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AZERBAIJAN'S NATIONAL IDEA HAS MOVED BEYOND THE ETHNIC, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR SAYS

Paul Goble
Publications Advisor
Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy

The Azerbaijani nation—defined almost exclusively in religious terms in the nineteenth century, in restricted linguistic terms in Soviet times, and in exclusively Turkic terms in the late 1980s and early 1990s—has become a civic nation in which all citizens of Azerbaijan, regardless of religion, ethnicity or historical background, share a common identity, a development fostered by Presidents Heydar Aliyev and Ilham Aliyev and one that lays the foundation for Azerbaijan's development as a civil

society and the country's integration into the globalized environment, according to the head of the Presidential Administration.

In a 5,900-word interview published in *Bakinsky rabochiy* on November 16, Ramiz Mehdiyev, who has written numerous articles and books on Azerbaijan's complex and, as he acknowledges, sometimes difficult national development, argues that not despite, but because of this past, Azerbaijan's national idea today "is distinguished by its content, universality, humaneness, flexibility and naturalness." Moreover, he suggests, it distinguishes the Azerbaijani nation from many others in the region, including the Armenian, which remain primarily and falsely ethnic alone and thus incapable of developing in such a way that all people living in their states can feel themselves full-fledged members of the nation. [1]

And while Mehdiyev does not make this explicit, his position lays the intellectual foundations not only for the integration of all the ethnic and religious minorities of Azerbaijan and the development of a democratic society, but also—and in the current context equally significant—re-integration of ethnic Armenians once Yerevan withdraws its forces from the 20 percent of Azerbaijan it has occupied for almost two decades. For that reason, in addition to its inherent intellectual interest, Mehdiyev's interview deserves the closest possible attention not only from ethnographers and other social scientists, but also from diplomats and political figures.

The "Azerbaijani national idea," Mehdiyev says, has passed through seven stages since the early 19th century. After the incorporation of the northern portion of Azerbaijan into the Russian Empire in 1828, this stage lasted until the mid-1870s and was dominated by the ideas of the Persian and Arab religious leaders. "They were the first representatives," the Presidential advisor continues, "of that small Azerbaijani intelligentsia, which were drawn into the circle of advanced Russian culture and through it were attracted to the European culture" of those times.

The second stage began in 1875 with the establishment of the first Muslim newspaper in the Azerbaijani language, *Ekinchi*, a development which turned the attention of its readership to the specifically Azerbaijani nature of the nation. The third stage, Mehdiyev says, began with the Russian revolution of 1905 and culminated in the collapse of the Trans-Caucasian *Seim* in May of 1918. "The ideas of Turkishness began to dominate the consciousness of the national bourgeoisie and the creative and political intelligentsia, and they became the main platform of the political organizations established in those years." Indeed, the advisor and scholar says, "these ideas acquired the character of a national ideal, giving a strong push to the national movement," but with rare exceptions, the movement was limited to "the struggle for the creation of a national-territorial autonomy within the Russian Empire as its final goal."

According to Mehdiyev, the fourth period in the history of the formation of the Azerbaijani national idea extended from the end of May 1918 to the end of April 1920, when the first session of the National Council took the decision to proclaim Azerbaijan an independent state. "The collective forms of self-identification," Mehdiyev continues, "religious, ethnic and socio-cultural (civilizational) were co-opted into a single national state idea." As a result, the formulation of the basic terms such as 'nation,' 'national dignity,' and 'state' and the consideration of the separate ideas relative to the future of the nation became possible."

Unfortunately, Mehdiyev notes, the leaders of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic were not able to cope with all the problems they faced, and Azerbaijan was overrun by the Red Army, leading to the proclamation of the Azerbaijan SSR within the Soviet Union. As a result, from the end of April 1920 until the beginning of 1988, "the Azerbaijan people as a result of the efforts of communist ideology was presented as part of the Soviet people, where Russian was declared the language of inter-ethnic communication, and national interests [of the Azerbaijani nation] were sacrificed."

Because of this, the communist ideology "exerted a negative influence on the evolution of national self-consciousness," for "in it there was no place for national thought." Despite this, Mehdiyev argues, when Heydar Aliyev became the leader of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1969, it was the case that "the concept of 'national interests' was not something alien for the advanced part of Azerbaijani society and the ruling elite."

The fifth stage of the process of forming the Azerbaijani national idea "can be characterized as the period of the political awakening of the Azerbaijani people and its active participation in political processes," a period that extended from the beginning of the Karabakh conflict in 1988 to Black January 1990, when Moscow dispatched "a harsh punitive operation" against the Azerbaijani national movement," as a result of which were killed 131 [Azerbaijanis], wounded 744, illegally arrested 841, and dozens disappeared."

The sixth period, which lasted from January 1990 until June 1993, Mehdiyev suggests, was defined by the growth of the conviction on the part of the Azerbaijani people of the need to have its own independent state" and also, largely in response to the Soviet system and Moscow's action in January 1990, to a definition of the nation almost "exclusively in a Turkic" direction, something that led other groups to stress their ethnicity and to the rise of "separatist attitudes" among them.

The seventh and final period of the formation of the Azerbaijani national idea, the Presidential advisor says, began in 1993 with the coming to power of Heydar Aliyev who pursued a policy based on the principle that the nation "included all collective forms of self-identification: ethnic, religious, socio-cultural, political and others." Indeed, Mehdiyev argues, "the poly-ethnic nature of Azerbaijan became our enormous achievement," something that represented an advance on the past and a sharp contrast with Armenia and some of Azerbaijan's other neighbors, which remain locked in a more narrowly defined ethno-nationalism. And this advance to "civic nationalism" has become "a defense of the national culture against attacks from outside and from internal weakening and destruction."

Following discussion of the complex anthropological origins of the Azerbaijani nation and the coming together of these peoples into a melting "pot," a discussion that draws on the ideas of the Russian ethno-sociologist Lev Gumilyev, Mehdiyev stresses that "today, Azerbaijanis are citizens of the Azerbaijan Republic who objectively are the successors and heirs of all the states and peoples who have occupied this territory over the course of millennia." And this "ethnic multiplicity," he says, "is an enormous source of wealth of the Azerbaijani people," something that must be preserved, rather than sacrificed in any way.

This in turn reflects that "the term 'nation' over the last two hundred years has undergone cardinal changes," Mehdiyev continues. "The understanding of 'nation' in

the Azerbaijan of the 19th century had an exclusively religious context. The Nation and the *umma* completely corresponded to one another, and in the definition of the nation was stressed the broader understanding of the consolidation of people," but only on a religious basis. Later, other aspects of the nation appeared, ethnic, linguistic and the like. When the Soviet Union collapsed, Mehdiyev says, the ethnic dimension and especially "Turkishness" initially "acquired a priority importance," but the limits of that approach were soon apparent given the multi-ethnic composition of the republic's people.

Indeed, Mehdiyev continues, "only the timely interference in this process of Heydar Aliyev who chose Azerbaijanism as the priority of the state form of citizenship over ethnicity reduced the sharpness of this problem." In that, he oversaw a period, which "can be compared with the period of the formation of the national idea in France." But Heydar Aliyev, Mehdiyev suggests, also played a role analogous to that of Konrad Adenauer who "formed a new national idea for Germans who had only just passed out of a war which had divided them into two states and who had completely lost faith in the future."

President Ilham Aliyev, Mehdiyev argues, has continued this process by developing Azerbaijan's economy and political system. "There is no doubt that in the 21st century, the path to the achievement of economic progress, a free and worthy life, and the path to the strengthening of the independence and security of the nation passed through the introduction of democratic principles and norms in social and political practice." But for that process to work, Mehdiyev says, "democratization itself without being accompanied by a national idea and with national peculiarities being taken into account, the social system is condemned to failure."

Under President Ilham Aliyev, Mehdiyev concludes, Azerbaijan is moving toward the development of a civil society, one in which "all social and ethnic groups peacefully coexist, which feel themselves equal citizens of the country, and which are deeply interested in the economic and political development of the state, in the constant moral-psychological renewal of the atmosphere of the joint life of the representatives of all nationalities. In this way, the realization of the national idea outside the interests of civil society does not have any prospects." That is something the leadership of Azerbaijan understands, Mehdiyev concludes. Unfortunately, it is not something that everyone elsewhere in the region is willing to act upon.

Note

[1] See <http://news.day.az/politics/299115.html> (accessed 23 November 2011).

