On February 26, President Ilham Aliyev and First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva led Azerbaijanis and people of good will around the world in commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide and honoring the hundreds of victims of that horrific tragedy. More than 60,000 Azerbaijanis marched in Baku, more than a hundred Azerbaijani diplomatic missions and ethnic communities around the world held memorial services of one kind or another. And numerous governments, parliaments and individual parliamentarians denounced this crime against humanity.
In marking the event, President Aliyev noted that the Khojaly genocide is now “considered one of the most bestial and bloody tragedies of the 20th century. On the night of February 25-26, 1992, Armenian military formations with the participation of the 366th motorized rifle regiment of the former Soviet army stationed in Khankandi attacked Khojaly, which had been subject to blockade more many moments and over the course of a single night wiped the city from the face of the earth. During this bloody action, pitiless violence was inflicted on the peaceful population, 613 people were killed, corpses were desecrated, and 1,275 people were taken hostage. To this day, nothing is known about the fate of 150 of them. Among the killed were 63 children, 106 women, and 70 elderly people.” [2]

President Aliyev then observed that “over the course of the last two centuries, Armenian nationalists in pursuit of their goal of achieving the mythical idea of ‘a Greater Armenia’ at the expense of historical Azerbaijani lands again and again have committed such crimes against humanity as terror, mass murder, deportation and ethnic cleansings against our people. But the Khojaly genocide, which happened at the end of the 20th century before the eyes of the entire world and which was distinguished by cruelty and pitilessness, became the most bloody page of this policy of aggression. Political-legal responsibility for such a horrific crime lies directly on the then and current leadership of Armenia and the separatist regime of Nagorno-Karabakh.”

The president continued, “Already for almost twenty years, the Azerbaijani government has been carrying out consistent and systematic work in order to bring to world public opinion the truth about the Khojaly tragedy that was committed by the Armenian fascists and to secure recognition of this genocide in the international arena. In recent years, within the framework of the international campaign, Justice for Khojaly, numerous institutions of civil society as well as youth and diaspora organizations which represent our compatriots together with the power structures are conducting fruitful activity in this area.”

Finally, the president concluded that, “the reality [of this crime] hidden by the lies and falsifications of the Armenian propaganda machine are already being unmasked, and world public opinion is beginning to recognize the truth about Khojaly. The parliamentary Union of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation has recognized it as ‘massive crime against humanity’ and called upon its member states to give this tragedy a corresponding political-legal assessment. Moreover, in the parliaments of Pakistan and Mexico resolutions recognizing Khojaly as an act of genocide have been adopted.”

President Aliyev could have extended this list of those who have recognized Khojaly not simply as a crime but as a genocide almost at will to include parliamentarians in Europe, the United States and Asia, experts and legal specialists in the Russian Federation, and in particular the government and people of Turkey, whose leaders not only conducted dozens of events to mark the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide, but also explicitly described the events of 20 years in those terms and as part of the common heritage all Turkic peoples share.

Many things could and should be said about the Khojaly genocide, but there are three conclusions that must be drawn on this anniversary. First, as President Aliyev said, the world is now learning what Azerbaijanis have long known: Khojaly was not
“collateral damage” of a military campaign, but instead was an act of genocide, tragically only one of many, carried out by Armenian forces against Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis.

Second, the Justice for Khojaly campaign, in which the Azerbaijani government and social organizations have cooperated, has put Armenia on the defensive internationally, not only because many of its current leaders were directly involved in the 1992 events, but because Armenian actions in 1992 in Khojaly undercut Armenia’s ability to present itself as the eternal victim. Azerbaijani legal experts have identified by name 39 Armenians who bear direct responsibility for the Khojaly killings and desecrations, [3] and it seems likely that these people will be subject to the kind of international restrictions and possibly trials in international courts that others involved in genocidal actions have faced, something that means the impact of the Khojaly genocide on international affairs will only grow.

Meanwhile—and these two events may be more connected than any suspect—the commemoration of the Khojaly genocide undoubtedly played a role in prompting the French Constitutional Court to annul a recently adopted French law that imposed criminal penalties on those denying that the events in 1915 in Anatolia were a genocide against the Armenians. For much of the last century and especially since 1991, Armenian leaders have won support internationally by presenting themselves as the victims of others. Khojaly shows that some Armenians were capable of equally horrific crimes, a demonstration that will make it more difficult for Yerevan to gain the unqualified sympathy of the world. Thus, “the significant victory of Turkish and Azerbaijani diplomacy” Azerbaijani and Turkish officials see in the French court’s decision is likely to be followed by others. [4]

And third, the commemoration of the Khojaly genocide is likely to secure additional international support for Azerbaijan’s effort to recover the occupied territories and overcome what that occupation has meant. Turkish leaders, like Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, have stressed that the 1992 tragedy links their country and Azerbaijan even more closely together. [5] And many parliamentarians and officials in other countries have stressed that what happened at Khojaly is a compelling piece of evidence of why the Armenian occupation of 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory must be ended and why the full historical truth of what has taken place in that troubled region needs to be remembered and acted upon not only by Azerbaijanis but by all people committed to freedom and human rights.

In his remarks on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide, Elin Suleymanov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to the United States, summed up what Azerbaijanis and their friends are thinking on this day: The victims of the Khojaly genocide will remain forever in the hearts of Azerbaijanis, he said, but everyone should know that “the Azerbaijani people do not want revenge, but only justice and peace.” [6]

Notes


Having recently celebrated the 20th anniversary of its independence, Azerbaijan is engaged in comprehensive reflection. After going through a stage of conceptual and institutional formation during the 1990s and a rapid transformation into a market-oriented economy during the 2000s, the country is evaluating its past and looking forward to the future, with many asking questions like: has Azerbaijan fully achieved the status of a middle-income country? In order to review Azerbaijan’s accomplishments and ongoing challenges, this essay analyzes a set of aggregated economic and socio-demographic rankings and then discusses Azerbaijan’s progress through the prism of income group classification.

In addressing this issue, we first need to determine whether Azerbaijan even qualifies, according to standard rules, as a middle-income state. If so, then we will expand the topic to consider those features a typical middle-income nation should possess. We will therefore set up certain criteria, common to a typical middle-income state and evaluate Azerbaijan on the basis of those standards. Apart from merely meeting the statistical criteria of aggregate demand and production, there are certain institutional, economic, and socio-demographic features that people typically expect from a standard middle-income country. Those features include, but are not limited to, the general financial and business environment, regulatory efficiency and transparency, institutional maturity, accessible good-quality tertiary and higher education, and conditions of the social welfare state, among others. In evaluating Azerbaijan with respect to income groups, we will review exactly these features, thus adopting a broader-than-statistics perspective, one that will allow us to get a fuller picture as to whether Azerbaijan is really a “middle-of-the-pack” state. This approach could be called an extended or a qualitative approach to the income group discussion.

In general, income groups are traditionally defined by the World Bank according to the countries’ GNI per capita statistics. In 2010, Azerbaijan reported a 5,330 USD GNI per capita. [1] Meanwhile, the World Bank’s minimum criterion for entering the middle-income group status is 4,900 USD, while the group average is 5,800 USD. [2] Using this measure by itself, we can argue that Azerbaijan is a member of this class, but we should not draw immediate conclusions and instead must examine additional factors. When comparing GNI per capita with that of other similar states, Azerbaijan ranks above some of its South Caucasian neighbors, Georgia and Armenia, for which the numbers are 2,690 USD and 3,200 USD respectively, but lags behind the
territorially larger Russia and Kazakhstan. Azerbaijan in fact seems to be placed well with the Arab World group of countries, for which the average GNI per capita is 5,500 USD, [3] a placement entirely logical considering their similarities in terms of the internal energy-based industrial structure.

