

The 16-month initiative will bring together 75 young leaders – 25 from each country (Armenia, Turkey, the USA) – with creative ideas and open minds.

### Armenian Marketing Association



The Armenian Marketing Association (AMA) was established by a group of marketing experts in 2002. The creation of this Non-Governmental Organization was enforced by rapidly growing competition in market environment of Armenia. The Armenian Marketing Association was created to carry out improvements of marketing consultations and analytical works. The Association will help to improve the efficiency of business actions of Armenian companies through modern marketing tools.

#### **Address:**

2 Bagramyan, apt/room 28

Yerevan, Yerevan

Armenia

Tel: +374 10 581436 , +374 10 540719 , • +374-91-469971

Fax: +374 10 540719

E-mail: [ama@netsys.am](mailto:ama@netsys.am)

URL: <http://www.armenianmarketing.com>

#### **Armenia-Turkey related project:**

##### **TANGO Network Project**

Turkey and Armenia Non Governmental Organizations Network Project, TANGO Network (“T” for Turkey and “A” for Armenia, plus “NGO” – in order to bring groups from both countries together”), aims to form a platform to set new partnerships and further collaborations between Turkish and Armenian NGOs. The project plan includes the establishment of a web source of NGOs from Turkey and Armenia which have collaborated or have the potential to contribute to

the relationship between Turkey and Armenia. This website will also provide information about grant opportunities.

The launch of the project's web site and the contact making meeting will take place at Kadir Has University in Istanbul on the 20th and 21st of January 2011 with the participation of NGO representatives from Armenia and Turkey, academics, diplomatic missions and the donor organizations. After the opening session on 20th January, a Marketplace will be organized for NGOs from Turkey and Armenia and for the donor organizations to promote their organizations and discuss opportunities for partnership.

This project is funded by the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation of the German Marshall Fund and implemented by Corporate Social Responsibility Association of Turkey (<http://www.csrturkey.org/>) and Armenian Marketing Association.

## Academic Institutions and scholars

### Yerevan State University, Faculty of Oriental Studies



Eminent philology professor Hrachya Acharyan initiated the foundation of a Department of Oriental Philology at Yerevan State University in 1940. This was followed by the successful establishment of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature with its two branches: Persian and Arabic. In 1968 the Faculty of Oriental Studies was introduced as a separate body.

The faculty currently includes three departments: Persian Studies, Arabic Studies and Turkish Studies. The current curriculum features language courses in Hindi, Afghani, Sanskrit, Belujan, Kurdish and Hebrew.

The faculty has established relations with leading centres of Oriental Studies abroad, developing scientific cooperation with the chairs of universities and scientists in Iran, Egypt, Syria, the UAE, Lebanon and other countries.

A total of 525 students currently study at the faculty. The Faculty accepts 100-110 students annually, out of which 35-40 join the Chair of Turkish Studies.

#### Yerevan State University

1 Alex Manoogian,  
0025 Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 555240

Fax: + 374 10 554641

E-mail: [info@ysu.am](mailto:info@ysu.am)

Web: [http://www.yasu.am/site/index.php?lang=1&page=3&p\\_num=&id=17](http://www.yasu.am/site/index.php?lang=1&page=3&p_num=&id=17)

#### *Turkey scholars*

#### **Ruben Melkonyan**



Assistant Professor Ruben Mekonyan has been the Deputy Dean of the Faculty since 2009, having received his PhD in modern Turkish literature in 2005. He has authored three monographs, more than two dozen academic articles, and more than 50 op-eds. He has also translated books from Turkish into Armenian. In addition to modern Turkish literature Melkonyan is interested in current political relations between Armenia and Turkey, as well as religious and ethnic minorities in Turkey (with a particular emphasis on the Armenian minority). He is actively involved in various Armenian-Turkish conferences and forums. He is fluent in Turkish.

Tel: +374 10 556077 (Ext 292)

E-mail: [rubmelk@yahoo.com](mailto:rubmelk@yahoo.com)

## **Alexander Safaryan**

Head of Chair of Turkish Studies

Safaryan studied Turkology at Yerevan State University and has chaired the Department of Turkish Studies since 1986. He is the author of more than 50 academic books, articles, and Turkish Language books for Armenian students. He supervises students in Turkish linguistics and Turkish literature. He is considered one of the best Turkish speakers in Armenia.

Tel: +374 10 573324 (Ext 468)

## **Ashot Soghomonyan**



Dr. Ashot Soghomonyan is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Yerevan State University (since 1999). He teaches courses of Turkish history and language, as well as supervises Master and PhD theses. He has also been the secretary of the Turkish-Armenian Business Development Council (TABDC) since 2000. He has supported most TABDC activities and projects related to Turkish and Armenian business, culture, women activists visits to Turkey and Armenia. He is the founder of Narekavan Tour LLC, a tour operator in Armenia that organizes tours in the Caucasus and Turkey (Anatolia).

Email: [asoghomonyan@yahoo.com](mailto:asoghomonyan@yahoo.com)

## **Vahram Ter Matevosyan**



Vahram Ter Matevosyan is Advisor to the Director of the Analytical Centre of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the Ministry of Defence and a lecturer of Turkish studies at the History Faculty of Yerevan State University. A historian and a specialist in Islamic and Turkish studies, he teaches Kemalism and Modern Turkish History. He has studied at Yerevan State University, Lund University (Sweden) and Bergen (Norway). He was a Fulbright fellow at the University of California, Berkeley in 2009-2010. His academic works (a monograph and several dozens of articles) are on Islamism and Kemalism in Turkey. His monograph, *Islam in the socio-political life of Turkey between 1970 and 2001*, has been translated into English. Ter-Matevosyan is fluent in Turkish.

E-mail: [termatevos@yahoo.com](mailto:termatevos@yahoo.com)

**Yerevan State University, Center for Civilization and Cultural Studies**

The Center for Civilization and Cultural Studies (CCCS) is a division of the Yerevan State University that conducts studies in the fields of culture, politics, and geopolitics. The CCCS also carries out expert analyses and studies focused on current events and global developments. The CCCS publishes the quarterly “Analytic Bulletin” and annual “Almanac”, as well as more specific studies covering a wide range of topics reflecting the broad scope of CCCS interests and activities. The CCCS was opened in 2007. It is headed by David Hovhannisyan.

**Yerevan State University**

Alex Manoogian 1

Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 55-16-74

E-mail: [cccs@ysu.am](mailto:cccs@ysu.am)



## David Hovhannisyan



David Hovhannisyan has been a professor of Arabic and Islamic studies at Yerevan State University since 1980 (he received his PhD in Arabic Philology from Moscow State University in 1979). He has headed the Center for Civilization and Cultural Studies at Yerevan State University since 2007, also giving courses at the V. Brusov Yerevan Linguistic University and the Caucasus Institute. Hovhannisyan was an ambassador to Syria from 1992-1998. From 2001-2004 he was a member of the Turkish Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC). He often publishes and gives interviews on the Black Sea region, the Middle East, and Armenian-Turkish relations. He has written three monographs on Arabic

studies, including one which has been published in Arabic in Egypt. Hovhannisyan is fluent in Arabic, English and Russian. E-mail: [dhovhannisyan@ysu.am](mailto:dhovhannisyan@ysu.am)

Tamanyan 1a/1

Yerevan - Armenia

Tel: +374 10 581925, +374 10 551674

## The Institute of Oriental Studies at the National Academy of Sciences



The Armenian Academy of Sciences (since 1993 the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia) was founded on 25 November 1943 as the Armenian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The Academy is mainly financed from the state budget. Additional support comes from different state and private foundations, as well as from contracts between the Academy and other organisations in Armenia and abroad. The Academy comprises five divisions (Mathematical and

Technical Sciences; Physics and Astrophysics; Natural Sciences; Armenian Studies and Social Sciences, Chemistry and Earth Sciences) and 50 scientific institutions and other organisations. Its staff consists of 3700 members, including 87 academics, 18 corresponding members, 323 doctors of sciences, and 1006 candidates of sciences (PhDs).

The Academy's Institute of Oriental Studies was founded in 1971 on the basis of the earlier (1958) Department of Oriental Studies. Its research covers the history, socio-political, international and regional relations, the culture, religion, the problems of national minorities and ethnic groups of the countries and peoples of the Middle East, Caucasus and Eastern Asia from antiquity to the present. The Institute comprises the following Departments: Ancient Orient, Christian Orient, Arab Studies, Turkish Studies, Iranian Studies, Eastern Asian Studies, and Kurdish Studies. The Department of Turkish Studies concentrates on the history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, the juridical status of national minorities, the Armenian question and the Armenian genocide, the policies of the great powers, the peculiarities of the development of modern Turkey, the problems of Ottomanism, Pan-Turkism, Pan-Islamism, Kemalism, Neo-Ottomanism and Neo-Pan-Turkism.

The Institute publishes the following series: “The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East”, “The Near East”, “Turkic and Ottoman Studies”, and others. It also prepares new specialists through post-graduate fellowships and MA courses. The Institute’s Scholarly Council grants scientific degrees (PhD and Dr. Sc) in the fields of World History, Historiography and Source Study.

### **Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences**

24g Marshal Baghramian Ave.  
0019, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 583382;

Fax: +374 10 505075;

E-mail: [info@orient.sci.am](mailto:info@orient.sci.am)

Web: <http://orient.sci.am/about.php?langid=2>

### **Ruben Safrastyan**



Ruben Safrastyan is the Director of the Oriental Studies Institute at the Academy of Sciences. Safrastyan previously served as a Counsellor at the Armenian Embassy in Germany and the Deputy Director of the Department of Political Analysis at the Office of the President of Armenia (1992-1996).

In recent years Safrastyan has received Humboldt (Germany), Fulbright (USA) and International Policy (Hungary) fellowships and conducted research at the universities of Bochum, Berkeley, and Budapest. His areas of specialization include Turkish studies, genocide history and regional politics. Safrastyan is editor of the *Turkic and Ottoman Studies* yearbook. He often appears on television programmes and panels to give commentary and analysis on regional and Armenia-Turkey related issues. A well known Turkologist, he specializes in late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Turkish history with a focus on Armenian-Turkish relations. He has written more than 70 academic publications on the subject. Safrastyan is fluent in Turkish.

E-mail: [rsafrastyan@sci.am](mailto:rsafrastyan@sci.am)

### **Anush Hovhannisyan**



Anush Hovhannisyan is a senior researcher in the Oriental Studies Institute. She studied Turkology at Leningrad (St.Petersburg) State University where she completed PhD studies. She also has a Diploma from the Uppsala University (Sweden) Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Anush Hovhannisyan is a lecturer of Turkish Studies at the History Faculty and Ottoman Turkish at the Oriental Faculty of Yerevan State University. She often

appears on television programs and panels giving commentary on Armenian-Turkey related issues. Anush Hovhannisyan specializes in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Turkish History, she has more than 25

academic publications on the subject. Dr. Hovhannisyan is fluent in Turkish. E-mail anush.hov@gmail.com

### **Genocide Museum-Institute**



The Armenian Genocide Museum was founded in 1995 in commemoration of the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian genocide. It provides guided tours in Armenian, Russian, English, French and German.

The Republic of Armenia has made a visit to the Armenian Genocide Museum part of the official State protocol. Foreign official delegations who have visited the Museum include Russian President Vladimir Putin, former French President Jacques Chirac and Pope John Paul II. The area of the museum is surrounded by trees planted by leaders who have visited the museum.

The Museum was designed by architects S. Kalashian, A. Tarkhanyan and sculptor F. Araqelyan. The two-story building is built directly into the side of a hill so as not to detract from the imposing presence of the nearby Genocide Monument. The roof of the Museum is flat and covered with concrete tiles. It overlooks the scenic Ararat Valley and the Mount Ararat.

### **Research**

The Armenian Genocide Museum & Institute (AGMI) is also a research centre and falls under the umbrella of the Armenian National Academy of Sciences.

The main research goal of the Institute is to study the Armenian genocide with a focus on the scientific research of historical-documentary materials, archival documents, photographic sources and the accumulation of new data. The Institute obtains materials and documents from various international archives. The Museum also collects, catalogues and archives eye-witness accounts of the genocide. The archived documents and accounts have been translated and published by AGMI.

### **Education**

AGMI also seeks to create an international scientific institution and a school of Genocide Studies. It does so by promoting a post-graduate degree at the AGMI and participating in scientific activities for the promotion of the unanimous international recognition of Armenian Genocide. The number of PhD candidates accepted every year ranges between 3 and 5.

To achieve these goals, AGMI organises conferences, holds round-table discussions and publishes newsletters, articles and books, both electronically and in print.

### **Hayk Demoyan**



Hayk Demoyan is the Director of the Museum-Institute. He also teaches history at Yerevan State University, where he obtained his PhD degree in 2001. His areas of interest include the history of the Armenian genocide, as well as the foreign policy of Turkey and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Demoyan has written more than 40 articles and monographs on

these and related issues, including *Turkey and the Karabakh Conflict* (in Russian), *Armenian Sport and gymnastics in the Ottoman Empire*, and *The Western Media Coverage of Karabakh Conflict in 1988-1990* (forthcoming monograph in English). He often speaks at press conferences and gives interviews on developments in Armenian-Turkish relations, the genocide recognition campaign, and the Karabakh conflict. Demoyan has a fair knowledge of Turkish. E-mail: [demoyan@gmail.com](mailto:demoyan@gmail.com), [director@genocide-museum.am](mailto:director@genocide-museum.am)

**Armenian Genocide Museum**

375028, Tsitsernakaberd

Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 39 09 81

Web: [www.genocide-museum.am](http://www.genocide-museum.am)

## Noravank Foundation



Noravank is an academic foundation launched in 2000 by a decision of the Armenian government. According to its charter, the Foundation's chief of the board of trustees is the incumbent prime minister. The Foundation's research divisions include the Centre of Armenian Studies, headed by Ruben Melkonyan from Yerevan State University (see above). Melkonyan's centre cooperates with the Armenian Ministry of Diaspora. The Foundation is also home to a Centre of the Informational Studies, a Centre of Political Studies (which focuses on regional and geopolitical issues), and an Educational Centre. (The latter organises summer schools and thematic lectures, the so called Noravank Readings, which feature presentations by eminent scholars, politicians, and experts.)



Noravank publishes several journals, including *21st century* (in Armenian, Russian and English), *Globus: national security* and *Globus: energy and regional security* (published in association with Armrosgazprom CJSC). To date the Foundation has produced more than 150 books, journals and other publications.

The director of the Foundation is Gagik Harutyunyan (photo).

### Noravank Foundation

Garegin Nzhdehi St., Building 23/1,  
0026, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 440473 (Director), +374 10 443846 (information department), +374 10 443853 (research department)

Fax: +374-10-440473

E-mail: [office@noravank.am](mailto:office@noravank.am)

Web: [www.noravank.am](http://www.noravank.am)

## Business people

### Gagik Makaryan



Gagik Makaryan is the Executive Director of the Republican Union of Employers of Armenia. His career has taken him from the Yerevan State University department of solid-state physics (1975-1976) to the Yerevan Institute of Physics (1976-1977), the “Transistor” scientific production company (1977-1997), the “Hai Consult” consulting fund (1997-present), and the Republican Union of Employers of Armenia (2007-present). Between 1997 and 2008 Makaryan organised the National Symposium of Productivity and Competitiveness in Armenia.

A physician by profession, Makaryan has received a PhD in electronics.