HOW THE KARABAKH KHANATE WAS JOINED TO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE: HISTORICAL MYTHS AND REALITIES

Jamil Hasanly, Dr.*
Professor of History
Baku State University

After the Kazan meeting of the presidents of Russia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, stories about the history of Nagorno-Karabakh began to increase in number on the pages of various media outlets. As a rule, in most of them, the history of Nagorno-Karabakh both in the Soviet period and in the period of its being jointed to the Russian empire in the first half of the 19th century was seriously distorted. Distortion, and at times crude falsification of the history of actual events by professional historians, causes deep regret. Who profits from this reworking of real events and the creation of invented history in order to support present-day political circumstances, when a factually correct history has been scrupulously prepared by Russian officials and when the actual correspondence of the military and diplomatic services of Russia, has been preserved in Russian archives?

With the arrival of Russia in Karabakh at the beginning of the 19th century, a new political situation arose. The policy of Russia, directed toward the establishment of a social-ethnic base in the form of Armenians, led to the strengthening of the Christian element in Karabakh. The essence of the disputes observed today, have roots that reach precisely to those times. Having finally conquered Georgia in 1801, Russia moved toward the borders of Azerbaijan. General P.D. Tsitsianov, who commanded Russian forces in the Caucasus, laid siege to Ganja, the largest of the cities of Azerbaijan, in March 1803. Having overcome the serious resistance of the population led by Javad-khan, Russian forces entered the city on January 3, 1804. In order to strengthen his position in the Transcaucasus, Tsitsianov had to conquer the Karabakh, Sheki, and Shirvan khanates, which were considered the strongest in this region. During the course of long negotiations, Tsitsianov threatened these khanates, demanded that they consider the sad experience of Ganja and, taking into consideration the military might of Russia, accept its protection without resistance. In doing so, Tsitsianov understood perfectly well that Iran had interests in the region and therefore did not push events. Moreover, he had to consider the far from small military potential of the Muslim khanates themselves.

Finding himself constantly "between the hammer and the anvil" (Russia in the North and Iran in the South), Ibrahim Khalil-khan, the ruler of Karabakh, decided to conclude with Russia "a solemn promise," a treaty which in fact became the first legal document on the path of the joining of Karabakh to Russia. The treaty between the Karabakh Khanate and the Russian Empire about the transition of the khanate under the power of Russia was signed on May 14, 1805 in the military encampment at Kurakchay, and therefore it passed into history as the "Kurakchay Treaty." The document consists of 11 articles and gives Russia a one-sided primacy. From then on, the Karabakh Khanate passed under the protection of Russia and rejected any attempt at independent international ties with third countries. More than that, it was especially noted that the Karabakh Khanate lost the right of independent communication with the neighboring khanates. And the Karabakh khan was also obligated to contribute to the Russian treasury every year 8,000 *chervontsy* (24,000 Russian rubles) and also to pay for the expenses of his grandson who was kept in Tiflis in the residence of the commander in chief as a hostage. One of the most difficult conditions of the treaty was an agreement on the dislocation in the Shusha fortress of 500 Russian soldiers with cannon.

The only article of the Kurakchay Treaty, which could be considered as favoring Ibrahim Khalil-khan, was the obligation by Russia not to interfere in the internal affairs of the khanate. It is interesting to note that immediately after the signing of the treaty, Ibrahim Khalil-khan by a decree of Aleksandr I on July 8, 1805, was given the rank of general and from that time forward as a lieutenant general he was forced

to subordinate himself to the commander-in-chief of Russian forces in the Caucasus. This treaty, being a diplomatic document, testifies that the Karabakh Khanate became a protectorate of Russia precisely as a Muslim state. [1]

The seizure of the strategically vital Karabakh Khanate, in fact, meant the beginning of the complete subordination of all the khanates of northern Azerbaijan. The mountainous part of the khanate allowed for the exercise of real control over all the western districts of Azerbaijan. Subsequent actions did not represent a major problem for Russia. At the same time, while considering each in his own way the historical fates of the people, the khans could not create a single union. Justly assessing the importance of the joining of Karabakh to Russia, Prince P.D. Tsitsianov after the conclusion of the Kurakchay Treaty on May 22, 1805, reported to the Russian emperor that Karabakh by its geographic location is the gate to Azerbaijan and that Karabakh brings Georgia closer to Baku, the seizure of which was planned for the fall. [2]

The Azerbaijani khans followed with interest the course of the first Russian-Iranian war (1804-1813). While they desired the victory of the southern neighbor, they were also afraid of it and did not cease to hope that by the results of the war they would be able to increase their own independence. In its turn, the Russian Army did not especially trust the local Muslims. In 1806, when Iran attempted an attack on Shusha, Major Lisanevich, the chief of the fortress garrison, wary of the unexpected actions by the Karabakh khan, slaughtered the entire family of Ibrahim Khalil-khan with the exception of one son, Mehdi Guli-aga. This event only confirmed the symbolic nature of the appointment of the Karabakh khan to the rank of lieutenant general of Russian forces. At the same time, having dealt summarily with Ibrahim Khalil-khan, Russia did not change the status of his khanate. Mehdi Guli-aga by order of the Emperor Aleksandr I of September 10, 1806, was named ruler of Karabakh in place of his father. [3]

As a sign of Mehdi Guli-aga's status as the administrator of the khanate, Emperor Aleksandr I presented him with a banner and sword set with precious stones. And just as in the Kurakchay Treaty, so too in the emperor's appointment of Mehdi Guli-aga as ruler of Karabakh, there is reference to the Javanshir family as the rulers of Karabakh, both mountainous and lowland, and to the fact that all strata of the population of these regions are subordinate to Mehdi Guli-aga. The new khan was filled with hatred to the Iranians and distrust to the Russians who had slaughtered his family, but in the end, the anti-Iranian attitudes came out on top.

The victory over Napoleon led to a toughening of the Eastern Policy of Russia. General A.P. Yermolov, who was appointed governor of the Caucasus in 1816 from the very first days did not trust the Muslim people, seeing them as a potential enemy. For this reason, he sought the opportunity for the formal liquidation of the khanates, which he thought at any moment could become the nucleus of a movement for independence. The representative of Yermolov in Northern Azerbaijan, an Armenian General V.G. Madatov, actively helped him in this. Slowly, but faithfully, they realized their plan. In 1819, they liquidated the Shaki khanate. Not being able to resist Russian pressure, Mehdi Guli-aga fled to Iran, and the Karabakh khanate was converted into a Russian province. A. Griboyedov wrote that together with the khan, three thousand Muslim families moved to Iran. And, thus, in spite of what had been written in the various treaties, the process of the liquidation of the khanates reached its logical conclusion.

In 1826, the second Russian-Iranian war began. And again, the main events developed in Karabakh. For 48 days, the Iranian forces laid siege to Shusha, but they were not able to take the city. On February 10, 1828, in the settlement of Turkmanchay near Tabriz, the two sides concluded a new peace treaty, according to which all the khanates of Northern Azerbaijan, including Karabakh, Nakchivan and Irevan khanates finally became part of the Russian Empire.

There were many interesting moments in the process of uniting the South Caucasus to Russia. In recent times, a number of Armenian and Russian historians, as well as certain political circles, have been asserting the Karabakh was joined to Russia as an Armenian district. Certain contemporary Russian and Armenian scholars insist that in the course of the entire 18th century, the Armenians of Karabakh made up 97 percent of the total population of this region. A question arises in this case: if this was really so, why then wasn't it an Armenian state that arose in Karabakh in the middle of the 18th, but it rather was the Karabakh khanate, which was headed by representatives of the famous Turkic tribe of the Javanshirs? Indeed, there is no single case in history where three percent of the population could create a state on the backs of the other 97 percent.

