

ՔԱՂԱՔԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

THE FACTOR OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE IN THE CURRENT ARMENIAN-TURKISH RELATIONS: SCENARIO ANALYSIS

ARUSYAK ALEKSANYAN

Abstract. Reconciliation and regulation of Armenian-Turkish relations are of great importance, as problematic relations, or more specifically, the absence of official relations such as closed border, create threat to national security and prevent the sustainable development of Armenia, impact on regional stability and on regional cooperation in general. This article is an attempt to study the history of Armenian-Turkish relations of recent times proposing and counting outcomes of their possible future. Consequently, the research goal is to develop scenarios of the Armenian-Turkish rapprochement considering various factors. The research question is what probabilities the scenarios have considering the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and what other factors may influence the reconciliation of Armenia and Turkey? The study is conducted through the analysis of historical-critical, factual and statistical data while the research methods are Delphi method and Scenario analysis with the inclusion of a probabilistic assessment of political events' occurrence in the general algorithm of scenarios construction.

INTRODUCTION

The declaration of independence of the Republic of Armenian in September 1991 brought to a number of changes in domestic and foreign policies of the country. As a subject of international relations, Armenia faced the imperative to develop political conception where Armenian-Turkish bilateral relations were problematic issue. Even so, Turkey was the second state (first after the US) to formally recognize Armenian independence in December 1991. However the recognition wasn't accompanied with the establishment of diplomatic relations and Armenia's western border with Turkey remains closed to this day. Turkish government put forward a number of preconditions for establishing diplomatic relations with Armenia¹:

- Abandonment of international recognition of the Armenian Genocide,
- Abandonment of territorial claims towards Turkey,

¹ MFA. 2015. "Turkey, Bilateral Relations". February 09. Accessed April 20, 2020. <http://www.mfa.am/en/country-by-country/tr/>

- Returning to Azerbaijan of the areas currently under the control of Nagorno Karabakh Republic (NKR or Republic of Artsakh)²,
- Recognition of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, etc.

Thus, Armenia has no diplomatic relations with its neighboring two countries Turkey and Azerbaijan, and these relations regulation emanates from not only national but also the interests of regional peace and stability, it is the important imperative of Armenia's foreign policy.

This article is an attempt to study history of Armenian-Turkish relations of recent times proposing and counting outcomes of their possible future. Consequently, the research goal is to develop scenarios of the Armenian-Turkish rapprochement considering the factor of Armenian Genocide. The research question is:

“What are the probabilities of scenarios for recognizing the Armenian Genocide and what other factors can influence the reconciliation of Armenia and Turkey?”

The study is conducted through the analysis of historical-critical, factual and statistical data. The research methods are Delphi method and Scenario analysis with the inclusion of a probabilistic assessment of political events' occurrence in the general algorithm of scenarios construction.

THE HISTORY OF ARMENIAN-TURKISH RELATIONS (1991-2020)

After the independence of Armenia, relations between Armenia and Turkey have had various tendencies with a difficult and controversial course. With varying insights, specialists divide the development of these relations into various periods. For the purposes of this research, it was decided to regard them according to three presidential and post-revolution periods of Armenia as each Government's own approaches and positions almost always were developed into political vector of foreign policy. These are as followings:

- 1) *From 1991 to 1998 - the presidency of Levon Ter-Petrosyan.*
- 2) *From 1998 to 2008 - the presidency of Robert Kocharyan.*
- 3) *From 2008 to 2018 - the presidency of Serzh Sargsyan.*
- 4) *From 2018 until now – post-revolution period.*

²The territory of Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) is the subject of unresolved conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The conflict has roots dating back to the early 19th century when region of Nagorno-Karabakh inhabited almost entirely by ethnic Armenians (94%) was passed to Soviet Azerbaijan as part of Stalin's nationalities policy in 1923. The current conflict over NK dates back to 1988, when the predominantly Armenian population of Karabakh undertook independence movement and demanded unification with Soviet Armenia. On December 10, 1991 NK population declared the establishment of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (NKR) by referendum. These political processes turned into ethnic violence and war between Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1992, following the collapse of the Soviet Union. It became a “frozen” conflict after Russian brokered ceasefire signed in 1994 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Armenia came out of the war with a military victory. Since the cease-fire, Nagorno-Karabakh has maintained de facto autonomy, while Azerbaijan retains its claims to the region.