Makaryan has participated in several discussions and business projects related to the Armenian-Turkish normalisation process and its economic and tourism dimension. E-mail: [gag\\_mak@yahoo.com](mailto:gag_mak@yahoo.com), [ruea@mail.am](mailto:ruea@mail.am), [employers\\_republ@mail.ru](mailto:employers_republ@mail.ru)



### Republican Union of Employers of Armenia

5 Agatangeghos street  
0010, Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: + 374 10 524472

Fax: +374 10 52 44 72

Web: <http://www.employers.am/>

## Arsen Ghazaryan



Arsen Ghazaryan is the co-chairman of the Turkish-Armenian Business Development Council (TABDC). Having studied law, he completed a PhD degree in Philosophy (specializing in the history of religions) at Yerevan State University. He went on to teach philosophy at the Yerevan Institute of Physical Training, working in parallel as a legal adviser at different local companies. In 1993 he established Apaven, an international freight forwarding company with offices in Armenia, Georgia and Russia, staying on ever since as the company's general director. Ghazaryan was formerly president of the Union of Manufacturers and Businessmen of Armenia (UMBA). He maintains good relations with the government and often participates in meetings with leading politicians and events related to economics or finance. When visiting Turkey he often meets eminent Turkish business people and government officials. He is a supporter of the Armenian-Turkish normalisation process.

Ghazaryan told ESI about Turkey-Armenia business relations:

*“Faith tourism is one of the branches of cooperation between Turkey and Armenia (the diaspora Armenians coming here and going to Turkey from here), but the border opening would first of all affect the strengthening of border trade. For example, when you take apricots from Armenia to Moscow the transportation costs are immense (18000 to 20000 USD per van). Meanwhile, would that same product go to Turkey, the expenditures would be much less (ca. 4000 USD per van) and we would be able to bring back some other goods from there. Secondly, our whole workforce is concentrated on Russia. I think the Turkish market provides that space too. There is also potential for energy and gas programmes. Turkey is good for transit trade, too. In recent years the restrictions regarding transit trade have been weakened. But goods can not come to Turkey, Izmir, be emptied there, and then get reloaded for transportation to Armenia. This can not happen. So after transit, tourism would be good too. [...] The possible areas of contact after border opening are transport, energy, construction, agriculture, production, textiles.”<sup>8</sup>*

### **Apaven Yerevan Office**

6/1 Abelyan Street

375038 Yerevan – Armenia

Tel: +374 10 319231 / 319431 / 319531 / 381140 / 381180 / 396152

Fax +374 10 351240

E-Mail [apaven@apaven.am](mailto:apaven@apaven.am) or [arsen@apaven.am](mailto:arsen@apaven.am)

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<sup>8</sup> ESI Interview with Arsen Ghazaryan

## Part 2: Key Facts about Turkey



Official name: Republic of Turkey  
(Türkiye Cumhuriyeti)

Population: 72,561,312 (31 December 2009)<sup>9</sup>

Area: 783,562 sq km

Major cities: Istanbul (12.8 Million); Ankara (4.5 million); Izmir (3.5 million); Bursa (2.3 million); Adana (1.8 million)

GNP per capita: 11,200 USD (2009)

Head of State: Abdullah Gül (since 28 August 2007)

Current government: Justice and Development Party (AKP), absolute majority (since Nov. 2002, re-elected in July 2007).

Prime Minister: Recep Tayyip Erdogan

Political parties in parliament: AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party), MHP (Nationalist Action Party); BDP (Peace and Democracy Party), DSP (Democratic Left Party).

Registered associations: 86,301 (December 2010)

Daily newspaper circulation: 4.6 million

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<sup>9</sup> Turkish Statistical Institute, [http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?fb\\_id=39&ust\\_id=11](http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?fb_id=39&ust_id=11).



## Turkey's Media Landscape

In Turkey a lively and broad media landscape has developed in the past two decades. Consolidation and pluralization have proceeded apace. A limited number of large media holdings have absorbed numerous newspapers and TV stations, though the democratization process has also seen the emergence of many new newspapers, weeklies and TV channels from all sides of the political, regional, ethnic-confessional and social spectrum. Television is by far the most important medium in Turkey. A survey by the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) showed that average time spent watching television is more than 5 hours per day.<sup>10</sup> The first TV channel run by the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) was established by the state in 1964. It had a monopoly on audiovisual broadcasting until 1990. The first private commercial TV channel, STAR 1, began broadcasting in 1990 via satellite from Germany, paving the way for some 100 local commercial TV channels and 500 local radio channels, which began operating without licenses. As a result of this quasi-illegal situation, the broadcasting scene faced radical challenges. These were ultimately tackled by way of constitutional amendments passed by the parliament in August 1993, leading to a boom in private TV (and radio) channels. There are currently 13 state controlled (TRT), 24 national private, 16 regional private and 224 local private TV channels, as well as 36 national private, 108 regional and 944 local radio stations.<sup>11</sup>

The print media in Turkey are dominated by national newspapers which have a daily circulation of between 4.5 and 5 million. Regional newspapers do not play an important role, though the big national newspapers have supplements for some of the regions (Aegean, Ankara, Black Sea etc.). There are currently 34 nationally distributed newspapers and about 900 local newspapers.<sup>12</sup> Additionally there are 16 weeklies selling around 120,000 copies combined. Of these, the best selling – with a circulation of around 40,000 – is *Aksiyon*, which belongs to the Feza Group. Since 2009 there is also a Turkish version of *Newsweek* (3500 copies).

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<sup>10</sup> European Journalist Centre, Turkey Media Landscape, [http://www.ejc.net/media\\_landscapes/article/turkey/](http://www.ejc.net/media_landscapes/article/turkey/).

<sup>11</sup> RTÜK, summary of the publishing sector (in Turkish) [http://www.rtuk.org.tr/sayfalar/DosyaIndir.aspx?icerik\\_id=0004e97a-0664-41cf-b83c-e636c7de1868](http://www.rtuk.org.tr/sayfalar/DosyaIndir.aspx?icerik_id=0004e97a-0664-41cf-b83c-e636c7de1868)

<sup>12</sup> Esra Arsan, Out of the box: Turkish media going global, *The Bridge*, [http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=380](http://www.bridge-mag.com/magazine/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=380).

## Newspaper circulation

National newspapers sold or distributed for free in December 2010<sup>13</sup>

	paper	copies
1	ZAMAN	864.705
2	POSTA	482.245
3	Hürriyet	440.197
4	SABAH	343.301
5	HABER TÜRK	223.470
6	Sözcü	216.254
7	Fotomac	199.242
8	FANATİK	182.391
9	Milliyet	154.281
10	AKSAM	144.946
11	Türkiye	130.054
12	VATAN	129.988
13	Takvim	113.640
14	GÜNES	103.897
15	star	102.194
16	Yeni Şafak	102.034
17	Radikal	80.065
18	BUGÜN	73.098
19	Cumhuriyet	55.366
20	YENİÇAĞ	52.827
21	Vakit	52.240
22	Taraf	52.088
23	Milli Gazete	50.717
24	A.ŞOK	48.689
25	FotoGör	32.415
26	Yeni Asır	31.468
27	Fotospor	24.057
28	YENİASYA	10.721
29	ORTADOĞU	9.012
30	EVRENSEL	7.835
31	BİR GÜN	5.743
32	TODAY'S ZAMAN	5.554
33	Yeni Mesaj	5.326
34	Duty News	5.094
35	HÜRSES	2.144
	Total	<b>4.537.298</b>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.medyatava.com/tiraj.asp>

## **Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTUK)**

RTUK (Turkish: Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu, English: Radio and Television Supreme Council) is the Turkish state agency for monitoring, regulating, and sanctioning radio and television broadcasts. RTUK was founded in 1994 and is composed of nine members elected by the Grand National Assembly. RTUK is located in Ankara and maintains local offices in Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Diyarbakir, and Van. The RTUK law was changed in February 2010. It is now possible to broadcast 24 hours in languages than other Turkish; so far 14 TV and Radio channels have received licenses to broadcast in Kurdish, Zazaki and Arabic.

<http://www.rtuk.org.tr/>

## **Turkey's Leading Media Holdings**

After the 1980s, the media ownership structure changed dramatically, with businessmen from a non-journalism background acquiring key media outlets or launching new ones. Leading holdings and their most important outlets include (in alphabetical order):

### **Albayrak Medya Grubu**

The Albayrak Group was established in 1952. Until 1982 it was active only in the construction sector. The group began publishing the daily Yeni Safak in 1995. Since 2007 it runs TVNET, a news channel.

<http://www.albayrak.com.tr/55yil/55yil-en/55yil-en.swf>

### **Ciner Medya Grubu**

Ciner Holding was founded in 1978 under the name Park Holding and was active in the automotive and energy sectors, among others. The Holding began to acquire a stake in the media sector in 2002. In September 2007 it founded Ciner Publishing Holding, which currently incorporates Haberturk.com, Haberturk Radyo, Haberturk TV, Ajans Haberturk and Gazete Haberturk. The holding's portfolio also contains international TV and radio channels and journals. These include Bloomberg TV and Bloomberg HT Radyo, as well as the Turkish language editions of Newsweek, FHM, Marie Claire Maison, Marie Claire, Food and Travel, GEO, and Mother and Baby.

<http://www.cinergroup.com.tr/index.php>

### **Cukurova Holding**

Cukurova is a holding founded in 1923 in Adana. It publishes the Aksam, Gunes, Tercuman and Alem newspapers and owns the Show and Sky Turk TV stations.

<http://www.cukurova.com.tr/>

### **Dogan Media Group**

Dogan Media Group was established in 1980 and is now Turkey's biggest media holding. In 1979, Aydin Dogan, founder of the holding, became the owner of Milliyet newspaper. Until the

end of 2009 the Holding was run by Aydin Dogan. His daughter Arzuhan Dogan Yalcindag became chairwoman in 2010.

The Group currently publishes 8 dailies: Hurriyet, Referans, Hurriyet Daily News, Milliyet, Radikal, Posta, Fanatik and Vatan. It also owns national TV channels Kanal D, Star and CNN Turk and thematic channels like Dream TV, Fenerbahce TV, Besiktas TV, Galatasaray TV, D Yesilcam, Emlak TV, Movie Smart, as well as radio stations Radyo D, CNN Turk Radyo, Slow Turk and Radyo Moda. Dogan runs its own news agency, DHA.

The media group also includes Dogan Burda Rizzoli (DBR), a joint venture with the German publishing house Burda and the Italian media corporation Rizzoli. Together they publish 22 magazines.

In 2009 the Finance Ministry levied a record fine of TL 3.76 billion (\$2.53 billion) against Dogan Holding for tax irregularities between 2005 and 2007. As this coincided with a period of tense relations between Dogan Media outlets and the AKP government, speculation that the fine was politically motivated has been widespread. The relevant court cases are under way.

<http://www.dyh.com.tr/eng/>

### **Dogus Yayin Grubu**

Dogus Media Group started operations in 1999, subsequently acquiring the news channel NTV. In addition, the Group is working with international brands such as CNBC, NBA, Billboard, Virgin, and National Geographic.

[http://www.dogusgrubu.com.tr/en/icerik/9847/1/webkurumsal/dogus\\_group](http://www.dogusgrubu.com.tr/en/icerik/9847/1/webkurumsal/dogus_group)

### **Feza Gazetecilik Grubu**

Feza Group publishes Zaman, Turkey's most circulated daily, since 1986. In 1994 the Group also began running the news agency Cihan and publishing the weekly Aksiyon. Since January 2007 Feza also publishes the English language daily Today's Zaman. Feza has a partnership agreement with Samanyolu Group. Both groups are affiliated with the Gulen movement.

<http://www.zaman.com.tr/import.do?kunye>

### **Samanyolu Yayin Grubu**

Samanyolu Group was founded in 1993. The group is specialized in electronic media and owns Samanyolu TV, Samanyolu Haber (News) TV, Mehtap TV and Ebru TV and radio channels Burc, Dunya and Samanyolu News Radio.

<http://samanyolu.com.tr/>

### **Turkuvaz Medya Grubu**

The Turkuvaz Radyo Televizyon Gazetecilik ve Yayıncılık Group belongs to Calik Holding. In December 2007 the group bought the Merkez Medya Group from Ciner Holding and so became the owner of the newspapers Yeni Asir (Izmir), Sabah, Takvim, Gunaydin and Pas Fotomac, the

weeklies Bebegim ve Biz, Sinema, Home Art, Yeni Aktuel and Gobar Enerji, as well as the TV station ATV.

<http://www.turkuvazyayin.com.tr/>

## **News agencies**

### **Anadolu Agency**

Anadolu Agency (AA) is Turkey's oldest news agency, founded during the war of independence in 1920 by order of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Today the agency has 41 offices in Turkey and 26 abroad.

<http://www.aa.com.tr/en/news/>

### **Dogan News Agency**

Dogan Haber Ajansi (DHA) was founded in 1999 when the Hurriyet and Milliyet News agencies were merged. It currently has 30 domestic offices and 19 abroad.

<http://www.dha.com.tr/cenglish.php?c=english>

### **Cihan News Agency**

Cihan News Agency was established in 1994 and is part of the Feza Media Corp. It has 6 domestic offices. CIHAN provides an average of 450 text stories, 400 photos, 180 photo stories and 85 video stories per day. CIHAN also provides news and services in English and Arabic.

<http://www.cihan.com.tr/>

[http://www.cihanmedya.com/media\\_services/](http://www.cihanmedya.com/media_services/)

### **Ihlas News Agency**

Ihlas News Agency (IHA) belongs to the Ihlas Holding. It has 145 offices in Turkey and abroad.

<http://www.iha.com.tr/>

### **Dicle News Agency (DIHA)**

DIHA was founded in 2002 with headquarters in Istanbul, 5 other offices in Turkey and one office in northern Iraq. DIHA offers news in Turkish, Kurdish and – occasionally – English.

<http://www.diclehaber.com/>

## Non-Turkish language newspapers and minority press

### Azadiya Welat (Kurdish)



Azadiya Welat is the only daily published in Kurdish. Following a 1991 law that legalised Kurdish language publications, a Kurdish weekly named Welat was launched in Istanbul on 22

February 1992. Subsequently closed down, the weekly changed its name in to Azadiya Welat in 1996. It has been publishing since, albeit with some interruptions (due to court-imposed bans). In 2003 the paper moved its headquarters from Istanbul to Diyarbakir and in 2006 it began to appear as a daily. The paper is distributed across the country and has a circulation between 4000 and 10000. <http://www.welat.org/>

### Apoyevmatini (Greek)



Apoyevmatini, or “Mid-afternoon,” has been publishing since 1925. The four-page newspaper currently comes out as a weekly. Its editor in chief is Mihail Vasiliadis. Vasiliadis’ philosophy when he took over the paper in

late 2002 was to have it appear in every Greek household in Istanbul. Of the 580 issues that are published each week, 550 are delivered to Greek families in Istanbul.

### Iho (Greek)

Iho, or echo, started in 1977 as a bi-weekly. Two years later it became a daily newspaper. The six-page daily sells around 500 copies. Iho, like Apoyevmatini, has a great symbolic significance but little journalistic outreach. Almost all subscribers are Istanbul-based Greeks.

### Salom (Turkish – Judeo-Espanyol)



Jews established the first printing press in the Ottoman Empire in 1493 in Istanbul, which went on to become an important centre of Hebrew printing between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first Jewish newspaper "La Buena Esperansa" (Good Hope) was published in Izmir in 1840. The first one in Istanbul

was "Or Israel" (Light of Israel), which appeared in 1853. In subsequent years a wealth of Jewish publications appeared, with newspapers in Ladino (Judeo-Espanyol), French and Turkish.

Currently, only one remains. Salom, a 16-page weekly, was established in 1947 and was published completely in Ladino until the 1980s, when it switched to Turkish (to suit a younger generation of Jews that no longer spoke Ladino). However, one page is still published in this language, an ancient form of Spanish.

Salom currently prints 3,500 copies and has 500 subscribers abroad. It has 40 authors that regularly contribute on a voluntary basis and 15 employees. <http://www.salom.com.tr/>

## Hurriyet Daily News – Today's Zaman



There are also two English-language dailies, each of them selling about 5500 copies daily. Hurriyet Daily News, formerly Turkish Daily News, Turkey's first English language newspaper, was founded in 1961. Since 2001 the newspaper belongs to the Dogan Media Group. It changed its name in November 2008.

The second English daily, Today's Zaman (an offshoot of the Zaman newspaper), was founded in 2007.

Contributors to Hurriyet Daily News and Today's Zaman include journalists who write for the papers' Turkish-language equivalents. Some of the journalists write exclusively for the English editions.