However, a careful study of the international legal documents of this period raises some interesting questions concerning the form of the inclusion into Russia not only of Karabakh, but also of Armenia itself. Thus, Georgia, according to the Georgian treaty of 1801 and the Azerbaijan khanates by the Gulistan (1813) and Turkmanchay (1828) treaties were included in Russia. A reasonable question arises: According to what treaty, agreement or declaration did Armenia and the territories to which it makes claims pass into Russia? Well-known Armenian historians have found a very easy answer to this question. Not observing scholarly ethics and historical evidence and not being restrained by long established historical truth, they write that "According to the Gulistan Treaty of 1813 which ended the Russian-Persian War of 1804-1813, along with other northeastern provinces of Eastern Armenia (Lori-Pambak, Shamshadin, Zangazur, Kafan and Shoragel districts), the Ganja and Karabakh khanates were transferred to Russia as well ... According to the terms of the Turkmanchay Treaty (February 1828), which ended the second Russian-Persian War (1826-1828), the Yerevan and Nakhchivan khanates and Ordubad district passed to Russia. This completed the final unification of all eastern Armenian lands to Russia." [4]

In an effort to support their falsification of history, they cite the collection of documents published by G. Yusefovich in Petersburg in 1869. [5] They do so even though they know perfectly well that neither in the Gulistan nor in the Turkmanchay treaties published in Yusefovich's collection, there is no reference to any Armenian lands—neither eastern nor Western; nor is there even a single reference to Christian lands. There is only reference to Muslim khanates and their unification with Russia. The absolute majority of the population of the Irevan khanate consisted of Muslims and this was reflected in Russian sources. In 1828, for example, when the "Armenian oblast" was created within the borders of the Irevan and Nakhchivan khanates, three-quarters of its population consisted of Muslims. This is confirmed by a letter of General Paskevich to the chief of the General Staff, in which he expresses his dissatisfaction with the actions of General Krasovsky, who was named chief of the "provisional administration" of Irevan and of Archbishop Nerses, a member of this administration. Paskevich criticizes Krasovsky for allowing Nerses to exercise unlimited influence over all affairs and in the harmful protection of Armenians, when "three quarters of the population of the oblast consist of Muslims." [6]

The khanates' loss of their special status meant the transformation of Karabakh into a colony, and this process lasted for decades. Over the course of this period, the administrative division of the Trans-Caucasus was frequently changed and only had finally formed by the second half of the 19th century. Following the liquidation of the khanates, the *comendant* system of administration was introduced in Northern Azerbaijan. All of Karabakh with a center in Shusha was included in the Military-Muslim District. However, such distribution certainly did not correspond with the ethnographic, historical, and religious peculiarities of the local population. In Karabakh, this took place in a particularly sharp way.

Demography was gradually converted into an instrument of policy. At the dawn of Armenian resettlement into these areas, a document of July 19, 1811—one that was prepared for the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia—noted that there lived 12,000 families in Karabakh oblast, of which 2,500 were Armenian and the remainder were followers of the religion of Muhammad. [7] In 1823, the Russian administration prepared "A Description of the Karabakh Province," which contained statistical data about the population of this district and its ethno-religious composition. Judging by the statistical data prepared by Russian institutions and included in this valuable source, there were 600 settlements in the Karabakh oblast at that time, of which 450 were Muslim and only 150 registered as Armenian. [8] According to this reliable source, 20,095 families lived in Karabakh oblast in 1823, of whom 15,729 were Muslims and only 4,366 (21.7 percent) were Armenians.

According to the 1832 census, the number of families in Karabakh reached 20,456, but the number of Armenian families over these very same ten years rose to 31.6 percent. [9] In Shusha, which was considered the center of Karabakh, of the 1,532 families in 1823, 1,111 were Muslim (72.5 percent), 421 were Armenian (27.5 percent), but already by 1832 because of Armenian re-settlers, this figure reached 44.9 percent. The Russian military historian V. Potto notes that the first major resettlement of Armenians to Karabakh took place in 1828. He writes that on March 16, 1828, 40,000 Armenian families left Persia for Irevan oblast. However, because of a shortage of bread, 5,000 families—the first group of re-settlers—were forced for a long time to wait on the shores of the Araz, but were eventually sent to Karabakh. [10]

The Russian writer S.N. Glinka provides some interesting data on the movement of Armenians from Iran to Karabakh. The political character of the resettlement of Iranian Armenians in Muslim lands just seized by Russia is clearly evident in the appeal to the Persian Armenians by an active participant of this resettlement, G. Lazarev: "Christians! According to reliable rumors which have reached me, badly intentioned people are trying to disseminate not only foolish and false news, but even to sow fear in those seeking resettlement about Russia's good intentions and thus to change the desire of their hearts." [11] He writes further that "Armenians from various settlements, emboldened by Turkmanchay, moved toward Karabakh," [12] and in the course of three and a half months, "more than 8,000 families crossed the Araz." [13] In the spring of 1828, when the flood of Armenians moved toward the Araz, a directive from Paskevich was issued to resettle the poorest in Karabakh, and this also found reflection in the Russian literature of that time. [14] As a result, in 1832, Armenians formed 31.6 percent of the population of Karabakh, with Muslims still retaining their majority of 68.4 percent. [15]

After 1828, the resettlement of Armenians into the Muslim provinces of the South Caucasus was regulated by Paragraph XV of the Turkmanchay Treaty. [16] By a decree of Emperor Nikolay I on March 21, 1828, "an Armenian oblast" was established on the lands of the former Irevan and Nakhchivan khanates. [17] The Russian general and Georgian Prince A. Chavchavadze was named the head of "the Armenian oblast." [18]

In the second volume of the historical novel of Catherine's time, "The Favorite" by V. Pikul, the well-known author of historical novels, there is an interesting conversation between Count G. Potemkin and Catherine II, in which the former advises that the appearance of new Armenian communities in the Transcaucasus will create problems if not now then in the future. When he was creating his historical works, Pikul scrupulously worked in the archives and strictly guided himself on the basis of historical documents. At the moment of the formation of this oblast, 75 percent of its population consisted of Muslims. If during the period of the Russian conquest, 49,875 Muslims lived with 20,073 Armenians, then immediately after the formation of "the Armenian oblast" 45,200 Armenians were resettled from neighboring countries. [19] The situation in Nakhchivan oblast evolved in a similar way. At the moment of the completion of the Russian occupation, 17,138 Muslims and only 2,690 Armenians lived there. With the liquidation of the khanate, 10,670 Armenians in a short interval of time resettled there. In an analogous way, in the Ordubad part of Nakhchivan, where initially 7,247 Muslims and 2,388 Armenians lived, 1,340 Armenians were resettled in order to change the balance between them. [20]

The Russian researcher N.I. Shavrov in 1911 published a book in which, basing himself on documents, he noted that 40,000 Armenians from Iran and 84,600 from Turkey resettled in the Caucasus in 1828-1830, and they were settled in Yelizavetpol and Irevan guberniyas, where before this, the number of Armenians was almost equal to zero. N. Shavrov wrote that "of the 1.3 million Armenians who are living in the Transcaucasus, more than a million are re-settlers. We resettled them here." [21]

Apparently, the desire to completely Christianize the Transcaucasus was strong. But the specific features of the situation led the Russians to act carefully, and A. S. Griboyedov, the Russian ambassador to Persia, warned that the Armenians would remain permanently in the lands to which they were resettled, something that could trigger problems with the indigenous Muslim population. [22] Such concerns, which were shared by the Azerbaijanis, were justified. The Armenians settled down on Azerbaijani lands and a little later began to display hostility toward the masters of these lands. I. Chavchavadze justly noted in his appeal to Armenians seeking to settle in Georgia that they must not view those accepting them as enemies. [23]

In the course of the entire 20th century and especially in the last two decades, Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani people have experienced and are experiencing pain and suffering for their "hospitality" in relation to Armenians, one which A. Griboyedov and I. Chavchavadze so precisely predicted.

** The article originally appeared, in Russian, in Russia's Regnum News Agency at <http://regnum.ru/news/polit/1430647.html#ixzz1UKIRw4ar>.*

Notes

[1] "The Treaty between the Karabakh Khan and the Russian Empire concerning the transfer of the khanate under the power of Russia of May 14, 1805," State Historical Archive of the Azerbaijan Republic, f. 130, d. 14, ll. 245-248.

[2] "Akty Kavkazskoy Arkheograficheskoy Komissii," Arkhiv Glavnogo Upravleniya Namestnika Kavkaza, in Russian, ed. by A.D. Berzhe, Tiflis, 1868, vol. 2, p. 698.

[3] "Akty Kavkazskoy Arkheograficheskoy Komissii," Arkhiv Glavnogo Upravleniya Namestnika Kavkaza, in Russian, ed. by A.D. Berzhe, Tiflis, 1868, vol. 2, pp. 336-337.

[4] *Nagorny Karabakh: Istoricheskaya Spravka*, in Russian, Yerevan, 1988, pp. 14-15.

[5] *Dogovory Rossii s Vostokom, Politicheskiye i Torgovyye*, in Russian, assembled and published by T. Yusefovich, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 208-214.

[6] See Potto, V.A. (1993) *Kavkazskaya Voyna. Persidskaya Voyna 1826-1828 gg*, in Russian, Stavropol, vol. 3, pp. 594-595.

[7] *The Unificaiton of Eastern Armenia to Russia*, Yerevan, 1972, pp. 560-561.

[8] "Opisaniye Karabakhskoy provintsii, sostavlennoye v 1823 gody, po rasporyazheniyu glavnoupravlayushchego v Gruzii Yermolova, deystvitelnym statskim sovetnikom Mogilevskim i polkovknikom Yermolovym," in Russian, two volumes, Tiflis, 1866.