1) During his presidency Mr. Ter-Petrosyan³ tried to establish neighborly relations with Turkey. His position was that Armenia must honor the memory of 1915 Genocide victims, but should not turn it to the agenda of foreign policy: Armenia and Turkey should develop diplomatic relations without any preconditions. And thus, in 1991 Mr. Ter-Petrosyan told the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow that “Armenia has no territorial claims towards Turkey”⁴. It is important to note that Turkey also undertook a new “pro-Armenian” foreign policy trying to strengthen its positions in the early 90's. Here are some facts of that:

a) In January of 1991, the president of Turkey announced its readiness to establish economic relations with Armenia⁵. Indeed, since then business relations have been considered as a foundation for reconciliation. Turkish Government even approved a project of a group of Armenian diaspora representatives and Jewish-Turkish businessman İshak Alaton on handing the port of Trabzon to Armenia's disposal to renew and create a free trade port in the Trabzon Port in the Black Sea⁶. By this, natural gas and oil of the republics of Central Asia such as Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan would be transferred to Trabzon via Armenia and then to Western markets. Alaton's project also envisaged the construction of Erzurum-Trabzon railway⁷.

b) In April of 1991, Turkish Ambassador to the USSR Volkan Vural holds a three day official visit to Yerevan. It was the first high-ranking Turkish official visit in 70 years⁸. After returning to Turkey, Ambassador Vural told Turkish newspaper Hurriyet: “I can say that the new policy toward Turkey adopted by the current Armenian governing bodies is modern and is in the best interests of the two peoples”⁹.

c) In an interview with one of the Russian newspapers, Volkan Vural declared that Turkey plans to open a consulate in Yerevan¹⁰.

d) As was mentioned Turkey was the second state formally recognizing (December 16, 1991) Armenian independence, though diplomatic relations have not been established.

³ Levon Ter-Petrosyan was born in Aleppo (Syria) in the family of the Armenian Genocide survivors. In 1946 his family emigrated to Soviet Armenia. See the official site of the President of the Republic of Armenia // <http://www.president.am/en/levon-ter-petrosyan/>. Accessed March 1, 2020.

⁴ Schrodt, Nikolaus. 2014. *Modern Turkey and the Armenian Genocide: An Argument about the Meaning of the Past*. Springer, p. 89.

⁵ AZG.1991, April 27 (Armenian newspaper). ԱԶԳ, 1991, Ապրիլի 27:

⁶ Crisis Group. 2009. “Turkey and Armenia: Opening Minds, Opening Borders.” Europe Report N°199, April 14. Accessed April 03, 2020. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/south-caucasus/armenia/199-turkey-and-armenia-opening-minds-opening-borders.aspx>. Ozinian, Alin. 2010. “General Outlook on Turkish-Armenian Trade and Developing Possible Cooperation.” TABDC. Accessed March 1, 2020. www.tabdc.org/wp-content/uploads/TR-Report-ENG.pdf, pp. 41-42.

⁷ Chakrian, Hakob. 1998. Karabakh issue in the context of the Armenian-Turkish relations. Yerevan (in Armenian), p. 15.

⁸ ESI. 2009. “Armenia-Turkey: The Great Debate”. Picture Story. August. Accessed April 01, 2020. http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=322&debate_ID=2&slide_ID=1#_ftnref67, p. 6.

⁹ ESI, p. 6, Hurriyet. 1991, May 05 (Turkish newspaper). Hürriyet. 1991, Mayıs 5.

¹⁰ ESI, p. 8.

e) In 1992, Turkey took efforts to provide Armenia a founding seat in an Istanbul-based regional grouping, the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC).

Starting from February 1992, considerable tension between Armenian-Turkish relations emerged due to the military actions in Nagorno-Karabakh, particularly the events of Khojaly and liberation of Shushi. Tensions followed by the cancellation of Ishak Alaton's project¹¹. Despite this decline of bilateral relations as well as Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovhannisian's hard speech toward Turkey during the Council of Europe summit in Istanbul, for the period of economic crisis, Turkey permitted the delivery of humanitarian aid for Armenia from abroad via its territory¹². The new escalation of the tension in relations was the liberation of Karvachar (Kelbajar) on April 1993. Turkish government displaying Armenia as an aggressor towards Azerbaijan, closed the H-50 air corridor for international airlines operating on the Armenian line (which was reopened in 1995), blocked Kars-Gumri railway, forbade the transfer of humanitarian aid through its territory¹³.

On May 5, 1994 official delegates of Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia met in Bishkek the capital of Kyrgyzstan to sign a protocol (the Bishkek Protocol), which later developed into the cease-fire agreement¹⁴. By this terminates the stage of Armenian-Turkish relations, which had affected by direct impact of the escalation of military actions over Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. However, the Armenian-Turkish relations were not the issue of two countries any more. In these relations regional countries and the world's great powers were involved that would affect the process proceeding from the self-interests and complicating reconciliation by that.

The period between the cease-fire and the resignation of Levon Ter-Petrosyan (1994-1998) was also followed by the attempts to reopen the border and to activate trade relations¹⁵. Nevertheless from time to time official Turkey was mentioning that the opening of the Turkish-Armenian border was a political issue and depended on the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

After resignation of the 1st president Levon Ter Petrosyan, in 1998 Robert Kocharyan¹⁶ was elected as the president of the Republic of Armenia. Kocharyan continued Ter Petrosyan's policy of establishing relations and opening the border without preconditions but comparing with the first president, he

¹¹ ESI, p. 9.

¹² Goldenberg, Suzanne. 1994. *Pride of Small Nations*, Zed Books, p. 55.