<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/>

<http://www.todayszaman.com/>

## Armenian newspapers

The first Armenian printing house in Istanbul was set up in 1567 by Armenian arrivals from Venice. The publication of the Tindak Puzantayan newspaper in 1812 marked the birth of the Armenian press.

Istanbul is home to a number of long-running Armenian publications. Of these, "Jamanak" and "Marmara" have a long tradition of preserving Turkish Armenian literature, an integral part of Western Armenian culture.

### Jamanak



Jamanak (Armenian: Ժամանակ, "Time") is the longest continuously running daily newspaper in Turkey, its first issue having appeared on 28 October 1908. The paper is a family establishment. Misak Kocunyan was Jamanak's first editor, generations of Kocunyans having followed in his footsteps. Since 1992 the paper is run by Ara Kocunyan.



Photo: Ara Kocunyan with presidents Gul and Sarkysyan on 14 October 2009 in Bursa.

### Jamanak

P.O. Box 22, Beyoglu  
Istanbul - Turkey

Tel: +90-212 243 5639.



## Marmara



Marmara (Armenian: Մարմարա, sometimes "Nor Marmara" - New Marmara) is published since 1940 in Istanbul. It was established by Souren Shamlian. Robert Haddeler took over in 1967. Marmara is published six times a week (except on Sundays). The Friday edition contains a section in Turkish. Circulation is around 1500. Half of the subscriptions are sent abroad to Turkish Armenians who have moved away from Turkey. Marmara was the first Armenian newspaper in Turkey to have a website.

E-mail: [info@normarmara.com](mailto:info@normarmara.com)

Web: <http://www.normarmara.com/>

## Lraper



LRAPER

Lraper is the news bulletin of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul published in Armenian, Turkish and English.

<http://www.lraper.org/main.aspx?Action=ChangeLanguage&Language=ENG>

## Lraper

Sevgi Sokak No:20, Kumkapi  
TR 34130, Istanbul - Turkey

Tel: +90 212 517 0970/71

Fax: +90 212 516 4833

E-Mail: [haybaddivan@gmail.com](mailto:haybaddivan@gmail.com)

## AGOS



Agos is the only example of a minority paper that caters to broader segments of society. It is a haven of alternative voices – Armenians, other Christians, Turks and Kurds – committed to democratization, Europeanization, human rights and a

multicultural and tolerant society.



Agos is also the story of its founder and long-time editor in chief Hrant Dink, who was born in Malatya in 1954 and came as a child to Istanbul.

Agos was born out of a meeting called by Armenian Patriarch Karekin II in 1996, at a time when mainstream media started linking the Armenians of Turkey with the terrorist PKK. Dink had not been a professional journalist until founding Agos. Up to that point, he had contributed occasional articles and book reviews to local Armenian language newspapers. He soon became well known for his editorials in Agos. He also wrote columns in the national dailies Zaman and BirGun.

By publishing mainly in Turkish, Dink opened up channels of communication with society at large. Agos started with a circulation of 2,000. By the time of Hrant Dink's death it had reached around 6,000.

Hrant Dink was assassinated in Istanbul on 19 January 2007 in front of the Agos offices. A feeling of solidarity with the paper led to increasing subscriptions (the paper is now available nationwide), as well as greater involvement of non-Armenians as editors or regular contributors.



Dink's successor as editor in chief was until June 2010 well-known journalist (Taraf, Today's Zaman) and academic (TESEV) Etyen Mahcupyan. Since then Rober Koptas who has been journalist with AGOS since the 1990s is the new editor in chief while Mahcupyan will be publishing consultant.

## AGOS

Halaskargazi cad. Sebat apt. No:74 kat:1, Osmanbey

80220, Istanbul - Turkey

Tel: (212) 296 23 64 - 231 56 94

Fax: (212) 247 55 19

E-mail: [agos@agos.com.tr](mailto:agos@agos.com.tr)

Web: <http://www.agos.com.tr/>

## **Aras Publishing**

# **ARAS YAYINCILIK**

Aras Publishing is the only Armenian publishing house in Turkey. It was founded in in 1993 by a group of Istanbul Armenians. It has now established itself as one of the few publishing houses producing works in two languages, Turkish and Armenian. Aras intends to safeguard the cultural legacy of Turkey's Armenians for future generations.

For a list of publications: [http://www.netkitap.com/yayinevi/2374/aras\\_yayinlari.htm](http://www.netkitap.com/yayinevi/2374/aras_yayinlari.htm)

## **Aras Publishing**

Istiklal Cad. Hidiryal Palas No: 231

Tunel / Beyoglu

34430 Istanbul - Turkey

Tel: +90 (212) 252 65 18

Fax: +90 (212) 252 65 19

Web: [http://www.arasyayincilik.com/store/Getron\\_DynamicIndex.asp](http://www.arasyayincilik.com/store/Getron_DynamicIndex.asp)

## Journalists regularly writing on Turkey – Armenia relations

### Amberin Zaman (Economist and Haberturk)



Amberin Zaman has been writing on Turkey-Armenia relations and the Armenian minority in Turkey for many years. She has also lived in Yerevan

For her articles in Haberturk: <http://www.haberturk.com/htyazarlar/index/0>

“Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation: Lots of Gloom but Not All Doom”,  
March 16, 2010,

[http://www.gmfus.org/publications/article.cfm?id=871&parent\\_type=P](http://www.gmfus.org/publications/article.cfm?id=871&parent_type=P)

E-mail: [azaman@htgazete.com.tr](mailto:azaman@htgazete.com.tr)

### Yavuz Baydar (Sabah and Today’s Zaman)



Baydar has been writing on Turkey-Armenia relations for many years. He has visited Armenia numerous times and participated in Turkish-Armenian exchange programmes for journalists. He also hosts a TV show on atv.

“Sarkysyan and Erdogan: What to do now?”

<http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/columnists-207118-sarkysyan-and-g-what-to-do-now.html> (12 April 2010)

E-mail: [y.baydar@todayszaman.com](mailto:y.baydar@todayszaman.com)

### Etyen Mahcupyan (Taraf, Agos, Today’s Zaman)



Etyen Mahcupyan, an academic and journalist, is one of the most prominent Turkish Armenians. He belongs to the small group of Catholic Armenians. Mahcupyan has been a columnist since 1997 when he started to write for Radikal. Since 2001 he also writes for Zaman. After the assassination of Hrant Dink he became the editor-in-chief of Agos in February 2007. He also writes a column for Taraf.

Articles in Taraf: <http://www.taraf.com.tr/etyen-mahcupyan/>

“The Armenian issue in the election year” (26 March 2010)

<http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/columnists-205440-the-armenian-issue-in-the-election-year.html>

Mahcupyan is the author of several books. In 2005 he published the autobiographical book “The Other within Us” (Icimizdeki Öteki).

E-mail: [emahcupyan@gmail.com](mailto:emahcupyan@gmail.com)

### **Markar Esayan (Taraf)**



Esayan wrote for Agos from 1997 until 2008 when he became a columnist with Taraf. Esayan is also the author of two books. His most recent, “Encounter” (Karsilasma), a book about the memory of 1915, was published in 2007.

Esayan also participates in numerous Turkey-Armenia projects and events. On 19 November 2009 he wrote about a Yerevan workshop on rapprochement: Türkiye-Ermenistan ilişkileri ve Udi Yervant (“Turkey Armenia relations and Udi Yervant”), <http://www.taraf.com.tr/markar-esayan/makale-turkiye-ermenistan-iliskileri-ve-udi-yervant.htm>

Esayan’s articles for Taraf: <http://www.taraf.com.tr/markar-esayan/>

### **Aris Nalci (Agos)**



Aris Nalci got his start at Agos 13 years ago, still as a university student. He is currently an editor and a columnist. Nalci participated in several Turkish-Armenian journalist exchange projects.

[aris.nalci@agos.com.tr](mailto:aris.nalci@agos.com.tr)

### **Cengiz Candar (Radikal)**



Cengiz Candar is a veteran Turkish journalist. Since 1976 he has worked for several newspapers and agencies. He is currently a columnist for Radikal; his articles are also published in Hurriyet and Referans. Candar has been to Armenia several times and closely follows Turkey-Armenia relations.

On 23 April 2010 Candar wrote “Turkey-Armenia – In the freezer”, <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=14507914&yazarid=215>

[arid=215](http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=14507914&yazarid=215)

On 14 October 2009 he wrote “From Yerevan to Bursa: writing history anew” (Erivan'dan Bursa'ya: Tarihi Yeniden Yazmak),

<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=12684420&yazarid=215>

10 October 2009: Turkey and Armenia: On the road without return (Türkiye-ile Ermenistan: “Dönüsü Olmayan Yolda”...),

<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=12660345&yazarid=215>

For a list of his articles:

[http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/index/cengiz\\_%C3%A7andar/](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/index/cengiz_%C3%A7andar/)

[http://www.referansgazetesi.com/sonhaber.aspx?YZR\\_KOD=151](http://www.referansgazetesi.com/sonhaber.aspx?YZR_KOD=151)

E-mail: [ccandar@radikal.com.tr](mailto:ccandar@radikal.com.tr)

### **Leyla Tavsanoglu (Cumhuriyet)**



Leyla Tavsanoglu is an experienced journalist with daily Cumhuriyet. Known for her insightful interviews, she talked with Tigran Mykrtchan about the protocols on 3 November 2009: “The name Karabagh was not even mentioned”, <http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?im=yhs&hn=91768>

On 3 June 2010 she spoke at a conference organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation on Turkey-Armenia rapprochement, <http://www.kas.de/proj/home/events/44/1/veranstalt>

[ung\\_id-41010/index.html](http://www.kas.de/proj/home/events/44/1/veranstalt_id-41010/index.html)

### **Mehmet Ali Birand (Posta, Kanal D)**



Mehmet Ali Birand is one of the most visible journalists and foreign policy experts in Turkey. Birand has lived around 20 years abroad, mostly in Brussels where he worked for daily Milliyet. In 1991 he returned to Turkey. He is currently a columnist for daily Posta and an anchorman at TV channel Kanal D, which runs a joint news service with CNN Turk. At Kanal D, he also co-hosts 32. gün (the 32<sup>nd</sup> Day), the station’s main news programme, broadcast once a week.

Birand has also worked and published on Turkey-Armenia relations, recently on 23 April 2010: “Sarkisyan, hem Erdogan'i hem de protokolleri kurtardi” (Sarkisyan saved both Erdogan and the protocols),

[http://www.posta.com.tr/siyaset/YazarHaberDetay/Sarkisyan\\_hem\\_Erdogan\\_i\\_hem\\_de\\_protokolleri\\_kurtardi\\_.htm?ArticleID=27394](http://www.posta.com.tr/siyaset/YazarHaberDetay/Sarkisyan_hem_Erdogan_i_hem_de_protokolleri_kurtardi_.htm?ArticleID=27394)

All of his articles for Posta:

<http://www.posta.com.tr/yazarlar/tumyazilari?AuthorID=304>

Hurriyet: <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/default.aspx?ID=69>

Hurriyet Daily News: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/c.php?c=opinion>

Details about 32. Gun and videos of recent programmes:

<http://www.kanald.com.tr/Programme/Detail.aspx?programmeId=10>

[mabirand@e-kolay.net](mailto:mabirand@e-kolay.net)

<http://www.mehmetalibirand.com.tr/>

### **Erdal Guven (Radikal)**



Erdal Guven is a columnist at Radikal. He is an expert on the Cyprus issue but also covers Turkey-Armenia relations. Guven has been to Armenia 5 times from 1994 until 2010, when he travelled to Yerevan with a group of Turkish journalists. He wrote about the trip in his column on 30 March 2010: “Protokoller için cöküsten önce son cikis” (Last exit for the protocols before failure)

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalYazarYazisi&ArticleID=988575&Yazar=ERDAL&Date=30.03.2010&CategoryID=100>

All of his articles for Radikal:

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalYazarlar&AuthorCatID=0&Date=>

### **Omer Taspinar (Sabah and Today's Zaman)**



Omer Taspinar is the Turkey project director at the Brookings Institute. He is also professor at the National War College and adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Taspinar is a columnist for daily Sabah and Today's Zaman, focusing on foreign policy issues including Turkey-Armenia relations. Some of his recent examples include “Turkish-Armenian Stalemate” (11 February 2010),

<http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/columnists-198162-turkish-armenian-stalemate.html> and “Turkish-Armenian traumas” (12 October 2009), <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/columnists-189611-turkish-armenian-traumas.html>

“Protokolleri komadan cikarma formülü” (Formula to get the protocols out of the coma, 28 December 2009)

[http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yazarlar/taspinar/2009/12/28/protokolleri\\_komadan\\_cikarma\\_formulu](http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yazarlar/taspinar/2009/12/28/protokolleri_komadan_cikarma_formulu)

All of his articles chronologically collected: <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/78-omer-taspinar.html>

### **Abdulhamit Bilici (Cihan News Agency, Zaman, Today's Zaman)**



Abdulhamit Bilici is the general director of Cihan News Agency and a columnist for Zaman and Today's Zaman. Bilici mainly writes on foreign policy issues. Some of his recent articles on Turkey-Armenia relations include "Normalization with Armenian surrealism?" (17 April 2010), <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/columnists-207650-normalization-with-armenian-surrealism.html> and "Does Armenia want a solution?" (2 February 2010), <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/columnists-200290-does-armenia-want-a-solution.html>

Email: [a.bilici@cihan.com.tr](mailto:a.bilici@cihan.com.tr)

### **Semin Gumusel (Newsweek)**



Semin Gumusel is a foreign policy journalist at Newsweek Turkey, responsible for the "world news" section. She has been writing regularly on Turkey-Armenia relations and conducted several interviews with Armenian politicians, including Ter-Petrosyan (12 January 2008)

<http://www.newsweekturkiye.com/haberler/detay/22211/Baska-iletisim-yollari-hep-vardi>



On 7 March 2010, Gumusel and Afsin Yurdakul wrote the cover story about the Armenian Diaspora,

<http://www.newsweekturkiye.com/haberler/detay/36797/Diasporan-in-ebatlari>

Tel: +212 313 60 00

Fax: +212 313 74 55

E-mail: [sgumusel@newsweekturkiye.com](mailto:sgumusel@newsweekturkiye.com)



## Hasan Cemal (Milliyet)



Hasan Cemal is the grand child of Cemal Pasha, one of the three generals (together with Enver and Talat) who ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1913 onwards. Cemal Pasha is widely seen to be responsible for the government's domestic and foreign policies, including the Armenian genocide. After World War I Cemal fled abroad, in 1922 he was assassinated by Stepan Dzaghigian in Tbilisi.

Hasan Cemal has been a journalist since 1969. He worked for Cumhuriyet and Sabah before joining Milliyet more than 10 years ago. In recent years he has written on Turkey-Armenia relations and visited on several occasions Yerevan.

On 24 April 2010 he entitled his column "I am sharing the Armenians' pain of 24 April"

"Some can call these pages of history forced emigration, some tragedy, some massacre, some genocide, some big catastrophe. But it cannot be denied."

Cemal remembered in the column his feelings when in September 2008 he put three white karanfil to the Genocide Memorial in Yerevan thinking about Hrant Dink and to show respect to the sorrows of the others: "Both as an individual and as a state we finally have to share the 24 April pain of the Armenians."

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ermenilerin-24-nisan-acisini-paylasiyorum-/hasan-cemal/siyaset/yazardetay/24.04.2010/1229159/default.htm>

His columns at Milliyet in chronological order:

<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Yazar.aspx?AuthorID=63&ItemsPerPage=10&PAGE=1&aType=YazarTumYaziArsiv>

Contact: [h.cemal@milliyet.com.tr](mailto:h.cemal@milliyet.com.tr)

## Yonca Poyraz Doğan (Today's Zaman)



Yonca Poyraz Doğan has been writing on Turkey-Armenia relations and relations between Turks and Armenians. She also covers minorities in Turkey including Armenians. She visited Armenia many times and participated in exchange programs for journalists in Armenia.