[9] *Grazhdanskoye Upravleniye Zakavkaz'yem ot Prisoedineniya Gruzii do Namestnichestva Velikogo Knyazya Mikhaila Nikolayevicha*, in Russian, Istoricheskiy Ocherk, p. 146.

[10] See Potto, V.A. (1993) *Kavkazskaya Voyna. Persidskaya Voyna 1826-1828 gg*, in Russian, Stavropol, vol. 3, p. 591.

[11] Glinka, S. N. (1831) *Opisaniye Pereseleniya Armyan Adderbidzhanskikh v Predely Rossii*, in Russian, Moscow, pp. 107-111.

[12] Ibid, p. 48.

[13] Ibid, p. 92.

[14] Ibid, pp. 90-91.

[15] *Obozreniye Rossiyskikh Vladeniy za Kavkazom v Statisticheskoy, Etnograficheskoy, Topograficheskoy i Finansovoy Otnosheniyakh*, in Russian, Tiflis, 1836, p. 267.

[16] *Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii*, in Russian, St. Petersburg, 1830, vol. 3, p. 130.

[17] *Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii*, in Russian, St. Petersburg, 1830, vol. 3, pp. 272-273.

[18] "Akty Kavkazskoy Arkheograficheskoy Komissii," Arkhiv Glavnogo Upravleniya Namesnika Kavkaza, in Russian, under the editorship of A.D. Berzhe, Tiflis, vol. VII, p. 487.

[19] *Obozreniye Rossiyskikh Vladeniy za Kavkazom v Statisticheskoy, Etnograficheskoy, Topograficheskoy i Finansovom Otnosheniyax*, in Russian, Tiflis, 1836, p. 229.

[20] Ibid, p. 229.

[21] Shavrov, N. I. (1911) *Novaya Ugroza Russkomu Delu v Zakavkaz'ye: Predstoyashchaya Rasprodazha Mugani Inorodtsam*, in Russian, St. Petersburg, pp. 59-60.

[22] Griboyedov, A. S. (1971) *Sochineniya v Dvukh Tomakh*, in Russian, Moscow, vol. 2, pp. 340-341.

[23] Chavchavadze, I. (1902) *Armyanskiye Ucheniya I Vopiyushchiye Kamni*, Tiflis, p. 123.

SONG AND FIRE: MUGHAM REACHING WEST

Nick Naroditski, MA
Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Georgetown University
&
Inna Naroditskaya
Associate Professor of Musicology, Northwestern University

Mugham as a mode of Azerbaijani creative thinking (Rena Mammadova)

Fire and songs have been entwined in Azerbaijani lands from the antiquity of Zoroaster and his fireworshippers, who recited *gatas* in open-air temples under velvet skies, to the today of the modern industrial Azerbaijani state. Central among a variety of musical genres is *mugham*, a classical tradition that weaves refined written poetry and musical improvisation, the intricacy of poetic formulas, and the complex formula of *mugham* modes, passed orally. *Mugham* entered the twentieth century in a wide variety of regional traditions and individual masters' lineages, mainly located in three geo-cultural areas: Shirvan, Garabagh, and Absheron. *Mugham* is typically thought to be associated with urban culture and accordingly with three cities: Shamakha, Shusha, and Baku.

The early 20th century and the mugham-opera

The oil boom in Azerbaijan at the dawn of the 20th century [1] brought to the capital Baku an international crowd of investors, engineers, and entrepreneurs (including the Nobel Brothers, Robert, Ludwig, and Alfred)—among them Russians, Tatars, Armenians, Persians, Jews, Germans, Georgians, Poles, Greeks, British, and Turks—and transformed that city from an old unpaved town on the periphery of the Russian

empire into a multi-cultural hub with touring troupes, world performers, rapidly built theaters, and an opera house. This development, in turn, helped to create Azerbaijan's modern national culture, including the beginnings of inter-"marriage" between Azerbaijani and Western musical forms. Local and traditional cultural forms began to flourish as the city became more affluent and opportunities in Baku arose for national artists, musicians, and intellectuals.

Among them, Uzeyir Hajibayov, the son of a couple from the household of the Garabakh princess and poetess Natavan, in 1908 created the first Azerbaijani opera, *Leili ve Majnun*. The hybrid genre, *mugham*-opera, united improvised mugham solo numbers with composed ensembles, choruses, and orchestral episodes, combining an orchestra with native *tar*, operatic vocal technique with the intense raspy recitations of a *khanande* (singer of mugham). *Leili ve Majnun* thus bridged Western musical theater with a widely-known, endlessly recited Eastern story of love akin to *Romeo and Juliet*. This opera and the aspirations of its creators paved the way to the coexistence, juxtaposition, and fusion of western and native musical traditions.

The collapse of the Russian Empire enabled Azerbaijani political elites to form a secular republic. The state was short-lived. In 1920, Bolshevik forces had re-taken the oil-rich region, soon remaking it into an "autonomous republic" of the Soviet Union. Both Azerbaijan and oil-rich districts in the north Caucasus would become essential to the rapid industrialization of the USSR, with Russian national poet V. Mayakovsky writing poems referring to Baku as the oil-provider to the "engine of socialism." Moscow's political elite endorsed and shaped the development of Azerbaijan's native culture envisioning it as both a nation-building tool and an instrument of centralized control, hoping to create an Azerbaijani national culture that fit into a larger EuroAsian—Soviet—cultural context.

The Soviet concept of socialist art was quite complicated. Artistic works were to correspond to European models but to reject "degenerate" values of the West. While some forms of Westernization were associated with progress, it had to be reshaped and remolded to benefit socialist ideology. The process of doing that proved to be particularly complex in Azerbaijan, where an ancient and re-awakening artistic national consciousness had only sporadically interacted with Western cultural traditions and had cooperated with cultural forces brought to the country by Western capitalists. Inheriting the territorial vastness of the Russian empire, Soviet officials promoted both internationalism and nationalism, urging artists to create art, "socialist in content and national in form." The success of the first mugham-opera inspired a chain of compositions, mainly on the theatrical stage with literary programs or stories that would appeal to the diverse population of Azerbaijan and lead to the creation of a unique national compositional school. The first graduates of the Azerbaijani Conservatory (now Baku Music Academy)—opened in the first month of Soviet Azerbaijan—transcribed and notated *mugham* melodies, adapting them for western instruments, even as the ensembles of Azerbaijani instruments, learning notation, performed arrangements of European classics.

From Mugham Symphony to Jazz-Mugham

The generation of native musicians following Hajibayov—among them a large number of his students—adopted the fusion of *mugham* and Western music with more abstract musical forms of purely instrumental music and specifically with the symphonic genre. A son of Jamil Amirov, a legendary *tar* player of the early twentieth century, conservatory trained Fikrat Amirov excelled in fusing symphonic

sound with the melodies and dramatic processes of mugham in his *Shur* (1946) and *Kurd Ovshari* (1949).

Some twenty years after these symphonic mughams and also twenty years after the persecution and death of Azerbaijani jazz saxophonist Piro Rustambayov, Amirov created his symphonic *Gulistan Bayati Shiraz* (1968); one of the two solo instruments is voice or saxophone (during parts of the Soviet period, the saxophone was seen as a “dangerous” instrument signifying a connection with the capitalist West). No longer did the composer “translate” a single mugham into symphonic media. Instead, he fused several *mughams* (including Humayun, Segah, and Shur), inserted elements of the bardic tradition of *ashiks*, and integrated different strings into a passionate dynamic unfolding. Not confined within an established mugham formula, his complex of different elements epitomized a powerful unified national consciousness.

The *gulistan* (rose garden) is associated with motherland, the tone of the composition is dramatic and joyless. The two solo instruments—piano and voice (or saxophone), a romantic duet sustained separately throughout the piece—converge only in the painful long-dying final chord. The composition conveys a craving that emerged in Azerbaijan by the late 1960s, marked by increasingly rampant corruption and nepotism, as well as slowing of economic growth. The response provided from Moscow was the appointment of Heydar Aliyev the First Secretary of Azerbaijan (1969). Under Aliyev, according to Tadeusz Swietochowski (1995), Azerbaijan by 1974 “had risen to fourth position among union republics in industrial labor productivity and national income growth.”

