



# Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy

## School of International Affairs

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#### **THE CASPIAN BASIN STATES: FROM CONFLICT TO COOPERATION?**

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Since the end of the Soviet Union, many analysts have focused on the problems the five Caspian littoral states—Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Turkmenistan—have had in reaching agreement on the delimitation of the oil and gas rich seabed of that body of water and thus have passed over in relative silence what may be an equally important development: the rapidly expanding cooperation among these countries on issues ranging from environmental protection to international security.

That is unfortunate for two reasons. On the one hand, these growing relationships are important in and of themselves even if they do not solve all the bilateral and

multilateral problems these states have. As important as oil and gas may be, all of the states in this region recognize that these resources are not the only things they care about. And on the other, these forms of cooperation may serve as confidence-building measures that will ultimately allow the littoral states to reach an agreement on the delimitation of the seabed, an agreement that would open the way to even greater exploitation of those resources by the countries there.

Over the last few months, cooperation among these countries has intensified both at the multi-lateral littoral level and at the bilateral one. The past two weeks have been especially full for Azerbaijan in particular. Baku hosted a working session of the deputy foreign ministers of the five littoral states to discuss a draft agreement on security cooperation. As Azerbaijani Deputy Foreign Minister Khalaf Khalafov pointed out, that accord has been under discussion for two years but there is new impetus for reaching an agreement because of the third summit of Caspian states slated to take place in Baku on November 18<sup>th</sup>.

The draft accord provides for inter-state mechanisms to assure security on the Caspian, cooperation against terrorism and the illegal trafficking of weapons, drugs, and nuclear technologies, piracy, illegal immigration, poaching, and coping with natural and man-made disasters, thereby broadening the kinds of bi-lateral cooperation that Azerbaijan and some of the littoral states have already entered into and indicating the directions that these states may take in the future (Medjid 2010).

Indeed, as if to highlight these possibilities, during the same week, as the chronology in this issue of *Azerbaijan in the World* reports, Azerbaijani units took part in a joint exercise with Russian Federation and Kazakhstan forces to counter poaching and environmental destruction in the northern portions of the Caspian, and Iranian officials visited Baku, with several of them indicating that they saw no obstacles to joint military exercises between Azerbaijan and Iran, a development that in and of itself would change the security situation in the Caspian basin.

And these developments in turn follow the expansion of cooperation, after some periods of tension, between Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, as well as between Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation and between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, the two countries which have had close cooperation on the Caspian since 2002 when they unilaterally agreed to a delimitation of the seabed. Similar forms of cooperation between other pairs of countries in the Caspian basin are also taking place, but what may represent a breakthrough, as the Baku meeting suggests, is that the Caspian littoral states are prepared to move to a multilateral set of arrangements.

Obviously, as all observers note, moving in this direction is not going to be easy. There are both serious underlying tensions among these countries and the potential for outside interference that could derail cooperation in one or another area. [1] But in talking about the Caspian, it is time to look beyond the issue of delimitation alone and to recognize that if other forms of cooperation take off, the consequences of the absence of an accord on the seabed will be reduced and the chances for such an accord dramatically increased.

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*Eastern Outlook*, 7 October, available at <http://journal-neo.com/?q=ru/node/1875> (accessed 13 October 2010).

Medjid, Faiq (2010) "A Working Session of the Caspian Littoral States is Being Held to Discuss Security Issues in the Caspian", *Kavkaz Uzel*, 12 October, available at <http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru/articles/175435/> (accessed 13 October 2010).

#### Note

[1] For a survey of both of these risks, see the article by Anatoly Gusher, an advisor to the Russian Federation Security Council (Gusher 2010).

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### **TURKMENISTAN WARMS UP TO CASPIAN DELIMITATION DEAL WITH BAKU**

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The global economic crisis has put Ashgabat in a difficult position. In April 2009, faced with falling European gas demand, Turkmenistan's top gas customer, Gazprom, halted purchases of Turkmen gas, leading to the unexpected explosion of the Central Asia Center-4 pipeline. For the next nine months—until December 2009—Turkmenistan and Russia haggled over new terms for their bilateral gas trade, robbing Ashgabat of vital export revenues in the meantime. When gas exports to Russia finally resumed in January 2010, they did so at a much lower level—about 10 billion cubic meters per year (bcm/y) rather than 40 or more bcm/y previously exported [1]—and at a lower price—from something approximating 300 USD per thousand cubic meters in the first quarter of 2009 to a price less than 200 USD per thousand cubic meters through 2010. [2]

In response to his country's weakened position in the Eurasian gas trade, Turkmen President Gurbanguly Berdymukhammadov engaged other external partners, including opening pipelines to China and Iran, and awarding hydrocarbon sector contracts to German, Korean, Emirati, and Chinese firms (as well as a couple Russian firms). The most recent manifestation of this outreach was the government's indications in August [3] and October [4] that US, French, and Emirati firms may be the next in line to win contracts to develop oil and gas deposits in the Turkmen sector of the Caspian Sea. In August, President Berdymukhammadov also called for negotiations to secure a 4 billion USD loan from China. With Chinese gas purchases increasing only incrementally and Russian purchases flat-lining until European gas demand rebounds, Turkmenistan's flurry of activity signals a government with its back to the wall, confused as to whence it will earn the currency necessary to preserve its domestic balance.