- On 22 November 2010, she [interviewed Mıgirdiç Margosyan](#)
- Her weekly “Monday Talk” interviews at Today's Zaman frequently cover Turkey-Armenia relations such as that on 12 July 2010 [with Ambassador David Hovhannisyan](#)
- In her articles on 17 and 21 October 2010 she [highlighted the role of the civil society](#) in the improvement of [relations between the two countries and the two communities](#)
- For the Turkish Policy Quarterly's Winter 2009 issue, she shared her [views on the process of rapprochement](#)

Contact: [y.poyrazdogan@todayszaman.com](mailto:y.poyrazdogan@todayszaman.com)

## Think Tanks

### European Stability Initiative (ESI)

ESI is a research and policy institute, created in recognition of the need for independent, in-depth analysis of the complex issues involved in promoting stability and prosperity in Europe. ESI was founded in June 1999 by a multi-national group of practitioners and analysts with extensive experience in the regions it studied.



Since 2007 ESI has also been working on the Southern Caucasus (Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia).



Gerald Knaus is ESI founding Chairman. He studied in Oxford, Brussels and Bologna. He taught economics at the State University of Chernivtsi in Ukraine and worked for five years in Bulgaria and Bosnia for NGOs and international organizations. He was director of the Lessons Learned Unit of the EU Pillar of the UN Mission in Kosovo (from 2001 to 2004). He co-authored more than 60 ESI reports as well as many scripts for TV documentaries on South East Europe ([www.returntoeurope.eu](http://www.returntoeurope.eu)). Gerald Knaus has been based in Istanbul since 2004. He is a founding member of the European Council on Foreign Relations and associate fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the Harvard University

Kennedy School where he also spent one year as a visiting fellow lecturing on state building and intervention.

Gerald Knaus writes a blog, the Rumeli Observer. On 20 July 2009 Gerald Knaus and Piotr Zalewski wrote on Turkey-Armenia relations: “Red herrings in Turkish-Armenian Debate”, <http://www.esiweb.org/rumeliobserver/2009/06/20/red-herrings-in-turkish-armenian-debate/>

E-mail: [g.knaus@esiweb.org](mailto:g.knaus@esiweb.org)



Diba Nigar Goksel, who has been working with ESI since 2004, has headed much of ESI’s Caucasus research. Nigar writes regularly on Turkey-Armenia related issues.

Some of her recent publications include:

“**Turks and Armenian Walking the Reconciliation Tightrope**”, GMF On Turkey Series, October 2010

[http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct\\_publication\\_attachments/Goksel\\_Churches\\_Oct10\\_final.pdf;jsessionid=asglylWvUFgck3S](http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Goksel_Churches_Oct10_final.pdf;jsessionid=asglylWvUFgck3S)

[MMU](#)

**“The Rubik’s Cube of Turkey - Armenia Relations,”** UNISCI Discussion Papers – Special Edition on Turkey (No 23, May 2010) <http://www.ucm.es/info/unisci/english/index.html>

“A Brave New World for Turkey and Armenia?” October 2, 2009  
<http://www.gmfus.org/publications/article.cfm?id=667> and

“Turkey and Armenia: Adjusting Expectations”, May 18, 2009  
<http://www.gmfus.org/publications/article.cfm?id=586>

Diba Nigar Goksel has also written about Armenia’s domestic dynamics, for Turkish audiences: <http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/21.%20Yuzyl.%20Nigar%20Goksel%20-%20Ermenistandan%20Manzaralar%20-%20January-March%202009.pdf>.

In 2009 and 2010 Diba Nigar Goksel gave numerous presentations on Turkey-Armenia relations at platforms like Chatham House in London, Jamestown Foundation in Washington DC, NUPI in Oslo and CIDOB in Barcelona. Nigar is active in a number of civil dialogue initiatives and workshops on Turkey-Armenia relations.

E-mail: [n.goksel@esiweb.org](mailto:n.goksel@esiweb.org)

Nigar has been interviewed regularly by the Azerbaijani press about Turkey-Armenia relations: <http://www.news.az/articles/16152>



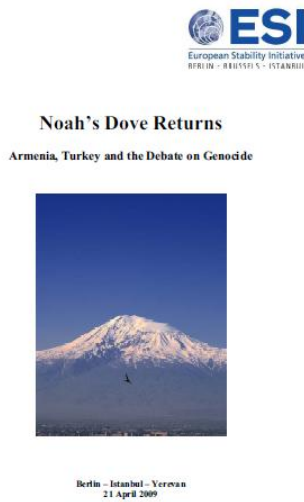
Diba Nigar Goksel is at the same time the editor-in-chief of the Turkish Policy Quarterly (TPQ), <http://www.turkishpolicy.com/>. Published since 2002, and focusing on Turkey’s neighbourhood, TPQ has closely followed developments in the Caucasus and provided a platform for diverse views about the pressing issues of the region, including various dimensions of the Turkey-Armenia relations. E-mail: [nigar@turkishpolicy.com](mailto:nigar@turkishpolicy.com)



Ekrem Eddy Güzeldere has been working since 2007 for ESI’s Istanbul office. Ekrem contributed to the ESI report on Turkey-Armenia relations and has been working for the past year on Christian minorities: the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul (ESI forthcoming report: The General and the Patriarch), and on ultranationalist networks targeting Christian minorities (ESI forthcoming report: Murder in Anatolia). In September 2010 he wrote about the first church service on Akhtamar Island, <http://www.theglobaldispatches.com/articles/akhtamar-island>.

E-mail: [e.guzeldere@esiweb.org](mailto:e.guzeldere@esiweb.org)

## ESI publications on Turkey-Armenia relations



Noah's Dove Returns. Armenia, Turkey and the Debate on Genocide, 21 April 2009:

[http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\\_ID=108](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=108)

[http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\\_ID=110](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=110) (Turkish)

[http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document\\_ID=109](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=109) (Armenian)

Online Picture Story: “Armenia-Turkey: The Great Debate” (June 2009)

[http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=322&debate\\_ID=2](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=322&debate_ID=2) ; Also available in Armenian: [Հայաստան-Թուրքիա: Մեծ Բանավեճը](#).

Newsletter 12 March 2010: “Turkey's friends and the international debate on the Armenian Genocide,” [http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=67&newsletter\\_ID=45](http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=67&newsletter_ID=45)

This newsletter is also available in Turkish: [Türkiye'nin dostlari ve Ermeni Soykiriimi üzerine uluslararası tartismalar](#) (29 Mart 2010).

### European Stability Initiative (ESI) - Berlin office

Großbeerenstraße 83  
10963 Berlin - Germany

Tel: +49 30 53214455

Fax: +49 30 53214457

E-mail: [berlin@esiweb.org](mailto:berlin@esiweb.org)

Web: <http://www.esiweb.org/>

### European Stability Initiative (ESI) – Istanbul office

Arpacı Cemesi sok. 19/4, Rumelihisari  
34470, Istanbul – Turkey

Tel: +90 212 2574337

Fax: +90 212 2575069

E-mail: [istanbul@esiweb.org](mailto:istanbul@esiweb.org)

Web: <http://www.esiweb.org/>

## Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)



The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) was founded in 1994. TESEV focuses on policy questions facing Turkey and its neighbourhood. Programme areas are grouped under three headings:

- Democratization
- Foreign Policy
- Good Governance

TESEV Foreign Policy Programme staff dealing with Armenia:



**Mensur Akgun** (Programme Consultant), was director of the Foreign Policy Programme at TESEV between 2002 and 2009. He is also the director of the Global Political Trends Centre (GPoT) and chair of the International Relations Department at Istanbul Kultur University. He now works as a consultant for the Foreign Policy Programme. [makgun@tese.org.tr](mailto:makgun@tese.org.tr)



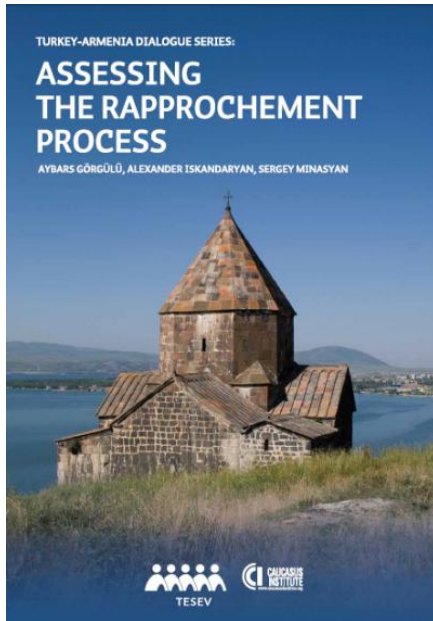
**Aybars Gorgulu** (Assistant Programme Officer) joined TESEV's Foreign Policy Programme in December 2006. He continues to work as a teaching assistant – while continuing his doctoral studies – in the Department of Politics at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in Sabanci University. He is the coordinator of the Foreign Policy Programme's Armenia projects.

### Events and new Publications:

3 November 2010: Discussing Turkish-Armenian Relations in Kars

TESEV organized a half day conference in Kars on 3 November 2010. Speakers were Gevorg Ter-Gabrielyan -Eurasia Partnership Foundation, Aybars Görgülü – TESEV, Aris Nalcı – AGOS, Hovannes Hovannesyanyan - Armenian Liberal Party, Vahan Asatryan – ICHD, Hüsnü Kapu – Caucasus University, Vahagn Khachatryan – Former Mayor of Yerevan, İlhan Koçulu – Boğatepe Foundation, Stepan Grigoryan – ACGRC, Temel İskit – Taraf

The meeting was the first leg of TESEV’s Anatolia advocacy meetings aiming to discuss Turkey-Armenia relations in their entirety with the intention to take the dialogue on rapprochement outside of the main centres of Ankara and Istanbul.



28 May 2010: “Turkey - Armenia: Moving on?”

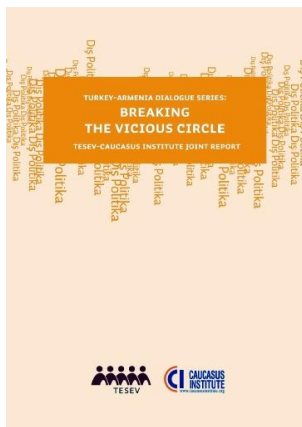
The half-day symposium was held in the TESEV offices in Istanbul Karakoy. Speakers were Mensur Akgun, Aybars Gorgulu, Alexander Iskandaryan (Caucasus Institute), Erdal Guven (Radikal), Thomas De Waal (Carnegie Endowment), Cengiz Aktar (Bahcesehir University), David Hovhannisyan (Retired Ambassador), and Sabine Freizer (International Crisis Group).

At the event TESEV presented its new publication “Assessing the Rapprochement Process”, part of the Turkey-Armenia Dialogue series initiated between TESEV and the Yerevan-based Caucasus Institute in 2008. The authors are Aybars Gorgulu, Alexandar Iskandaryan and Sergey Minasyan from the Caucasus Institute. The report analyzes the situation after the signing of the protocols in 2009 and the current state of Turkey-Armenia relations. “The report,” according to its authors, “approaches the subject from the assumption that the protocols are worth saving.” It also highlights that – high politics aside – reconciliation and the role of civil society are vital aspects of the normalization process.

The report can be downloaded at:

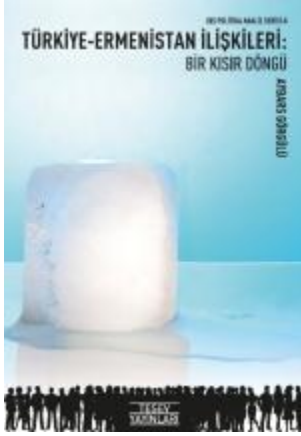
[http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD\\_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/ERM\\_Ass.%20the%20Rap.%20Process\\_2010.pdf](http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/ERM_Ass.%20the%20Rap.%20Process_2010.pdf)

One thematic issue of the Foreign Policy programme is “Normalization of Turkey - Armenia Relations”. So far two publications on Turkey-Armenia relations have been released:



“Turkey - Armenia Dialogue Series: Breaking the Vicious Circle”, by Aybars Gorgulu, Alexander Iskandaryan, Sergey Minasyan and Sabiha Senyucel Gundogay, 15 April 2009

This report follows the November 2008 workshop on Turkey-Armenia relations, organized by TESEV and the Caucasus Institute. It summarizes and expands on the findings of the workshop. [Download publication](#)



“Turkey - Armenia Relations: A Vicious Circle”, by Aybars Gorgulu,  
15 May 2008

The report takes stock of the past 17 years of Turkish-Armenian relations, identifies key issues, highlights key diplomatic and civic efforts and emphasizes the need to normalize Turkey Armenian relations. [Download the report](#)

## **TESEV**

Bankalar Caddesi, Minerva Han, No.2, Kat.3  
Karaköy  
34420, Istanbul – Turkey

Tel: +90 (212) 292 89 03

Fax: +90 (212) 292 90 46

E-mail: [info@tese.org.tr](mailto:info@tese.org.tr)

Web: <http://www.tesev.org.tr/default.asp?PG=ANAEN>



## Global Political Trends Center (GpoT)



Global Political Trends Centre (GPoT) was established as a research unit under the auspices of Istanbul Kultur University in 2008. GPoT Centre has been involved in several initiatives including the Forum for the Future, projects that monitor the recent developments in Cyprus, discussions of Turkish-Armenian relations, track two diplomacy between Israel and Syria, and the Turkish-Arab Dialogue.

One of the Centre's research projects is "Mutual Bias and Objectivity in the Media of Armenia and Turkey" (in partnership with EPF). The research will be conducted within the framework of the "Reducing Media Bias in Armenia and Turkey" programme supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The study will help increase awareness among media-related stakeholders of the major trends in mass-media reporting in Armenia and Turkey.

<http://www.gpotcenter.org/projects/>

### Events within the framework of the project:

13/14 October 2009, Bursa:

In the wake of the football match between Turkey and Armenia in Bursa, Turkish and Armenian journalists discussed the role of media bias in the normalization process and ways in which the media can add to the ongoing momentum. (For 6 months prior to this meeting, research teams had been conducting focus group interviews in Kars, Kayseri and Istanbul in Turkey, in parallel to similar interviews in Armenia conducted by the EFP research team.)

<http://www.gpotcenter.org/conferences/353>



normalization process on the Caucasus region.

The second meeting took place between 17 and 21 December 2009 in Yerevan. The discussions, which brought together experts and journalists from Turkey and Armenia, focused on the role of the Karabakh conflict in Turkish-Armenian relations, the ratification process of the protocols, and the impact of the

The ten Turkish journalists invited to Armenia for the 4-day event met with Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandian, Secretary General of the Presidency Vigen Sarkisian, Republican Party (the largest coalition partner) MP Artak Zakarian and (opposition) Heritage Party MP Stephan Safarian.

Between 24 and 28 March 2010 GPoT and the Eurasia Partnership Foundation in Armenia (EPF) organized “Days Two and Three in Armenia-Turkey Rapprochement” in Yerevan, a workshop with the participation of Turkish and Armenian stakeholders, experts and journalists.

<http://www.gpotcenter.org/conferences/504>

On 15 February 2010 GPoT held an event on “The State of Armenian Irregular Migrants in Turkey”.

The Centre also published Turk - Ermeni Iliskilerinin Gelecegi ve Nabucco (“The Future of Turkish Armenian relations and Nabucco”), by Yalim Eralp (April 2009)

<http://www.gpotcenter.org/dosyalar/yalim%20eralp%20-%20pb.pdf>



**Mensur Akgun** is the Director of GPoT and chair of the International Relations department at Istanbul Kultur University. Many of his publications are in the field of international relations and Turkish foreign policy.