The year Amirov composed *Gulistan Bayati Shiraz*, a young group from Baku won the prime spotlight in the First International Jazz festival in Tallinn. Among them was Vagif Mustafa-zadeh, who would become known as the creator of another fusion, mugham-jazz. The unstoppable fingers of this virtuoso pianist—who played concertos by Edward Grieg and jazz classics by Thelonious Monk and who learned mugham from his mother, a music teacher—wove together harmony and rhythm, the driving force of jazz, with the intricate melodic filigree of *mugham* arabesque. This was an act not only of musical innovation, but of artistic separation from the Soviet hold on Azerbaijani culture: Soviets generally held jazz in contempt, linking it with “degrading American capitalism;” Mustafa-zadeh’s rebellious personality, appearance, and behavior challenged socialist conventions and carved for him a somewhat ambiguous space in the socialist frame.

The end of the Soviet century and the beginning of an independent Azerbaijani state

As the Soviet era approached its end, war broke out between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Azerbaijan’s Nagorno-Karabakh, an historical center of mugham. Major musicians living in Baku cherished Karabakh as their musical ancestral origin. Among them, the late Vasif Adigozal, a celebrated composer (and student of Shostakovich), the son of Zulfi, a beloved Karabakhi *khanande*, travelled to the area in the early days of conflict on a peace mission. Afterwards, he created the oratorio *Karabakh Shikestesesi*. His monumental composition exemplifies a seemingly impossible combination of the Eastern *mugham* and *ashiq* music with the Western genre of liturgical oratorio, performed by a full orchestra, large chorus, bel-canto soloists with a small mugham ensemble, a native tar solo, female and male *khanandes*, the imagery of *ashiks*, and folk songs. In this multifaceted all-embracing musical canvas, the composer poeticized Karabakh gardens, an old mulberry tree,

and a local flower, the *ayangul*. The 1990 premier of the composition in Moscow turned into communal, familial, deeply personal expression, with Elchin Adigozal (the composer's son) conducting and Tofiq Adigozalov (the composer's brother) singing one of the solos. In 2006, Azerbaijan saw the premier of Adigozal's last opera, whose title bears the name of *Natavan*. The first act, picturing late nineteenth-century Garabagh, brings on the stage Hajibayov as a boy. *Natavan*, an operatic soprano, is situated in both Western and Eastern contexts. A European-type ball in the second act of this opera, in the style of grand opera and with a historical twist in the style of French historical novels, shows an encounter between *Natavan* and French novelist and traveler Alexander Dumas. The following act relocates spectators to the *majlis Urs*, a school of *mugham* opened by *Natavan*. No longer does *mugham* serve only as a basis of musical expression of characters, their feelings, and the storyline. Rather, it becomes a central character, the focus of a scene that portrays traditional gatherings of *mugham* singers, older masters competing, younger students learning from them. In this way, post-Soviet Azerbaijanis made *mugham* not only the language of their expression, but the personification of their cultural self-concept.

Experiments with modern composing techniques and native musical lingua are apparent in the works of Faraj Garayev, an Azerbaijani professor of composition and a member of the experimental musical studio of Moscow Conservatory. In his symphonic *Hutba, Mugham ve Sura* (1997), he included *mugham* (Second Movement) and taped Qur'anic chant interspersed with orchestral episodes (Third Movement). Firanghiz Alizadeh, a winner of many International prizes and currently the chairwoman of the Azerbaijani Union of Composers, created *Mugham Sayagi* (In the style of *mugham*, 1994), which received its American premiere in Julliard and was recorded by the Kronos Quartet.

The decline of the socialist empire led to wars and to Azerbaijani demographic, cultural, social changes, some invigorating, others ambiguously transformative. Most importantly, however, Azerbaijan developed the agency, both in the political and social spheres, to choose and to carve out its own political, economical, and cultural destiny. The 1994 signing of the "contract of the century" regarding the ACG fields reminds one of the late 19th-early 20th centuries, with international companies forming consortia to develop Caspian reservoirs. However today, Azerbaijan itself is a key player in its own resource development, with the state-owned SOCAR (the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic) developing and profiting from reservoirs and Azeri leaders signing contracts and treaties with international business and political partners.

The country's successful effort after the fall of Soviet power to make itself a subject and not just an object of history in the economic and political spheres was paralleled by similar drives in culture and music. As it had a century earlier, cosmopolitan Baku again fostered an unmatched atmosphere of paralleled, overlapping, rivaling, and mutually enriching cultures. In addition to multiple ethnic musical venues existing prior to the 1990s, Baku's classical musical realm discussed above included *mugham*, Western classical culture, a national unique composing school, different ethnic folk traditions, and *mugham*-jazz. While becoming a part of global culture and having an open and direct communication with the outside world, Azerbaijan turned into a rather homogeneous society.

In recent years, the state has demonstrated strong support of multiple musical areas, *mugham* in particular. The UNESCO recognition of *mugham* as a Masterpiece

of Oral and Intangible Heritage of the World (2003) and the commitment of the Azerbaijani state led to construction of an architectural marvel, the Mugham Center in the shape of tar on the Caspian Sea, and to the patronage of large-scale International Mugham Festivals.

In various Western and Eastern cultures alike, musical traditions fall into two separate musical domains, which scholars identify as oral and written, improvised and composed music. By contrast, during the last century, Azerbaijani composers and performers have acquired striking fluency in both, navigating and integrating these two. Alim Gasimov, a beloved Azerbaijani *khanande*, well known in Europe and America, brings to international arenas a short piece by Firanghiz Alizadeh, *Derwish*. Against the combined ensemble of European strings and Azerbaijani *mugham* group, Gasimov dialogues with Yo-Yo-Ma—voice and cello, the dramatic incantation of the *khanande* sitting cross-legged on a woven patch of carpet-*gulistan* and the human-like song voice of cello. At the end of the performance on the stage of the Chicago Symphony, Alim invites Yo-Yo-Ma to improvise, and the latter holds a drone, while the “dervish” utters a short expressive solo.

Oil and music, American West and Azerbaijani East entwined in the 2011 premiere of Alizadeh’s chamber opera, *Your Name Means the Sea*. Commissioned by the Houston Grand Opera’s Song of Houston: East and West project, this opera portrays a romance between a young female artist from Texas, an American oil industry hub (Houston, a sister city of Baku) and an Azerbaijani *mugham* singer. Her image and story, conveyed by a quartet of strings and flute, is wedded with his, expressed by tar, kamancha, and *mugham* singing.

In the early twentieth century, Hajibayov introduced Azerbaijan to the opera by bridging the genre with national lore. At the rise of the twenty-first century, Alim and his daughter, adapting Hajibayov’s first opera by “re-translating” it to *mugham* duet, introduced *Leili and Majnun* to American audiences. Once “national in form,” Azerbaijani music today is complex, woven of many strands each affected by and reflecting the conflicting political and social texture of the last hundred years. The twenty-one-year-old Azerbaijani state celebrates the dreams, inspirations, and energy of its youth, contemplates the wisdom and sadness of the long centuries, thinks through the intense drama of recent history, as it is lit by Zoroastrian fire with the oil flowing in the national pipelines—all expressed in the ever-changing and ever-intimately familiar all-embracing *mugham*.

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Notes

[1] International development of Baku's oil industry under the purview of the Russian Imperial government created economic partnerships that resulted in major technological developments that would become vital to the oil industry worldwide: the *Zoroaster*, the first oil tanker in the world, built in 1878 by the Nobel brothers, and the first transit pipeline, carrying oil from the Caspian reservoirs at Surakhany to the Nobel refinery in Baku. By the beginning of the 20th century, Azerbaijan was responsible for more than fifty percent of the world's oil production, surpassing American production with a total of 11.5 million tons of oil produced per year between 1899—1901. The city became a crucible for a number of world prime financial and energy players, with participants including the Royal Dutch Shell company and the Rothschild, a vital European banking family.

A CHRONOLOGY OF AZERBAIJAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

I. Key Government Statements on Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy

President Ilham Aliyev says that "the level of [Azerbaijan's] strategic partnership with Russia merits an extraordinarily high rating" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300924.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Hafiz Pashayev, rector of the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy, tells a conference in Baku on the foreign policy achievements of Azerbaijan since the recovery of independence that "the interest of the United States in Azerbaijan is greater than it is in Armenia" and that "the Armenian diaspora cannot achieve its goals in the US" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300879.html>).

Bahar Muradova, vice speaker of the Milli Majlis, says that "Azerbaijan supports" the inclusion of the more than ten member countries of the OSCE Minsk Group who "want to actively participate in the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299198.html>).

II. Key Statements by Others about Azerbaijan

Daniel Stein, advisor to the US Department of State senior advisor on energy issues in Eurasia, says that "if Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan agree" to build a pipeline

across the Caspian, "no country will have the right to block this decision" (<http://news.day.az/economy/299362.html>).