However, Azerbaijan is still behind the Developing European and Central Asian Countries and the overall worldwide averages, for which the figures are 7,200 USD and 9,800 USD respectively. [4] Perhaps, the medium-term goal for Azerbaijan should be to approach those levels, in terms of pure GNI per capita. In addition to the World Bank numbers, the CIA World Factbook ranks Azerbaijan 107th in GDP per capita in the world, which is—in very rough terms—the “middle-of-the-pack.” [5]

Now we will expand the narrative from “bottom-line” statistics of per capita economic production to a description of the overall socio-economic model by including a set of aggregated developmental indexes. First, we will examine the general macroeconomic and macro-financial environment in Azerbaijan. The country is ranked 20th among all upper-middle income states of the world according to the World Bank’s Doing Business Report, which measures the ease of doing business. [6] Azerbaijan is thus viewed as easier to do business in than Turkey, but more problematic than, for example, Kazakhstan. Furthermore, Azerbaijan ranks 10th among upper-middle income states worldwide in investor protection, fourth in starting a business, and sixth in enforcing contractual obligations.

At the same time, Azerbaijan ranks second to last in cross-border trade and is in the bottom five in terms of obtaining construction permits. Some of these, of course, especially the rank of investor protection, are significant accomplishments, which could perhaps lift Azerbaijan over most of its neighboring and fellow middle-income countries; but given the apparent presence of problems in areas such as trading across borders, the two extremes balance each other out, eventually supporting the premise that Azerbaijan is an “average” country to do business in.

Another useful comparison of countries’ economic progress is provided by the World Economic Forum’s Global Competitiveness Report. It offers a general ranking of overall national economic competitiveness and then deconstructs it into sub-category indices, such as institutional, demographic, or macroeconomic pillars. Azerbaijan ranks 55th in the world, above all the member-states of the Caucasus like Georgia and Armenia, as well as Russia, Kazakhstan, and even Turkey. A closer look at the ranking components reveals that much of the country’s success is driven by the performance in the macroeconomic and labor market efficiency pillars, where Azerbaijan ranks 16th and 14th worldwide respectively. [7] In the meantime, factors like financial market development, health, and primary education stand out as areas of weakness, pulling its ranking down. Thus, this report supports our earlier findings from the Doing Business index, as well as the basic GNI per capita method that Azerbaijan is a middle-income state.

Azerbaijan, at the end of the day, is an emerging country, still in the stage of continuous transition into a full-pledged market economy. Comparing Azerbaijan with other in-transition states could be useful. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) transition index seems to be an appropriate instrument for that. [8] When looking at the 2010 across-factor accumulated averages, Azerbaijan maintains an overall score of 2.486 out of 4.0. That is greater than, for example, Belarus (1.856), another country in transition, but is below the figures for Kazakhstan (2.88) or Georgia (2.97). The divergence in ranking results
between the EBRD index and the Global Competitiveness Report, reflects differences in methodology, but the gap is not substantial enough to cast doubt on our thesis that Azerbaijan is a middle-of-the-pack state.

Similar to the Global Competitiveness Report, the EBRD transition index also provides a categorical decomposition. Special emphasis is placed on government expenditure on health care, which was the lowest among all transition countries in 2008 at just 1% of GDP. Expenditure on education was also very low, 2.6% of GDP. Naturally, the GDP of Azerbaijan is significantly larger than that in countries like Georgia or Armenia, so in absolute terms, it is quite possible that Azerbaijan spends actually more on education and health care than many of its neighbors. However, there is an obvious correlation between low spending and being ranked just 105th in the world for healthcare and tertiary education.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijan has a 2% proportion of the population living below the poverty line, which is significantly better than what is the case in Georgia or Armenia, where the figures are 30% and 43% respectively. Once again, by and large, when including multiple factors into the discussion, Azerbaijan is right in the middle of the mix when it comes to country rankings. It is interesting that we are beginning to observe a tendency of positive drivers (macroeconomic stability) and negative drivers (healthcare and education, or basically, social welfare state) that respectively move the country forward and drag it back.

So far our assessment suggests that Azerbaijan can be counted as a middle-income state not just according to the World Bank’s classification, but also from a broader point of view. For further analysis, we will now look in greater detail at some of the issues and areas of concern raised by the preliminary discussion. First of all, from a basic macro perspective, Azerbaijan has enjoyed quite stable times of both economic and political stability over the past several years. These two components have led to the country achieving extraordinary growth figures in the years prior to the Global Financial Crisis, and to being ranked 16th in the world in macro stability among all upper-middle income states.

That result, however, almost entirely reflects the country’s oil boom with receipts from oil revenues coupled with high oil prices playing the roles of prime catalysts. The massive state-driven injections of money into the economy, constituting an unprecedented fiscal expansion, carried the country through the boom years. Suffice it to say that Azerbaijan grew by just 0.1% in 2011, largely due to the falling oil production and lower oil prices on world markets. [9] Overreliance on natural resources, also known as the “resource curse” can have a negative impact on Azerbaijan, which lacks industrial competitiveness in the non-oil sector of the economy and thus is very exposed to external risks. The point is that macro stability, a substantial factor for Azerbaijan being counted as a middle-income state, depends to a great extent on the oil component. Losing the comfortable ground in the energy field can potentially result in Azerbaijan watching its middle-income status lose the most fundamental building block.

Another issue is that the oil sector brings massive amounts in capital while employing few people: just over 1% of the country’s population. [10] The resulting problem is not only an economic problem, but a social one as well; one forcing the country to consider the ways in which to restructure the economy so that the oil sector will not “feed” the non-oil component, but allow the latter to grow independently of oil revenue. Naturally, initial investments to the institutional architecture should come from the oil money, but after the “kick-start” phase, the
economy must diversify and expand horizontally and vertically thanks to private-driven innovation and technology-intensive production. Until Azerbaijan develops a sustainable model of long-run growth, it is counterproductive to celebrate its status of a middle-income country based on numbers alone, because that status and those numbers were accomplished by a temporary and not everlasting factor—a non-renewable resource, which will deplete in the future.

Apart from the apparent need for industrial diversification, Azerbaijan will need to place greater strategic emphasis on the further development of institutional democracy and focus on increased performance of the functions of the state and the role of civil society. [11] That includes a continuous effort against non-transparency, strategic rent seeking, corruption, and economic wastefulness. Significant efforts should be also put on ensuring an effective extension of the key components of a free market economy. For example, expansion of the capital markets and development of market stabilizing economic institutions must remain among the top priorities of governmental agencies. The issue of financial market development is particularly important: Azerbaijan today ranks 94th in the world according to the Global Competitiveness Report with respect to financial market conditions.

With regards to the issues raised above, government units should continue working very tightly with international organizations like the World Bank and the IMF in order to enable an efficient functioning of the economic institutional framework. That is because "easily appropriable rents weaken governance and institutions, increase corruption and self-interested rent seeking, and prevent economic growth." [12] In other words, strategic rent-seeking and special interest groups make it much harder for a small developing country to step on the path of transparent and sustainable growth.

Having dealt with the institutional question, Azerbaijan should also attempt to accomplish greater efficiency in financial management, tax and regulation, bureaucracy, and ease of doing business and getting things done. Some progress has been made: because of the “one window” tax system adopted in 2008, some 23 million USD were saved in very short periods of time due to efficiency improvements. [13] However, the tax system still needs further upgrades; Azerbaijan ranks 202nd in the world in taxes as a percentage of GDP, with taxes amounting to just 11% of total economic output. [14] On a positive note, it now takes just three days to start a business in Azerbaijan, down from 30 days four years ago, just one example of how reforms in Azerbaijan may work and bring measurable dividends.