However, Ashgabat's external engagement is stymied by complex regional geopolitics. To the southeast, the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan undermines investor confidence in a putative trans-Afghan gas pipeline, delaying its realization by at least another decade. To the south, Iran, which has been a willing buyer of Turkmen gas, is under the strain of multilateral sanctions,

limiting the volumes it can reasonably purchase at the price Turkmenistan demands. And to the west, Ashgabat's disagreement with Baku over the proper delimitation of the bi-national maritime boundary and sovereignty over the Kapaz oil field (called "Sardar" by the Turkmen), as well as Russian and Iranian opposition to a trans-Caspian gas pipeline, has hampered Turkmenistan's goal of opening a westward-oriented oil and gas export corridor.

Despite mutual mistrust, the Turkmen government's actions in 2009-2010 suggest that it is looking to resolve its disagreements with Baku in order to open this export corridor. In July 2009, two weeks after vocalizing his country's interest in the Nabucco pipeline, President Berdymukhammadov called for international arbitration of the Azeri-Turkmen Caspian delimitation dispute, declaring, "We [Turkmenistan] are ready to accept any decision of an international court." [5] While initially interpreted by observers as a hostile move, the president's statement was the first indication that Ashgabat would be open to an internationally mediated resolution. In October 2009, the Turkmen government backed off the call for international arbitration—probably after clarifying the extensive process that arbitration would entail—but left the option on the table should bilateral negotiations fail. [6]

It seems there has been little tangible progress toward a negotiated solution in 2010, but the August announcement that approximately 40,000 barrels of Turkmen crude oil are now transiting the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline daily points to tentatively expanding bilateral cooperation in the energy trade (these volumes were previously shipped to Neka, Iran). [7] The precedent of exporting Turkmen crude oil by tanker to Baku and then through BTC may have demonstrative implications for a seaborne trans-Caspian natural gas export project, with Turkmen gas shipped to Baku and onwards through the South Caucasus Pipeline to Erzurum, Turkey. In this regard, Turkish Energy Minister Taner Yildiz announced on September 15 after a meeting with his Azeri and Turkmen counterparts in Istanbul that Turkey is interested in purchasing the 5 bcm/y of gas that Malaysian firm Petronas will produce in the Turkmen offshore, specifically calling for "the long-term supplies of Turkmen gas across the Caspian Sea to Azerbaijan and further abroad." [8] Turkey itself may be attempting to broker a resolution between Baku and Ashgabat in order to open up access to Turkmen gas reserves for the Turkish domestic market and the Southern Corridor.

The creeping internationalization of the Azeri-Turkmen Caspian delimitation dispute is further complemented—or complicated, depending on one's point of view—by European Union (EU) efforts to foster a bilateral deal on a trans-Caspian pipeline. In August, *Bloomberg* reported on an EU-sponsored framework for a trans-Caspian pipeline that, according to the document, should "not be interpreted as affecting Azerbaijan or Turkmenistan's jurisdiction over sub-soil resources or their sovereign rights under international law to the Caspian Sea." [9] The EU effort to tie Turkmenistan into the Southern Corridor without dealing with the fundamental issue in Azerbaijani-Turkmen relations hints at desperation: after a number of years of fruitless negotiations Brussels now wants to selectively and conveniently forget about Caspian delimitation. The proposal, however, is unlikely to succeed. Ashgabat understands that if it wants a favorable outcome in the delimitation dispute, it will need to leverage its copious gas resources to bring European (and Turkish) pressure to bear on Baku. To agree to a trans-Caspian pipeline without a final resolution to delimitation would be to sacrifice Turkmenistan's main trump card.

And yet, when Turkmenistan was exporting over 50 bcm/y Ashgabat had the luxury of holding out for Western pressure on Azerbaijan. (At the same time, Ashgabat also had to worry about a Russian cutoff or Iranian belligerence in the event that the country did throw its support behind a trans-Caspian pipeline.) Now that Turkmenistan is exporting a little more than 20 bcm/y, Ashgabat does not have time to wait and may be more amenable to a speedy bilateral resolution that paves the way for the short-term opening of a trans-Caspian gas export corridor.

In December, the Caspian littoral states will meet in Baku to discuss—again—the legal status of the Caspian Sea. Moscow and Tehran will be vocal and forthright in their opposition to a trans-Caspian gas transportation project. Nevertheless, Turkmenistan is likely to be looking for a sign from Azerbaijan that the bilateral delimitation dispute could be settled once and for all. The nationalist attitudes that have shaped Turkmen behavior during many years of talks may now be overshadowed by economic necessity.

Baku's window of opportunity may not last long, however. Once China ramps up its purchases of Turkmen gas and gas prices return to their record highs of 2008-2009, Ashgabat will again be able to afford to take a hardline stance in negotiations. In the meantime, Turkmenistan remains in a position of relative weakness.

#### Notes

[1] *Bloomberg*, 16 April 2010.

[2] *Kommersant*, 15 April 2010; *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 7 September 2010.

[3] Turkmenistan.gov.tm, 12 August 2010.