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili says that "the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is headache for the entire Caucasus" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301794.html>).

Nikolay Bordyuzha, the secretary general of the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty, says that the Gabala radar station "is used in the interests of Russia" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300689.html>).

III. A Chronology of Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy

30 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives Paulo Antonio Pereira Pinto, Brazil's ambassador to Baku, on the occasion of the latter's completion of his assignment in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/301758.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives the co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group, including both outgoing French co-chair Bernard Fassier and incoming French co-chair Jacques Faure (<http://news.day.az/politics/301758.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev is named "honorary citizen of Astrakhan" and presented with a medal by Sergey Bozhenov, the mayor of that Russian city (<http://news.day.az/politics/301857.html>).

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva tells a Vatican ceremony on the 20th anniversary of the restoration of the state independence of Azerbaijan that "the leading countries of the world see in Azerbaijan their strategic partner" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301421.html>).

Economic Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev says that "for Azerbaijan, Ingushetia is an economically attractive zone" (<http://news.day.az/economy/301766.html>).

Economic Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev meets with Rashid Temrezov, head of Karachayevo-Cherkessia (<http://news.day.az/economy/301734.html>).

Deputy Labor and Social Protection Minister Ilgar Rahimov says that Baku is preparing to sign additional chapters of the European Social Charter (<http://news.day.az/society/301712.html>).

Salim Muslimov, head of the State Fund for Social Protection, says that Azerbaijan and Hungary have agreed on an inter-governmental accord concerning social protections (<http://news.day.az/economy/301773.html>).

The National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan and the Academy of Sciences of Bulgaria sign a cooperation agreement (<http://news.day.az/society/301812.html>).

The co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group meet with Bayram Safarov, head of the Azerbaijani Community of Nagorno-Karabakh

(<http://news.day.az/politics/301804.html>).

Eric Rubin, US deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, says that "the United States hopes that in the nearest future the Nagorno-Karabakh problem will be resolved" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301706.html>).

Jerome Pons, charge d'affaires of the European Union office in Baku, says that the EU has allocated 3.7 million manats for the support of transformations in Azerbaijan's legal system (<http://news.day.az/economy/301777.html>).

Renate Held, regional director of the International Organization for Migration, says that "Azerbaijan is carrying out successful measures in the migration sphere" (<http://news.day.az/society/301713.html>).

29 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives the letters of credence of incoming Romanian Ambassador to Baku Daniel Christian Ciobanu (<http://news.day.az/politics/301634.html>).

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva is received by Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone, the State Secretary of the Holy See (<http://news.day.az/politics/301421.html>).

Azerbaijan is chosen vice president of UNESCO's inter-governmental committee on the preservation of non-material heritage (<http://news.day.az/politics/301574.html>).

The Foreign Ministry says that it welcomes Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan's declaration that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict "does not have a religious character," but is surprised given his past insistence that to the east of Armenia "there are no Christians" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301465.html>).

Zahid Orudzh, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Azerbaijan must develop a military code (<http://news.day.az/politics/301618.html>).

The co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group meet with Ayaz Askarov, head of the executive department of the Gazakh District of Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/301609.html>).

The US National Democratic Institute resumes its operations in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/301608.html>).

28 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives Mustafa Cahit Kyrac, governor of Turkey's Izmir Province (<http://news.day.az/politics/301350.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Gigi Ugulava, mayor of Tbilisi (<http://news.day.az/politics/301350.html>).

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva meets in Rome with Cardinal Jean-Louis Tauran, the Vatican's minister for inter-religious dialogue (<http://news.day.az/politics/301421.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Araz Azimov takes part in a meeting of GUAM in Chisinau to prepare for the GUAM ministerial in Vilnius (<http://news.day.az/politics/301336.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Khalaf Khalafov meets with his counterparts from Turkey and Iran in Tehran to discuss the development of trilateral relations (<http://news.day.az/politics/301268.html>).

The Defense Ministry says that Armenian claims about the death of seven Azerbaijani soldiers are "disinformation" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301278.html>).

Vilayat Guliyev, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Budapest, hosts an academic conference devoted to the 20th anniversary of Azerbaijan's restored independence (<http://news.day.az/politics/301351.html>).

Allahshukur Pashazade, the sheikh-ul-Islam and head of the Muslim Administration of the Caucasus, meets with Garegin II, the Catholicos of All Armenians, and Kirill, the patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia, in Yerevan and issues together with them a joint statement on the need for a peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem (<http://news.day.az/politics/301250.html>).

Rufat Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that it is no surprise that *Moody's Inversors Service* lowered Armenia's rating from "stable" to "negative," because that country has "practically no prospects for development" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301263.html>).

Pakistani Prime Minister Yusuf Reza Gilani tells Azerbaijan's ambassador to Islamabad, Dashgyn Shikarov, that Pakistan devotes "great importance" to its relations with Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/301353.html>).

Jacques Faure, the new French co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, is preparing for his first mission to the Caucasus, according to the French embassy in Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/301308.html>).

Matthew Bryza, US ambassador to Baku, says that he "does not expect anything new" from the next visit of the OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs, but that the visit could "give an additional stimulus to the negotiating process." He adds that he thinks that "meetings between Azerbaijanis and Armenians ought to be intensive," because only in that case will it be possible to find a common language" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301305.html>).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey's ambassador to Baku, says that the sale of goods by a Turkish company in Khankandi in no way reflects a change in Ankara's position on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/301334.html>).

Ivo Vajgl, a member of the European Parliament's foreign affairs committee, says that Nagorno-Karabakh is "an inalienable part of Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/301331.html>).

26 November

Economic Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev says that "the economy of Azerbaijan forms more than 80 percent of the economy of the entire South

Caucasus” and says that Azerbaijan is interested in increasing its investments in the North Caucasus (<http://news.day.az/economy/301097.html>).

The Defense Ministry says that Armenian military exercises in the occupied territories do not change anything about the situation on the ground (<http://news.day.az/politics/301121.html>).

Azerbaijani officials take part in a meeting in Ashgabad of the working groups for the development of national action plans within the Framework Convention on the Defense of the Caspian Sea Environment (<http://news.day.az/society/301057.html>).

25 November

President Ilham Aliyev says that “the level of [Azerbaijan’s] strategic partnership with Russia merits an extraordinarily high rating” (<http://news.day.az/politics/300924.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov participates in Brussels in the 12th meeting of the EU-Azerbaijan Cooperation Council (<http://news.day.az/politics/301006.html>).

Communications and Information Technology Minister Ali Abbasov says that Azerbaijan is now actively participating in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation’s Committee on Scientific-Technical Cooperation (<http://news.day.az/economy/300850.html>).

Ramiz Mehdiyev, head of the Presidential Administration, says that “relations with Russia are one of the priority directions of the foreign policy activity of Azerbaijan” (<http://news.day.az/politics/300843.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Araz Azimov says that Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan is responsible for the lack of progress in the talks on Nagorno-Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/300845.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Araz Azimov says that it is currently difficult to say who will win the Armenian presidential elections (<http://news.day.az/politics/300859.html>).

Leyla Aliyeva, the vice president of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, is elected a member of the Presidium of the Central Council of the All-Russian Azerbaijani Congress (<http://news.day.az/politics/300976.html>).

Peter Bateman, Britain’s ambassador to Baku, says that trade and investment bring countries and people together, including the British and Azerbaijani peoples (<http://news.day.az/politics/300993.html>).

Hüseyin Diriöz, deputy secretary general of NATO for defense policy and planning, says that NATO supports reforms in the defense sector of Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/300866.html>).

Goran Lennmarker, former head of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, says that “Azerbaijani citizens must receive the right to return to the occupied territories” (<http://news.day.az/politics/300900.html>).

Pasqual Gringrow, an official of the French Development Agency, tells Deputy

Industry and Energy Minister Natic Abbasov that Paris is ready to finance energy projects in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/economy/301004.html>).

24 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives Hüseyin Diriöz, deputy secretary general of NATO for defense policy and planning (<http://news.day.az/politics/300720.html>).

Ramiz Mehdiyev, head of the Presidential Administration, tells his Russian counterpart Sergey Naryshkin that "Russian-Azerbaijani relations are at the peak of their development" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300709.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Araz Azimov says that Azerbaijan does not expect "anything new" from the upcoming visit of the co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group (<http://news.day.az/politics/300632.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Araz Azimov says that relations between Azerbaijan and NATO have entered a period of "stagnation" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300657.html>).