The social welfare system is probably Azerbaijan’s single most significant area that needs substantial modernization and systemic improvement. On one hand, Azerbaijan has a primary completion rate for tertiary education of 90%, exactly the average for the upper-middle income countries according to the World Bank; but on the other hand, life expectancy is 70, while for the upper-middle income states the average is 72.6, a significant gap. [15]

The Azerbaijani labor market, even if not terribly diverse, is efficient. This was suggested earlier by the rank of 16 among all middle-income states worldwide in labor market efficiency according to the Global Competitiveness Report. Even during the worst times of the recent financial crisis, the unemployment rate in Azerbaijan was 6.1% in 2008, [16] half the rates in Georgia and Armenia. On a more pessimistic note, public entitlement spending, an important component of national welfare state, is still a topic under the radar screen in Azerbaijan. Unemployment
support, funding of large low-income families, pension, aid to single mothers, public medical coverage, while existing on paper, still need a great deal of improvement. With regards to unemployment support, this is actually quite logical that Azerbaijan’s labor market is functioning well. Because of the lack of a robust social safety net, there is absolutely no incentive or benefit in remaining unemployed. Therefore the individual initiative-based employment search is generally quick and productive.

In general, public assistance is not extensive, restricted to small proportions of the population, while the otherwise qualified people do not receive it. Bureaucratic requirements discourage many from even making a serious attempt to obtain support. And if support is granted, the amounts are less than adequate to live an average life even in the rural areas, let alone in the urban Baku or Ganja. Whether Azerbaijan decides to pursue a Scandinavian path towards a full welfare state is a different question, but there are some basic entitlements for which the population of a middle-income state has fundamental rights, and those entitlements should be delivered.

Development of social and human capital, or more concretely, education—both on the tertiary and the higher levels—requires modernization and both legislative and conceptual updates. Azerbaijan allocates only 2.6% of its GDP towards education spending, thus ranking 140th in the world according to the CIA Factbook. Based on this number alone we can conclude that, in the medium-to-long run, Azerbaijan will have a shortage of high-profile specialists in priority areas of development. Investment into education reform, into social and human capital, is of paramount importance for the modern Azerbaijan. [18]

One might argue that spending on education is not the only answer. Azerbaijan needs conceptual models of high-quality education. The “flag ships” of national education, although benchmarked from abroad, must be ultimately created and cultivated domestically. For example, it was not too long ago that the youth of Azerbaijan and of the region received the privilege to study at the Azerbaijani Diplomatic Academy (ADA). Since ADA’s opening in 2006, the standards of education have arguably gone through a process of major reconsideration and rethinking, with ADA leading the way in both quality of education and the strength of its research arm. The optimistic scenario lies in the belief that other higher education institutions of Azerbaijan will be following ADA’s example in training and educating the future leaders of Azerbaijan and of the world.

The basic argument of this essay is that it is not just the baseline GNI per capita numbers, which matter for being considered an upper-middle income state. Macro-analysis is about a sustainable general model, a socio-economic mentality, a long-term platform on which a country’s or a region’s growth pattern is being constructed. From a broader view in which income-groups are indirect indicators of socio-economic status and not merely a statistical rank, Azerbaijan’s membership in the middle-income group requires reforms to move toward a modern social welfare state, including improving areas like health care, education and the social safety net.

These conclusions will not be news to Azerbaijani policy makers. The new development strategy Azerbaijan 2020: Looking to the Future prioritizes many of the areas discussed above, particularly industrial diversification and development of social and human capital. Despite being at the stage of conceptual design and formation, the Strategy represents a realistic plan for Azerbaijan to become a fully-fledged upper-middle income state. Meanwhile, with a stable population and a fast-
growing economy (even despite the low 2011 growth numbers), the GNI per capita can carry Azerbaijan quantitatively towards the magical 7,000 USD mark, the average for developing European and Central Asian countries.

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RUSSIAN-TURKISH RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIETIZATION OF AZERBAIJAN AND THE SOVIETIZATION OF ARMENIA

Part II (B). How Chicherin Tried to Give Nakhchivan to Armenia

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On September 24, 1920, G. Chicherin sent Sh. Eliava a priority diplomatic dispatch, which said that, “the treaty of August 10 is the maximum of what can be achieved. It was necessary for us to conclude it. Providing Armenia with the ability to use the railroads was, according to Legran, a necessary condition, without which it would have been impossible to conclude the treaty and achieve the recognition of the occupation by us of Nakhchivan.” [1]

In fact, this treaty dealt not so much with the railroad as with the transfer to Armenia of the greater part of the territory of Nakhchivan. On the day of the signing of the Armenian-Russian treaty, M. Bektashi, the president of the Nakhchivan Revolutionary Committee, wrote to N. Narimanov that by a decision of the absolute majority of the population of Nakhchivan, this district recognized itself as “an inalienable part of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.” [2]

On August 13, B. Shakhtakhtinsky telegraphed V. Lenin that the population of Nakhchivan had restored the Soviet system and did not think that Soviet Russia, in opposition to the will of the entire population, would give Nakhchivan to the dashnaks, because if that were to happen, not only would the Soviet system die there, but given what was happening on the territory of Dashnak Armenia, the physical existence of the Muslim population would be at risk. [3]
After the conclusion of the Armenian-Russian treaty, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the AKP(b) discussed the situation in Nakhchivan and assigned to the Azerbaijani Revolutionary Committee to work out the Nakhchivan question, as well as to define the Azerbaijani-Armenian border. In addition, the Azerbaijani Revolutionary Committee was directed to consult with the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the XI Army and occupy itself with the organization of power structures in Nakhchivan and to settle the issue of the candidacy of the commissar for the district. At the Politburo session, the candidacy of Mir Jafar Bagirov was promoted, and Viktor Naneyshevili was given the task of clarifying whether he could be freed from his current position. Having discussed the situation in Nakhchivan, the Politburo did not consider it useful to disarm the population of this district, and the Organization Bureau and Secretariat were directed to ensure the sending to Nakhchivan of party workers and literature. [4]

However, when analyzing the course of events, Kazim Karabekir-pasha well understood that Soviet Russia would be dissatisfied by the military actions of the Turkish forces against dashnak Armenia. On July 31, he sent a letter to Halil-pasha in which he wrote: “Chicherin in his letter to the Grand National Assembly informed that questions about the border between us and Armenia will be resolved through the mediation of Soviet Russia. From this response of Comrade Chicherin, I conclude that he would not consider it desirable for us to enter into battle with the dashnaks.” [5] The Turkish command was decisively inclined to take Shakhtakhty from the Armenians, and G. Chicherin in a code cable through Vladikavkaz so advised B. Legran. [6] Even if the Russians would not be able to take part in this operation, then the Turks would demand that they be permitted independently and without the Red Army to free Shakhtakhty and Sarykamysh from the Armenians.

On July 27, 1920, G. Chicherin via a priority diplomatic dispatch demanded from B. Legran, the Russian representative in Armenia, to immediately leave Azerbaijani Agstafa where “he apparently was sitting far too long” and go to the place of his assignment, Erivan. Chicherin wrote that, “under existing conditions and the launch of an attack by the Turks, we cannot unilaterally—certainly not by radio—demand from Armenia the stopping of military actions. This can only be the result of negotiations with all interested sides. Therefore it is necessary that you reach the place of your assignment. The Armenian catholicos now is putting about that Finland will take a mandate over Armenia and if the latter refuses, then Belgium. Apparently, they are seeking protectors since they foresee that we will soon be in a stronger position. The Turks, having occupied Nakhchivan, have introduced Soviet power there and propose that our forces go there as well. The order about the occupation of Nakhchivan by our units has already been given, and I have reported about this to you, but in general, it is not the place of the Turks or another people to define where and in what quantity we must go.” [7]

Despite such sharp declarations, of course, the Bolsheviks nonetheless needed the Kemalists. It was not only the general platform of world internationalism and dreams about “the liberation” of the oppressed masses of the East by which the attempts of the Russians to cooperate with them were conditioned. In a number of cases, they saw in the Kemalists guarantees of security on the Muslim territories occupied by them and on the whole a guarantee of the success of their eastern policy.