[4] Turkmenistan.ru, 9 October 2010.

[5] *Reuters*, 10 July 2010.

[6] *Reuters*, 1 October 2010.

[7] *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 12 August 2010.

[8] *Reuters*, 15 September 2010; Turkmenistan.ru, 16 September 2010.

[9] *Bloomberg*, 3 August 2010.

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### **THE COLD WAR: A RUSSIAN PERSPECTIVE**

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*Editorial Note: What follows is an excerpt from the speech Prof. Pechatnov delivered at Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy's Global Perspective Series on September 27, 2010.*

The Cold War remains a matter of intense discussion in many countries both because of the enormous issues it involves and the differences in opinions about them. Today, I would like to focus on three key questions: What was the Cold War about? Why did it end the way it did? And what lessons can we learn from it? Had I been speaking to you in Soviet times, my title would have been "The Russian Perspective," but those days are long past and so what I am going to say is only one of many although it is shared by many others as well.

As far as the first question—What was the Cold War about?—there are three main interpretations: the ideological which views that conflict as a clash of ideologies and argues that the conflict began with the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 and ended only with Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking;" the *Realpolitik* which presents that conflict as an unusual bi-polar phase of great power competition and argues the conflict began long before 1917 and will continue into the future albeit in a milder form, and the cultural which sees the Cold War as a chapter in the long clash of civilizations between Orthodox authoritarian and collectivist Russia and the liberal individualistic Catholic/Protestant West.

As you know, many analysts pick one or another of these perspectives, but in my view, the Cold War reflected all of them and was thus a messy mixture of ideology, geopolitics and culture, in which each reinforced the other two. That shouldn't surprise us given that most historical phenomena involve a variety of factors and can't be reduced to a single explanation.

Obviously, *Realpolitik* and geopolitics played essential roles, especially after World War II when there were only two great powers remaining and a large number of power vacuums between them around the world. Once the threat of a common enemy—the axis powers—disappeared, these two powers began to compete in earnest for influence among all the other states. People in both the Soviet Union and the West saw their opponent as possessing a hostile ideology as well as a huge military capability and thus a threat to its existence or at least to its own view of what it deserved as a *droit de regard*.

Had the ideological factor been absent, this geopolitical rivalry would have taken more traditional and hence restrained forms. But given the presence of this ideological clash, each side viewed the other in more apocalyptic terms, thus leading each to behave in ways that made the Cold War more intense, global and dangerous.

But at the same time, the cultural dimension added an additional complicating factor. Russia has always been a country standing between East and West and never belonging completely to one or the other. Since the 13<sup>th</sup> century, its relationship with the West has been particularly difficult, with Russians usually viewing the West as a cultural and security challenge and many in the West viewing Russia as a huge and powerful authoritarian state. The 1917 revolution instead of overcoming this divide as many of its authors hoped had the opposite effect of deepening this divide.

To sum up, the Cold War was a confrontation between the two social systems (and power blocs headed by the Soviet Union and the United States) which had geopolitical, ideological and cultural dimensions, was global in scale and was

conducted by all means short of big hot war between the two antagonists. Because of this combination of factors, the Cold War was in my view inevitable—to the extent there is inevitability in history. But the shape of the conflict might have been different, perhaps better if the two sides had been more prepared for compromise and much worse if one or both sides behaved more irresponsibly given the dangers of nuclear war.

One of the most important features of the Cold War was each side's possession of nuclear weapons. On the one hand, such weapons made the arms race extraordinarily expensive with negative consequences for both societies. And on the other, because of their lethal power, nuclear weapons led both sides to avoid taking steps that might have led to a nuclear exchange. Indeed, they led to a fairly stable system which some historians have called "the long peace."

The Cold War competition had some positive consequences for each side. The Soviet development of space technology prompted the United States to respond and develop its educational system and technological base. Indeed, to use the words of Arnold Toynbee, "the Soviet Union became a functional equivalent of the Devil that forced us into doing what we should have done anyway." That became obvious when with the disappearance of the Soviet Union, the US fell into a kind of complacency that helped bring on the current financial and economic crisis. Moreover, in the absence of a unifying "Soviet threat," the United States would hardly have launched the Marshall Plan or rehabilitated Germany and Japan, steps that led to the European Union of today. The Soviet Union's counter-effort with Comecon, which reflected a similar impulse, did not survive, however.

The Cold War balance was based on deterrence, a system that forced both sides to act with greater responsibility than might otherwise have been the case. Had there been no nuclear balance, it is not difficult to imagine many times over nearly half a century that the situation could have gotten out of control.

Many people in both the West and the Soviet Union thought that this arrangement would continue for a long time to come. John Gaddis was one of the few who asked in 1987 "How the Cold War Might End." And while his answer was not quite right, he at least asked the right question, something not many others did. That is why I want to turn my attention to the second question: "Why did the Cold War end the way it did?"