Vagif Sadykhov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Rome, visits Sicily to develop bilateral cooperation with that region's political and economic leaders (<http://news.day.az/politics/300770.html>).

Officials of the Labor and Social Protection Ministry take part in the European Employment Forum in Brussels (<http://news.day.az/economy/300778.html>).

Elkhan Suleymanov and other members of the Azerbaijan-Belgian Inter-Parliamentary Group, call on Belgian Foreign Minister Steven Vanakere to intervene to prevent a Belgian travel firm from organizing tours to occupied Nagorno-Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/300767.html>).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey's ambassador to Baku, says that the Armenian-Turkish border will not be opened as long as Azerbaijani lands remain under Armenian occupation (<http://news.day.az/politics/300780.html>).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey's ambassador to Baku, says that the energy accord between Ankara and Baku "strengthens the role of Azerbaijan in the region" (<http://news.day.az/economy/300785.html>).

Nikolay Bordyuzha, the secretary general of the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty, says that the Gabala radar station "is used in the interests of Russia" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300689.html>).

23 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives the participants of the ministerial conference of the Program of Cooperation of the Countries of Central Asia (CAREC) (<http://news.day.az/politics/300521.html>).

Industry and Energy Minister Natic Aliyev receives Frank Belfrage, state secretary of the Swedish foreign ministry (<http://news.day.az/economy/300555.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Khalaf Khalafov says that the Caspian littoral states have "the sovereign right to develop their transportation and energy projects" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300440.html>).

The Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources hosts a session of the Coordinating Committee of Caspian Littoral Countries on Monitoring Hydrometeorology and Pollution of the Caspian Sea (<http://news.day.az/society/300042.html>).

Mahir Aliyev, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Damascus, says that his embassy is working normally, but with enhanced security measures (<http://news.day.az/politics/300471.html>).

Elman Mammadov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the ideology of 'Azerbaijanism' promotes tolerance and the consolidation of all nations" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300453.html>).

Aydin Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "only Armenia" loses from continuing the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/300405.html>).

Bakhtiyar Sadykhov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the definition of Azerbaijanism provided by Ramiz Mehdiyev, head of the Presidential Administration, introduces clarity in Azerbaijani public life and scholarship (<http://news.day.az/politics/300409.html>).

Elmira Akhundova, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that she "absolutely agrees" with the idea of Azerbaijanism laid out by Ramiz Mehdiyev, head of the Presidential Administration (<http://news.day.az/politics/300336.html>).

The Presidential Center for Strategic Research and the Council of International Relations of Argentina sign a cooperation agreement (<http://news.day.az/politics/300532.html>).

Moody's, the international rating service, lowers its assessment of Armenia from "stable" to "negative" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300538.html>).

Kayrat Sarybay, Kazakhstan's deputy foreign minister, says that the Caspian littoral states are united by their desire to develop dialogue on the status of that sea (<http://news.day.az/politics/300475.html>).

Haruhiko Kuroda, the president of the Asian Development Bank, says that his institution is prepared to "provide all necessary support" to Azerbaijan "considering its importance in the region" (<http://news.day.az/economy/300580.html>).

Saida Bagirli, deputy head of the Baku representation of the World Bank, announces that Azerbaijan and the World Bank have signed an agreement, whereby the bank will provide 33.2 million US dollars for the modernization of Azerbaijan's judicial system (<http://news.day.az/economy/300435.html>).

22 November

President Ilham Aliyev says that "our country actively participates" in regional and international information technology projects (<http://news.day.az/politics/300372.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Yoichi Kobayashi, the co-chair of the Azerbaijan-Japan Inter-Governmental Commission (<http://news.day.az/politics/300255.html>).

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva is awarded a medal by Interpol President Ronald Noble (<http://news.day.az/politics/300334.html>).

Leyla Aliyeva, vice president of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, receives Fikret Akchura, the UN resident coordinator for Azerbaijan and is awarded a special certificate for her work (<http://news.day.az/politics/300333.html>).

Industry and Energy Minister Natic Aliyev receives Andreas Reichhardt, deputy transport, innovation and technology minister of Austria (<http://news.day.az/economy/300316.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Araz Azimov says that the current rent Azerbaijan charges Russia for the use of the Gabala radar station is "insufficient" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300204.html>).

Oktay Asadov, Milli Majlis speaker, says that Azerbaijan has the means to return to the population deposits left in banks in Soviet times and that the government is considering mechanisms to do this (<http://news.day.az/economy/300335.html>).

Musa Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Azerbaijanism is the unification of the people of Azerbaijan around its most important goal" and that "Heydar Aliyev was the founder of the ideology of 'Azerbaijanism'" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300207.html>).

Zhalya Aliyeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Heydar Aliyev "realized his dream" in creating modern Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/300188.html>).

Aydyn Jafarov, the permanent representative of the Milli Majlis to the International Parliamentary Assembly of the CIS, says that Azerbaijani representatives will take part in the monitoring of Russian State Duma elections in the North Caucasus Federal District (<http://news.day.az/politics/300288.html>).

Semen Ikhiilov, head of the Community of Mountain Jews of Azerbaijan, says that "there never was and never will be anti-Semitism in Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300317.html>).

Ilgar Abbasov resigns as chairman of the Congress of Azerbaijanis of Ukraine (<http://news.day.az/politics/300171.html>).

Kazakhstan Foreign Minister Erzhan Kazykhanov says that "all disagreements among the Caspian littoral states can be resolved by negotiations in the near future" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300278.html>).

The Ukrainian government proposes to that country's parliament a bill that would give Azerbaijan a 50 percent discount for the cost of transiting oil through the port of Yuzhny (<http://news.day.az/economy/300211.html>).

Mustafa Kabakci, a deputy in Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that "certain forces are trying to introduce discord in Turkish-Azerbaijani relations," but that they

will not succeed (<http://news.day.az/politics/300347.html>).

Volkan Bozkir, a deputy in Turkey's Grand National Assembly and a chair of the Assembly's foreign relations committee, says that "Armenia is tied by hand and feet" and cannot achieve its goals because of the close ties between Turkey and Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/300329.html>).

21 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives Volkan Bozkir, a deputy in Turkey's Grand National Assembly and a chair of the Assembly's foreign relations committee (<http://news.day.az/politics/300061.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Ray Mabus, Secretary of the US Navy (<http://news.day.az/politics/300061.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives copies of the letters of credence of the incoming ambassador of Romania to Baku Daniel Christian Ciobanu (<http://news.day.az/politics/300056.html>).

Mammad Ahmadzade, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Buenos Aires, says that the Argentinian authorities have been warned that the visit of Bako Saakyan, head of the separatist regime of Nagorno-Karabakh, to their country is illegal (<http://news.day.az/politics/299962.html>).

Deputy Emergency Situations Minister Faik Tagizade says that Baku has the resources to cope with any oil leaks in the Caspian Sea (<http://news.day.az/economy/299954.html>).

Gudrat Gurbanov, head of the State Maritime Administration, takes part in the 27th session of the Assembly of the International Maritime Organization meeting in London (<http://news.day.az/society/300021.html>).

The Defense Ministry says that "the Azerbaijani army at any moment is capable of teaching a lesson to the enemy" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300050.html>).

Azay Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the power structure in Armenia is collapsing like a house of cards" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300003.html>).

Fazil Mustafa, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that there is no such people as "the Karabakh" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299724.html>).

Allahshukur Pashazade, the sheikh-ul-Islam and head of the Administration of Muslims of the Caucasus, presents Kirill, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, with a medal on the latter's 65th birthday (<http://news.day.az/society/300137.html>).

Rahim Gumbatov, head of the Azerbaijani Community of Crimea, says that "Sargsyan and Melik-Shakhnazaryan have demeaned the Armenian people" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299968.html>).

Kazakhstan Prime Minister Karim Masimov says that "Azerbaijan is an important partner for Kazakhstan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299932.html>).

Volkan Bozkir, a deputy in Turkey's Grand National Assembly and a chair of the Assembly's foreign relations committee, says that "without a solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the borders of Turkey and Armenia will not be opened" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300127.html>). He adds that the Zurich protocols signed by Turkey and Armenia "will not be ratified" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299958.html>).

Jean-Paul Carteron, chairman of the Crans Montana Forum, says that "Azerbaijan has become one of the important elements of European and Global Security" (<http://news.day.az/politics/300007.html>).

20 November

An Azerbaijani television channel begins broadcasting thrice weekly in Canada (<http://news.day.az/society/300014.html>).

19 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives Siim Kallas, vice president of the European Commission and commissioner for transport (<http://news.day.az/politics/299830.html>).