In September 1920, G. Chicherin with agitation wrote to V. Lenin that, "Both the
communications of comrades Eliava and Kirov and the reports of Western radios lead to the conclusion about the catastrophic situation of the Kemalists as a result of the lack of military supplies. The collapse of the Kemalists would lead to the triumph of reaction that would be supported by the Entente and of Muslim fanaticism, which would make possible the appearance of a sultan in Lesser Asia and the launch of a holy war against us. This could lead to a broad counterrevolutionary Muslim movement, to the loss for us of Baku and perhaps Turkestan and even to serious dangers for us in our east. The question about the further existence of the Kemalists for us is therefore vital. [To make this possible] requires the supply of arms to them. When their representatives have spoken with our military people, they declared that they need 250,000 rifles with a corresponding amount of bullets. Our military in conversation with Halil have agreed to 60,000 rifles. But then we didn’t give this amount, but only sent 6,000. Transit is only an issue if we agree there is something to send them.” [8]

As far as armed transfers to Turkey were concerned, the Soviet government considered it possible to dispatch them through the territory of Armenia, and its members attended to the proposal of B. Legran, the representative of Russia in Erivan, who had written to the chairman of the Sovnarkom and the commissar of international affairs that it would be necessary to compensate Armenia for this transit with some lands and that there was no need to be afraid of conceding to Armenia for this purpose Nakhchivan and Zangazur. [9]

In the summer of 1920, B. Shakhtakhtinsky was appointed plenipotentiary representative of Azerbaijan, and on September 20, he presented V. Lenin with an extensive letter. From the Turkish section of this letter, it is clear that the leadership of Soviet Azerbaijan was aware of the plans of Russia to hand over Nakhchivan to Armenia. B. Shakhtakhtinsky in the first instance noted the opinion of the SNK of Azerbaijan headed by N. Narimanov that the handing over of Nakhchivan to Armenia would mean the intentional and final break of all relations with Turkey. He also added that prohibiting the Turks to attack the dashnaks was equivalent to Russian conceding in the near future a number of vilayats in Turkey to the Armenians. B. Shakhtakhtinsky suggested that an alliance with Turkey would allow the soviets to use its authority in the struggle against imperialism in the East. But too cautious a policy on the Armenian question would lead to a loss of faith in the seriousness of the policy of the Bolsheviks in the East and to the victory of the Entente. [10]

Following the conclusion of the treaty between Soviet Russia and Armenia, the first official meeting with the Turkish delegation took place on August 13, 1920, at which the Turks for the first time received information about this treaty. At this meeting, G. Chicherin appeared in the role of the defender of the Armenians. He attempted to reanimate the privileges given to them by the Sevres Treaty and raised for discussion the question of the transfer to the Armenians of the Turkish vilayats of Van, Mush and Bitlis. To this he added that the assistance of Turkey on the basis of these concessions had already been spoken about with Halil-pasha and Jemal-pasha. However, the Turkish delegation decisively protested declaring that such a policy was in no way different from that of the Entente to dismember Turkey. Moreover, Halil-pasha and Jemal-pasha did not have the right to conduct talks in the name of Kemalist Turkey. These claims by G. Chicherin left the talks without resolution. When the Turkish delegation met with V. Lenin on August 14, the leader of the Bolsheviks recognized the mistaken nature of the treaty that had been concluded with Armenia and said that, “we understood that having signed this treaty we had committed a mistake and we will try to correct our negligence. If we do not correct
it, you will.” [11] As Ali Fuat Jebesoy recalls in his *Moscow Reminiscences*, it was at this meeting that V. Lenin told the Turkish delegates about the soon-to-come Sovietization of Armenia and Georgia (Cebesoy 1955, pp. 72-73).

On August 17, Ye. Adamov and A. Sabanin, the Russian representatives of the Peoples Commissariat of International Affairs, on the basis of the week-long talks with the Turkish delegates, prepared as a first step a draft of a Russian-Turkish treaty consisting of eight points. However, the negotiations were broken off on August 24 following the demand of G. Chicherin concerning the transfer of lands into Eastern Anatolia to the Armenians. The open protection shown by Chicherin to the Armenians put relations between Soviet Russia and Turkey at the edge of breach. The Soviet commissar of international affairs was affected by Armenia philia to an even greater degree than the representatives of the Entente who had signed the Sevres Treaty. G. Chicherin thus became the chief advocate of the idea of “Greater Armenia,” which had been prepared by the leaders of the dashnaks and the Armenians in the Kremlin.

At the very same time, such actions of the peoples commissar especially angered several authoritative leaders of the Bolsheviks, who in contrast to G. Chicherin well knew the Caucasus. Thus, I. Stalin, when he found out somewhat later about the dead end in talks with the Turks as a result of the territorial demands of G. Chicherin in favor of the Armenians, wrote in anger to V. Lenin: "Comrade Lenin, just yesterday I found out that Chicherin really sent to the Turks a foolish (and provocative) demand about the cleansing of Van-Mush and Bitlis (Turkish provinces with an enormous predominance of Turks) in favor of Armenia. This Armenian-imperialist demand cannot be our demand. Chicherin must be prevented from sending to the Turks a note that reflects the diktat of nationally inclined Armenians.” [12]

Stalin had received this information from G. Ordzhonikidze who the day before this telegraphed V. Lenin, G. Chicherin, L. Trotsky and I. Stalin: “Chicherin’s demand regarding Mush-Van-Bitlis has immediately strengthened the supporters of the Entente, and Mustafa Kemal has started seeking ways for a rapprochement with Constantinople and the Entente ... At the present time, there is a struggle of two groups going on in Anatolia, one supports an agreement with us (the populists) and the other is for the Entente. The latter, not able to speak out openly on behalf of the Entente, does everything to provoke people against us, it consciously makes use of all possible excesses in Armenia, and disseminates all possible provocateur rumors against us. The Armenian question occupies the largest place in Turkish politics. Many years of hatred to Armenians, despite certain attempts from the side of the high command are not in a position to prevent those excesses, which are very strongly exaggerated and talked about by the Armenian comrades. In units of the army, agitation is being conducted as if we, because of the Armenians, had already broken off relations with Ankara. In response, the command of Karabekir put out an order for the armies that all this is a lie and a provocation. I cannot be silent that many Armenian comrades are supporters of a war with the Turks ... Beyond any doubt, the demand for Mush-Van and Bitlis will be used as an indication of our relations with the Turks. All such demands must be withdrawn and a treaty which would have a purely agitation character must be concluded in order that our opponents will immediately be deprived of the opportunity of provoking the population. Then, if Ankara turns to the Entente, Eastern Anatolia will remain with us, and for us this is extremely important. The Armenian question is the question of Eastern Anatolia, because the Entente has demanded the handing over of Mush, Van,
Bitlis, and others to Armenia." [13] This message of G. Ordzhonikidze to the policy makers of Soviet Russia reveals many hidden aspects of this policy in relation to Turkey.


Reference


Notes


[2] Letter of M. Bektashi to N. Narimanov, 10 August 1920, Political Documents Archive under the President of Azerbaijan Republic (hereafter PDA PAR), f.609, op.1, d.6, l.3.

[3] Letter of B. Shakhtakhtinsky to V. Lenin, 13 August 1920, Russian State Archive of Social-Political History (hereafter RSASPH), f.5, op.1, d.2796, l.2.


[6] Correspondence between B. Legran and L. Ruzer concerning the occupation by the Turks of Shakhtakhty and Sarykamysh, 17 August 1920, RSASPH, f.85, op.10, d.14, l.1.


[8] Note of G. Chicherin to V. Lenin, 27 September 1920, RSASPH, f.159, op.2, d.57, l.3.