¹³ ESI, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴ "The Bishkek Protocol" (Bishkek, 5 May 1994) // <http://peacemaker.un.org/armeniaazerbaijan-bishkekprotocol94>. Accessed March 1, 2020.

¹⁵ In 1995 international air corridor between Armenia and Turkey has been reopened as well as Armenian citizens were permitted to get Turkish visas at Turkish border gates.

¹⁶ Kocharyan was born in Stepanakert, held the positions of Prime Minister and of President of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and thus strongly supported NKR's independence from Azerbaijan. See the official site of the President of the Republic of Armenia // <http://www.president.am/en/robert-kocharyan/>. Accessed March 1, 2020.

showed tougher position. This was also evidenced by the meeting of Kocharyan with Turkish president Demirel in Istanbul during the BSEC summit where the Turkish leader discussing diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey emphasized that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict resolution would support the relations development in the region and Armenia might be included in the oil pipeline projects to which Kocharyan replied: "No one has illusions that we would make concessions for the sake of those regional projects"¹⁷.

Kocharyan also made international recognition of the Armenian genocide a foreign policy priority and increased diaspora's influence on it as Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnakcutyun was also activated with the beginning of his presidency¹⁸ making efforts towards recognizing and condemning the Armenian Genocide by international community. Involvement of international community increased the tensions between Armenia and Turkey. Retaliating for France's resolution¹⁹ recognizing the Armenian Genocide and a similar resolution pending in the U.S. Congress²⁰, Turkey imposed a visa requirement for Armenian passport holders in December 2000. Turkey's restrictive new visa regime required Armenian citizens to get a visa at Turkey's embassy in Moscow or in Tbilisi, which could take more than thirty days²¹.

A positive shift in relations was in 2001 when the Turkish Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC) was formed. TARC functioned for 3 years, and in spite of that it did not serve its primary purposes. Nevertheless, it promoted academic cooperation between universities as well as free public discussions and used to be a ground for the start of further open debate. TARC generally focused on issues concerning media, cross-cultural communication, travel and trade between Turkey and Armenia.²² In the ensuing years the Armenian-

¹⁷ AWN media. 2012. "Episode of Robert Kocharyan's meeting with Suleiman Demirel in 1999," April 04 (in Armenian). Accessed April 5, 2020. http://www.armweeklynews.am/awn/mn12/mn_1218.htm.

¹⁸ In 1994 Levon Ter-Petrosyan banned ARF-D (Armenian Revolutionary Federation – Dashnaktsutyun) by his decree on the grounds that it did not fulfill the requirements governing the organization of political parties as set out in the 1991 law "On Civic and Political Organizations". The ARF was allowed to return to politics in March 1998 when Robert Kocharyan was elected the president.

¹⁹ The Senate adopted the resolution on November 7, 2000: "*La France reconnaît publiquement le génocide arménien de 1915*" // <http://www.senat.fr/leg/tas00-022.html>. On January 29, 2001, the text was signed into law by the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic: "*Loi n° 2001-70 du 29 janvier 2001 relative à la reconnaissance du génocide arménien de 1915*", <http://legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000403928>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

²⁰ "Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution". 106th CONGRESS, 2d Session Report No. 106-933, H.Res.596. October 7, 2000. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/106th-congress/house-resolution/596?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22HRES+596+RH+%5C%22armenian+genocide%5C%22%22%5D%7D>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

²¹ Phillips, David L. 2012. *Diplomatic History: The Turkey-Armenia Protocols*. New York: Columbia University, Institute for the Study of Human Rights, p. 16.

²² Six months after TARC was established, Ankara lifted restrictions and normalized the visa regime for Armenian citizens traveling to Turkey. New regulations allowed Armenian passport holders to pay \$15 and get their visa upon arrival at the Istanbul airport. Ankara called it a "goodwill gesture." Later Armenian airline Armavia was allowed to fly between Istanbul and Yerevan, to use the Turkish air corridor for other destinations, and to allow direct flights between

Turkish relations have maintained their traditional positions: in particular Armenia insisted on normalization of relations without preconditions, Turkey considered it only in case of resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on the basis of the Azerbaijani territorial integrity.

The recent rapprochement in Turkish-Armenian relations commenced in 2008 after the presidential elections. Serzh Sargsyan's²³ presidency could open new prospects for Turkish-Armenian relations. President Sargsyan continued his predecessor Kocharyan's policy of keeping Genocide recognition Armenia's foreign policy agenda, still he took more initiatives in constructing "relations without preconditions" with Turkey. His initiation towards the normalization of ties with Turkey was policy called "football diplomacy". In 2008 Sargsyan invited the Turkish president Abdullah Gul to Armenia to watch a 2010 FIFA World Cup qualifier match between Armenia and Turkey. A few days later after the invitation in an article published in the Wall Street Journal, Sargsyan mentioned: "The time has come for a fresh effort to break this deadlock... As president of Armenia, I take this opportunity to propose a fresh start - a new phase of dialogue with the government and people of Turkey, with the goal of normalizing relations and opening our common border. [...] On September 6 a World Cup qualifier match between the Armenian and Turkish national football teams will take place in Yerevan. I hereby invite President Gul to visit Armenia to enjoy the match together with me in the stadium. Thus we will announce a new symbolic start in our relations..."²⁴.