Emil Mirzoyev, president of the Congress of Azerbaijanis of Sweden, tells Swedish parliamentarians that they should put pressure on Armenia to live up to international law and resolutions on Nagorno-Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/299760.html>).

18 November

Defense Minister Safar Abiyev meets in Almaty with his Ukrainian and Belorussian counterparts, Mikhail Yezhel and Yuri Zhadobin, to discuss expanding military-technical cooperation (<http://news.day.az/politics/299650.html>).

Ramiz Mehdiyev, head of the Presidential Administration, says that "Azerbaijan is winning ever more successes in the world arena both in the cultural and the political context" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299454.html>).

Novruz Mammadov, the head of the foreign relations department of the Presidential Administration, publishes a two-volume work, *Introduction to Geopolitics* (<http://news.day.az/politics/299538.html>).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that "a lot depends on the will of the co-chair countries of the OSCE Minsk Group" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299655.html>).

Fuad Alaskarov, head of the law enforcement department of the Presidential Administration, says that "the occupation by Armenia of Azerbaijani territory undermines global security" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299508.html>).

The Foreign Ministry says that Armenia's economic, demographic and political situation would not be so dire if Yerevan's leaders showed more wisdom (<http://news.day.az/politics/299686.html>).

The Foreign Ministry says that Baku does not recognize the so-called "presidential elections" in South Ossetia as legitimate (<http://news.day.az/politics/299632.html>).

Zahid Orudzh, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Azerbaijanism has brought to first place the principle of citizenship and not national membership" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299606.html>).

Bakhtiyar Sadykhov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Yerevan is struggling to deal with massive outmigration by trying to settle more Armenians in the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/299385.html>).

Govkhar Bakhshaliyeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Armenia is not a state, but only the name of a territory" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299516.html>).

Allahshukur Pashazade, sheikh-ul-Islam and head of the Administration of Muslims of the Caucasus, sends a letter to Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan offering additional assistance to Turks who suffered from the earthquake in Van Province (<http://news.day.az/society/299648.html>).

Pakistani Foreign Minister Nina Rabbani Khar says that Armenia must withdraw without qualification from the occupied Azerbaijani territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/299563.html>).

Russian Defense Minister Anatoly Serdyukov says that Moscow plans to completely reconstruct the Gabala radar station in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/299490.html>).

The Swiss foreign ministry says that Bern does not recognize "the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh" and "never has cast doubt on the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299697.html>).

The Russian State Duma ratifies the agreement on security cooperation on the Caspian Sea (<http://news.day.az/politics/299671.html>).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey's ambassador to Baku, says that Ankara will soon open a consulate in Lankaran (<http://news.day.az/politics/299630.html>).

Col.Gen. Nikolay Lisinsky, head of the FSB's regional border administration, says that the border services of the Caspian littoral states will conduct joint exercises and that exercises of the border services of Russia and Azerbaijan are also required (<http://news.day.az/politics/299596.html>).

Adel Mohammad Adaileh, Jordan's ambassador to Baku, says that Amman plans to open a trade center in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/economy/299595.html>).

Adel Mohammad Adaileh, Jordan's ambassador to Baku, says that more Azerbaijani students should come to study in Jordanian universities. At present, there are 29 Jordanians in Azerbaijani higher schools, but only two Azerbaijanis in Jordanian ones (<http://news.day.az/society/299627.html>).

Turkey completes work on the border tunnel for the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railroad (<http://news.day.az/economy/299663.html>).

17 November

Finance Minister Samir Sharifov says that the Azerbaijani government will index the salaries of Azerbaijani diplomats working abroad on the basis of the rate of inflation in their countries of residence (<http://news.day.az/politics/299457.html>).

Vilayat Guliyev, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Budapest, organizes a Day of Azerbaijan devoted to the 20th anniversary of the restoration of Azerbaijan's state independence (<http://news.day.az/politics/299445.html>).

The Foreign Ministry says that "as always," *Amnesty International* has adopted "an adjust position toward Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299330.html>).

Asef Hajiyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the OSCE Minsk Group has not justified the faith" that many have placed in it (<http://news.day.az/politics/299396.html>).

Tahir Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "power in Armenia is in the hands of terrorists" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299338.html>).

Fazail Agamaly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the ideology of 'Azerbaijanism' calls for the unification of all the ethnoses of our country" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299240.html>).

Aydyn Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the ideology of 'Azerbaijanism' is a combination of contemporary world views" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299250.html>).

Azerbaijan marks the Day of National Revival (<http://news.day.az/politics/298553.html>).

Serik Primbetov, Kazakhstan's ambassador to Baku, presents the Azerbaijani language version of Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev's *The Path of Kazakhstan* (<http://news.day.az/politics/299438.html>).

Catherine Ashton, the high representative of the European Union for foreign policy and security policy, says the EU will support the efforts of the co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group (<http://news.day.az/politics/299405.html>).

Daniel Stein, senior advisor to the US Department of State special envoy for Eurasian energy affairs, says that "if Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan agree" to build a pipeline across the Caspian, "no country will have the right to block this decision" (<http://news.day.az/economy/299362.html>).

Karl-Georg Wellman, a German parliamentarian, says that "the return of occupied Azerbaijani lands is a condition for the peaceful solution of the Karabakh conflict" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299502.html>).

Barry Devolin is elected the new president of the Canadian-Azerbaijani Interparliamentary Friendship Group (<http://news.day.az/politics/299335.html>).

Hikmet Cetin, former Turkish foreign minister, says that stability in the Caucasus region is "impossible without peace between Azerbaijan and Armenia" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299367.html>).

16 November

President Ilham Aliyev receives Pier Luigi Malesani, the chairman of the supervisory board of *Euronews*, and Michael Peters, the managing director of the executive board of that television channel (<http://news.day.az/politics/299192.html>).

Prime Minister Arthur Rasi-zade receives Catherine Ashton, the high representative of the European Union for foreign policy and security policy (<http://news.day.az/politics/299194.html>).

Vice Prime Minister Ali Hasanov and Saida Bagirli, deputy head of the World Bank office in Baku, sign a credit agreement providing for 50 million US dollars for Azerbaijan to improve the live of forced re-settlers (<http://news.day.az/economy/299186.html>).

Defense Industry Minister Yaver Jamalov and Kazakhstan Defense Minister Adilbek Dzhaksybekov agree on the expansion of defense industry cooperation (<http://news.day.az/politics/299267.html>).

Finance Minister Samir Sharifov says that the World Bank has agreed to help Azerbaijan establish an electronic system of monitoring in the state sector (<http://news.day.az/economy/299292.html>).

Ramiz Mehdiyev, head of the Presidential Administration, says that "the Azerbaijani national idea is distinguished by its content, universality, humanity, flexibility, and naturalness" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299115.html> and <http://news.day.az/politics/299206.html>).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that Azerbaijan and the Venetian Commission share a common view on state financing of political parties (<http://news.day.az/politics/299238.html>).

Bahar Muradova, vice speaker of the Milli Majlis, says that Azerbaijanis and Armenians "who will live together in Nagorno-Karabakh must discuss the conditions of their future co-existence" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299213.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Khalaf Khalafov receives Aleksandr Golovin, special representative of the President of Russia for the delimitation and demarcation of the borders of Russia with CIS countries (<http://news.day.az/politics/299291.html>).

Gudsi Osmanov, Azerbaijan's consul general in St. Petersburg, says that "the journal [*Baku*] plays a very large role in propagandizing the history of Azerbaijan and the traditions and culture of the Azerbaijani people" (<http://news.day.az/society/298918.html>).

The Defense Ministry receives a delegation from the Czech defense ministry policy and strategy department (<http://news.day.az/politics/299286.html>).

Hidayat Orujov, head of the State Committee for Work with Religious Formations, says that "in Azerbaijan there are people who use religion for their personal and political goals" and that to counter this, Azerbaijan "needs highly qualified theologians" (<http://news.day.az/society/299216.html>).

Catherine Ashton, the high representative of the European Union for foreign policy and security policy, says that the EU is "interested in pushing forward in the resolution of conflicts in the South Caucasus" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299251.html>).

Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Baconschi says that Bucharest supports "the peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the framework of the OSCE Minsk Group on the basis of the norms of international law" (<http://news.day.az/politics/299220.html>).

Taleb Rifai, secretary general of the World Tourism Organization, says that his group opposes the destruction of cultural monuments by Armenia in the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/299191.html>).

Daniel Stein, senior advisor to the US Department of State special envoy for Eurasian energy affairs, says that "there are no obstacles for the construction of the Trans-Caspian gas pipeline" (<http://news.day.az/economy/299187.html>).

Note to Readers

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