[mensur.akgun@gpotcenter.org](mailto:mensur.akgun@gpotcenter.org)



**Sylvia Tiryaki** is the Deputy Director.

[sylvia.tiryaki@gpotcenter.org](mailto:sylvia.tiryaki@gpotcenter.org)



**Can Yirik** is the Junior Research Fellow at GPoT. Can has been involved in the Turkey-Armenia projects.

[can.yirik@gpotcenter.org](mailto:can.yirik@gpotcenter.org)

### **Istanbul Kultur University - Global Political Trends Centre**

Ataköy Campus - Bakirköy

34156, Istanbul – Turkey

Esra Köse: +90 212 4984141

E-mail: [esra.kose@gpotcenter.org](mailto:esra.kose@gpotcenter.org)

Direct: +90 212 4984476 - Fax: +90 212 4984405,

Web: <http://www.gpotcenter.org/>

## International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK)



Established in 2004, the International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK) works on Turkey-Armenia relations as part of its area studies programme. USAK's director since 14 June 2010 is Özdem Sanberk, a retired top diplomat. From 1985 to 1987 Sanberk was Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to then Prime Minister Turgut Özal. From 1987 to 1991 he served as Ambassador to the European Union. From 1995 to 2000 he was Ambassador to the United Kingdom. He retired in 2000 and worked as the Director of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) until September 2003.



Sedat Laciner, who had been the director since the foundation of USAK in 2004, now works as its General Coordinator. Laciner published a book in Turkish entitled "Turks and Armenians, an International Relations Study" in 2004.

E-mail: [slaciner@gmail.com](mailto:slaciner@gmail.com)

## USAK Centre for Central Asian and Caucasian Studies researchers and experts



### [Turgut Demirtepe](#)

Turgut Demirtepe is the head of Central Asian Studies at USAK. He is also the editor of the Journal of Central Asian and Caucasian Studies (Orta Asya ve Kafkasya Arastirmalari Dergisi). He also lectures on Politics and Political Sociology at Aksaray University.



### [Kamer Kasim](#)

Kamer Kasim is a Turkish International Relations lecturer and a researcher at USAK.



### [Guner Özkan](#)

Guner Özkan is a specialist in international relations. He is working as an expert on security issues in the Caucasus and Caspian regions at USAK.



### Hasan Selim Özertem

Hasan Selim Ozertem is a researcher studying Eurasia and International Relations, with particular reference to the Caspian Region, Russia and energy.

### **Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu**

Ayten Sokagi, No: 21, Mebusevleri, Tandogan  
Ankara. - Turkey

Tel: +90 312 212 28 86 (PBX)

Fax: +90 312 212 25 84

E-mail: [info@usak.org.uk](mailto:info@usak.org.uk); [merkez.usak@gmail.com](mailto:merkez.usak@gmail.com)

Centre for Central Asian and Caucasian Studies

Web: <http://www.usak.org.tr/EN/merkez.asp?id=17>

### **Turkish Centre for International Relations & Strategic Analysis (TURKSAM)**



The Turkish Centre for International Relations & Strategic Analysis (<http://www.turksam.org/en/>) (Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Stratejik Analizler Merkezi Turksam) was founded in 2004 in Ankara. Its director is Sinan Ogan. Turksam's projects focus on the Eurasia region. Turksam has an Institute for Armenian Studies <http://www.turksam.org/en/b45.html> within the regional programme on the Caucasus.

Events dealing with Turkey-Armenia issues

26 March 2010

“The Armenian Problem” brainstorming conference (“Ermeni Sorunu” Konulu Beyin Fırtınası Toplantısı)

“Türkiye-Ermenistan-Azerbaycan İlişkileri, Protokoller ve Ermeni Tasarıları”

“Turkey-Armenia-Azerbaijan relations, protocols and Armenian Drafts”

Communication: Gozde Kilic Yasin: [gozde.kyasin@turksam.org](mailto:gozde.kyasin@turksam.org)



Sinan Ogan, founder and chairman of TURKSAM,  
[sinan.ogan@turksam.org](mailto:sinan.ogan@turksam.org)

Sinan Ogan's personal website: <http://www.sinanogan.com/>

Articles by Sinan Ogan:

<http://www.sinanogan.com/listele.aspx?ID=MAKALELER>

Turksam publications concerning Armenia:

“Is Karabakh Provision diluted for opening the borders with Armenia?”, 20 April 2010,  
<http://www.turksam.org/en/a259.html>

Sinan Ogan in an interview with Armenian daily Zhamanak, 13 November 2009,  
<http://www.turksam.org/en/a251.html>



### **TURKSAM**

Oguzlar Mahallesi, Türkocagi Cad. 1388. Sok  
(eski 32. Sok), No: 52 -Balgat  
Ankara – Turkey

Tel: +90 312 285 31 00, +90 312 285 00 66

Fax: +90 312 285 00 71

E-mail: [turksam@turksam.org](mailto:turksam@turksam.org)

### **Centre for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM)**



ORSAM (Ortadogu Stratejik Arastirmalar Merkezi - Centre for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies) was established in 2009. Though it concentrates predominantly on Middle Eastern affairs, it also publishes analyses about developments in the Caucasus.

ORSAM’s Caucasus-related articles are available in Turkish at:  
<http://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/yazilar.aspx?DosyaID=18>

Hasan Kanbolat – Chairman, [hasankanbolat@orsam.org.tr](mailto:hasankanbolat@orsam.org.tr)

Ilyas Kamalov – Eurasia Advisor, [ilyaskamalov@orsam.org.tr](mailto:ilyaskamalov@orsam.org.tr)

### **ORSAM**

Mithatpasa Caddesi No: 46/3-4

Kizilay

06420, Ankara – Turkey

Tel: +90 (312) 430 26 09

Fax: +90 (312) 430 39 48

E-mail: [orsam@orsam.org.tr](mailto:orsam@orsam.org.tr)

## Centre for Eurasian Studies (AVIM)



The Centre for Eurasian Studies (AVIM) was established in the beginning of 2009 by the Turkmeneli Cooperation and Cultural Foundation in Ankara. The aim of the Institute is to conduct research on matters relating to Turkey's role in the Caucasus, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, Asia (especially Russia and the Turkic Republics), the Middle East (particularly Iraq) and the EU and its member countries.



AVIM has incorporated the Institute for Armenian Research (ERAREN, <http://www.eraren.org/>), which was active in Ankara from 1999-2009 within the Centre for Eurasian Strategic Studies (ASAM). AVIM is also involved in the publication of two journals with a particular focus on Armenia: these are Ermeni

Arastirmalari (first publication in 2001) and the Review of Armenian Studies (first publication in 2002)

The Institute prepares a daily bulletin which includes news and analysis relating to Armenian issues, the Balkans, Iraq, Asia and Europe. This bulletin is E-mailed to approximately 3000 subscribers.



Retired ambassador Omer Engin Lutem is the director of the Centre for Eurasian Studies.

The Institute also has a website which features four different sections: the Caucasus and the Armenian Issue, the Balkans, Asia, and Europe. The Caucasus and Armenia sections include articles on Armenia and Turkey-Armenia relations. The "Armenian Question" section contains a tab on "Problems of

Turkey and Azerbaijan with Armenia".

<http://www.avim.org.tr/sablon3.php?icerik=gir&bolum=1&dil=1>

### AVIM

Süleyman Nazif Sokak No: 12-B Daire 2 - Çankaya  
Ankara – Turkey

Tel: +90 312 4385023-24

Fax: +90 312 4385026

Email: [info@avim.org.tr](mailto:info@avim.org.tr)

## Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV)



TEPAV is an independent, non-governmental and non-partisan think-tank established in October 2004. A “trust fund” has been formed through the support of The Union of Chambers of Turkey (TOBB) to finance TEPAV’s activities.

The foundation has three research institutes:

- Economic Policy Research Institute – EPRI
- Economic Stability Institute – ESI
- International Policy Research Institute – IPRI



TEPAV’s director is Guven Sak

[guven.sak@tepav.org.tr](mailto:guven.sak@tepav.org.tr)

Foreign Policy Studies Programme

<http://www.tepav.org.tr/eng/index.php?type=foreignpolicy&title=D>

## Burcu Gultekin Punsmann



Burcu Gultekin-Punsmann is a foreign policy analyst at TEPAV focusing on the Caucasus and especially on Turkey-Armenia relations. From May 2003 to April 2009 she worked with the Caucasus Business and Development Network (CBDN) project at International Alert, a London-based peace building NGO. In 2007-2008 Gultekin-Punsmann drafted briefing notes and reports on the Black Sea Synergy, energy security, Turkish-Armenian relations and minority issues for the European Parliament’s Directorate General for External

Policies. In 2006-2008 she was as a post-doctoral research fellow with the Centre for European Studies at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. She received the NATO Manfred Worner Fellowship in 2004-2005 and acted as the principal researcher for the NATO financed project “Bridging Perceptions of Security, Integrating the Black Sea Region.”

Publications:

“Building Bridge of Trust and Confidence between Turks and Armenians”, 8 April 2010,

<http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-206806-159-building-bridge-of-trust-and-confidence-between-turks-and-armenians.html>

“Moving Beyond Symbolism - The normalization of Turkish-Armenian Relations: a Window of Opportunity for Regional Prosperity?”, TEPAV Policy Note, October 2009,  
[http://www.filbilisim.com/external/tepav.org.tr/upload/files/1257767367r1562.Moving\\_Beyond\\_Symbolism.pdf](http://www.filbilisim.com/external/tepav.org.tr/upload/files/1257767367r1562.Moving_Beyond_Symbolism.pdf).

“[Linking Turkey's EU Accession Process and the ENP Regional Initiative: Necessary Cross-Border Cooperation with South Caucasus](#)”, in Bezen Balamir-Coskun/ Birgul Demirtas-Coskun (eds.) Neighborhood Challenge: The European Union and Its Neighbors, 2009,

“Black Sea Regional Policy Approach: A Potential Contributor to European Energy Security”  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?languageEN>

Email: [burcu.punsmann@tepav.org.tr](mailto:burcu.punsmann@tepav.org.tr)

**Project: Reconstruction of bridge at border river**

TEPAV initiated the effort to reconstruct a 10th-century bridge on the Akhuryan River, which lies on the historic Silk Road and marks the border between Turkey and Armenia. The ruined bridge that once spanned the river had one foot in each country. According to TEPAV staff, the project attempts to answer the need for creative and genuine confidence-building steps to foster the relationship between Turkey and Armenia.

**TEPAV in Armenia:**

A TEPAV delegation including Prof. Guven Sak, Prof. Erol Taymaz, Dr. Burcu Gultekin Punsmann and Mezenef Hatam visited Yerevan on 10-13 February 2010 for a series of events sponsored by GMF Turkey. On 11 February – in the context of this fact-finding mission – the World Bank Yerevan office organized a workshop bringing together donor organizations and NGOs on regional development. On 12 February 2010 TEPAV and the American Chamber of Commerce in Armenia hosted a panel discussion on “Turkish-Armenian Relations and Cross-Border Regionalism”.

<http://www.tepav.org.tr/eng/index.php?type=event&cid=182>

**TEPAV**

Sögütözü Cad. No:43 TOBB-ETÜ Yerleskesi 2. Kisim - Sögütözü  
06560, Ankara – Turkey

Tel +90 312 292 5500

Fax +90 312 292 5555

E-mail: [kurumsal\\_iletisim@tepav.org.tr](mailto:kurumsal_iletisim@tepav.org.tr)

Web: <http://www.tepav.org.tr/>



## **International Crisis Group (ICG)**

Founded in 1995, the International Crisis Group (ICG) is an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organisation committed to preventing and resolving conflict. ICG combines field-based analysis, sharp-edged policy prescription and high-level advocacy in working on conflict analysis, prevention or resolution. Crisis Group's international headquarters are in Brussels. The organisation has a regional office in Istanbul since 2007, from which Turkey-Armenia research is led, in conjunction with the ICG Caucasus Project, based in Tbilisi, Georgia.

### **ICG recent publications relating to Turkey-Armenia relations**

Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders, Europe Report N°199, 4 May 2009

Nagorno-Karabakh: Getting to a Breakthrough, Europe Briefing N°55, 7 Oct 2009

Nagorno-Karabakh: Risking War, Europe Report N°187, 14 Nov 2007

### **Sabine Freizer**

Sabine Freizer is Europe Program Director of ICG, based in Istanbul since 2009. She started with Crisis Group as Caucasus Project Director in July 2004. As Europe Program Director, she oversees projects covering the Caucasus, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro, and Turkey.



Some of her recent publications involving Turkey-Armenia relations are as follows:

“Soccer diplomacy – lessons for Armenia and Azerbaijan”, *Today's Zaman*, 18 October 2009

“Combustible Caucasus”, *The Wall Street Journal*, 13 March 2008

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/caucasus/freizer-combustible-caucasus.aspx> m

“Nagorno-Karabakh – A Frozen Conflict That Could Boil Over”, *European Voice*, 31 January 2008 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/caucasus/azerbaijan/freizer-nagorno-karabakh-a-frozen-conflict-that-could-boil-over.aspx>

“Nagorno-Karabakh: “Putting the Freeze on a Frozen Conflict”, *The Boston Globe*, 25 December 2007 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/caucasus/azerbaijan/nagorno-karabakh-putting-the-freeze-on-a-frozen-conflict.aspx>

“Nagorno-Karabakh: Between Vote and Reality”, Open Democracy, December 2006  
[http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-caucasus/nagorno\\_reality\\_4184.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-caucasus/nagorno_reality_4184.jsp)

### **Sabine Freizer**

Europe Program Director- Istanbul, Turkey  
Contact Tel: +90 212 293 1178  
[sfreizer@crisisgroup.org](mailto:sfreizer@crisisgroup.org)

### **Hugh Pope**

Hugh Pope is the Cyprus/Turkey Project Director of ICG since 2007. Previously he worked for the Wall Street Journal as Turkey & Middle East Correspondent (1997–2005) and authored books such as “Sons of the Conquerors: The Rise of the Turkic World” (Overlook Duckworth, 2005).

Some of his recent publications involving Turkey-Armenia relations are as follows:

“We Are All Armenians”, *The Wall Street Journal*, 27 April 2009

“Turkey and Armenia Inch Forward”, *The Los Angeles Times*, 16 September 2008

“Armenia Haunts the Turks Again”, *The Los Angeles Times*, 23 January 2007

“A Great Game Update”, *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, 17 January 2007



### **Hugh Pope**

Turkey/Cyprus Project Director, Istanbul, Turkey  
Tel: +90 212 293 1178  
[hpope@crisisgroup.org](mailto:hpope@crisisgroup.org)

**International Crisis Group - Brussels Office (Headquarters)**

149 Avenue Louise, Level 24

B-1050 Brussels, Belgium

**Tel:** +32-2-502 90 38

**Fax:** +32-2-502 50 38

**Email:** [brussels@crisisgroup.org](mailto:brussels@crisisgroup.org)

**International Crisis Group – Istanbul office**

Buyuk Hendek Cad. 17/6

Beyoglu

Istanbul 34420

**Tel:** +90 212 293 1178

**Fax:** +90 212 293 1180

## Society and Democracy Association (TDD)



The Society and Democracy Association (TDD) was founded in 2004 as the Association of Young Leaders of Anatolia by Tuna Beklevic, Asli Yaman, Elif Gursoy, Goksel Akman, Ozen Demircan, Idris Kardas and Burak Karapinar. In 2009 the association changed its name to the current form. The chairperson is Tuna Beklevic (photo), the deputy chairperson Mahir Toprak and the general secretary Goksel Akman.



The coordinator of projects involving Armenia is Aybars Orsek, who went to Yerevan in March 2010 to meet with Armenian NGOs, subsequently being instrumental in forming the Turkish Armenian Common Future Platform. . Between 27 and 30 June 2010 TDD brought 10 Turkish and 10 Armenian students to Istanbul for a workshop on “perceptions of the other” with Maryland University professor Edy Kaufman.