Military conflict between Russia and Georgia ("five-day war") started in 2008 put at risk Turkish interests and projects in the South Caucasus (the Iron Silk Road, Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline) and highlighted the importance to regulate relations with Armenia. "The fighting in Georgia showed we need to come up with a fresh approach to resolution of conflicts in the Caucasus, and that meant including Armenia", said Turkish Foreign Minister Ali Babacan²⁵.

President Gul accepted the invitation of President Sargsyan and attended the game in Yerevan, while Sargsyan made the reciprocal visit to Turkey to watch the second match. After a year-long negotiations, on October 10, 2009 the foreign ministers of Armenia and Turkey Eduard Nalbandyan and Ahmet Davutoglu signed protocols on establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries without any preconditions.²⁶ The signing of protocols took place

Yerevan and the resort town of Antalya (Phillips 2012, 16, 19).

²³ Like his predecessor, Serzh Sargsyan also was born in Stepanakert. From 1989 to 1993, he led the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Self-Defense Forces Committee. See the official site of the President of the Republic of Armenia // <http://www.president.am/en/serzhargsyan>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

²⁴ The Wall Street Journal. 2008. "We Are Ready to Talk to Turkey", July 9. Accessed March 1, 2020. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB121555668872637291>.

²⁵ Hurriyet Daily News. 2008. "Turkey ready to discuss diplomatic ties with Armenia," September 6. Accessed April 5, 2020. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/home/9835826.asp?gid=244&sz=86546>.

²⁶ "Protocol on Development of Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Re-

in Zürich, Switzerland and the ceremony was attended by Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, EU Foreign Policy Chief Javier Solana, Armenia's Ambassador to Switzerland Charles Aznavour and Turkey's Ambassador to Switzerland Oguz Demiral, Slovenia's Foreign Minister, Chair of CoE Committee of Ministers Samuel Zbogar.²⁷ The accord also presupposed the opening of the common border, effective use of existing transport infrastructure, communications, the establishment of consular cooperation etc. On the next day of signing the protocol the existed contradictions appeared, when Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in response to accusations from Azerbaijani side announced that the opening of his country's border with Armenia would be tied to progress on the disputed region: "We want all the borders to be opened at the same time. But as long as Armenia has not withdrawn from Azerbaijani territory that it is occupying, Turkey cannot have a positive attitude on this subject"²⁸. However, the reconciliation process was suspended a year later, as the Turkish Parliament failed to ratify the protocols within the timeframe agreed by the parties. On 22 April 2010, President Sargsyan announced suspension of protocols although mentioning, that Armenia does not suspend the process of normalization of relationships with Turkey²⁹.

Thus, the diplomatic efforts to normalize the relations initiated by the Armenian side failed. In the aftermath of all these events the official relations between Armenia and Turkey became even colder than they were before the "football diplomacy." At the same time, it should be stated that the Armenian-Turkish relations, with no success at diplomatic level, get deeper into the public dialogue format.

After the revolution in 2018, Nikol Pashinyan the leader of revolution who later became the Prime Minister of Armenia, in his interview to Al Jazeera made a statement that "Armenia is ready to establish diplomatic relations with Turkey without preconditions". "In fact, it was Turkey that closed the border. The border is actually open from the Armenian side, and it is up to Turkey to make a decision on reopening the border", mentioned Nikol Pashinyan.³⁰ The

public of Turkey", October 10, 2009 // http://mfa.am/u_files/20091013_protocol1.pdf; "Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey", October 10, 2009 // http://mfa.am/u_files/20091013_protocol.pdf. Accessed March 2, 2020.

²⁷ The Protocols were refined during ministerial and working-level trilateral meetings in New York (September 22–24, 2008), Gertzenzee (October 25, 2008), Bern (January 21, 2009), Davos (January 27, 2009), and on the margins of the Munich Security Conference (February 7, 2009).

²⁸ BBC News. 2009. "Azerbaijan condemns Turkish pact," October 11. Accessed April 15, 2020. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8301314.stm>.

²⁹ The Armenian Weekly. 2010. "President Sarkisian Announces Suspension of Protocols," April 22. Accessed March 1, 2020. <http://armenianweekly.com/2010/04/22/president-sarkisian-announces-suspension-of-protocols>.