[12] Note of I. Stalin to V. Lenin, 12 November 1920, RSASPH, f.558, op.11, d.388, l.4 ob.
A CHRONOLOGY OF AZERBAIJAN’S FOREIGN POLICY

I. Key Government Statements on Azerbaijan’s Foreign Policy

President Ilham Aliyev says that “responsibility for the Khojaly genocide lies directly on the leadership of Armenia” (http://news.day.az/politics/317699.html).

The Foreign Ministry says that Baku’s policies are “not directed against any country, but at the same time, 20 percent of the territory of the country is occupied, and Azerbaijan must be ready to recover its territories and restore sovereignty and it has the complete right to do so” (http://news.day.az/politics/318715.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov tells the G20 meeting in Mexico that Azerbaijan considers very important the creation of a mechanism to ensure the implementation of decisions taken by the UN Security Council (http://news.day.az/politics/317016.html).

II. Key Statements by Others about Azerbaijan

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili says that President Ilham Aliyev is “an historic personality for Georgia” (http://news.day.az/economy/316195.html).

Catherine Ashton, the supreme representative of the European Union for foreign affairs and security policy, says that, “the European Union would like to play a larger role in support of Azerbaijan and Armenia for the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict” (http://news.day.az/politics/318314.html).

Adam Sterling, charge at the US embassy in Baku, says that an “Arab spring” type revolution in Azerbaijan is “impossible” (http://news.day.az/politics/316952.html).

III. A Chronology of Azerbaijan’s Foreign Policy

29 February

President Ilham Aliyev welcomes the decision of the French Constitutional Council to annul the law criminalizing denial of the “Armenian genocide” (http://news.day.az/politics/318755.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives General Halid Shamim Vain, chairman of the United Committee of the Chiefs of Staff of Pakistan (http://news.day.az/politics/318865.html).

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva tells Vlade Divac, president of the Serbian Olympic Committee, that “cooperation between Azerbaijan and Serbia is developing
successfully in all areas” (http://news.day.az/politics/318908.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives Mir Jan Jamali, deputy head of the Pakistani Senate (http://news.day.az/politics/318883.html).

Industry and Energy Minister Natik Aliyev says the international sanctions regime against Iran will not affect Azerbaijani gas deliveries to Nakhchivan (http://news.day.az/economy/318740.html).

The Foreign Ministry says that the French annulment of the law criminalizing denial of the “Armenian genocide” was a major step forward for freedom and “even more for the country, which considers itself the cradle of democracy” (http://news.day.az/politics/318705.html).

Javanshir Akhundov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Tehran, was summoned to the Iranian foreign ministry to explain reports that Baku plans to buy more than a billion US dollars worth of arms from Israel (http://news.day.az/politics/318683.html).


Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that Azerbaijan welcomes the decision of the French Constitutional Council to annul the law criminalizing denial of the “Armenian genocide” (http://news.day.az/politics/318728.html).

Ali Ahmadov, deputy chairman and executive senator of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that the French decision to annul the law criminalizing denial of the “Armenian genocide” is “a significant victory of Turkish and Azerbaijani diplomacy” (http://news.day.az/politics/318844.html).

Chingiz Askarov, a sector head in the law enforcement department of the Presidential Administration, says that the case of Azerbaijanis against Armenia in the European Court is advancing (http://news.day.az/politics/318837.html).

Bakhtiyar Sadykhov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that, “the United States will not sacrifice its national interests on behalf of Armenia” (http://news.day.az/politics/318746.html).

Aydyn Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that, “the decision of the Constitutional Council of France is a warning for the Armenian diaspora” (http://news.day.az/politics/318727.html).

Rasim Musabayov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says the decision of the Constitutional Council of France “shocked Yerevan” (http://news.day.az/politics/318699.html).

Ştefan Füle, the Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy, says that the European Union supports the Minsk Group within the framework of the Eastern Partnership (http://news.day.az/politics/318885.html).

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and Milli Majlis deputy Ganira Pashayeva open an exhibition in the Turkish parliament devoted to the Khojaly genocide.
The parties of the Pakistani Senate unanimously agree to adopt a resolution on the Khojaly genocide.

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey’s ambassador to Baku, says that the French decision to annul the law criminalizing denial of the “Armenian genocide” is just and should be followed by other countries that have adopted analogous legislation.

Mir Jan Jamali, deputy chairman of the Pakistani Senate, says that his country is ready to provide “necessary support for Azerbaijan in the military sphere.”

Jamil Cicek, chairman of Turkey’s Grand National Assembly, says that, “the main path to the achievement of peace in the Caucasus passes through the liberation by Armenia of the occupied territories of Azerbaijan.”

Russian Deputy Defense Minister Anatoly Antonov says that talks between Moscow and Baku on extending Russia’s rental of the Gabala radar station are continuing in a constructive manner.

28 February

President Ilham Aliyev receives Mir Jan Jamali, deputy chairman of the Pakistani Senate.

Fuad Alaskarov, head of the law enforcement department of the Presidential Administration, says that, “the Sumgayit events were a provocation prepared in advance by the Armenians.”

Defense Minister Safar Abiyev receives Iulian Fota, Romanian national security advisor, to discuss bilateral defense cooperation.

Economic Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev meets with Jordanian Prime Minister Awn Shawkat Al Khasawneh to discuss bilateral cooperation.

Deputy Industry and Energy Minister Gulmammad Javadov receives Joseph Migas, Slovakia’s ambassador to Baku.

The Ecology and Natural Resources Ministry says that Baku has lodged a suit against Armenia in the secretariat of the Convention on Assessing the Environmental Impact Across Borders concerning the possible construction of a new atomic power station in Armenia.

Pavel Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Moscow, and Leyla Aliyeva, vice president of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, speak to a Moscow conference on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide.

Elin Suleymanov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Washington, speaks to a conference on
Azerbaijan at the Heritage Foundation (http://news.day.az/politics/318475.html).

Faik Bagirov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Ankara, speaks to a meeting in the Turkish city of Kecioren on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318445.html).

Samad Seyidov, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, says that, "Armenia is the source of obstacles to the integration of the Caucasus into Europe" (http://news.day.az/politics/318442.html).

Bahar Muradova, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE, says that Armenian delegates there by their comments have confirmed that the Khojaly genocide was intentional (http://news.day.az/politics/318516.html).

Azay Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says Armenian deputies have been invited to the next Euronest session, which will take place in Baku, April 2-4 (http://news.day.az/politics/318585.html).

Aydyn Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Azerbaijan's cooperation with Israel is not directed at third countries, including Iran (http://news.day.az/politics/318521.html).

Rovshan Rzayev, Faraj Guliyev and Azay Guliyev, three Milli Majlis deputies, say that their February 21-23 visit to Yerevan did not yield any positive changes in Armenia's position (http://news.day.az/politics/318556.html).

The Constitutional Court of France annuls the law imposing criminal penalties for the denial of the "Armenian genocide" (http://news.day.az/world/318655.html).

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan says that, "the Azerbaijani people must know that the fraternal Turkish people always will remember the innocent Azerbaijanis killed in Khojaly" (http://news.day.az/politics/318547.html).

The European Union expresses its concern on the low progress in talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (http://news.day.az/politics/318439.html).

The United Nations Secretariat says it will provide Azerbaijan with 5.9 million US dollars for the needs of refugees and internally displaced persons in 2012-13 (http://news.day.az/politics/318650.html).

Turkey's Grand National Assembly holds a special session on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318639.html).

Members of the Hungarian parliament issue a statement on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318549.html).

French officials in various cities hold meetings devoted to the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318541.html).

The Azerbaijani community of Houston, Texas, in the United States holds a demonstration on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318548.html).
The Georgian legislature adopts a resolution in honor of the victims of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318497.html).

The Republic of Korea says it will provide Azerbaijan with 43.5 million US dollars to rebuild water pipes and sewage lines (http://news.day.az/economy/318664.html).