<http://www.toplumvedemokrasi.org.tr/kategori/turkish-armenian-common-future-platform/>

## The Society and Democracy Association (TDD)

Büyükdere Cad. Hukukcular Sitesi No:24 Kat:6 Daire:63

Şişli

Istanbul – Turkey

Tel: +90 212 347 20 11

Fax: +90 212 282 46 21

<http://www.toplumvedemokrasi.org.tr/>

## Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA)



The Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA) is a non-profit research institute dedicated to the study of national, regional, and international issues. Its objective is to provide policy makers and the public with up-to-date and accurate expertise and analysis in the fields of politics, economy and society.



Taha Özhan, General Coordinator

E-mail: [tozhan@setav.org](mailto:tozhan@setav.org)



Talip Kucukcan

E-mail: [tkucukcan@setav.org](mailto:tkucukcan@setav.org)



Prof. Dr. Bulent Aras, Foreign Policy Coordinator

E-mail: [abulent@isikun.edu.tr](mailto:abulent@isikun.edu.tr)

“A diplomatic mistake over Armenia”, Guardian, 5 March 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/mar/05/armenian-genocide-resolution-turkey>.

Publication in Turkish: Report of SETA Workshop on Turkey-Armenia Relations, June 2009, <http://www.setav.org/ups/dosya/9606.pdf>



The coordinator of SETA's Washington office is Nuh Yilmaz who previously worked as a correspondent for STAR newspaper and channel 24. Yilmaz has written regularly on Turkey Armenia relations.

7 March 2010, “Ermeni Tasarisi Kac Bahar Daha Gerecek?” (How many more springs will the Armenian plan still stretch?), <http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=25429>

15 February 2010, “Soykirimın Jeopolitigi” (Genocide Geopolitics),  
<http://www.setav.org/public/HaberDetay.aspx?Dil=tr&hid=23191>

## **SETA**

Resit Galip Cd. Hereke Sokak No: 10  
Gaziosmanpasa / Çankaya  
06700, Ankara - Turkey

Tel: +90 312.405 61 51  
Fax: +90 312.405 69 03



Insight Turkey, a quarterly journal in circulation since 1999, is currently published under the umbrella of SETA. Currently in its 12th volume, Insight Turkey covers a broad range of topics related to Turkey’s domestic and foreign policy, as well as its adjacent regions. Insight Turkey is a peer-reviewed policy-oriented journal. Its editor is Ihsan Dagi from the Middle East

Technical University  
<http://www.insightturkey.com/>

## **Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies (BILGESAM)**



**WISE MEN  
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

BILGESAM conducts scientific research on bilateral and multilateral issues, on Turkey’s security strategies, and on domestic political, economic, technological, environmental, and socio-cultural problems.



Chairman: Atilla Sandikli (photo)

Vice Chairman: Sadi Bilgic

The Caucasus is one of the areas covered by BILGESAM’s Regional Studies section. Three publications on Turkey-Armenia relations have appeared to date.

Cansu Arisoy, “Nagorno-Karabakh Problem: On the Edge of Peace Talks”, 22 February 2010,  
[http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=235:nagorno-karabakh-problem-on-the-edge-of-peace-talks-&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=145](http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=235:nagorno-karabakh-problem-on-the-edge-of-peace-talks-&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=145)

Muharrem Eksi, From the Process of Caucasus Cooperation and Stability Platform to the Normalization of Turkish-Armenian Relations, 27 October 2009,  
[http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=209:from-the-process-of-caucasus-cooperation-and-stability-platform-to-the-normalization-of-turkish-armenian-relations&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=145](http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=209:from-the-process-of-caucasus-cooperation-and-stability-platform-to-the-normalization-of-turkish-armenian-relations&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=145)

Bulent Aras and Fatih Ozbay,” Turkish-Armenian Relations: Will Football Diplomacy Work?”, 1 July 2009,  
[http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=186:turkish-armenian-relations-will-football-diplomacy-work&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=145](http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=186:turkish-armenian-relations-will-football-diplomacy-work&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=145)

(in Turkish) Fatih Özbay, “Türkiye-Ermenistan İlişkileri: Antipatiyi Empatiye Çevirmek” (Turkey-Armenia relations: turning antipathy into empathy), 24 September 2009,  
[http://www.bilgesam.com/tr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=458:turkiye-ermenistan-iliskileri-antipatiyi-empatiye-cevirmek-&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=148](http://www.bilgesam.com/tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=458:turkiye-ermenistan-iliskileri-antipatiyi-empatiye-cevirmek-&catid=86:analizler-kafkaslar&Itemid=148)

**BILGESAM** – Istanbul office  
Abide-i Hürriyet Caddesi, No: 10  
Celil Aga Is Merkezi, Kat:9, Daire:36 – Mecidiyeköy  
Istanbul - Turkey

Tel: +90 212 217 65 91  
Fax: +90 212 217 65 93  
E-mail: [bilgesam@bilgesam.org](mailto:bilgesam@bilgesam.org)

**BILGESAM** - Ankara Office  
Atatürk Bulvarı Havuzlu Sok.4/6  
A. Ayrancı/Cankaya  
Ankara – Turkey

Tel: +90 0312 4253290  
Fax: +90 0312 4253290  
E-mail: [bilgesam@gmail.com](mailto:bilgesam@gmail.com)

## The German Marshall Fund of the United States – Ankara



GMF's Ankara office opened in 2005. The office aims to support strong civil society in Turkey and its neighbouring countries and create a forum where Americans,

Europeans, and Turks can learn from one another and address shared challenges.

GMF's expansion into Turkey reflects the need to address policy challenges along Europe's borders, including the Balkans, the Black Sea region, and the Middle East. The office develops policy programmes, fellowships, and grant making activities that encourage more active and prominent Turkish participation in the transatlantic community.



Özgür Ünlühisarcikli  
Director Ankara Office

“A culture of trust and tolerance, or a beautiful, but lonely Turkey?”, 6 December 2009,

<http://www.gmfus.org/publications/article.cfm?id=608>

### The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Hatir Sokak 27/1

G.O.P. 06670

Ankara, Turkey

Tel: +90 312 447 4080

Fax: +90 312 447 4048

Web: <http://www.gmfus.org/about/office.cfm?city=ankara>



## **Caucasus Strategic Research Centre (KAFKASSAM)**

Kafkasya Stratejik Arastirmalar Merkezi (Caucasus Strategic Research Centre)



KAFKASSAM is based in Ankara, with offices in Yerevan, Baku, Tbilisi, Tebriz and Sochi. The institute works on the entire Caucasus, though it places special emphasis on projects in Armenia and with Armenian partners. Two such projects have been realized to date. One is a series of surveys about mutual perceptions carried out in Turkey and Armenia. (The first two surveys were conducted before and after the October 2009 football match in Armenia. KAFKASSAM plans to continue the surveys on a regular basis.)

Another project brought young painters – six from each country – to Gumru for meetings and expositions on the subject of borders. The second meeting of this group will be held in Istanbul under the name “Istanbul from dream to reality”. The painters will draw and paint their views of the city. The results will be shown at a special exhibition.

KAFKASSAM’s website went online on 2 January 2010 (the site is only available in Turkish). The website collects articles, interviews, analyses and comments about countries in the Caucasus and their relations with Turkey. One section features articles and comments on Armenia.



The Centre’s director is Hasan Oktay

E-mail: [hasanoktay@kafkassam.com](mailto:hasanoktay@kafkassam.com)

### **KAFKASSAM**

Necatibey cad. 33/9

Kizilay / Çankaya

Ankara – Turkey

Tel: +90 312 229 82 40

Fax: +90 312 229 82 30

E-mail: [info@kafkassam.com](mailto:info@kafkassam.com)

Web: <http://www.kafkassam.com/>

## Institute of Strategic Thinking (SDE)



The Institute of Strategic Thinking was officially founded on 3 March 2009 to operate within the Foundation of Strategic Thinking and Research.



Hasan Koni, Chairman of Board (photo)

Nuzhet Kandemir, Vice Chairman of Board

Chairman: Yasin Aktay

SDE's Birol Akgun and Murat Çemrek published an analysis piece on “The Armenian Problem in Turkey's Foreign Policy: The Suggestions to Solve the Historical Deadlock”. Published on the heels of SDE's April 2010 workshop on “The New Perspectives of the Armenian Problem”, the paper covers issues such as the “Internalization of the Armenian Problem” and “The Background of the Armenian Genocide Claims”. Indicating Turkey's strategies on these issues, the analysis also takes stock of both parties' expectations vis-à-vis the 2009 protocols.

[http://www.sde.org.tr/userfiles/file/sde\\_ermeni.PDF](http://www.sde.org.tr/userfiles/file/sde_ermeni.PDF)

### **Institute of Strategic Thinking**

Çetin Emec Bulvarı A. Öveçler Mah.  
4. Cad. 1330. Sk. No:12 - Çankaya  
06460, Ankara – Turkey

Tel: +90 (312) 473 80 45

Fax: +90 (312) 473 80 46

E-mail: [sde@sde.org.tr](mailto:sde@sde.org.tr)

Web: <http://www.sde.org.tr/en/default.aspx>

## Centre for Strategic Research (SAM)



The Centre for Strategic Research (Stratejik Arastirmalar Merkezi - SAM) has been active since May 1995. SAM conducts research on international relations and regional studies, examining international conflicts, making scholarly and scientific assessments of relevant issues, and reviewing Turkish foreign policy and its long term implications. SAM carries out these tasks in cooperation with both Turkish and foreign universities, institutions and specialists involved in similar work. Related subject matter is assessed in a wide spectrum, and to this end, the Centre consults specialists from the political, economic, financial and cultural fields as well as journalists with expertise in the field of foreign policy.



**Feridun Sinirlioglu,**

Undersecretary of the MFA is the Chairman of the Board.

### Centre for Strategic Research

Republic of Turkey

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Center for Strategic Research (SAM)

Dr. Sadik Ahmet Cad. No:8

A Blok 12. Kat, Balgat

06100, Ankara – Turkey

Tel: +90 312 292 2622, +90 312 292 2622

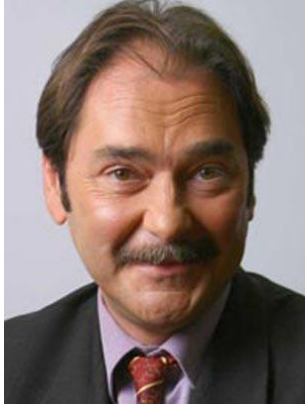
Fax: +90 312 292 26 35

E-mail: [strategy@mfa.gov.tr](mailto:strategy@mfa.gov.tr)

Web: [www.sam.gov.tr](http://www.sam.gov.tr)

## Academics working on Turkey-Armenia relations

### Cengiz Aktar (Bahcesehir University)



Cengiz Aktar is professor at Bahcesehir University and the Chairman of the Department of EU Relations in Istanbul. He is also a weekly columnist for daily Vatan. Aktar is an expert for Turkey-EU relations, but is also intensively involved in civil society initiatives in Turkey dealing with minority issues, the Kurdish question, and historical reconciliation. Aktar was one of the initiators of the apology campaign launched in December 2008, as a part of which Turks and Kurds expressed their sympathy for the victims of the events of 1915.

Aktar's articles for Vatan:

<http://w10.gazetevatan.com/root.vatan?exec=yazareskiyazilar&wid=121>

“Resmî Ermenistan aciliminin sonu” (The end of the official Armenia initiative), 7 May 2010, <http://haber.gazetevatan.com/haberdetay.asp?Newsid=291871&Categoryid=4&wid=121>

E-mail: [caktar@bahcesehir.edu.tr](mailto:caktar@bahcesehir.edu.tr)

### Ahmet Insel (Galatasaray University)



Ahmet Insel is professor in the Economic Department of Istanbul Galatasaray University.

Ahmet Insel is an editor of the monthly Birikim journal and a long-time contributor to the Sunday supplement Radikal II. Since 20 April 2010 Insel is columnist for the daily Radikal.

For his articles see:

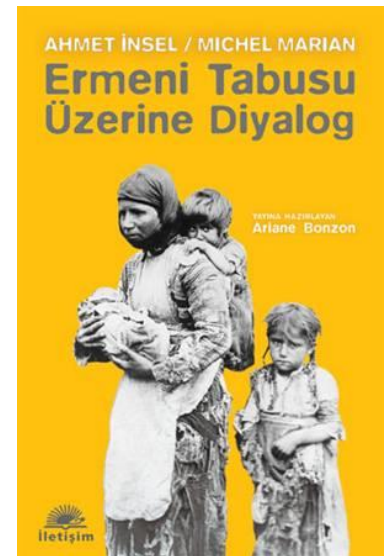
<http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalYazarlar&AuthorCatID=0&Date=>

Ahmet Insel was one of the initiators of the December 2008 apology campaign.

In April 2010 he and Michel Marian published “Dialogue about the Armenian Taboo” (in Turkish and French).

For the list of papers published in Birikim, see [www.birikimdergisi.com](http://www.birikimdergisi.com).

E-mail: [ainsel@gsu.edu.tr](mailto:ainsel@gsu.edu.tr)



## Mustafa Aydin (Kadir Has University rector)



Mustafa Aydin is an International Relations expert with a PhD from Lancaster University. Since February 2010 he is the Rector of Kadir Has University, a private university based in Istanbul. He is also Director of International Policy Research Institute (TEPAV-IPRI) and the President of the International Relations Council (UIK) of Turkey.

Aydin is currently Editor-in-Chief of Uluslararası İlişkiler (International Relations) and the Journal of Strategic Research. Furthermore he is an advisor for the International Centre for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS), and Hellenic Center for European Studies (EKEM) among many others.

Aydin has published numerous books and articles; some of his publications on the region are listed below:

- “Turkey’s Caucasus Policy”, UNISCI Discussion Paper, No. 23, 2010, pp. 177-191.  
<http://www.ucm.es/info/unisci/english/index.html>
- “Geopolitical Dynamics of the Caucasus-Caspian Basin & the Turkish Foreign and Security Policies”, The South Caucasus 2021: Oil, Democracy and Geopolitics, Elkhan Nuriyev (ed.), Londra, Routledge, April 2010.
- “Turkey; Internal Developments and Foreign Policy”, Gayane Novikova (der.), Report on Turkey in a New Geopolitical Situation: Views from Armenia and Turkey, Erivan, Spectrum, May 2008, pp. 14-23.
- “Turkish Policy toward the Caucasus”, Raoul Mottika ve B. Balci (der.), Religion et politique dans le Caucase post soviétique; Les traditions réinventées à l’épreuve des influences extérieures, Paris, Maisonneuve&Larose, 2007, pp. 69–80.
- “Geopolitics of Central Asia and the Caucasus: Continuity and Change since the End of the Cold War”, Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczeck, Julia Katsching ve David Bryan (der.), Central Asia: Past, Present and Future, Wiener Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Anthropologie, Vol. 17, Viyena, Facultas Verlag, 2005.
- “(In)Security and Geopolitics in the Post-Soviet Eurasia, 1989-2003: Regional Threats, Transnational Challenges, Global Responses”, Review of International Affairs, Vol. 4, No. 2, Winter 2004.
- “Foucault’s Pendulum: Turkey in Central Asia and the Caucasus”, Turkish Studies, Vol. 5, No 2, 2004, pp. 1–22.
- “Volatile Politics and Constancy of Instability in the Caucasus and its Effects on the Mediterranean Stability and Security”, Antonio Marquina ve Hans G. Brauch (der.), The Mediterranean Space and Its Borders: Geography, Politics, Economics and Environment, Mosbach, Afes-Press ve Madrid, UNISCI, 2001, s. 167-198.
- New Geopolitics of Central Asia and the Caucasus: Causes of Instability and Predicament, Ankara, Strategic Research Center, 2000.

Personal site at Kadir Has University

<http://www.khas.edu.tr/en/about-khu/administration/cv/prof-dr-mustafa-aydin-kisa.html>

## Aline Ozinian



Aline Ozinian is currently a PhD candidate at the Yerevan State University in the faculty of Political Science. Besides her studies Ozinian is the Turkey Project Coordinator for International Alert-CBCD, a regional political analyst with daily Zaman and the press and public coordinator with TABDC/Turkish-Armenian Business Development Council.