³⁰ "Nikol Pashinyan talks to Al Jazeera", 27.07.2018. See the official site of the Prime Min-

Prime Minister's this statement on the Armenian-Turkish relations was actively interpreted by the Turkish press. Some of them called it as "historic".³¹ A year later Nikol Pashinyan reiterated this statement during his interview to the Italian newspaper "Corriere della Sera".³² Meanwhile it is worth mentioning that Resolutions on Armenian Genocide adopted by the US House of Representatives³³ and later by the Senate³⁴ in 2019 were aggressively perceived by Turkey³⁵, which proves that Turkey is not ready for reconciliation.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH

The research methodology of the paper is generally based on two methods: Delphi method and Scenario method. The Delphi method was developed by RAND in the 1950s, originally to forecast the impact of technology on warfare³⁶. Delphi is a method of expert poll wherein a group of relevant specialists are asked to anonymously complete questionnaires. Afterward, in the case of data discrepancy, experts receive feedback on generalized responses to reconsider and substantiate their replies. Therefore, the goal of the method is to process a general response of expert consensus. For the purposes of this research overall 10 specialists have been involved, 5 of which are specialized in Turkish studies and the other 5 respondents are political scientists. The respondents were asked to evaluate the probability of occurrences for pre-developed scenarios provided to them.

Regarding the scenario method, it is an instrument for projecting potential future with its possible outcomes. Scenario analysis was first applied by Herman Kahn and his associates at the RAND Corporation in the 1950s. The goal

ister of the Republic of Armenia // <https://www.primeminister.am/en/interviews-and-press-conferences/item/2018/07/27/Nikol-Pashinyan-interview-Al-Jazeera/>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

³¹ Armenia. 2018. "Turkish Media about Pashinyan's Statement on Armenian-Turkish Relations", 07.30.2018. // <https://armenia.am/eng/news/63168/turkish-media-about-pashinyans-statement-on-armenian-turkish-relations.html>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

³² Tert.am.2019. "Armenia ready for 'unconditional reconciliation' with Turkey – Nikol Pashinyan", 26.11.2019. // <https://www.tert.am/en/news/2019/11/26/nikol-pashinyan/3148603>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

³³ "H.Res.296 - Affirming the United States record on the Armenian Genocide", 116th Congress (2019-2020), 10.29.2019 // <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/296/text?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22armenian+genocide%22%7D&r=3&s=1>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

³⁴ "S.Res.150 - A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that it is the policy of the United States to commemorate the Armenian Genocide through official recognition and remembrance", 116th Congress (2019-2020), 12.12.2019 // <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-resolution/150/text?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22Senate+Armenian+genocide%22%5D%7D&r=1&s=2>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

³⁵ ALJAZEERA. 2019. "Political show': Turkey slams US Senate 'Armenia genocide' vote", 13.12.2019 // <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/12/turkey-senate-vote-armenia-genocide-political-show-191213003552676.html>. Accessed March 2, 2020.

³⁶ Dalkey, Norman Crolee. 1969. *The Delphi Method: An Experimental Study of Group Opinion*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation. Accessed April 25, 2020. http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_memoranda/RM5888_

of Scenario analysis is to reveal all the possible future developments of a given case. In politics scenario analysis is aimed at the modeling of the possible outcomes of political events including probabilities of war and revolution. Delphi method and Scenario analysis can also be combined with each other in a number of patterns³⁷, as it has been applied in the current research. Besides, a probabilistic assessment of political events has been included in the general algorithm for creating a scenario model. Probabilistic assessment is made on the basis of the basic axioms and theorems of probability theory. According to it the probability of any event lies between zero and one: $0 \leq P(A) \leq 1$. Thus in the theory of probability the probability of occurrence of an event is measured by numerical values from 0 to 1, where 1 implies full confidence that the event will occur, and 0 - full confidence that the event will not occur. Within the research one of the basic theorems of probability theory is also used according to which the cumulative probability of mutually exclusive events (if they cover the all space of possible outcomes) is equal to one: $P(A) + P(\bar{A}) = 1$.³⁸ For example, if Armenia and Turkey have negotiations on the opening border we will have two possible outcomes of the situation: 1-failed negotiations do not leading to the opening of border or 2-succeeded negotiations leading to the opening of border. This rule is true in all levels (from I to IV) of developed scenarios of the research (Fig. 1).

Within the research, three cases are considered. The choice of each case is justified by the reasons that have some probabilities to influence on the reconciliation process or to lead to the development of the current situation, which is a trigger event (A). In each case (*case No. 1, case No. 2, case No. 3*) the sequence of the steps is indicated/marked in alphabetical order, eg *case No. 1 – ABCD, case No. 2 – AB₁C₁, case No. 3- AB₂C₂ ... (case N – AB_{N-1}C_{N-1})*. In the *case No. 1*, the development of current situation is reasoned by small agreements, which may be social dialogue, diplomatic initiatives, economic ties and projects and so on. In the *case No. 2* it is supposed that resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict has probability to affect the reconciliation process. In the case No. 3 some probabilities of rapprochement are considered taking account, that Armenian-Turkish border became an EAEU's external border by Armenia's membership in the Eurasian Economic Union and Russian-Turkish relations factor may have some influence on this process.

Thus developed scenarios of three cases of the research are as the followings:

- (I) A (trigger event) - the Armenian-Turkish border is closed, Genocide

³⁷ Kosow, Hannah & Gaßner, Robert. 2008. Methods of Future and Scenario Analysis. Overview, Assessment, and Selection Criteria. Bonn: German Development Institute. Accessed March 1, 2020. www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/Studies_39.2008.pdf, pp. 87-90.