27 February

President Ilham Aliyev receives Vlade Divac, head of the Serbian Olympic Committee (http://news.day.az/politics/318386.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Iulian Fota, Romanian national security advisor (http://news.day.az/politics/318388.html).

President Ilham Aliyev confirms the economic and technical cooperation accord between Azerbaijan and Serbia signed on January 25 (http://news.day.az/politics/318415.html).

Ali Ahmadov, deputy chairman and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says the ignorance and indifference toward the Khojaly genocide is "gradually disappearing" across the world (http://news.day.az/politics/318400.html).

Ali Ahmadov, deputy chairman and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that France has not shown itself to be ready to be a dispassionate participant in the OSCE Minsk Group (http://news.day.az/politics/318378.html).


Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmoud Mammadguliyev participates in Geneva talks about Azerbaijan’s joining the World Trade Organization (http://news.day.az/economy/318390.html).

Tamerlan Garayev, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Singapore, tells K. Shanmugam, the foreign minister of that country, that “Azerbaijan intends to become more active in its relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and to realize this through the good offices of Singapore” (http://news.day.az/politics/318301.html).

Javanshir Akhundov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Tehran, speaks to a conference in the Iranian capital on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318392.html).

Sultan Gasimov, consul general of Azerbaijan in Yekaterinburg, visits Russia’s Tumen and Kurgan oblasts (http://news.day.az/politics/318427.html).

Bahar Muradova, vice speaker of the Milli Majlis, calls on Ireland as chairman-in-office of the OSCE for 2012, to take specific steps for the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (http://news.day.az/politics/318302.html).

Govhar Bakhshaliyeva, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, says that suggestions by the
Armenian government that the Khojaly genocide was the fault of the Azerbaijanis are slanderous (http://news.day.az/politics/318081.html).

Rovshan Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, speaks to a memorial meeting in Berlin on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/society/318354.html).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey’s ambassador to Baku, says that everything will be done to ensure that the entire world will learn the truth about Khojaly (http://news.day.az/politics/318426.html).

Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, the secretary general of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, gives a speech in memory of the victims of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318274.html).

Arkhimed Mukhambetov, governor of Kazakhstan’s Aktyubinsk oblast, visits Sumgayit to meet with SOCAR’s Azerkimya branch (http://news.day.az/economy/318329.html).

26 February

President Ilham Aliyev and First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva lead the nation in commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide and honoring the memory of the victims of that tragedy (http://news.day.az/politics/318154.html).

Aykhan Suleymanov, Azerbaijan’s consul general in Cairo, organized a meeting to mark the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318169.html).

Bayram Safarov, head of the Azerbaijan Community of Nagorno-Karabakh, says that, “residents of Nagorno-Karabakh must be returned to their native lands, to the lands of their fathers” (http://news.day.az/politics/318164.html).

Turkish Interior Minister Naim Shahin says on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide that if it is required, “the Turks will act as a single fist” to oppose such evils (http://news.day.az/politics/318207.html).

Katrin Werner and Annette Grot, two German parliamentarians, say that the Khojaly events must be viewed as “a serious war crime” (http://news.day.az/politics/318171.html).

Abdulaziz Othman Altwaijri, the director general of ISESCO, says that Khojaly was one of many serious crimes the Armenian forces committed in the occupied territories (http://news.day.az/politics/318183.html).

Devlet Bakcali, head of the National Movement Party of Turkey, says that Khojaly was “a crime against humanity and against the entire Turkic people” and that “those who committed it always must be called murderers and criminals” (http://news.day.az/politics/318168.html).

The Iraqi oil ministry says that the Nabucco gas pipeline project is “very important” for the economy of Iraq (http://news.day.az/economy/318160.html).
25 February

Deputy Agricultural Minister Bahram Aliyev meets with José Graziano da Silva, the director general of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, who says that the FAO wants to broaden cooperation with Azerbaijan (http://news.day.az/economy/318056.html).

Fuad Akhundov, a sector head of the Presidential Administration, says that, “Armenia is an open air museum of the genocide of Azerbaijani civilization” (http://news.day.az/politics/318047.html).

Ambassador Agshin Mehdiyev, Azerbaijan’s permanent representative to the United Nations, sends a letter to UN Secretary General Pan Gi-Moon about the Khojaly events (http://news.day.az/politics/317975.html).

Polad Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Moscow, says that “the Azerbaijani diaspora in Russia must undertake specific actions in order to achieve the recognition of the Khojaly genocide by the organs of power and self-administration of Russia at all levels” (http://news.day.az/politics/318094.html).

Faik Bagirov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Ankara, and Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, speak to a Turkish university on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317985.html).

Representatives of the Azerbaijani defense ministry take part in a three-week long session in Istanbul on the effective management of crises in order to decrease the impact of terrorist actions (http://news.day.az/politics/318095.html).

Leyla Aliyeva, vice president of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, says that the hurt inflicted in Khojaly continues to be felt today (http://news.day.az/politics/318057.html).

The Azerbaijani House of Strasbourg and that city’s Center for Cooperation of Azerbaijanis and Other Turkic Peoples organize a public meeting on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317305.html).

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan says that, “the murder of innocent people in Khojaly is a really great tragedy and the common grief of the entire Turkic world” (http://news.day.az/politics/318105.html).

Nathalie Goulet, a French senator, uses question time in the French parliament to discuss both the Khojaly massacre and the prospects for the OSCE Minsk Group (http://news.day.az/politics/318089.html).

Chris Christie, governor of the US state of New Jersey, issues a statement honoring the memory of the victims of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/318070.html).

Vasily Istratov, former Russian ambassador to Baku, says that the world has “great responsibility for the memory of the innocent victims of Khojaly” (http://news.day.az/politics/318074.html).
24 February

President Ilham Aliyev receives Latvian Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkēvičs (http://news.day.az/politics/317835.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says on the occasion of a meeting of the intelligentsias of Azerbaijan and Armenia in Moscow that “it is important for Azerbaijanis” that it be understood by all that “Nagorno-Karabakh is part of the territory of Azerbaijan” (http://news.day.az/politics/317819.html).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that, “the former and present leadership of Armenia and the separatist regime of Nagorno-Karabakh committed the Khojaly genocide” (http://news.day.az/politics/317924.html).

Polad Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Moscow, tells a conference in the Russian capital that the Khojaly events must be given a legal assessment (http://news.day.az/politics/317965.html).

Tamerlan Garayev, Azerbaijani ambassador to Singapore, presents his credentials to Singapore President Tony Tan Keng Yam (http://news.day.az/politics/317734.html).

The Azerbaijani embassy in Ankara organizes a conference on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide. Among the speakers are Azerbaijani Ambassador Fakir Bagirov, Milli Majlis deputy Ganira Pashayeva, and Turkish parliamentarian Yusuf Halacoglu (http://news.day.az/politics/317737.html).

Ali Ahmadov, the deputy chairman and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that the OSCE Minsk Group must give “a just assessment” of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317931.html).

Zakir Garalov, procurator general of Azerbaijan, receives Aleksandr Bastrykin, the head of the Investigation Committee of Russia (http://news.day.az/politics/317858.html).

Siyavush Novruzov, deputy executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that the courts of Azerbaijan must identify by name those guilty of the Khojaly genocide and inform the international community about them (http://news.day.az/politics/317855.html).

The Milli Majlis adopts a resolution on the Khojaly genocide identifying by name 39 Armenians who committed crimes there (http://news.day.az/politics/317939.html).

Faradzh Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, leads an Azerbaijani parliamentary delegation to meet with Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan (http://news.day.az/politics/317814.html).

Azay Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan has not shown any constructive positions on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (http://news.day.az/politics/317873.html).

Zahid Oruj, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenia “uses terror as a means for the realization of its state policy” (http://news.day.az/politics/317738.html).
Asef Hajiyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says the economic situation in Armenia is so dire that it is having an impact on the political one (http://news.day.az/politics/317711.html).