With all the benefit of hindsight, the answer seems obvious. First of all, the West had a better model: capitalism, involving markets and democracy, proved to be more productive both in guns and in butter than did Soviet socialism. Moreover, the Soviet alliance model was inferior to the US-led Western alliance. Second, the West had much greater resources than the Soviet bloc, especially after China left the Soviet orbit. Third, the US had a better strategy for prosecuting the conflict, one rooted in NSC-68, something the Soviet leadership did not have. That is an interesting paradox because the hyper-centralized Soviet system in many respects lacked a plan while the pluralist West had one. That is not to say that Moscow did not have some strategic guidelines, but its vision was deeply flawed, fundamentally distorted by ideological wishful thinking.

Given this correlation of forces, it is clear that the Soviet Union never had a real chance to win the Cold War. Western preponderance lay behind the policy of containment, one that was based on the assumption that given Soviet weakness, all

the West had to do was maintain its own strength and vitality, block Soviet expansionism, and facilitate the demise of the USSR by pressure overt and covert. The USSR might have achieved a draw if the West had mishandled the conflict—even stagnant systems can maintain themselves for a long time—but it could not have won.

But in the case of the Cold War, the accidents of history—the famous “human factor”—intervened in such a way as to allow for a quick and relatively peaceful dissolution of Soviet power. Mikhail Gorbachev was no Deng: he unleashed forces of change but having lost control of them preferred to accept the dissolution of Soviet power rather than stopping it by force. That led to a kind of velvet revolution. George Kennan, the main architect of containment, prophesied in 1946 that in 10-15 years the Soviet system would either “mellow” or “break up.” It took longer than that, was messier, and mellowed before it broke up, but in general Kennan was right.

Kennan was also right in foreseeing the dynamics of a future Soviet collapse. Kennan always thought that the Kremlin masters, whose rule was based on iron discipline and total obedience rather than compromise and mutual accommodation, were so alienated from their own people that in case of a grave legitimacy crisis, the system would have very few defenders. Hence instead of a civil war there would likely be a swift and bloodless collapse of the Soviet regime. But in the wake of that collapse, as Kennan clearly saw, there would be no political force capable of running the country more or less effectively because communist rule had destroyed civil-society and all capacity for self-organization. So, if Communist Party is incapacitated, Soviet Russia would, in Kennan’s words, “almost overnight turn from one of the mightiest into one of the weakest and miserable nations of the world...”.

Had Gorbachev read Kennan and realized this causal connection (as Deng and his Chinese colleagues most definitely had), he might have thought twice before abruptly terminating the Communist monopoly on power.

Even more remarkably, Kennan foresaw a chain reaction between internal and external dissolution of the Soviet empire. He always considered Eastern Europe to be the most vulnerable part of that empire ready to run away should the Moscow control seriously weaken. But that loss, as he predicted, would deal such a blow to Kremlin’s legitimacy and self-confidence that it would “unleash an avalanche downfall of Soviet influence and prestige which would go beyond satellites countries and reach the heart of the Soviet Union itself.”

Our final question is thus what lessons have we in Russia learned from our country’s experience in the World War—and as a result, what has changed in Russian foreign policy since the end of that conflict and what has not?

Some of the changes have been dramatic and are obvious. First of all, Russian policymakers now operate from a much narrower resource base than Soviet leaders did during the Cold War. Second, there has been a radical de-ideologization of Russian foreign policy. Third, Russia has radically downscaled its military and security requirements. Instead, its primary foreign policy goals are rather modest: to secure the new borders and to have stable, friendly or at least neutral governments in neighboring countries. Russia doesn’t want to restore the Soviet Union because as Vladimir Putin once said: “those who do not miss the USSR have no hearts but those who want to recreate it have no brains. And consequently, Russia pursues a so-

called multi-vector foreign policy developing mutually beneficial ties with all major power centers without regard to the nature of their political systems.

Yet on a deeper geopolitical and cultural level there is some continuity with the past. A great power mentality, a vulnerability complex, a zealous defense of Russian sovereignty and identity, and a mixed attitude toward the West are all elements that are re-emerging. And this is happening not simply because of historic inertia, but also as a reaction to the Western and especially American policies. NATO expansion to the East and the advance of its infrastructure all the way to the Russian borders, a forceful regime change policy in the former Yugoslavia, active resistance to Russia-led integration of the post-Soviet space and cultivation of anti-Russian forces there have caused growing Russian concern. Clearly, for the U.S. and its allies, Russia's legitimate security interests are less important than expanding their own influence and locking in Cold War geopolitical gains.

For the Russian policy makers it has become clear that the end of the Cold War and of the ideological divide hasn't done away with interstate rivalry and with old Western syndromes concerning Russia as a bastion of ideas alien and even hostile to Western culture and values. As a result, today, we live not in an ideal world of perpetual harmony, but the world we do live in is a big improvement over that of the Cold War period. There are and will be conflicts, but none of them carries within itself the threats that earlier ones did. And that is real progress, even if we have not gone all the way along the road we hope to follow.

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## **A CHRONOLOGY OF AZERBAIJAN'S FOREIGN POLICY**

### **I. Key Government Statements on Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy**

President Ilham Aliyev says that "Azerbaijan occupies a special place on the energy map of the world." His remarks come as he breaks ground for the new administration center of the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan (SOCAR) (<http://news.day.az/politics/233096.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev, at the opening of a Jewish school, says that "for centuries in Azerbaijan, there has been tolerance shown toward all peoples and national minorities, including the Jews" (<http://news.day.az/society/231828.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says that the recent visit of the OSCE Minsk Group to the occupied territories, the first such visit since 2005, was intended to determine the extent of Armenian-organized artificial population transfers (<http://news.day.az/politics/233671.html>).