³⁸ This rule simplifies questionnaire and allows including questions concerning the probability of one pair of mutually exclusive events. The second one is calculated by the formula $P(\bar{A}) = 1 - P(A)$.

is not recognized, Nagorno Karabakh conflict is not solved.

Scenarios of case No. 1: “Small agreements policy”

- (II) B – Small agreements (social dialogue and diplomatic initiatives, economic ties and projects etc.) *bring* to a slow progress in the Armenian-Turkish relations.
- (II) \bar{B} - No progress occurs and present situation continuous to be unchanged.
- (III) C – As a result of small agreements and slow progress in Armenian-Turkish relations the opening of border without preconditions is taken place and diplomatic relations are established.
- (III) \bar{C} - Border remains closed, no diplomatic relations are established.
- (IV) D – Turkey *officially recognizes* the Armenian Genocide.
- (IV) \bar{D} – Turkey *does not officially recognize* the Armenian Genocide.

Scenarios of case No. 2: “Resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict”

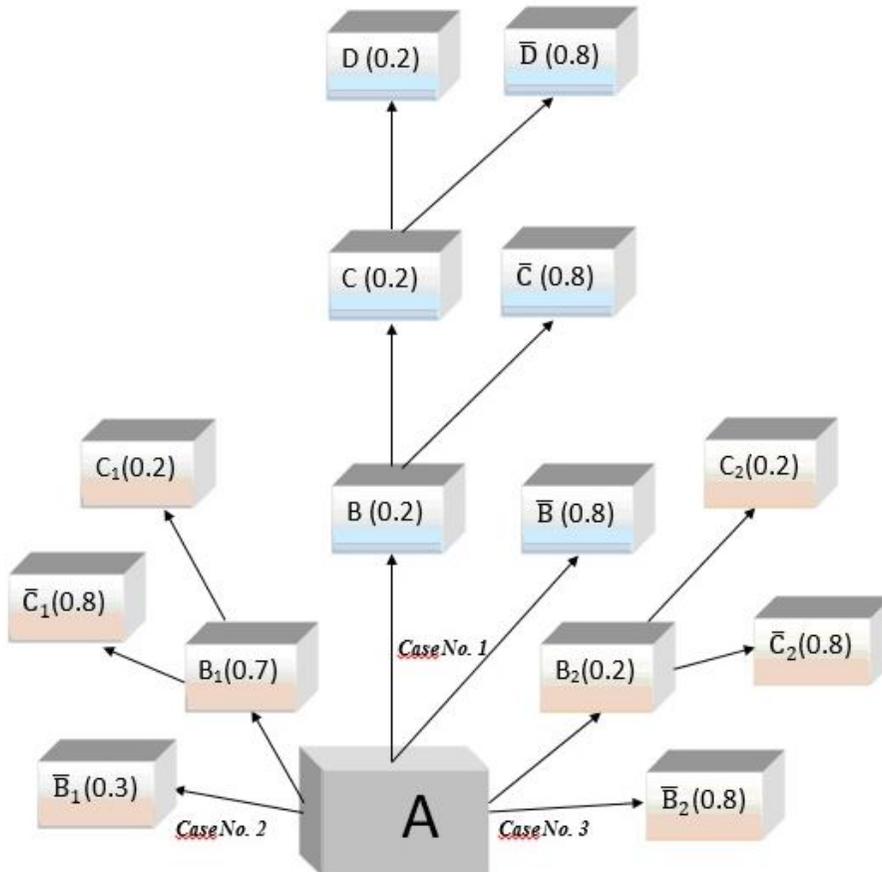
- (II) B_1 – The resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict *leads* to the opening of border without preconditions.
- (II) \bar{B}_1 - The resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict *does not lead* to the opening of border.
- (III) C_1 - The resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the opening of border without preconditions *bring* to the recognition of Armenian Genocide.
- (III) \bar{C}_1 - The resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the opening of border without preconditions *do not bring* to the recognition of Armenian Genocide.

Scenarios of case No. 3: “Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) cooperation with Turkey”

- (II) B_2 - Intensification of EAEU cooperation with Turkey *leads* to the opening of border without preconditions (taking into account that Armenian-Turkish border became an EAEU’s external border).
- (II) \bar{B}_2 - Intensification of EAEU cooperation with Turkey *does not lead* to the opening of Armenian-Turkish border.
- (III) C_2 – Intensification of EAEU cooperation with Turkey and the opening of Armenian-Turkish border *lead* to the recognition of Armenian Genocide.
- (III) \bar{C}_2 – Intensification of EAEU cooperation with Turkey and the opening of Armenian-Turkish border *do not lead* to the recognition of Armenian Genocide.