Latvian Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkēvičs says that Azerbaijan and Latvia have “entered a new stage of cooperation” (http://news.day.az/politics/317925.html).

Turkish Deputy Foreign Minister Fatih Ceylan says that the Khojaly massacre was “a crime against humanity and must be condemned” (http://news.day.az/politics/317730.html).

A committee of the German Bundestag proposes adopting a resolution on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317909.html).

The Turkish foreign ministry organizes an exhibition as part of the Justice for Khojaly campaign. Among those speaking to its opening was Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy (http://news.day.az/politics/317865.html).

Jean-Paul Murman, a judge of Belgium’s constitutional court, calls for the creation of an international tribunal on the Khojaly events (http://news.day.az/politics/317810.html).

Sinan Ogan, a member of Turkey’s Grand National Assembly, says that “Turkey will do everything it can so that the world will find out about the Khojaly genocide” (http://news.day.az/politics/317751.html).

23 February

President Ilham Aliyev says that “responsibility for the Khojaly genocide lies directly on the leadership of Armenia” (http://news.day.az/politics/317699.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Idris Naim Shahim, Turkey’s minister of internal affairs (http://news.day.az/politics/317586.html).

Shahin Mustafayev, economic development minister, visits Jordan to discuss cooperation (http://news.day.az/economy/317603.html).

Elnur Aslanov, head of the political analysis and information support department of the Presidential Administration, says that the Khojaly genocide was planned in advance by Armenia (http://news.day.az/politics/317723.html).

Hidayat Orujov, chairman of the State Committee on Work with Religious Structures, says that “the world is obligated to give a just assessment of the Khojaly genocide and to punish those who organized and committed this crime” (http://news.day.az/politics/317577.html).

Elin Suleymanov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Washington, tells a meeting on the
20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide that its victims will forever remain in the hearts of Azerbaijanis and that “the Azerbaijani people does not want revenge, but only justice and peace” (http://news.day.az/politics/317673.html).

Azay Guliyev, Rovshan Rzayev and Faradzh Guliyev, three Milli Majlis deputies, visit Yerevan to meet with Armenian officials (http://news.day.az/politics/317611.html).

Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, speaks at a conference in Izmir on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317546.html).

Fazil Aghamaly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says Russian Duma deputy speaker Vladimir Zhirinovsky’s declarations about Russian support for Armenia are “calculated in the first instance to win more votes in the election” (http://news.day.az/politics/317689.html).

The Heydar Aliyev Foundation helps organize meetings in more than 100 cities around the world on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317660.html).

Allahshukur Pashazade, sheikh-ul-Islam and chairman of the Administration of Muslims of the Caucasus, says that the world must give a legal assessment of the Khojaly genocide lest it be repeated elsewhere (http://news.day.az/politics/317563.html).

Adil Mammadov, president of the Azerbaijani Foundation for the Support of Exports and Investment, says that Kazakhstan’s Aktyubinsk oblast has “great investment possibilities” (http://news.day.az/economy/317619.html).

Haidar Shia al-Barrak, Iraq’s ambassador to Baku, says that the Iraqi parliament has ratified Baghdad’s agreement with Baku on economic, political and strategic cooperation (http://news.day.az/politics/317631.html).

Turkish Interior Minister Idris Naim Shahin says that “the Khojaly genocide is a black mark in the history of humanity” (http://news.day.az/politics/317598.html).

The Turkish government names Ismail Alper Cosgun as its new ambassador to Baku in place of Hulusi Kilic (http://news.day.az/politics/317567.html).

Czolt Chutor, Hungary’s ambassador to Baku, says that on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hungary and Azerbaijan, bilateral relations are reaching new heights (http://news.day.az/economy/317635.html).

The European Commission says the EU could support the idea of a combination of pipeline routes instead of a single one for the transport of Caspian gas to Europe (http://news.day.az/economy/317522.html).

The Center of Azerbaijani Culture in North Cyprus organizes a memorial meeting on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317571.html).

22 February

Economic Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev signs a cooperation agreement
with his Belorussian counterpart Nikolay Snopkov (http://news.day.az/economy/317455.html).

The Foreign Ministry says that, “participation in the G20 is a step forward for the diplomacy of Azerbaijan” (http://news.day.az/politics/317247.html).

The Culture and Tourism Ministry says that last year foreign tourist spent 966.3 million manats (1.7 billion US dollars) in Azerbaijan (http://news.day.az/economy/317373.html).


Ali Ahmadov, deputy chairman and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that a recent Iranian note delivered to Azerbaijan “does not correspond to the philosophy and logic of good neighborly relations” especially as “the Azerbaijani side is devoting all efforts for the preservation with Iran of good ties” (http://news.day.az/politics/317349.html).

Ali Ahmadov, deputy chairman and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that the meeting of representatives of Azerbaijani and Armenian intelligentsias in Moscow “serves one goal—the just resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict” (http://news.day.az/politics/317333.html).

Garib Mammadov, head of the State Committee on Land and Cartography, says that Azerbaijan will soon begin the process of installing additional signs along the country’s border (http://news.day.az/politics/317359.html).

Khanlar Valiyev, Military Procurator, says the French senate’s action criminalizing the denial of “the invented ‘Armenian genocide’ is far from legal norms and is politically motivated” (http://news.day.az/politics/317281.html).

Khanlar Valiyev, Military Procurator, announces that Baku will seek to bring 39 Armenians responsible for the Khojaly genocide to justice (http://news.day.az/politics/317248.html).

Deputy Procurator Azar Askarov says that those who committed the Khojaly genocide must be brought to justice (http://news.day.az/politics/317320.html).

Elmira Suleymanova, Azerbaijan’s ombudsman, sends a letter to international organizations demanding that those who carried out the Khojaly genocide be brought to justice (http://news.day.az/politics/317434.html).

Polad Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Moscow, takes part in a Russian Social Chamber roundtable on “the role of society and cultural cooperation in the strengthening of international dialogue and the resolution of conflicts” (http://news.day.az/politics/317395.html).

The Azerbaijani embassy in Belgrade organizes a commemorative meeting on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317436.html).

Rovshan Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says a delegation of the Azerbaijani community of Nagorno-Karabakh will be visiting a number of European countries seeking official recognition of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317298.html).

Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, speaks about the Khojaly genocide in the Turkish city of Ceyhan (http://news.day.az/politics/317277.html).

A poll conducted in Baku show that 92.4 percent of the residents of the Azerbaijani capital believe their government should raise the issue about France’s continuing as a co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group given the French Senate’s adoption of a law criminalizing the denial of “the Armenian genocide” (http://news.day.az/politics/317393.html).

The leaders of the Muslim, Jewish and Christian communities of Azerbaijan issue a joint statement on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317375.html).

The US state of Mississippi legislature, after hearing a speech by Milli Majlis deputy Asim Mollazade adopts a resolution in support of Azerbaijan (http://news.day.az/politics/317416.html).

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev removes Aleksandr Golovin as the head of the Russian delegation on the Caspian Sea delimitation (http://news.day.az/politics/317251.html).

Georgian Deputy Minister Economics and Development Georgy Matkava says that Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey are demonstrating “dynamic economic growth” (http://news.day.az/economy/317332.html).

21 February

Prime Minister Arthur Rasizade says in a message to re-elected Turkmenistan President Gurbanguly Berdymukhammadov that he is certain that relations between the two countries “will become yet more fruitful and diverse” (http://news.day.az/politics/317036.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov tells the G20 meeting in Mexico that Azerbaijan considers very important the creation of a mechanism to ensure the implementation of decisions taken by the UN Security Council (http://news.day.az/politics/317016.html).

The Foreign Ministry says that Azerbaijan, Turkey and Iran have still not agreed on a date for a meeting of their foreign ministers (http://news.day.az/politics/317199.html).