Javanshir Akhundov, Azerbaijani ambassador to Iran, says that Baku is prepared to agree on having Iran play a mediating role in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/231742.html>).

### **II. Key Statements by Others about Azerbaijan**

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu says that media reports about a crisis in relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan over the display of the Turkish flag are untrue (<http://news.day.az/politics/232228.html>).

Aleksandr Nikitin, the director of the Moscow Center of Euro-Atlantic Security at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, says that "the OSCE is an ineffective place for the search for ways of resolving the Karabakh conflict" (<http://news.day.az/politics/233015.html>).

Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi says that there is "great potential" for cooperation between Iran and Azerbaijan in the defense industry sector (<http://news.day.az/politics/233134.html>). He adds that "we do not see any obstacles to the conduct of military exercise in the Caspian together with Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/233132.html>) and that Tehran supports the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict "within the framework of international law and the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/233119.html>).

### **III. A Chronology of Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy**

15 October

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov meets with Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili during a visit to Tbilisi (<http://news.day.az/politics/233707.html>). He also meets with Georgian Prime Minister Nika Gilauri (<http://news.day.az/politics/233598.html>).

Polad Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijani ambassador to the Russian Federation, participates in a CIS forum of the creative and scientific intelligentsia (<http://news.day.az/society/233525.html>).

Azerbaijan introduces certain changes in its visa procedures and posts these changes on the website of the Foreign Ministry (<http://news.day.az/society/233611.html>).

The defense ministry says that Armenian forces are not, Yerevan's claims notwithstanding, in a position to "neutralize" Azerbaijani snipers along the ceasefire line (<http://news.day.az/politics/233678.html>).

Azerbaijan is one of only 13 member states that have fully paid their UN dues this year, United Nations officials say (<http://news.day.az/politics/233655.html>).

Ogtay Asadov, Milli Majlis speaker, receives Wolfgang Grossruch, Vice-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and head of the OSCE election observer mission in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/233705.html>).

Valeh Alaskarov, deputy chairman of the Milli Majlis natural resources, energy and ecology committee, receives Rolf Gempelman, a deputy of the German Bundestag (<http://news.day.az/politics/233711.html>).

Gutalkin Hajibayli, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenian society is now nearly in revolt because of the deteriorating situation in that country (<http://news.day.az/politics/233493.html>).

Hulusi Kılıç, Turkish ambassador to Azerbaijan, says Ankara remains committed to "the text and spirit of the Ankara-Yerevan protocols" signed a year ago (<http://news.day.az/politics/233591.html>).

Officials from India's Punjab State visit Azerbaijan to discuss agricultural cooperation (<http://news.day.az/economy/233712.html>).

Lena Ag, secretary general of the Swedish Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, says women's organizations from Azerbaijan and Armenia must become involved in the resolution of the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/233593.html>).

#### 14 October

Agriculture Minister Ismat Abbasov visits Italy to discuss cooperation (<http://news.day.az/economy/233447.html>).

The State Property Committee signs a memorandum on cooperation and mutual understanding with the Korean finance and strategy ministry (<http://news.day.az/economy/233456.html>).

Allahshukur Pashazade, the Sheikh ul-Islam and head of the Caucasus Muslims Department, receives Saad Mustafa Mujbir, Libyan ambassador to Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/society/233476.html>).

#### 13 October

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives Richard Stone, head of the National Conference in Support of the Jews of Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic Countries and Eurasia (<http://news.day.az/politics/233319.html>).

Samad Seyidov, chairman of the Milli Majlis committee on foreign relations, outlines the ways in which the 2011 state budget provides for increased funding for Baku's foreign policy activities (<http://news.day.az/politics/233233.html>).

Mubariz Gurbanly, deputy executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that Armenian efforts at resettlement in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan have political goals (<http://news.day.az/politics/233213.html>).

Allahshukur Pashazade, the Sheikh ul-Islam and head of the Caucasus Muslims Department, receives Sylvia Meier-Kajbic, Austrian ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/society/233344.html>).

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev presents award to officials of the Emergency Situations Ministry of Azerbaijan for their help in extinguishing the forest fires in Russia last summer (<http://news.day.az/society/233309.html>).

The Palestinian Authority may open an embassy in Baku before the end of October, according to sources there speaking on condition of anonymity (<http://news.day.az/politics/233164.html>).

12 October

President Ilham Aliyev receives Jaime Enrique Inocencio Garcia Amaral, the incoming Mexican ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/233159.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Dragoljub Ljepoja, the incoming ambassador to Baku of Bosnia and Herzegovina (<http://news.day.az/politics/233158.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Sidi Mohamed Ould Taleb Amar, the incoming Mauritanian ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/233143.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Patrick Nailobi Sinyinza, the incoming Zambian ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/233141.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives David Nieves Velasquez Caraballo, the incoming Venezuelan ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/233140.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Qais Salim Ali Al Said, the incoming ambassador to Baku of the Sultanate of Oman (<http://news.day.az/politics/233138.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Adel Mohammad Adaileh, the incoming Jordanian ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/233137.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives Mohammad Mehdi Akhundzadeh, Iranian deputy foreign minister and special representative of the Iranian president for Caspian issues (<http://news.day.az/politics/233098.html>).