Figure 1

Scenario tree (development of Armenian-Turkish relations)



Values indicating the probability of events in levels III and IV are conditional (conditional probability) since they are conditioned with the probabilities of the preceding events. In our case the indication for conditional probability is $P(C|B)$, read as the probability of C given B (C is a dependent event as it depends on the probabilities of the preceding events). According to one of the basic theorems of probability theory, probability product of two dependent events A and B is equal to the product of the probability of one of them on the conditional probability of another, found on the assumption that the first event has occurred: $P(A \times B) = P(A) \times (B/A)$. So the real probability of a complex event D or ABCD scenario is $0,2 \times 0,2 \times 0,2 = 0,008$. Other scenarios are calculated in the similar way (See Table 1).

SCENARIOS ON DEVELOPMENT OF ARMENIAN-TURKISH RELATION

Table 1

Probabilities of scenarios on development of Armenian-Turkish relations

Scenarios Case No.1	Prob. (0-1)	Scenarios Case No.2	Prob. (0-1)	Scenarios Case No.3	Prob. (0-1)
$A\bar{B}$	0,8	$A\bar{B}_1$	0,3	$A\bar{B}_2$	0,8
$AB\bar{C}$	0,16	$AB_1\bar{C}_1$	0,56	$AB_2\bar{C}_2$	0,16
$ABC\bar{D}$	0,032	AB_1C_1	0,14	AB_2C_2	0,04
ABCD	0,008	-	-	-	-
Sum	1	-	1	-	1

As was mentioned above in the theory the probability of any event lies between 0 and 1 by which the probability of occurrence of an event is measured by numerical values from 0 to 1. In the research, the ranges of probability of each event are as followings:

0 – absolutely improbable; 0,1 - near-impossible; 0,2 - very improbable; 0,3 – improbable; 0,5 - equal probability; 0,6 – probable; 0.7 – highly probable; 0,8 –very high probability; 1- the event will be taken place.

Scenarios of case No. 1.

As shown in Table 1. scenario $A\bar{B}$ has high probability of occurrence (0,8). It means that according to experts very probable that “no progress will occur in Armenian – Turkish relations and present situation will continue to be unchanged”. With 0,16 probability ($AB\bar{C}$) they believe it to be highly improbable that “small agreements (social dialogue and diplomatic initiatives, economic ties and projects etc.) could bring to a slow progress in the Armenian-Turkish relations” in the near future. It's almost improbable ($ABCD=0,008$) that in case of “small agreements” and “opening borders” Turkey will “officially recognize the Armenian the Genocide”.

Scenarios of case No. 2.

According to the research results experts find improbable that the resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict couldn't affect the rapprochement between Armenia and Turkey ($A\bar{B}_1= 0,3$). Thus it is probable ($AB_1\bar{C}_1= 0,56$) that the resolution will lead to the opening of border without preconditions which however will not be followed by the recognition of Armenian Genocide then ($AB_1C_1= 0,14$). A study of the history of Armenian-Turkish current relations also showed a noticeable correlation between liberated territories in Nagorno-Karabakh from the Armenian side and tension of Armenian-Turkish relations. Therefore, it may be concluded that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is one of the

major obstacles for reconciliation of relations between Armenia and Turkey.

Scenarios of case No. 3.

According to the expert's opinion and to appropriate calculations intensification of EAEU cooperation with Turkey will not lead to the opening of the Armenian-Turkish border with 0,8 probability which regards as very high probable ($A\bar{B}_2 = 0,8$). Respectively scenarios ($AB_2\bar{C}_2 = 0,16$; $AB_2C_2 = 0,04$) considering influence of active cooperation between the EAEU and Turkey on the reconciliation process is near impossible.

CONCLUSION

Reconciliation and regulation of the Armenian–Turkish relations are of great importance, as problematic relations, or more specifically, the absence of official relations such as closed border, create threat to national security and prevent the sustainable development of Armenia, impact on regional stability and on regional cooperation in general.

When summarizing the findings of the current research the most important outcomes are as follows:

1. As it has been already explored in the paper, for the purposes of this research the development and duration of Armenian-Turkish relations are divided according to three presidential and post-revolution periods. Within these periods the first president Mr. Levon Ter-Petrosyan displayed a soft-liner policy and tried to establish neighborly relations with Turkey. Second president Mr. Robert Kocharyan, while following Ter Petrosyan's policy of opening the border without preconditions, showed tougher position. He also made the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide a foreign policy priority and increased diaspora's influence on it. The third president Mr. Serzh Sargsyan continued Kocharyan's policy of putting the Genocide recognition on Armenia's foreign policy agenda, but took more initiatives in constructing "relations without preconditions" with Turkey. Unfortunately, his initiative and diplomatic efforts called "football diplomacy" failed, and afterwards Armenian-Turkish official relations became even colder than before. In the post-revolutionary period, Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan periodically announced Armenia's readiness to establish diplomatic relations without preconditions, however, they still remain unchanged.