Ozinian is the author of several studies concerning Turkey-Armenia relations:

"The intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in Turkey about the Armenian Problem" Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2006-2007

“Armenian citizens working illegally in Turkey” Friederich Ebert Stiftung-Turkey 2007-2008.

“State of Armenian Working Migrants in Turkey” Eurasia Partnership Foundation 2009-2010,  
[http://www.epfound.am/index.php?article\\_id=287&clang=0](http://www.epfound.am/index.php?article_id=287&clang=0)

Some of Ozinian’s articles about Turkey-Armenia relations:

Kapilari kapali bir ülkeye göç (Migration to a country of closed doors)

<http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=963994&title=yorum-alin-ozinian-kapilari-kapali-bir-ulkeye-goc> , 21 March 2010

Does Turkey want to open its common border with Armenia?

<http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-201172-does-turkey-want-to-open-its-common-border-with-armenia-by-aline-ozinian.html> , 11 February 2010

Does a Turkish-Armenian like Armenia?

<http://www.sundayszaman.com/sunday/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=184103>

16 August 2009

E-mail: [aline.ozinian@tabdc.org](mailto:aline.ozinian@tabdc.org)

## NGOs, Foundations

### International Hrant Dink Foundation



The International Hrant Dink Foundation was founded in 2007 to carry on Hrant Dink's legacy. Activities of the Foundation are grouped under Culture and Arts, Education, History, Democratization and Human Rights, and Turkey-

Armenia Studies.

### Turkey-Armenia Studies Programme and Turkey-Armenia Studies Projects

One of the Foundation's aims is the normalization and development of Turkey's relations with its 'most distant' neighbour Armenia. The main target is to increase direct contact and mobility between the two countries, the formation of common platforms in all fields and the creation of initiatives for the further development of relations. As the Foundation's website notes, "We believe that a 'common language' can be formed with contacts and encounters between the peoples of the two countries, and therefore we particularly encourage Armenia's participation in all our projects in various fields." More at: <http://www.hrantdink.org/faaliyetler.asp?bolum=5>

### Project: Let's Pin Down the Headline at the Neighbour's!

The Turkish-Armenian Dialogue Programme, a joint initiative by the International Hrant Dink Foundation and the Heinrich Böll Foundation, was launched in May 2009. Within the framework of the programme 10 journalists from Turkey travelled to Armenia in May 2009 and attended meetings in Yerevan, Gyumri and Vanadzor. In return 9 columnists from Armenia visited Ankara, Bursa and Istanbul in October 2009, meeting top officials and attending the Turkey-Armenia football game in Bursa. During their week-long stay the participants also met with representatives of the Armenian community in Turkey and with the 10 Turkish journalists who had earlier visited Armenia. A communication network has been established to help the participating journalists share and diffuse information and news of mutual interest.

<http://www.hrantdink.org/detay.asp?id=22&bolum=Faaliyet&altbolum=5>

### Members of the Board Of Directors

Rahil Dink – President

Delal Dink – Vice President

Yervant Dink – Budget Officer of the Board of Directors

Zabel Dink, Ibrahim Betil, Betül Tanbay, Oral Çalışlar

### International Hrant Dink Foundation

Halaskargazi Cd. Sebat Apt. No:74 Kat 1 Daire 1

Osmanbey 80220 Şişli – Istanbul - Turkey

Tel: +90 212 2403361; +90 212 2403362; +90 212 2403365

Fax: +90 212 2403394

E-mail: [info@hrantdink.org](mailto:info@hrantdink.org) - <http://www.hrantdink.org/>

## Heinrich Böll Foundation



The Heinrich Böll Foundation is the political foundation of the German Greens and has an office in Istanbul since 1994. The foundation

provides support to local NGOs and organizes its own conferences and publications. The activities of the foundation are divided into three areas: democratization, ecology, and foreign and security policy. In the foreign policy area the foundation's activities include Turkey-Armenia projects and support for projects dealing with Armenians in Turkey.



The Turkey office has been run by Ulrike Dufner since 2004.

E-mail: [udufner@boell-tr.org](mailto:udufner@boell-tr.org)

## Projects

### **Ani Dialogue between civil society organisations of Armenia and Turkey**

In co-operation with the Caucasus Institute, the South Caucasus and Turkey offices of the Heinrich Böll Foundation have initiated the Ani Dialogue process for young NGO activists (18-35 years old) from Turkey and Armenia. There are 5 working groups:

- Culture and Heritage
- Education and Research
- Environment
- Human Rights and Democratization
- Media and Journalism

The first workshop took place between 13-17 October 2010 in Yerevan.

### **Turkey Armenia Journalist Exchange Programmeme**

The programmeme, launched in May 2009 and run jointly with the Hrant Dink Foundation, brings together 10 young (maximum 35 years old) print journalists from each country.

<http://www.boell-tr.org/web/110-361.html>



The Turkish journalists who participated are:

- Demet Bilge Ergun (Radikal)
- Ergun Colakoglu (Yeni Safak)
- Bedia Ceylan Guzelce (Haber Turk)
- Yonca Poyraz Dogan (Today's Zaman)
- Namik Durukan (Milliyet)



Tugba Tekerek (Taraf)  
Kemal Goktas (Vatan)  
Asli Sozbilir (Hurriyet)  
Gulsen Iseri (Birgun)  
Erdinc Ergenc (Sabah)

Articles by these journalists about the programmeme can be found at: <http://www.boell-tr.org/web/385.html>

Publication: “Ermeni Sorunu Tartisilirken” (Discussing the Armenian Issue), in Turkish and German, 2006, <http://www.boell-tr.org/web/111-412.html>

**Heinrich Boll Stiftung Dernegi**

Inönü Cad. Hacı Hanim Sok. 10/12+4  
Gümüssuyu  
34439 Istanbul – Turkey

Tel: + 90 212 249 15 54  
Fax: + 90 212 245 04 30  
E-mail: [info@boell-tr.org](mailto:info@boell-tr.org)  
Web: [www.boell-tr.org](http://www.boell-tr.org)

## **Friedrich Ebert Foundation Turkey**



The Friedrich Ebert Foundation is the German political foundation of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The current director and country representative is Michael Meier. Mert Onur is responsible for the Foundation's Caucasus projects. [mert.onur@festr.org](mailto:mert.onur@festr.org).

Armenia-Turkey related projects:

1. Hrant Dink Memorial Workshop, 26-30 May 2010, Istanbul

<http://myweb.sabanciuniv.edu/hrantdink-workshop/>;

<http://www.hrantdink.org/detay.asp?id=15&bolum=Duyuru>

2. Common Future for Turkey and Armenia Multi-Track Workshops, in partnership with the Society and Democracy Association (Toplum ve Demokrasi Dernegi) & ACGRC, 28-30 June 2010, Istanbul; <http://www.toplumvedemokrasi.org.tr/turkiye-ermenistan-ortak-gelecek-projesi-hayata-geciyor/>

3. Turkey-Armenia Dialogue Series: Moving from Vicious to Virtuous. A roundtable discussion in partnership with the TESEV Foreign Policy Programme, planned for the fall of 2010 in Istanbul.

### **Publications:**

FES Turkey supported the TESEV report "Turkish-Armenian Relations: a vicious circle" by Aybars Gorgulu. [http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD\\_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/Turkey-Armenia%20Relations%20A%20Vicious%20Circle.pdf](http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD_OBJS/PDF/DPT/ERM/Turkey-Armenia%20Relations%20A%20Vicious%20Circle.pdf)

### **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Association – Istanbul office**

Cihannüma Mahallesi

Mehmet Ali Bey Sk. Kumcuoglu Apt. No:12 D:5 - Besiktas

34353, Istanbul – Turkey

Tel: +90 (0) 212 310 8237

Fax: +90 (0) 212 258 7091

E-mail: [contact@festr.org](mailto:contact@festr.org)

### **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Association - Ankara Office**

Abidin Daver Sk. No. 5 D.9 - Çankaya

06550, Ankara - Turkey

Tel: +90 312 4418596/ 97

Fax: +90 312 4418598

E-mail: [contact@festr.org](mailto:contact@festr.org)

<http://www.festr.org/en/index.php>

## **Anadolu Kultur**

Anadolu Kültür was established in 2002 with the participation of individuals and institutions from various disciplines of art. Osman Kavala is the chairperson of the board of Anadolu Kültür. [osmankavala@superonline.com](mailto:osmankavala@superonline.com)



Anadolu Kültür aims to be a platform and facilitator for cross-cultural collaboration and exchange between artists, cultural and educational organizations, the socio-cultural field and local authorities in Turkey, Europe, and the neighboring region. The program areas of Anadolu Kültür include cultural exchange, cultural heritage studies, and local cultural policies with a special attention to regional cooperation.

### **Regional Cooperation: Armenia**

Since 2005 Anadolu Kültür has been developing and implementing joint projects involving Armenia with the belief that cultural exchange can contribute to dialogue and mutual understanding between societies.

#### *Exhibitions:*

- Young Eyes of Caucasus (28 September - 2 October 2005)
- Merhabarev (3 - 23 December, 2006)
- Art without Borders; An Exhibition of Contemporary Art from Armenia, Georgia, Iran and Turkey (21 November - 8 December 2007)
- Soviet Agitart: Restoration (18 January - 29 February 2008)
- Sireli Yegpayris (My dear brother) (14 - 27 September 2009)
- Rural Architecture in the Black Sea Coast (20 June – 4 July 2006 / Tbilisi, 21 – 25 July 2006 / Batumi)

### *Screenings:*

- Films from Armenia (6 - 12 October 2006)

### *Workshops:*

- The Medieval Architectural Heritage of the South Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia; Art History Workshops (8 - 11 September 2007 and 10 - 12 October 2008)
- Youth, Future and Expectations / Photography Workshop (28 September – 2 October 2005)

### *Music:*

- Turkey-Armenia Youth Symphony Orchestra Concerts ( 13, 15, 16 July 2010)

## **Adult Education and Oral History as a Contribution to Armenian-Turkish Reconciliation**

Since October 2009, Anadolu Kültür runs an international project that aims to build bridges between Turkish and Armenian societies through adult education, intercultural exchange and oral history research. The project is being implemented in cooperation with *dvv international* from Germany, Hazarashen Centre for Ethnological Studies, and Armenian Actors Union from Armenia.

The project includes a series of activities in both countries: summer camps for students from both countries, an international workshop on reconciliation in Armenia, oral history research in Turkey and Armenia. As an outcome of the oral history research, a book entitled “Speaking to One Another: Personal Memories of the Past in Armenia and Turkey” was authored by Dr Leyla Neyzi and Prof Hranush Kharatyan-Araqelyan, published in English and in Turkish/Armenian. (The book may be obtained free of charge from Anadolu Kültür, dvv international, and Hazarashen, or be downloaded from [www.speakingtooneanother.org](http://www.speakingtooneanother.org))

The students, who participated in the summer camps were trained both in oral history interviewing and in video/photography shooting. Supported by Dr Neyzi and Prof Kharatyan-Araqelyan, they conducted their own small-scale oral history research projects in both countries.

Subsequent to these activities, an exhibition based on the oral history research was opened in December 2010 and will travel to different cities in Turkey and Armenia. The project will continue in 2011 with a study visit to Germany where the students from both countries will have the chance to visit various non-governmental organizations and government offices.

## **Armenia Turkey Cinema Platform**

Armenia-Turkey Cinema Platform (ATCP) is a production and networking initiative between Armenia and Turkey, which aims, in the long term, to create an example for cooperation between

the two countries. Established in April 2009, the platform includes filmmakers, producers, actors and artists.

In 2010, within the scope of ATCP, Anadolu Kültür organized two meetings (one in Istanbul, one in Yerevan) where the members of the platform from the two countries discussed joint project opportunities; supported the production of 8 short fiction films or documentaries which are being shot by a mixed crew from Armenia and Turkey and to establish a website where members from both countries will be able to share their works and discuss further joint project ideas.

<http://cinemaplatform.org/index.php>

### **Gomidas Memorial Events**

On the 140th anniversary of his birth and 75th anniversary of his death, the ethnomusicologist, composer, performer, and choir conductor Gomidas is commemorated in Istanbul with a series of events organized by Anadolu Kültür and İstanbulahay. Gomidas memorial events have also been incorporated in the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Program. The memorial events have included:

- “Homage to Gomidas: Songs of This Land” Concert where various artists, choirs, interpreted and performed Gomidas songs.
- Gomidas Booklet which is a collection of a few extracts from the essays by Gomidas on the themes of nature and peasants’ music in the booklet
- “Journey with Gomidas” improvisation which is a combination of jazz and dance performance.
- Badarak Album, which is a collection of the choir songs performed in the concert at Üsküdar Surp Garabed Armenian Church.
- A lecture on Gomidas delivered by researcher Diran Lokmagözyan who lives in Yerevan and psychiatrist Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian, the author of the book “Archeology of Madness / Komitas”, from McGill University.

### **Anadolu Kültür**

Cumhuriyet C. No: 40 Ka-Han Kat: 8

Elmadag 34367 Istanbul

E-Mail: [iletisim@anadolukultur.org](mailto:iletisim@anadolukultur.org)

Web: [www.anadolukultur.org](http://www.anadolukultur.org)

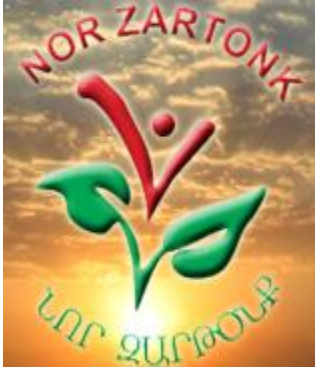
Meltem Aslan – Executive Director  
T: +90.212 233 23 47  
F: +90.212 232 18 66  
[meltemaslan@adolukultur.org](mailto:meltemaslan@adolukultur.org)

Ragıp Zık – Project Coordinator  
Regional Cooperation  
T: +90.212 231 47 38  
F: +90.212 232 1866  
[ragipzik@adolukultur.org](mailto:ragipzik@adolukultur.org)

Nesra Gürbüz – Project Assistant  
  
Armenia Turkey Cinema Platform  
  
T: +90.212 219 1836  
F: +90.212 232 1866  
[nesragurbuz@adolukultur.org](mailto:nesragurbuz@adolukultur.org)

Tamar Nalcı – Project Assistant  
  
Gomidas Memorial Events  
  
T: +90.212 246 76 08  
F: +90.212 232 18 66  
[tamarnalci@adolukultur.org](mailto:tamarnalci@adolukultur.org)

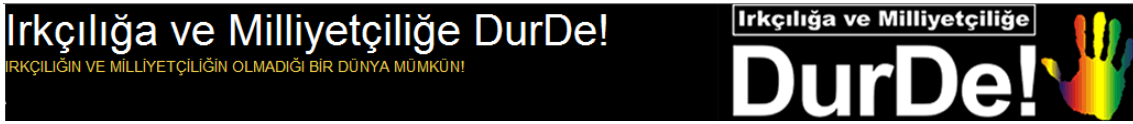
## Nor Zartonk



Nor Zartonk (New Renaissance) is an association founded by young Istanbul Armenians in 2007. Through conferences, panel discussions and publications Nor Zartonk addresses topics like the situation of Armenians and other minorities in Turkey and reconciliation with the past. As of January 2009 Nor Zartonk members also run an Internet radio station, Norradio, which broadcasts every evening in Turkish and Armenian, but also in Greek, Kurdish and Laz (<http://www.norradio.com/>).

E-mail: [info@norzartonk.org](mailto:info@norzartonk.org)

## DurDe (Say No to Racism and Nationalism)



The “Say Stop to Racism and Nationalism” (DurDe) initiative was founded by activists in February 2007 after the assassination of Hrant Dink in order to combat racism and nationalism. From the beginning the Armenian minority and Turkey-Armenia relations have been on the agenda. One of the first events planned was a visit to Armenia in 2008. Due to a lack of funding, however, it did not take place.

DurDe has subsequently organized several campaigns and events. Among them was the December 2008 apology signature campaign widely covered by the Turkish and international media. The initial signatories included about 300 intellectuals.