Dashgyn Shikarov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Islamabad, speaks to a conference there on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317164.html).
Dashgyn Shikarov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Islamabad, meets with the General Halid Vain, chief of the Pakistani general staff (http://news.day.az/politics/317093.html).

The Azerbaijani embassy in Budapest organizes a two-day conference on Azerbaijani culture at two leading Hungarian universities (http://news.day.az/politics/316172.html).

Members of the Milli Majilis say that Nikolay Bordyuzha, secretary general of the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty, exceeded his authority by saying that the members of that alliance would come to the aid of Armenia in all possible scenarios in Nagorno-Karabakh (http://news.day.az/politics/317129.html).

Tahir Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the reduction of US aid to Armenia is “a completely natural step by Washington” (http://news.day.az/politics/316974.html).

Rovshan Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that materials on the Khojaly genocide have been prepared for dispatch to the International Court (http://news.day.az/politics/317056.html).

The Serbian-Azerbaijani Trade-Economic Council in Belgrad commemorates the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317226.html).

Nikolay Bordyuzha, secretary general of the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty, says that Armenia would receive assistance from its allies in the organization in the case of “all possible scenarios of development of events in Nagorno-Karabakh” (http://news.day.az/politics/317138.html).

The Azerbaijanis of Latvia gather signatures on an appeal to the French Senate to declare the Khojaly events a genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317137.html).

The Azerbaijani diaspora in the United States calls on President Barak Obama and the US Congress to adopt a resolution underscoring the importance of bilateral relations (http://news.day.az/politics/317079.html).

Brian Frosh, a Maryland state senator, says that Khojaly is one of the many examples of inhumanity in history (http://news.day.az/politics/317066.html).

20 February

President Ilham Aliyev receives Andrey Kovachev, a member of the European parliament (http://news.day.az/politics/316860.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov chairs the second session of the G20 ministerial in Mexico (http://news.day.az/politics/316671.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov, during the G20 ministerial in Mexico, meets with Richard Morningstar, the special envoy of the US Department of State for Eurasian Energy, and José Manuel García-Margallo, his Spanish counterpart (http://news.day.az/politics/316782.html).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social political department of the Presidential Administration, says foreign media reports that Azerbaijan is tearing down houses for
Eurovision facilities are baseless (http://news.day.az/politics/316891.html).

Faig Bagirov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Ankara, speaks at a meeting in the Turkish city of Giresun on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/317626.html).

Dashgyn Shikarov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Islamabad, says that Pakistan by its resolutions on the occupied territory and the Khojaly genocide is calling on the international community to force Armenia to live up to the UN Security Council resolutions (http://news.day.az/politics/316893.html).

Dashgyn Shikarov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Islamabad, says that Azerbaijani businessmen can successfully invest in small energy generating plants in Pakistan (http://news.day.az/economy/316903.html).

Zakir Hashimov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Astana, says that the potential for economic cooperation between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan is far from exhausted (http://news.day.az/economy/316932.html).

Govhar Bakhshaliyeva, head of the Azerbaijan delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization of Islamic States, says that Armenia is engaged in fantasies when its leaders say that, “the occupied Azerbaijani lands will never be within Azerbaijan again” (http://news.day.az/politics/316787.html).

Turkey’s Sky Turk television channel shows a film, “Azerbaijan—Europe in the Caucasus” (http://news.day.az/politics/316869.html).

18 February

President Ilham Aliyev receives French Minister of State for Transport Thierry Mariani (http://news.day.az/politics/316616.html).

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton says that “the United States in the future will support peace, stability, democracy, human rights and development in the Caucasus” (http://news.day.az/politics/316556.html).

17 February

Ali Hasanov, vice prime minister, says that, “all the crimes which Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan and former President Robert Kocharyan committed in the Khojaly genocide are being documented” (http://news.day.az/politics/316308.html).

Economic Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev says that there is great potential for the development of economic ties among Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey (http://news.day.az/economy/316310.html).

Polad Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Moscow, opens an exhibition of Askar Mammadov’s art in the Russian capital (http://news.day.az/politics/316480.html).

Vilayat Guliyev, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Budapest, hosts a meeting in the Hungarian capital commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/316467.html).
Farid Shafiyev, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Ottawa, speaks on the Khojaly genocide at a conference at McGill University (http://news.day.az/politics/316397.html).

Faig Bagirov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Ankara, meets with Jamil Cicek, chairman of Turkey’s Grand National Assembly (http://news.day.az/politics/316357.html).

Elman Zeynalov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Riga, meets with Latvian Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkēvičs (http://news.day.az/politics/316350.html).

Aytan Mustafayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the Khojaly genocide “must be reviewed by an international tribunal” (http://news.day.az/politics/316368.html).

Bahar Muradova, the deputy chairman of the Milli Majlis, says that the format of the Minsk Group depends on the decision of the OSCE member countries, but that “in the course of 20 years, the efforts of the Minsk Group have not given results” (http://news.day.az/politics/316374.html).

Aydyn Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Azerbaijan’s participation in the G20 ministerial is “a clear indicator of the growing international authority of the country” (http://news.day.az/politics/316276.html).

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili says that President Ilham Aliyev is “an historic personality for Georgia” (http://news.day.az/economy/316195.html).

Lamberto Zannier, the secretary general of the OSCE, says that it is important to establish a mechanism for investigating incidents in the zone of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (http://news.day.az/politics/316247.html).


One million citizens of the Netherlands sign a petition to their country’s parliament asking for official recognition of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/316475.html).

US Congressmen Bill Shuster and Dan Boren deliver speeches on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly tragedy (http://news.day.az/politics/316658.html).

US Congressman Steve Cohen speaks on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly tragedy (http://news.day.az/politics/316238.html).

Standard & Poor’s rates the situation in the Azerbaijani banking sector as stable (http://news.day.az/economy/316264.html).

16 February

Economic Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev says that Azerbaijan has invested 4.5 billion US dollars in the Turkish economy (http://news.day.az/economy/316116.html).

Economics Development Minister Shahin Mustafayev says that Azerbaijan has
invested more than 800 million US dollars in Georgia over the last five years (http://news.day.az/economy/316060.html).

Deputy Economic Development Minister Niyazi Safarov says that Baku will soon be launching a business internet portal to assist investment (http://news.day.az/economy/316094.html).


Bahar Muradova, deputy chairman of the Milli Majlis, says that, “Iran has allowed certain actions which can harm relations with Azerbaijan” (http://news.day.az/politics/316111.html).

Samad Seyidov, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, says that there are forces, which want to undermine ties between Azerbaijan and the Council of Europe” (http://news.day.az/politics/316098.html).

Asim Mollazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Azerbaijan’s participation in the G20 ministerial is “a reflection of the economic and political successes of the country” (http://news.day.az/politics/316162.html).

Asim Mollazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that, “those who are the real masters of Armenia do not allow the so-called Armenian politicians to settle any arguments of conflicts among themselves” (http://news.day.az/politics/315985.html).

Azerbaijanis living in Donetsk appeal to the Ukrainian parliament, the OSCE, the United Nations and other international organizations to recognize the Khojaly tragedy as genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/316090.html).

Jacques Rogge, president of the International Olympic Committee, says Baku is a strong candidate for the 2020 games (http://sport.day.az/olimpizm/20120216120038942.html).

The German embassy in Baku says that journalists take personal responsibility for trips to the occupied territories of Azerbaijan (http://news.day.az/politics/316132.html).

A Russian travel agency is again arranging trips to the occupied territories (http://news.day.az/politics/316039.html).

Georgian Economics Minister Vera Kobalia says that Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey are strategic partners in the economics sphere (http://news.day.az/economy/316133.html).

Turkish Economics Minister Zafer Chaglayan says that the Georgian-Azerbaijani-Turkish business forum is an important step toward closer relations among the three countries (http://news.day.az/economy/315966.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). 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.