2. During above mentioned timeframes Turkey conducted relatively "cohesion policy" only at the time of Mr. Ter-Petrosyan's presidency. From time to time, it had made gestures towards the establishment of neighborly relations. In particular, such policy was conducted during economically problematic periods in Armenia.³⁹ This means that Ter-Petrosyan as a President of Armenia was

³⁹ In 1992 Armenia, reeling from economic meltdown, asked Turkey for a loan of 100,000 tons of grain. On September 18, Prime Minister Demirel agreed mentioning: "Our sincere wish is to see our neighboring region as an island of cooperation, stability, prosperity and concord. I can

preferable for Turkey, as he was the only president who clearly stated that Armenia had no territorial claims towards Turkey and was trying to realize phased settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict which were in favor of Azerbaijan and Turkey. Moreover, in 1998 after the resignation of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Hurriyet wrote: "Turkey should have supported a moderate president like Ter-Petrosyan instead of abandoning him to his fate"⁴⁰.

3. After the failure of "football diplomacy" when the Armenian-Turkish relations achieved no success in the diplomatic level, they more and more get deep into the public dialogue format.

4. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is one of the main obstacles to the reconciliation of relations between Armenia and Turkey. Many times Turkey has demonstrated that it cannot disown its "sponsorship" role towards Azerbaijan.

5. According to the expert survey and scenario analysis, current situation will continue to be unchanged and no progress will occur in regard to the Armenian – Turkish relations with very high probability ($A\bar{B} = 0.8$). With the same probability ($A\bar{B}_2 = 0.8$) the intensification of EAEU cooperation with Turkey will not lead to the opening of Armenian-Turkish border. It is also probable ($AB_1\bar{C}_1 = 0.56$) that the resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict will lead to the opening of border without preconditions which however will not bring to the recognition of Armenian Genocide.

So since Armenian independence reconciliation in the Armenian-Turkish relations had no noticeable progress in diplomatic/governmental level which mainly was provoked by Armenia's military victory and liberation of territories in the war of Nagorno-Karabakh. In recent times, activity of public dialogue is a positive and appreciable step, but in current level of relations development, it cannot be considered as the strength bringing to reconciliation.

Key words: *Armenian Genocide, Armenian-Turkish relations, scenario analysis, reconciliation, rapprochement, Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, EAEU, recognition*

ԱՐՈՒԻՍՅԱԿ ԱԼԵՔՍԱՆՅԱՆ – Հայոց ցեղասպանության գործոնը հայ-թուրքական ժամանակակից հարաբերություններում. սցենարների վերլուծություն – Հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունների կարգավորման հիմնահարցն առանցքային նշանակություն ունի, քանի որ կոնֆլիկտային իրավիճակը, դիվանագիտական հարաբերությունների բացակայությունը և փակ սահմանները սպառնալիք են հայոց ազգային անվտանգության համար, ինչպես նաև խոչընդոտում են Հայաստանի զարգացումը՝ ազդելով տարածաշրջանային կայունության և համագործակցության հնարավորությունների վրա: Հնդվածում հեղինակը ուսումնասիրում է հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունների ժամանակակից պատմությունը՝ նախանշելով դրանց հնարավոր զարգացման սցենար-

assure you that Turkey will continue its constructive activities in that sphere." Also in 1993 for the period of economic crisis, Turkey allowed the passing of humanitarian aid for Armenia from abroad through its territory (ESI 2009).

⁴⁰ ESI 2009, p. 20.

ները: Հետագոտության նպատակը հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունների հետագա սցենարների մշակումն է: Ներկայացվում են, թե ինչպիսի հավանականություն ունեն առաջադրված սցենարները՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման համատեքստում, և այն գործոնները, որոնք կարող են նպաստել հայ-թուրքական հարաբերությունների կարգավորմանը: Կիրառվել են դելֆյան մեթոդը և սցենարների վերլուծությունը, ինչպես նաև քաղաքական տեսլականների իրականացման հավանականության գնահատման մեթոդները:

Բանալի բառեր – *Հայոց ցեղասպանություն, հայ-թուրքական հարաբերություններ, սցենարների վերլուծություն, ճանաչում, հաշտեցում, մերձեցում, Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի հակամարտություն, ԵԱՏՄ*

АРУСЯК АЛЕКСАНЯН – Фактор признания Геноцида армян в современных армяно-турецких отношениях: сценарный анализ. – Примирение двух народов имеет ключевое значение, т.к. отсутствие дипломатических отношений, закрытые границы и конфликтность создают угрозу национальной безопасности и препятствуют устойчивому развитию Армении, влияя на региональную стабильность и сотрудничество в целом. В статье анализируются современные армяно-турецкие отношения и предлагается сценарий их возможного развития. Выявляется вероятность сценариев с учётом признания Геноцида армян и других факторов, которые влияют на примирение соседних стран. В основу исследования положен метод Дельфи.

Ключевые слова: *Геноцид армян, армяно-турецкие отношения, анализ сценариев, признание, примирение, сближение, Нагорно-Карабахский конфликт, ЕАЭС*

Ներկայացվել է՝ 10.03.2020, Գրախոսվել է՝ 04.04.2020, Ընդունվել է տպագրության՝ 24.07.2020