Khalaf Khalafov, deputy foreign minister, hosts his counterparts from the other Caspian states to discuss the draft agreement on security cooperation in the region (<http://news.day.az/politics/233135.html>).

Samad Seyidov, the head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, says that there are now 66 Azerbaijani embassies, consulates and permanent representatives abroad (<http://news.day.az/politics/232988.html>).

Finance Minister Samir Sharifov says that the 2011 state budget provides for an increase in defense spending of 89.7 percent (<http://news.day.az/politics/233047.html>).

Azerbaijan's Committee on Land and Cartography provides the OSCE Mission visiting Karabakh with the necessary maps (<http://news.day.az/politics/233076.html>).

Azay Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the year since the signing of the Ankara-Yerevan protocols has been "a genuine test" of the strength of Azerbaijan-Turkish relations (<http://news.day.az/politics/233008.html>).

Sabir Rustamkhanly, a member of the Milli Majlis international relations committee, says that contacts between Turkey and Armenia "in one form or another have already existed for a long time" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232830.html>).

Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi says that there is "great potential" for cooperation between Iran and Azerbaijan in the defense industry sector (<http://news.day.az/politics/233134.html>).

Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi says that "we do not see any obstacles to the conduct of military exercise in the Caspian together with Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/233132.html>).

Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi says that Tehran supports the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict "within the framework of international law and the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/233119.html>).

## 11 October

President Ilham Aliyev receives Mohammad Mehdi Akhundzadeh, deputy foreign minister of Iran and the special representative of the Iranian president on Caspian questions (<http://news.day.az/politics/232912.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi (<http://news.day.az/politics/232911.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev appoints Elman Idayat oglu Zeynalov ambassador to Latvia, Tofiq Nadir oglu Zulfugarov ambassador to Estonia, and Emil Zulfugar oglu Karimov ambassador to Bulgaria (<http://news.day.az/politics/232947.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev names Huseyn Nizami oblu Najafov consul general in Batumi (<http://news.day.az/politics/232949.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi (<http://news.day.az/politics/232946.html>).

Defense Minister Safar Abiyev says that Armenia is the main cause of tension in the South Caucasus (<http://news.day.az/politics/232862.html>).

Transportation Minister Ziya Mammadov receives his Lithuanian counterpart Eligijus Masiulis (<http://news.day.az/economy/232945.html>).

Vugar Aliyev, head of sector in the social-political department of the President's Office, says that the Socialist International should clearly express its position on Armenian occupation of Azerbaijani lands (<http://news.day.az/politics/232872.html>).

Yashar Aliyev, Azerbaijani ambassador to the United States, speaks to an international conference on "The US and the Countries of Eurasia—Business Cooperation" at Creighton University in Iowa (<http://news.day.az/politics/233394.html>).

Ali Larijani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, says that Iran and Azerbaijan have "beautiful relations, our views are fraternal and we are connected by a common

history." With regard to the division of the Caspian, he says, negotiations have been unnecessarily prolonged (<http://news.day.az/politics/232913.html>).

Kiro Manoyan, a representative of the Armenian Dashnaktsutyun Movement, in Baku for a meeting of the Socialist International, says that delays in ratifying the protocols between Turkey and Armenia are linked to Ankara's pressure on Yerevan to resolve the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/232869.html>).

Elman Mammadov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan and former president Robert Kocharyan have more than once acknowledged that they took part in the mass murder of peaceful citizens" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232746.html>).

Asim Mollazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the only obstacle" to the normalization of Turkish-Armenian relations is "the aggressive policy of Armenia" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232676.html>).

Irfan Gunduz, a member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, says that the establishment of ties between Ankara and Yerevan "in any format will become possible only after there will have been movement forward in the resolution of the Karabakh conflict" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232751.html>).

#### 10 October

Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahidi says that relations between Baku and Tehran in the military and security areas are developing rapidly (<http://news.day.az/politics/232763.html>).

Luis Ayala, the secretary general of the Socialist International, says that "the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict disturbs all of us" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232745.html>).

#### 9 October

Deputy Foreign Minister Vagif Sadykhov says that Baku plans to open embassies next year in Lebanon, Oman, Estonia and Croatia (<http://news.day.az/politics/232687.html>).

Duisen Kaseinov, the secretary general of TURKSOY, welcomes President Ilham Aliyev's call for the creation of a foundation as part of that organization's operation (<http://news.day.az/politics/232681.html>).

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development publishes its preliminary report on its strategy for Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/economy/232637.html>).

#### 8 October

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the President's Office, says that Baku has "frequently" dispatched appeals to the OSCE and other international organizations concerning missions to the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/232432.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Khalaf Khalafov meets with his Ukrainian counterpart Ivan Gnatishin in Kyiv (<http://news.day.az/politics/232582.html>).

Ambassador Agshin Mekhtiyev, permanent representative to the United Nations, files a protest with the UN Secretary General concerning Armenia's display of the Armenian national flag and the flag of "the so-called Nagorno-Karabakh Republic" in New York (<http://news.day.az/politics/232486.html>).