DurDe organized two forums in Istanbul for the “Why We Apologize?” campaign in December 2008 and January 2009. The third forum was organized in Ankara in March 2009.

DurDe was among the organizers of two busses to attend the soccer match between Armenia and Turkey in Bursa on 14 October 2009. The most recent event was a memorial ceremony held on 24 April 2010 in Taksim Square. The call for this memorial was made by a group of intellectuals and artists, and about 1,500 people answered the call and gathered for the ceremony. The ceremony raised great interest among the national and international press.

## DurDe

Karakedi Kültür Merkezi

İstiklâl Cad, Bekâr Sokak, 16/2, Beyoğlu, İstanbul.

Tel: +90 212 - 249 17 76

E-mail: [durde@durde.org](mailto:durde@durde.org)

Web: <http://www.durde.org/>

For questions concerning Turkey-Armenia activities: Cengiz Algan [cengiz.algan@gmail.com](mailto:cengiz.algan@gmail.com)

## **Ari Movement**

ARI Movement is an independent, non-partisan social movement founded in 1994 to promote volunteerism, civic activism and analytical thinking among Turkish youth, to raise future leaders by encouraging Turkish youth's intellectual development and social participation, thereby establishing an understanding of participatory democracy in Turkey.



Chairman, Ural Akuzum (left)  
E-mail: [uralakuzum@gmail.com](mailto:uralakuzum@gmail.com)  
[ural@akuzum.com](mailto:ural@akuzum.com)



Vice President, responsible for International  
Relations Arda Batu (right),  
E-mail: [arda@ari.org.tr](mailto:arda@ari.org.tr)

Ural Akuzum is a regular participant of the Civil Diplomacy Dialogue Project supported by Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Arda Batu has travelled to Armenia a couple of times in 2008-2010 for conferences.

## **Ongoing Projects with relevance for Turkey – Armenia relations**

The Black Sea Youth Forum Summit (financed by GMF)

20 young people, chosen through an essay competition, from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine and Turkey, came together in a 3-day workshop with a public final conference to find solutions to the frozen conflicts in their region. The result was a final Black Sea Youth Forum Summit Declaration, distributed to all relevant institutions. It is ARI Movement's goal to repeat this project in different countries of the region every year.

### **Armenian-Turkish Team Reporting Project**

Yerevan Press Club (Armenia) in cooperation with ARI Movement, with the support of the Eurasia Foundation, announced a competition for journalists willing to engage in an Armenian-Turkish investigative team-reporting project, aiming to produce high quality stories about issues of mutual concern. The project helped to raise public awareness on Armenian-Turkish cross-boarder initiatives. The selected journalists took part in a two day preparatory workshop in Istanbul in January 2008, after which they were given one month to collect material and work on their stories.

ARI organized the "South Caucasus Young Leaders Summit" on 13-16 July 2010 with 4 participants from each country, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey.

## **ARI Movement**

Cumhuriyet Cad. No: 133 Kat 8

34367 Şişli Istanbul – Turkey

Tel: +90 212 211 90 71 - 72

Fax: +90 212 273 00 85

Web: <http://www.ari.org.tr/>



## Politicians, Diplomats, Foreign Ministry

### Abdullah Gul (President)



Abdullah Gul is the 11<sup>th</sup> president of the Republic of Turkey and in office since August 2007. Gul has been an influential politician since the 1990s, he was first elected to the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1991. In 2001 he was one of the founders of the AKP and after the elections in 2002 served as the prime minister for one year and from 2003 until 2007 as Turkey's foreign minister. As foreign minister Gul tried both to improve relations with the EU and with the neighbouring countries, during his time in office Turkey started officially the membership negotiations with the EU.

On 6 September 2008 he was the first president and major Turkish politician to officially visit Armenia accepting an invitation to watch the football match between Turkey and Armenia.

Homepage of the presidency: <http://cankaya.gov.tr/>

### Ahmet Davutoglu (Minister of Foreign Affairs)



Ahmet Davutoglu has been Turkey's foreign minister since May 2009, since 2002 he has been foreign policy advisor of the AKP government. Davutoglu, dubbed "the Turkish Kissinger" by former US ambassador Mark Parris, is widely credited with having provided the intellectual framework for Turkey's foreign policy under the current Justice and Development Party (AKP) government. Born in the conservative Anatolian city of Konya, Davutoglu graduated from a German international school in Istanbul and obtained a PhD from Bogazici University. He then went on to teach political science at the International Islamic University in Malaysia, before returning to chair the International Relations department at Beykent University.

In 2001, Davutoglu authored "Strategic Depth" arguing in favour of a renewed relationship between Turkey and its near-abroad. This strategy was labeled later "zero problems with the neighbours". Since in office, Davutoglu met several times with his Armenian counterpart and signed the bilateral protocols on 10 October 2009 in Zurich.

### Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Balgat - 06100, Ankara - Turkey

Tel: (+90 312) 292 10 00

Web: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/ahmet-davutoglu.en.mfa>

### **Ibrahim Kalin (Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister)**



Currently chief foreign affairs advisor of the Prime Minister, Ibrahim Kalin did his graduate studies at the International Islamic University Malaysia before receiving his Ph D from George Washington University in Washington DC. He was a faculty member at the Department of Religious Studies at the College of the Holy Cross (2002-2005), Worcester, MA. As a scholar of Islamic Studies, he worked at the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University. Prior to this, he worked at the College of the Holy Cross in the USA. Kalin is the founding-director of the SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (LINK), based in Ankara and was its general coordinator from 2006 to 2009. Besides advising the prime minister, he is currently a columnist for Sabah newspaper.

E-mail: [ibrahimkalin@gmail.com](mailto:ibrahimkalin@gmail.com)

### **Turkish diplomats dealing with Armenia**

#### **Feridun Sinirlioglu (Diplomat)**



Sinirlioglu has been one of the most prestigious diplomats with a special experience in the neighbouring countries of the East and South. He was an influential advisor to president Demirel when PKK-leader Ocalan was chased from Syria and later caught in 1999. In troubled times he was ambassador to Israel and when Abdullah Gul became foreign minister, he became one of his deputy undersecretaries (müstesar yardımcısı). As undersecretary Sinirlioglu was sent as a special envoy to Armenia in April 2010.

#### **Unal Cevikoz (Diplomat)**



Unal Cevikoz, Foreign Ministry Deputy Undersecretary, was appointed in April 2010 as ambassador to London, where he serves since July 2010. Cevikoz joined the foreign service in 1978. He worked in the Embassies in Moscow and Sofia and in the Turkish Consulate in Bregenz. He joined the International Secretariate of NATO in Brussels in 1989.

Cevikoz was promoted to the rank of Ambassador in 2001. He served as Ambassador of Turkey to Azerbaijan between 2001-2004 and as Ambassador of Turkey to Iraq from 2004-2006.

Between 2007 and 2010, Ambassador Cevikoz has held the position of Deputy Undersecretary for Bilateral Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His portfolio covered Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Asia, Africa as well as international security issues (NATO, OSCE, disarmament).

E-mail: [turkemb.london@mfa.gov.tr](mailto:turkemb.london@mfa.gov.tr)

### **Ali Babacan (Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, AKP)**



Foto: Ali Babacan (r) together with Armenian foreign minister Edward Nalbandian (l) in Istanbul in November 2008.

Ali Babacan was Turkey's foreign minister from after the elections in 2007 until April 2009 when he became minister of the economy. During this time, important steps in the bilateral relations were realized. Babacan travelled together with president Gul to Yerevan on 6 September 2008. Following this meeting the two ministers would meet another seven times between September 2008 and April 2009.

Tel: 0090 312 4154016 -2047155

Fax: +90 2128764

### **Suat Kiniklioglu (Member of Parliament, AKP)**



Suat Kiniklioglu was elected to the TBMM for the first time in July 2007 for the AKP from the Cankiri province. Kiniklioglu is the AK Party External Affairs Deputy Chairman and a Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and one of the most outspoken foreign policy experts within the AKP. Kiniklioglu holds a BA in Political Science from Carleton University, Ottawa and an MA of International Relations from Bilkent University, Ankara. Before becoming an MP Kiniklioglu worked for the Australian Embassy and the Canadian International Development Agency in Ankara and was the Director of the German Marshall Fund of the US in Ankara from 2005 to 2007.

Suat Kiniklioglu has been working in and outside parliament also on Turkey-Armenia relations, some examples:

Interview: 11 March 2010, Turkish Ratification Of Armenia Accords 'Almost Impossible' Now, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) Armenian service in Yerevan, <http://www.suatkiniklioglu.org/en/press-room/turkish-ratification-of-armenia-accords-almost-impossible-now.html>

Press Conference: 4 March 2010 "A costly victory for the Armenian Diaspora", in Washington following the decision of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kiniklioglu said: "Although the outcome has developed against us in terms of numbers, today everyone present here saw that this was a costly victory for the Armenian Diaspora. For this reason, I would like to thank those who have contributed to this effort", <http://www.suatkiniklioglu.org/en/etkinlikler/kiniklioglu-a-costly-victory-for-the-armenian-diaspora.html>

Interview: 22 February 2009, Sunday's Zaman, Turkey and Armenia nearing major breakthrough in relations, <http://www.suatkiniklioglu.org/en/interviews/turkey-and-armenia-nearing-major-breakthrough-in-relations.html>

Op-ed: 26 April 2006, Turkish Daily News, Turks And Armenians  
<http://www.suatkiniklioglu.org/en/op-eds/turks-and-armenians.html>

Suat Kiniklioglu is a regular columnist for Today's Zaman:  
<http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/80-suat-kiniklioglu.html>

<http://www.suatkiniklioglu.org/en/home.html>

### **Turkish Grand National Assembly**

Tel: +90 312 420 5840

Fax: +90 312 420 6961

Web: <http://www.suatkiniklioglu.org/en/contact-information/suat-kiniklioglu.html>

### **Ufuk Uras (Member of Parliament, BDP)**



Ufuk Uras was elected as an independent candidate on the Anatolian shore of Istanbul in the July 2007 elections. After the closure of the Kurdish DTP party and the political ban for two of its MPs, Uras joined the DTP-successor party BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) to allow them to form a parliamentary group.

Ufuk Uras was the only MP to accompany President Abdullah Gul to the football match in Yerevan on 6 September 2008. Uras was one of the organizers of 24 April 2010 commemoration in Istanbul.

E-mail: [ufukuras@tmm.gov.tr](mailto:ufukuras@tmm.gov.tr)

Web: <http://www.ufukuras.net>

<http://twitter.com/UfukUras>

### **Mevlut Cavusoglu (President of PACE, AKP MP)**



Mevlut Cavusoglu is the current president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE). He also represents Antalya in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. First elected to parliament in 2002, he is a founding member of the Justice and Development Party (AKP).

In mid May 2010, Cavusoglu visited as PACE president Armenia and met with president Sargsyan, political parties and civil society representatives. Due to his refusal to visit the genocide memorial (Dzidzernagapert) his visit was changed from an “official” visit to that of a “working” one and sparking a boycott of meetings by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.



Personal homepage (in Turkish) <http://www.mevlutcavusoglu.com/>

Fax: +90 312 420 69 72

E-mail: [bilgi@mevlutcavusoglu.com](mailto:bilgi@mevlutcavusoglu.com)

## Former Diplomats

### Temel Iskit (Former Ambassador)



Retired ambassador Temel Iskit joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1963. During his diplomatic career covering forty years he served at various foreign missions of Turkey and held different posts at the Foreign Ministry's central organization including that of Director General for EU Affairs and Deputy Undersecretary for Economic affairs. After retirement Ambassador Iskit lectured for five years at the Sabanci University as well as at Bilgi University. Presently, he is a columnist at the newspaper TARAF (his columns: <http://taraf.com.tr/temel-iskit/>).

E-mail: [tiskit@turk.net](mailto:tiskit@turk.net)

### Volkan Vural (Former Ambassador)



Volkan Vural was serving as the Turkish ambassador to Moscow when Armenia, as well as the other Soviet republics, became independent. In April 1991, he was the first high level Turkish diplomat to travel to Armenia, to discuss the establishment of bilateral relations. Besides serving as ambassador to Tehran, West Germany, and Spain, he held posts such as chief advisor to the Prime Minister, undersecretary of the foreign ministry, and Secretary General for EU affairs. He retired from the diplomatic corps in 2006 and is currently an advisor of the Dogan Group and on the board of TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' & Businessmen's Association). Under his coordination, TUSIAD held a closed brainstorming event on Turkey-Armenia relations in 2009.

In 2008, in an interview with Nese Duzel, Volkan Vural made statements that figured high in the debate about bilateral relations: <http://www.taraf.com.tr/nese-duzel/makale-volkan-vural-erمني-ve-rumlar-tekrar-vatandas.htm>

In this interview, he said that if he were in charge, he would apologize for the pains inflicted upon the Greek and Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. He also argued that their descendants should be offered citizenship of Turkey.

Contact via TÜSIAD

Türk Sanayicileri ve Isadamlari Dernegi

Mesrutiyet Cad. No:74 – Tepebasi

34420, Istanbul – Turkey

Tel: 0 212 249 54 48 /249 19 29

Fax :0 212 293 37 83

## Business Associations / Business people

### Turkish-Armenian Business Development Council



The Turkish - Armenian Business Development Council (TABDC), co-established on 3 May 1997 in Istanbul and in Yerevan, is the first and only official link between the public and private sectors in each of the two countries' communities. The TABDC is co-chaired by Arsen Ghazarian and Kaan Soyak.

The aim of the TABDC is to further promote and facilitate close cooperation between the Armenian and Turkish business circles, to help Armenian and Turkish companies streamline their operations and their lines of communications. The TABDC is working to establish direct trade and business links in various sectors, to maintain close ties between the governments of Armenia and Turkey to enable them to forge global economic policies.

Turkey Director: Kaan Soyak



Kaan Soyak was the first to organize transportation of United States government humanitarian aid to the Caucasus and Central Asian countries. He holds a Bachelor of Science in International Relations and Political Science from the Middle East Technical University in Turkey. He was also the first to establish a joint venture between Turkey and Russia, introducing Russian capital into Turkey. Born in 1961, Mr. Kaan Soyak is current President and CEO of Alyans-Tempo Logistics and Transportation Management. [kaan.soyak@tabdc.org](mailto:kaan.soyak@tabdc.org)

Kaan Soyak, Nisan 2010'a dogru Türk-Ermeni Normallesme Süreci ve Rusya'nin Kafkasya Politikaları, TABDC April 2010, Policy Review.

#### **TABDC (TURKEY)**

Tel: + 90 (212) 236 00 17 Fax: 90 (212) 259 72 51

E-mail: [tabdc@tabdc.org](mailto:tabdc@tabdc.org)

#### **Press & Public Coordinator**

Aline Ozinian ([aline.ozinian@tabdc.org](mailto:aline.ozinian@tabdc.org))

## **About ESI**

The European Stability Initiative (ESI) is a Berlin-based, independent policy research institute. ESI aims to contribute to the development of a stable, prosperous and peaceful Europe by providing timely and relevant analyses of political and economic trends in Europe. We support the process of European enlargement as the most successful policy of bringing peace and prosperity to the European continent and building a strong and outward-looking European Union.

In recent years, ESI has made a contribution to a number of European debates: the future of international policy in the Balkans; giving the Balkans a clear European perspective; proposals for the future of European assistance to the region; proposals for international policy towards Kosovo.

Since 2004, Turkey has become a central focus of ESI's work which resulted in two internationally acclaimed studies: "Islamic Calvinists" and "Sex and Power in Turkey". Since 2007, ESI has expanded its activities to the three Southern Caucasus countries. In early 2009, it released the report "Noah's Dove returns" on Armenian-Turkish relations followed in 2010 by a three parts report on Georgia entitled "Georgia's Libertarian Revolution".

All ESI reports are made widely available to the general public as well as to policy makers, academics, journalists and interested readers in Europe and the United States. ESI reports are sent out to more than 34,000 subscribers.

## **About this manual**

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