Members of the Azerbaijani and Armenian delegations to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe meet (<http://news.day.az/politics/232418.html>).

The ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party together with the International Diaspora Center, the National NGO Forum, and the Scientific Center of Armenian Research at Baku State University holds a conference on "The Defense at the International Level of the Rights of Azerbaijani Refugees Expelled from Armenia (Western Azerbaijan)" (<http://news.day.az/society/232692.html>).

Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that in the course of the occupation by Armenia of Azerbaijani territories, "hundreds of children were killed" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232421.html>).

Nizami Jafarov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "contacts between the governments have not ceased and that the possibility of Armenian-Turkish meetings at a high level always exists" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232447.html>).

Latvian President Valdis Zatlers tells Tofiq Zulfugarov, incoming Azerbaijani Ambassador to Latvia, that he is satisfied with the current level of bilateral relations (<http://news.day.az/politics/232521.html>).

Ian Kelly, US representative to the OSCE, says that the United States is "concerned" by the deterioration of the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/232455.html>).

## 7 October

President Ilham Aliyev receives BP Executive Director Robert Dudley (<http://news.day.az/politics/232336.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives incoming Jordanian ambassador to Baku Adel Mohammad Adaileh (<http://news.day.az/politics/232372.html>).

The Foreign Ministry says that Armenian Foreign Minister Edvard Nalbandyan's suggestion that Azerbaijan is involved in "terrorist activity" is an example of "extraordinary cynicism" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232348.html>).

First Vice Prime Minister Yagub Eyubov announces an agreement with Ukraine on the production and development of new products (<http://news.day.az/economy/232370.html>).

Interior Minister Ramil Usubov receives Audrey Glover, the head of the observer mission of the OSCE's Bureau for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (<http://news.day.az/politics/232407.html>).

Azerbaijani officials intervene to block the efforts of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic to have its own display at an international exhibition in Germany (<http://news.day.az/politics/232377.html>).

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopts a resolution calling on Armenia to return the bodies of two Azerbaijani soldiers killed during a clash on the ceasefire line (<http://news.day.az/politics/232241.html>).

Ji-ha Lee, Korean ambassador to Baku, says that bilateral ties between the Republic of Korea and Azerbaijan are expanding rapidly in a wide variety of fields (<http://news.day.az/economy/232261.html>).

A book by Vilayat Guliyev entitled "From the Heritage of the Azerbaijani Political Emigration in Poland" is published in that country in Russian (<http://news.day.az/society/232409.html>).

## 6 October

President Ilham Aliyev receives the three co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group in Nakhchivan (<http://news.day.az/politics/232190.html>).

Emergency Situations Minister Kamaladdin Heydarov signs a cooperation agreement with his Kazakhstan counterpart Vladimir Bozhko (<http://news.day.az/society/232093.html>).

Arzu Rahimov, the head of the State Migration Service, receives Turkish Ambassador Hulusi Kilic and Indian Ambassador Debnath Shaw (<http://news.day.az/politics/232151.html>).

Elin Suleymanov, Azerbaijani consul general in Los Angeles, speaks on US-Azerbaijan relations at the California State University in Long Beach (<http://news.day.az/politics/232074.html>).

Aydin Mirzazade, head of the Milli Majlis security and defense committee, says that reports about a renewal of Armenian-Turkish talks come from Yerevan and should be treated with skepticism (<http://news.day.az/politics/232027.html>).

Ali Hasanov, the head of the social-political department of the President's Office, is the author of a new textbook on geopolitics (<http://news.day.az/politics/232058.html>).

Zahid Orudzh, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that ignoring Azerbaijani interests in the South Caucasus will lead to disaster (<http://news.day.az/politics/231863.html>).

Border guard officials from Azerbaijan, Russia and Kazakhstan conduct a special operation against bio-pirates in the waters of the Caspian off Astrakhan (<http://news.day.az/economy/232166.html>).

Ismetulla Irgashev, Uzbekistan's ambassador to Baku, says that Azerbaijan is "one of the main strategic partners" of his country (<http://news.day.az/politics/232233.html>).

The French embassy in Baku says that it has no information about an effort by the Armenians to have a display by the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic at an exhibit in Marseilles (<http://news.day.az/politics/232079.html>).

The European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance releases a report on Azerbaijan containing a series of new recommendations (<http://news.day.az/politics/232122.html>).

5 October

President Ilham Aliyev says that "Azerbaijan today plays an important role in energy security not only in the region but across the continent" (<http://news.day.az/politics/231870.html>).

Ramiz Mekhtiyev, Novruz Mammadov, Fuad Alaskarov and Elnur Aslanov, senior officials of the President's Office, take part in the first international meeting in Sochi of senior officials dealing with security (<http://news.day.az/politics/232302.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives the three co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group (<http://news.day.az/politics/232024.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives outgoing Japanese Ambassador Masamitsu Oki (<http://news.day.az/politics/231852.html>).

Ramiz Mehtiyev, head of the Presidential Administration, says that conflicts that are allowed to fester for a long time can have the most negative consequences for stability in the world (<http://news.day.az/politics/233324.html>).

Ambassador Hafiz Pashayev, deputy foreign minister and rector of the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy, says at a meeting in Malta that "in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, diplomatic education cannot be conducted only within the borders of individual states" but must take place at an international level as well (<http://news.day.az/politics/231888.html>).

The Azerbaijani and Armenian delegations to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe meet (<http://news.day.az/politics/232022.html>).

Samad Seyidov, chairman of the Milli Majlis foreign relations committee and Ali Huseynov, chairman of the Milli Majlis committee on legal policy, meet in Vilnius with Andronius Ažubalis, Lithuanian foreign minister, to discuss joint European Union programs (<http://news.day.az/politics/232000.html>).

Bahar Muradova, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, says that Azerbaijan should be represented in the OSCE delegation visiting the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/231993.html>).

Ganira Pashayeva, a member of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, calls on that body to take steps to restore the rights of Azerbaijani refugees and internally displaced persons (<http://news.day.az/politics/231829.html>).

Hidayat Orujov, head of the State Committee for Work with Religious Structures, tells visiting Israeli chief rabbi Shloma Omar that "Azerbaijan is the only country of the former Soviet empire where there has not been any religious discrimination" (<http://news.day.az/society/231973.html>).

Evda Abramov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the development and flowering of the life of Mountain Jews in Azerbaijan is a bright example of the peaceful co-existence of two religions, Islam and Judaism" (<http://news.day.az/society/231920.html>).

Herbert Quelle, German ambassador to Baku, says that "interest in Azerbaijan in Germany is growing day by day" (<http://news.day.az/politics/232020.html>).

The Iranian council of ministers confirms Tehran's agreement with Azerbaijan on border arrangements (<http://news.day.az/politics/231860.html>).

Jordanian Foreign Minister Nasser Judeh says that Amman supports the position of Baku on the resolution of the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/231832.html>).

#### 4 October

Education Minister Misir Mardanov visits Saudi Arabia to discuss bilateral cooperation in education (<http://news.day.az/society/231699.html>).

Javanshir Akhundov, Azerbaijani ambassador to Iran, says that Baku is prepared to agree on having Iran play a mediating role in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/231742.html>).

Mammad Ahmadzade, Azerbaijani ambassador to Argentina, makes a presentation on Azerbaijan's foreign policy at the Instituto del Servicio Exterior de la Nacion (<http://news.day.az/politics/231733.html>).

Officials of the Transportation Ministry take part in Ankara talks on the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway construction project (<http://news.day.az/economy/231686.html>).

The Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy, in partnership with the Geneva Center for Security Policy, conducts a ten-day course for 19 Afghan citizens on "Supremacy of Law and Good Administration" (<http://news.day.az/society/231795.html>).

The UNDP says it will not take part in the upcoming OSCE Minsk Group visit to the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/231697.html>).

Movlud Chavushoglu, the chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, says that his organization expects the upcoming elections in Azerbaijan to be "free, just and democratic" (<http://news.day.az/politics/231745.html>).

#### 2 October

President Ilham Aliyev confirms a series of July 2010 bilateral agreements with Portugal (<http://news.day.az/politics/231606.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev confirms a series of July 2010 bilateral agreements with Mauritania (<http://news.day.az/politics/231604.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev confirms the July 2010 cooperation agreement between Baku and the Turkish Council on Capital Markets (<http://news.day.az/economy/231607.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov tells NATO ambassadors that Yerevan is not interested in the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/231571.html>).

Askar Abdullayev, the head of the State Tariff Committee, receives his Iranian counterpart Muhammad Rza Nasiri in Baku who says that Iran is interested in adopting the principle of "a single window" in its trade with Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/economy/231573.html>).

Novruz Guliyev, deputy ecology and natural resources minister, says that environmental protection is an important part of Azerbaijani state policy (<http://news.day.az/society/231610.html>).

Parviz Shahbazov, Azerbaijani ambassador to Germany, takes part in a session of the German-Azerbaijan Forum (<http://news.day.az/society/231585.html>).

Turkish President Abdulla Gul says that the current situation in the South Caucasus "satisfies the interests of no one" (<http://news.day.az/politics/231587.html>).

## 1 October

Deputy Foreign Minister Khalaf Khalafov tells Ján Kubiš, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, that Baku is concerned about the possible construction of a new atomic energy station in Armenia (<http://news.day.az/politics/231471.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Khalaf Khalafov meets in Geneva with Swiss secretary of state for foreign affairs Peter Maurer to discuss bilateral relations (<http://news.day.az/politics/231382.html>).

Vilayat Guliyev, Azerbaijani ambassador to Hungary, is interviewed by "Magyar Nemzet" on bilateral relations (<http://news.day.az/politics/231400.html>).

The State Committee on Work with the Diaspora publishes a new book on the activities of the Turkic language diasporas of the world (<http://news.day.az/society/231466.html>).

## **Note to Readers**

The editors of "Azerbaijan in the World" hope that you find it useful and encourage you to submit your comments and articles via email ([adabiweekly@ada.edu.az](mailto:adabiweekly@ada.edu.az)). The materials it contains reflect the personal views of their authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan.