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PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND
THE RESOLUTION OF THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT

An Interview with Dr. Susan Allen Nan
Associate Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution
George Mason University

March 12, 2012
Baku, Azerbaijan/Washington, DC/USA


Azerbaijan in the World: What are the ways in which you think people-to-people diplomacy may help conflict resolution at the stage when a political agreement is yet to be achieved?

Professor Nan: People-to-people diplomacy plays different functions at different stages of conflict. In the period prior to a political agreement, people-to-people diplomacy can lay the groundwork that will allow an eventual political agreement to be successfully implemented at a later stage. Track two diplomacy can engage civil society in discussions that will open more people to supporting an eventual agreement. Furthermore, track two can bring together people who may later need to work together on the details of implementing an agreement.

AIW: Is there a sense, in your opinion, in which this kind of diplomacy may actually hinder, and be damaging for, conflict resolution?

Prof. Nan: People-to-people diplomacy must be carefully structured so that it does not make a conflict worse. It does no good to bring together people who want only to argue. People-to-people diplomacy works when the participants want to work together on something of shared importance. There should be something constructive and realistic that all the participants want to address together. Also, some individuals are traumatized by their experience of war and its aftermath, and may need their own personal psychological healing before they engage in people-to-people programs. However, when carefully structured around shared goals and when participants are carefully selected, people-to-people diplomacy does not damage conflict resolution.

AIW: To follow up on the previous question, what do you think people-to-people diplomacy can and cannot do in terms of conflict resolution?

Prof. Nan: Clearly, people-to-people diplomacy has no responsibility for signing official peace agreements. That is the responsibility of officials. However, officials cannot reconcile two societies on their own. Civil society can contribute to reconciliation, both as a precursor to an eventual agreement and also as a component in implementing an agreement.

AIW: To what extent and in what ways do you think people-to-people diplomacy that have so far taken place between Azerbaijanis and Armenians contributed to conflict resolution between the two countries in the short- to medium-runs? Should there be any further attempts in this direction, and if yes, then what are the particular mechanisms into which you think they could/should materialize?

Prof. Nan: I am only getting to know the range of the many people-to-people diplomacy programs that have engaged Azerbaijanis and Armenians. From the bit that I have seen, I see one clear result: there are some Azerbaijanis and some Armenians who know "reasonable" people exist on "the other side" of the conflict. In cases of such deep divides, it is necessary that some individuals recognize a few reasonable colleagues across the conflict divide. This makes it possible to engage in real discussions even on difficult issues. I would like to see a deepening of those substantive discussions in civil society dialogues, as well as a widening of who is engaged. When there is an eventual peace agreement signed by officials, the people to people relationships will be essential to ensuring the successful implementation of the agreement.
**AIW:** What do you think is the best mechanism currently available for conflict resolution between the two countries? Do you share the view of some that the OSCE Minsk Group has failed to live up to expectations and should be replaced—or indeed supplemented—by a more efficient mechanism?

**Prof. Nan:** During my recent visit in Azerbaijan, I met many people, both inside and outside of government who expressed strong interest in engaging in people to people diplomacy with Armenians. Azerbaijanis asked me to connect them with others across the conflict divide. This is exactly what I experienced on a similar visit to Yerevan, too. Armenians also asked me to connect them with Azerbaijanis in people-to-people diplomacy. The Minsk Group format serves to connect senior officials, but that is only part of the big picture of a peace process. People-to-people diplomacy also has roles to play, and some Armenians and some Azerbaijanis are interested in engaging that way. Young people, journalists, teachers, former combatants, historians, environmentalists, nuclear safety experts, policy experts, and almost any professional can be part of connecting with colleagues across the conflict divide.

All successful peace processes are multifaceted. There are official peace agreements, and there are complex interrelated dynamics of implementing those agreements. Civil society is involved in conflicts at all stages. During a war, it is civilians and the most junior soldiers that suffer most. During the long search for a peace agreement, civil society can establish relationships between individuals, which will eventually facilitate implementation of agreements.

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**YEREVAN SOUGHT EXPULSION OF AZERBAIJANIS AND CONTROL OF KARABAKH IN LATE 1940s:**

**DOCUMENTS SHOW**

Paul Goble
Publications Advisor
Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy

Following the end of World War II, Joseph Stalin played the Armenian card both to attract ethnic Armenians from abroad to help make up for the Soviet Union’s losses during the war and to set the stage for territorial claims on Turkey. In response, Yerevan called for the expulsion of ethnic Azerbaijanis from that republic in order to “make room” for returning Armenians and for the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR, according to documents from the archives described by Baku historian I. Niftaliyev.

While these appeals failed—ethnic Azerbaijanis then living in Armenia resisted being moved, Moscow refused to redraw the borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and Turkey and the West successfully blocked Stalin’s plans for extending Soviet control into Turkey—they link the demands Armenians made in the 1920s and those they attempted to realize in the 1990s and provide a key to understanding the sources of Armenian efforts in this area in the intervening period. They also call attention both to expectations that republic borders could be changed during Soviet times and to the ways in which both republic governments and ethnic communities both exploited
and resisted Moscow’s policies even under Stalin.

As Niftaliyev noted, Stalin’s desire for “a massive repatriation” of Armenians “gave the leadership of the Armenian SSR a suitable occasion to count on the expansion of the borders of the republic not only with regard to the territory of Turkey, but also of neighboring Azerbaijan.” [1]

In November 1945, G. Arutinov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, sent a letter to Stalin calling for “pulling Nagorno-Karabakh out of Azerbaijan and including it within the Soviet Armenia.” M. Baghirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Community Party of Azerbaijan, not surprisingly opposed this, and, Niftaliyev continues, the issue was thus removed from discussion (see Goble 1990). However, that hardly ended the way in which Arutinov sought to use Stalin’s repatriation policy.

Arguing that Yerevan had nowhere to put Armenians returning from abroad—Moscow expected as many as 400,000, but in fact only 90,000 did return—Arutinov, the documents show, called on Moscow to “resettle the Azerbaijani population from Armenia to Azerbaijan.” And the Azerbaijani writer continues with the observation that “that the initiative of this project originated from the Armenian leadership and was [then] supported by Moscow is beyond doubt.”

In the archives, Niftaliyev notes, there is the December 3, 1947 draft of a letter that apparently was to be sent jointly by G. Arutinov and M. Baghirov, a letter that outlines Yerevan’s justification of “the necessity of resettling 130,000 members of the Azerbaijani population from Armenia and Azerbaijan,” including the need to provide space for returning Armenians in Armenia, as well as additional workers for certain agricultural districts in Azerbaijan.

Although the draft calls for the leaders of both republics to sign, the document in the archives does not include Baghirov’s signature and the date is “only on the Armenian copy,” a pattern that Niftaliyev suggests probably indicates that this was a Yerevan initiative.

“However that may be,” the Azerbaijani writer continues, on December 23, 1947, Stalin signed a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers “On the Resettlement of Collective Farmers and the Remaining Azerbaijani Population from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Araks in Lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR.” According to the decree, 10,000 Azerbaijanis were to be shifted in 1948, 40,000 in 1949, and 50,000 in 1950. This decree was amplified by an additional one of the USSR Council of Ministers on March 10, 1948. To realize its provisions, a resettlement administration was set up in the Azerbaijan SSR, and a special plenipotentiary representative of Azerbaijan, Mursad Mamadov, was dispatched to Yerevan.

According to the Moscow plan, “not a single Azerbaijani” was to remain in the Echmiadzin, Oktemberyand Beriya districts by the end of 1948. But large numbers of the Azerbaijanis slated for being moved refused to go or returned after being sent. According to a secret Azerbaijan interior ministry report, “there were many cases when Azerbaijanis spoke about their lack of a desire to move to a new place of residence and the visit by some of them of cemeteries where they cried over the graves of relatives and prayed that they would not be resettled.”

As a result, this “resettlement program” failed. According to Niftaliyev, only 37,387
Azerbaijanis had been shifted instead of the planned 100,000. Their resistance was justified: Those who were moved were not provided with housing, and many fell victims to malaria. As a result, hundreds of those who had been “deported” to Azerbaijan returned to their homes, a pattern that prompted Moscow to reduce its plans for resettlement by half in 1952.

However, as Niftaliyev notes, “even when the resettlement campaign lost its impulse, the gradual and slow exodus of Azerbaijanis who felt to the full extent their second-class status in Armenia became inevitable and gradually took the form of a continuing trend right up to the time of the collapse of the USSR.” He concludes that even though what happened to the Azerbaijanis of Armenia “is difficult to compare” with the deportation of the Chechens, Ingush, Balkars and other North Caucasus peoples at roughly the same time, “all the same, this was a deportation to the extent it was carried out against the will and desire of the majority of those resettled and broke the customary rhythm of life of tens of thousands of people by forcing them to adapt to new conditions, a new way of life, and new occupations.”

Reference


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

Part III (A).
“Don’t Get into a Conflict with the Turks on Behalf of the Dashnaks”

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

Intoxicated by the Sevres Treaty and experiencing euphoria from its conditions, Armenia on September 24, 1920, with the support of Great Britain declared war on Turkey, a war that ended with a resounding defeat and the collapse of Dashnak Armenia. This war put an end to the Armenian attempts to conquer Nakhchivan by military means. Following this, they only relied on diplomatic means and, in particular, on the promises of territory and privileges promised them by the Sevres Treaty.

Following the Sevres Treaty of August 10, 1920, the Entente took several steps to arm Armenia. After the sovietization of Azerbaijan, the arms and ammunition shipments sent by the Military Council of the Allies to the Caucasus Republics went
entirely to Armenia. In the beginning of June, the French sent a portion of this arms’ shipment to Batumi for transfer to the Armenians. On June 12, Paul Cambon, the secretary of the French foreign ministry, informed Lord Curzon about the transfer of arms to the Armenians. [1]

Preparing for war, Armenia already declared a mobilization of citizens between 18 and 45. During the spring and summer of 1920, the Armenians, taking advantage of the fact that Turkish forces in the West were conducting a war to the death with Greek occupiers, seized Olty and a number of other Turkish territories in Eastern Anatolia. The plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Federation in Iran and Turkey, Sh. Eliava, on September 18, 1920, telegraphed Sergo Ordzhonikidze about the approach of Halil-pasha and the sharpening of Turkish-Armenian and Azerbaijan-Armenian relations. He considered it necessary to immediately clarify the course of events and send to G. Chicherin the proposals the latter had asked for. [2] On September 21, several days before the beginning of military operations, he reported in a code telegram to G. Chicherin, V. Lenin, and L. Trotsky that “Armenia, strengthened by the hopes of Georgia and supplied with weapons and uniforms is awaiting a suitable occasion in order to go over to active operations.” [3]

On September 24, 1920, the Armenians moved toward the realization of their plans and began military operations in the Eastern vilayats of Turkey. On September 28, the Turkish army under the command of Kazym Karabekir-pasha by means of a first strike drove the Armenians out of Sarykamysh and Merdenek. However, after such a success, the Turkish government, fearing certain complications, stopped the further advance of its forces and on September 30, the Turks stopped and fortified their positions along the line Saykamysh-Laloglu.

This wait-and-see tactic was prompted by the desire of the Turkish government to clarify the reaction of Soviet Russia, Georgia, and the Entente governments to these events. The liberation of Sarykamysh and the rapid advance of the Turks during the first days of the war seriously concerned Soviet Russia. At the start of October, G. Chicherin asked G. Ordzhonikidze to immediately get in touch with the Kemalists and talk them out of an attack on Armenia in order not to provoke the Entente. G. Chicherin wrote that, “we consider military operations untimely and dangerous which might provoke the Entente governments. Use all efforts in order to prevent the possibility of such clashes.” At the same time, Chicherin reminded Ordzhonikidze to propose the mediation services of Soviet Russia between Turkey, on the one side, and Armenia and Georgia on the other. [4]

In turn, Lev Trotsky too in a telegram to V. Lenin and N. Krestinsky warned that an attempt of the Kemalists to seize Ardagán and Batumi could provoke the Entente to land forces near Batumi. He considered that the current situation of the Kemalists did not allow them to show such activity and to take relative to Entente such provocative steps. L. Trotsky wrote that, “France is thinking up a justification for a landing directed not against the Kemalists but against Soviet Russia and Soviet Azerbaijan.” [5]

The Peoples Commissariat of International Affairs of Soviet Russia intentionally frightened the Turks with the dangers of the activity of the Entente under the pretext of the salvation of the Armenians from inevitable defeat. Even before the beginning of the war, the Narkomindel sent to the Soviet representatives in Turkey, Armenia and Georgia a letter reminding that, “the center of the Eastern Policy of Soviet Russia has now shifted to Turkey.” [6] In this document, G. Chicherin declared as
the main task of Soviet policy the provision to Armenians in Turkey of land and independence.

Following Sarykamysh, the Turks liberated Ardagan as well, which placed Armenia in great danger. Soviet Russia continued to use all opportunities in order to stop the Turkish attack. On October 19, 1920, G. Chicherin again instructed G. Ordzhonikidze: “The continuation of the Turkish attack is extremely undesirable. Try to convince them not to do this, they are harming themselves by this for they are only provoking the interference of the Entente by creating the occasion for that. Information has come to us about the attempts of the Entente to draw in Georgia and Armenia against us in connection with a plan of attack on Baku. The advance of the Turks deep into Armenia creates the basis for this and moves to save the Armenians will be popular in the West even among the left.” [7]

In September 1920, in a conversation with Alexandre Barriere, an employee of the French representation in Tiflis, Russian trade representative L. Ruzer declared that, “as concerns Baku, you may be certain that this city will remain in our hands.” In the opinion of L. Ruzer, the Bolsheviks—regardless of what happened—would hold Baku. [8]

In his turn, L.N. Stark (pseudonyms: Afgani, L. Manucharov, P. Ryabovsky), the representative of Russia in Georgia, also sent concerned reports from the Turkish-Armenian front to G. Chicherin and L. Trotsky in Moscow and G. Ordzhonikidze in Baku. He wrote to the Bolshevik leaders that, “on the night of September 28, the Turks with a force of about two divisions launched an attack on Olty, Badras, Karakurt, and Argadzha. On the night of September 29, the Turks cleansed Sarykamysh, during which near Merdenek the first Armenian infantry regiment suffered grievously and lost eight guns. Ardagan and Kagyzman were left by the Armenians without resistance.” [9]

Alarmed by the glorious successes of the Turkish forces under the leadership of Kazym Karabekir-pasha in the very first days of the war, B. Legran on September 29 informed G. Chicherin about the events on the Turkish-Armenian front: “The Turks have begun an attack on the Kars front and have occupied Sarykamysh. An immediate decisive appeal of the Soviet government is needed with a view to stopping the attack of the Turks or our situation will become difficult. In the case of successful influence on the Turks and the end of military operations begun by them, chances for the peaceful resolution of our tasks in Armenia are considerably high.” [10]

In fact, Mustafa Kemal-pasha was very careful with regard to a war with Armenia. When the first Soviet proposals about ending military operations arrived in the middle of October, he did not send these proposals for discussion to the Grand National Assembly, since they could have generated opposition among opponents of a rapprochement with Russia, which had earlier demanded the handing over of Van, Mush, and Bitlis to the Armenians. However, in a brief conversation with the secretary of the Soviet representation in Ankara, M. Kemal-pasha declared that no attack on Turkish territory could be accepted. [11]

As soon as the reports about the first defeat of the Dashnaks on the Turkish-Armenian front arrived, Foreign Minister A. Ogandzhanyan on September 30, 1920, sent an immediate telegram to G. Chicherin. He wrote the following: “From its side, the government of the Republic of Armenia expects that the RSFSR government
which has frequently expressed its friendly attitude toward the Republic Armenia will
devote all efforts to the immediate halting of a further attack on Armenia by allied
Turkish national forces and to their withdrawal from the borders of present-day
Armenia. By the immediate adoption of these measures, the RSFSR government will
give our government the chance to discuss with its Plenipotentiary Representative
the conditions of a treaty, which ought to be concluded between the RSFSR and the
republic of Armenia. [12]

On the basis of A. Ogandzhanyan’s telegram, as well as on other information
received from the Caucasus, G. Chicherin prepared a report for the Politburo of the
Central Committee of the RKP(b) on October 5, 1920, in which he noted that in order
to establish necessary contact between Russia and Turkey, the Turks will occupy the
Sarykamush-Shakhtakhty line independently of Russia and without any link with it.
Chicherin considered possible a landing at Batumi since in Istanbul some 86,000
troops of the Entente, chiefly Senegalese, had been assembled. If the Turks
continue the attack, G. Chicherin presented for the attention of the Politburo the
proposal of G. Ordzhonikidze “to propose to the Armenians that the forces of Soviet
Russia seize all the territory of Armenia.” [13]

Considering the complexity of the situation in the Caucasus, G. Chicherin insisted on
the immediate dispatch of I. Stalin there. On the basis of the proposals of G.
Chicherin, the Politburo on October 6, 1920, discussed the situation in the Caucasus
connected with the Armenian-Turkish war. In the Soviet leadership, I. Stalin was
one of the few political leaders who could foresee the political results of the Turkish-
Armenian war. Unlike G. Chicherin, he considered that the continuation of the
Turkish attack will “provide water for our mill.” [14]

Colonel Stocks, the English representative in Tiflis by all means attempted to draw
Georgia into this war and thereby ease the situation of the Armenians. On October
13, 1920, in a telegram to Lord Curzon, he promised that Georgia would help the
Armenians. The sad news about defeats on the front, which arrived from the
beginning of October, strongly agitated the Armenians living in Georgia. In order to
help and strengthen the army of Armenia, the Armenian community in Tiflis decided
to mobilize young people from 18 to 35. [15]

So it was announced that 2,000 people had enrolled as volunteers, but as
subsequent events showed, not one of them reached the front. On October 6, the
Tiflis Armenians organized a meeting of protest against the Turkish attack and then
went to the Russian embassy in order to show their unhappiness over the help of
Soviet Russia to Turkey.

In his reports sent to Moscow at the beginning of October, B. Legran proposed to talk
Armenia out of the idea of using force to gain the lands offered to it by the Sevres
Treaty. He considered that Armenia must trust in the mediating mission of Soviet
Russia, which alone could resolve its territorial dispute with Turkey. He wrote: “I
consider the agreement of the Armenians to these conditions a way out of the
current situation. This would give us complete justification to firmly demand the end
of the military operations of the Turks.” [16] At the same time, B. Legran very
carefully dealt with the idea that the attack of the Turks had created a suitable
moment for the sovietization of Armenia. He considered that as long as Soviet
Russia did not have a sufficiently large army in the region, it would be difficult to
avoid the use with this goal of Turkish forces, something that would give a
scandalous character to the entire operation. B. Legran asked for authority to
present to the Turkish command a demand for an immediate end of military operations and withdrawal from the territory of Armenia, but only in the case that Armenians agreed to Russian conditions. [17]

During this time, detachments of Nakhchivan volunteers, operating independently from Bolshevik Baku and inspired by the advance of Turkish forces seized a portion of the Shakhtakhty-Julfa railroad, which by the treaty of August 10, 1920, the Russian side had arbitrarily given to Armenia. The transfer of the railroad by the Bolsheviks to the Dashnaks, which was the only one to connect Russia and Turkey, generated enormous dissatisfaction with Mustafa Kemal-pasha. In a conversation with the Soviet representative in Ankara, he noted, that the transfer of this rail line for the use of the Armenians was impossible to explain, for “it harmed the Russians themselves.” [18] In response to the information of B. Legran about the railroad, G. Chicherin communicated that, “We will not occupy it, it is not our task to win it back for the Armenians. The treaty does not require that we go to war with the Turks. Once we do not occupy the railroad, we will wash our hands of this business. As to transit through Armenia, raise the question independently of any chances for success. The disputed districts must for the time being remain in our occupation without their transfer to this or that side.” [19]

In another letter sent to B. Legran on the same day, the disputed territories were compared to a Gordian knot, and the political situation connected with Armenia’s receipt of help from the Entente was analyzed. B. Legran was given the following assignment: “The Sarykamysh-Shakhtakht line is approximately a border line, but if the Turks go further into Armenia, they will find themselves in a serious political crisis … In your relations with the Dashnaks, respond categorically that we hardly desire that Armenia suffer any harm. We are prepared therefore, if the Dashnaks so desire, to function as mediators.” [20]


Notes


[2] Telegram of Sh. Eliava to G. Ordzhonikidze, 18 September 1920, Russian State Archive of Social-Political History (hereafter RSASPH), f.85, op.18, d.50, l.1.


[7] Telegram of G. Chicherin to G. Ordzhonikidze, 19 October 1920, RSASPH, f.85, op.14, d.15, l.5.


[10] Immediate telegram of B. Legran to G. Chicherin, 29 September 1920, RSASPH, f.64, op.1, d.21, l.149.


[12] Immediate telegram of A. Ogandzhanyan to G. Chicherin, 30 September 1920, RSASPH, f.64, op.1, d.21, l.150-151.


[16] Telegram of B. Legran to G. Chicherin, 7 October 1920, RSASPH, f.85, op.14, d.17, l.3.

[17] Telegram of B. Legran to G. Chicherin, 7 October 1920, RSASPH, f.85, op.14, d.17, l.3.

[18] Upmal-Angorsky, Report to the Deputy Peoples Commissar of International Affairs, 8 November 1920, RSASPH, f.5, op.1, d.2158, l.7.

[19] Telegram of G. Chicherin to B. Legran, 9 October 1920, RSASPH, f.64, op.1, d.21, l.172.

[20] Instructions given to B. Legran from the Center, 9 October 1920, RSASPH, f.64, op.1, d.21, l.173-174.

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A CHRONOLOGY OF AZERBAIJAN’S FOREIGN POLICY

I. Key Government Statements on Azerbaijan’s Foreign Policy
President Ilham Aliyev says that, “Azerbaijan is ready to make its contribution to guaranteeing the energy security of Europe” (http://news.day.az/politics/320800.html).

Defense Minister Safar Abiyev tells Said Jalali, the representative of the spiritual leader of Iran and secretary of the Council of National Security, that “the territory of Azerbaijan cannot be used against Iran” (http://news.day.az/politics/321132.html).

Novruz Mammadov, head of the international relations department of the Presidential Administration, says that Azerbaijan should not dispense with the mediation provided by the OSCE Minsk Group (http://news.day.az/politics/319481.html).

II. Key Statements by Others about Azerbaijan

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili says that Azerbaijan and Georgia are united in “a strategic partnership and by fraternal links that have lasted already for centuries” (http://news.day.az/politics/320116.html).

Leonid Filimonov, Stavropol kray representative of the Russian Foreign Minister, says that “we recognize Nagorno-Karabakh as an occupied territory,” but that “great patience is required” in the pursuit of conflict resolution (http://news.day.az/politics/319266.html).

Hussein Rabaya, head of the presidential administration of Palestine, says that his people are grateful to Azerbaijan "for the support given to Palestine especially in recent times, for the opening of an embassy in Baku, and for the support of Palestine in the international arena in the frameworks of such organizations as UNESCO” (http://news.day.az/politics/319491.html).

III. A Chronology of Azerbaijan’s Foreign Policy

15 March

President Ilham Aliyev receives German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle (http://news.day.az/politics/321555.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Biserka Jevtimijević Drinjaković, advisor for economic affairs to the president of Serbia, and Nebojša Ćirić, Serbian minister of economy and regional development (http://news.day.az/politics/321555.html).

President Ilham Aliyev confirms the agreement on mutual exchange of territories for diplomatic missions of Azerbaijan and Russia (http://news.day.az/politics/321475.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says that, “in Azerbaijan democracy is at a higher level than in other countries of the region. This is a long process, and the country is in this process, and I do not think that criticism will help this process” (http://news.day.az/politics/321396.html).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that “the law on the inviolability of the personal life of each
person is ensured by the Constitution of Azerbaijan and no one can interfere in the private life of an individual,” a comment on the case of RFE/RL journalist Khadija Ismayilova, who has been subject to slanderous attacks (http://news.day.az/politics/321605.html).

Elnur Aslanov, head of the political analysis and information support department of the Presidential Administration, says that the judicial system will protect Khadija Ismayilova, an RFE/RL journalist, from impermissible personal attacks (http://news.day.az/politics/321556.html).

Tahir Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenia “exports” only anti-democracy and terror (http://news.day.az/politics/321409.html).

Mikhail Zabelin, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenia is frightened of a war over Iran because “Armenia would not want to lose the thread that connects it to Iran,” its only export route (http://news.day.az/politics/321389.html).

The Azerbaijani-Turkish Commission meets in Baku to discuss measures of the movement of goods and services between the two countries (http://news.day.az/economy/321479.html).

Egemen Bakis, Turkish minister for European Union affairs, says that, “Armenia should reject the occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh, rather than participation in Eurovision 2012” (http://news.day.az/politics/321636.html).

The US Department of State says that, “the United States as a co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group as before is firmly committed to providing assistance to the sides in the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the achievement of a lasting peace” (http://news.day.az/politics/321415.html).

14 March

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says that he “hopes that the leadership of Armenia will display political wisdom” so that “an acceptable resolution” of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict may be achieved (http://news.day.az/politics/321344.html).

The Ministry of National Security announces the arrest of 22 individuals for spying on behalf of Iran (http://news.day.az/politics/321323.html).

Valentina Matviyenko, the chairman of Russia’s Federation Council, says that, “the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is not an easy process,” but must be achieved “by peaceful means” (http://news.day.az/politics/321301.html).

German foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle says that, “the time has come to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict” (http://news.day.az/politics/321269.html).

13 March

President Ilham Aliyev says that, “we are completely prepared to carry out in Baku the Olympic Games” (http://news.day.az/politics/321079.html).

Leyla Aliyeva, vice president of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, says that Azerbaijani
“are ready to do everything in order to support, assist and make the Eurovision competition in Baku more interesting and beautiful” (http://news.day.az/politics/321103.html).

Kemal Yurtmac, head of the Turkish government’s Department for the Affairs of Turks Abroad, says that, “all the diasporas of the Turkic language countries are acting together in order to achieve a just resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem” (http://news.day.az/politics/321145.html).

12 March

President Ilham Aliyev receives Croatian President Ivo Josipović and tells him that, “political relations [between the two countries] are at a fine level” (http://news.day.az/politics/320800.html).

President Ilham Aliyev sends a message of greetings to the World Union of Azerbaijani Youth (http://news.day.az/politics/320935.html).

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva receives Safie Davutoglu, wife of Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, as she is presented with the “Service to the Turkic World” award created by the Waqf of Artists and Writers of the Turkic World (http://news.day.az/politics/321023.html).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that Baku “hopes that Russia will devote greater efforts to the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and thus make this process more effective” (http://news.day.az/politics/320916.html).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that, ”Azerbaijani youth have been able to transform itself into a serious factor in Azerbaijan and in the world” (http://news.day.az/politics/320892.html).

Rasim Musabayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the Syrian Armenians are sufficiently intelligent not to move to Armenia, because “they understand very well” conditions in that republic (http://news.day.az/politics/320873.html).

Bakhtiyar Sadykhov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that he hopes that the United States, on the basis of the State Department report on drug trafficking, will address Armenia’s role in that crime, especially in the occupied territories (http://news.day.az/politics/320615.html).

The Congress of the World Union of Azerbaijani Youth appeals to the countries of the world to push for a just settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (http://news.day.az/society/320989.html).

Croatian President Ivo Josipović says that, “fine relations exist between Croatia and Azerbaijan” (http://news.day.az/politics/321030.html).

An Azerbaijani-Croatian business forum takes place in Baku (http://news.day.az/economy/321106.html).

Sergey Naryshkin, chairman of the Russian State Duma, sends a message to the
World Union of Azerbaijani Youth, in which he says that "a sincere friendship connects the Russian and Azerbaijani peoples" (http://news.day.az/politics/320954.html).

11 March

Elman Arasly, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Amman, meets with Jordanian Foreign Ministry Secretary General M. Al-Daher (http://news.day.az/politics/320795.html).

Leyla Aliyeva, vice president of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, says that “we believe that the Khojaly tragedy in the near future will receive international evaluation and those guilty of what took place will be punished” (http://news.day.az/politics/320812.html).

10 March

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva says that “French art has always been highly valued [in Azerbaijan and a love for the French language, literature and music has been felt at all times” (http://news.day.az/politics/320732.html).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that “there has not been any tension in Iranian-Azerbaijani relations in recent times” (http://news.day.az/politics/320730.html).

Elkhan Suleymanov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that tsarist Russia settled Armenians in Shamakha after 1828, and in 1918 Armenians there killed 8,037 Azerbaijanis (http://news.day.az/politics/320678.html).

Ershad Hurmuzlu, Middle Eastern advisor to the Turkish president, says that “Turkey does not support any introduction of any foreign forces into Iran” (http://news.day.az/world/320686.html).

9 March

President Ilham Aliyev receives Frédéric Mitterrand, French minister of culture and communication (http://news.day.az/politics/320527.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Josko Klisovic (http://news.day.az/politics/320549.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives four members of the European Parliament (http://news.day.az/politics/320583.html).

Gursel Ismailzade, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Tokyo, speaks to a meeting of the Japanese Institute for Research on Central Asia and the Caucasus (http://news.day.az/politics/320462.html).

Hasan Hasanov, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Warsaw, says that in order to hold on to the occupied territories, Armenia continues to take “an unconstructive position” in negotiations (http://news.day.az/politics/320406.html).

Farid Shafiyev, Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Ottawa, participates in a meeting of the Canada-Azerbaijan inter-parliamentary friendship group
Tahir Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says calls by Yerevan for more financial assistance from the European Union is “typical” of the Armenian powers that be (http://news.day.az/politics/320440.html).

Azerbaijani and Kazakhstan customs officials meet in Aktau to discuss the issues arising from special economic zones (http://news.day.az/economy/320560.html).

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Ryabkov says that Moscow considers that “the Minsk Group of the OSCE is one of the most effective examples of diplomatic work” (http://news.day.az/politics/320466.html).

Mohammed Baqir Bahrami, Iran’s ambassador to Baku, says that, “there are no misunderstandings between Azerbaijan and Iran” (http://news.day.az/politics/320542.html).

Mohammed Baqir Bahrami, Iran’s ambassador to Baku, says that, “Iran will never close the doors which it has opened for its brothers” and thus will not re-impose visa requirements on Azerbaijani visiting Iran (http://news.day.az/politics/320542.html).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey’s ambassador to Baku, says that Azerbaijan was the first country to provide assistance after the earthquake near Lake Van (http://news.day.az/politics/320530.html).

The annual US State Department report on drug trafficking and control says that, “Azerbaijan has actively participated in the work of international organizations and centers for the struggle against narcotics” (http://news.day.az/politics/320455.html).

7 March

President Ilham Aliyev receives his Georgian counterpart Mikheil Saakashvili and tells him that, “Georgian-Azerbaijani relations are at a high level” (http://news.day.az/politics/319966.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Melanie Schultz van Haegen-Maas Geesteranus, the Dutch minister of infrastructure and the environment (http://news.day.az/politics/320195.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives BP Board Chairman Carl-Henric Svanberg (http://news.day.az/politics/320195.html).

Deputy Prime Minister Ali Hasanov meets with Sabine de Bethune, president of the Belgian Senate (http://news.day.az/politics/320134.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov meets with his Turkish and Iranian counterparts, Ahmet Davutoglu and Ali Akbar Salehi, in Nakhchivan (http://news.day.az/politics/320087.html).

Ali Ahmadov, the deputy president and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that his organization rates highly the trilateral meeting of the
foreign ministers of Azerbaijan, Turkey and Iran (http://news.day.az/politics/320234.html).

Ali Ahmadov, the deputy president and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, says that Yerevan’s decision not to participate in Eurovision 2012 only harms the image of Armenia (http://news.day.az/politics/320231.html).

Elkhan Suleymanov, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly, says that Azerbaijan is “completely ready” for the plenary session of the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly, which will take place in Baku (http://news.day.az/politics/320103.html).

Aydin Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says the absence of Armenia at Eurovision 2012 will affect Armenia most of all (http://news.day.az/politics/320189.html).

Asim Mollazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenia’s decision not to take part in Eurovision 2012 shows that “present-day Armenia is very far from European culture” (http://news.day.az/politics/320194.html).

Rovshan Aliyev, an official of the Administration for the Struggle Against Corruption of the Procurator Generalship, takes part in an Istanbul meeting on the struggle against corruption of the Black Sea Cooperation Organization (http://news.day.az/society/320047.html).

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili says that Azerbaijan and Georgia are united in “a strategic partnership and by fraternal links that have lasted already for centuries” (http://news.day.az/politics/320116.html).

Yerevan public television says that Armenia will not take place in this year’s Eurovision competition, which is to be held in Baku (http://news.day.az/politics/320152.html).

Ali Akbar Salehi, Iran’s foreign minister, says that the joint work of Azerbaijan, Turkey and Iran “could lead to the creation of a common market in the region” (http://news.day.az/politics/320179.html).

6 March

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says that his Nakhchivan meeting with his Turkish and Iranian counterparts will discuss bilateral issues and exchange opinions about regional affairs (http://news.day.az/politics/319961.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says that he has exchanged opinions with the OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs during their visit to Baku (http://news.day.az/politics/319935.html).


Mubariz Gurbanly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Vladimir Putin’s election as president of the Russian Federation “will broaden ties between Azerbaijan and Russia in the economic, political, humanitarian and other spheres” (http://news.day.az/politics/320019.html).
Bakhtiyar Sadykhov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that, "Armenian politicians have converted themselves into slaves of their own psychology" (http://news.day.az/politics/319891.html).

The co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group present a plan for realizing the provisions of the joint declaration of the presidents of the Russian Federation, Azerbaijan and Armenia (http://news.day.az/politics/319933.html).

Robert Bradtke, US co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, says that he considers that "there are many opportunities for the development of humanitarian ties between the sides of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict" (http://news.day.az/politics/319972.html).

Igor Popov, Russian co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, says that the Minsk Group has helped the sides approach the resolution of problems and prevented the outbreak of a new military conflict (http://news.day.az/politics/319951.html).

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Ryabkov says that there has been noticeable progress in talks between Baku and Moscow on the Gabala radar site (http://news.day.az/politics/319901.html).

Roland Kobia, head of the European Union office in Baku, says that the EU and Azerbaijan have made progress in their talks on the simplification of the visa regime between the two (http://news.day.az/politics/320004.html).

Roland Kobia, the European Union’s representative in Baku, says that the EU “as before supports the Nabucco gas pipeline project” and would like to see a single transportation structure for carrying gas from the Shah Deniz-2 fields (http://news.day.az/economy/319985.html).

Mustafa Baloglu, a deputy of Turkey’s Grand National Assembly, says that Armenia should change its foreign policy direction in the near future (http://news.day.az/politics/319842.html).

5 March

President Ilham Aliyev receives Polish President Bronisław Komorowski (http://news.day.az/politics/319747.html).

President Ilham Aliyev telephones Vladimir Putin to congratulate him on his election as president of the Russian Federation (http://news.day.az/politics/319666.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Tatarstan President Ildar Khalikov (http://news.day.az/politics/319747.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Theodore Ahlers, the World Bank’s director of strategy and operations in Europe and Central Asia (http://news.day.az/politics/319747.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives the OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs (http://news.day.az/politics/319747.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Ricardo Lagos, the former president of Chile and

Deputy Prime Minister Ali Hasanov visits the Belgian parliament to talk about the occupied territories (http://news.day.az/politics/319693.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov meets with his Ukrainian counterpart Konstantin Grishchenko in Prague (http://news.day.az/politics/319791.html).


Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that the presidents of Azerbaijan and Turkey are pleased with the joint actions their peoples have taken with regard to the Khojaly genocide and to the resistance shown to the French law, since annulled, making denial of the “Armenian genocide” a crime (http://news.day.az/politics/319655.html).

Mazahir Panahov, head of the Central Election Commission who led a team of Azerbaijani observers to the Russian presidential elections, says that, “the elections of the president of Russia were organized at the very highest level” (http://news.day.az/politics/319593.html).

Bayram Safarov, head of the Azerbaijani Community of Nagorno-Karabakh, appeals to citizens of Azerbaijan of Armenian nationality and asks them to recognize that “sooner or later the occupied lands will be returned” and that they need to “turn away from the insane separatists” and connect their fate with Azerbaijan (http://news.day.az/politics/319683.html).

Theodore Ahlers, the World Bank’s director of strategy and operations in Europe and Central Asia, says that it is very important that Azerbaijan diversify its economy (http://news.day.az/economy/319643.html).

3 March

President Ilham Aliyev says that “on all issues, Turkey and Azerbaijan act as a single fist” (http://news.day.az/politics/318866.html).

Novruz Mammadov, head of the international relations department of the Presidential Administration, says that the European Union can make a contribution to the resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (http://news.day.az/politics/319436.html).

Novruz Mammadov, head of the international relations department of the Presidential Administration, says that Azerbaijan should not dispense with the mediation provided by the OSCE Minsk Group (http://news.day.az/politics/319481.html).

Aflatun Amashov, chairman of the Press Council, says that Azerbaijan has about 50 foreign language newspapers and journals (http://news.day.az/society/319399.html).

Samad Seyidov, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, says that, "the issue of the liberation of Azerbaijani lands will
be decided at the highest level" (http://news.day.az/politics/319477.html).

Asim Mollazade and Sevinj Fataliyeva, two Milli Majlis deputies, visit the legislature of the US state of Oklahoma, which adopts a resolution in support of strong bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and the United States (http://news.day.az/politics/319509.html).

Aydin Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Iranians know very well that "Azerbaijan will never offer its territory for use against Iran," a step proscribed by the country’s military doctrine and one rejected by the highest Azerbaijani officials (http://news.day.az/politics/319438.html).

Latvian Foreign Minister Edgars Rinkēvičs says that he understands the frustration of many about the activities of the OSCE Minsk Group (http://news.day.az/politics/319413.html).

US Senator Dianne Feinstein says that the US must work closely with the UN and its allies in order to prevent a recurrence of tragedies like the Khojaly massacre (http://news.day.az/politics/319449.html).

2 March

President Ilham Aliyev receives Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, the emir of Qatar (http://news.day.az/politics/319241.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Hector Timerman, Argentina’s foreign minister (http://news.day.az/politics/319241.html).

President Ilham Aliyev receives former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad (http://news.day.az/politics/319241.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says that, “the Armenian side has refused to accept the renewed principles offered by the OSCE Minsk Group” and that “we cannot achieve a breakthrough in negotiations,” because Armenia is “seeking to preserve the existing status quo in the region and will not agree to the withdrawal of its forces from Azerbaijani territories” (http://news.day.az/politics/319190.html).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov says that the format of trilateral meetings of the foreign ministers of Turkey, Iran and Azerbaijan is “important from the point of view of discussing regional issues and the exchange of opinions about current questions of cooperation in the region” (http://news.day.az/politics/319228.html).


Ziyafat Askarov, first vice speaker of the Milli Majlis, calls on the OSCE Minsk Group to move toward “concrete actions” (http://news.day.az/politics/319183.html).

Abbasali Hasanov, the Azerbaijani ambassador to Dushanbe, presents copies of his letters of credence to Tajikistan Foreign Minister Khamrokhon Zarifi (http://news.day.az/politics/319325.html).
The Azerbaijani embassy in Berlin helps organize a ceremony in Hanover to commemorate the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/319337.html).

Gudsi Osmanov, Azerbaijan’s consul general in St. Petersburg, says that, “Azerbaijanis in St. Petersburg now are represented in all spheres of life” (http://news.day.az/politics/319363.html).

Ziyafat Askarov, first vice speaker of the Milli Majlis, calls on the OSCE Minsk Group to move toward “concrete actions” (http://news.day.az/politics/319183.html).

Ziyafat Askarov, first vice speaker of the Milli Majlis, says that Azerbaijan “will not become a place des armes for an attack on Iran in the event of the organization of a military operation against this country” (http://news.day.az/politics/319166.html).

Etibar Huseynov, a Milli Majlis deputy, appeals to the Nobel Committee to strip former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev of his peace prize (http://news.day.az/politics/319343.html).

Asim Mollazade and Sevij Fataliyeva, Milli Majlis deputies, meet with officials in the US state of Arkansas (http://news.day.az/politics/319347.html).

Aydin Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that, “it would be good if Iran would begin with an end of its support to Armenia in economic, military and political planes” (http://news.day.az/politics/319322.html).

Ziyad Samadzade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenia’s low economic growth in recent years reflects its failure to participate in a single strategic regional project (http://news.day.az/politics/319077.html).

Allahshukur Pashazade, sheikh-ul-Islam and chairman of the Administration of Muslims of the Caucasus, meets with Moscow Mayor Sergey Sobyanin, as well as with Russian religious leaders (http://news.day.az/politics/319367.html).

The Association of Azerbaijani-Canadian Organizations issues an appeal against the policy of Armenia of locating convicted criminals in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan (http://news.day.az/politics/319240.html).

Argentinian Foreign Minister Hector Timmerman says that, “Azerbaijan is becoming the gate to the region for Argentina” (http://news.day.az/politics/319236.html).

Torhan al-Mufti, Iraq’s state minister for provincial affairs, says Baghdad expects Azerbaijan to open an embassy in Iraq in the near future (http://news.day.az/politics/319307.html).

Peter Bateman, Britain’s ambassador to Baku, says that Azerbaijan is consistently promoting transparency in its extractive industries (http://news.day.az/economy/319214.html).

Omnia Taha, head of the European Department of the Arab League, says that “the Muslim world follows the development of Azerbaijan with pride” and that “Azerbaijan has become a country, which plays an ever more active role in the Muslim world” (http://news.day.az/politics/319302.html).
Mustafa Dovletiar, head of the Iranian foreign ministry’s Center of International and Political Research, says that “the Caspian Sea is an internal sea and therefore the littoral states can completely control its security” (http://news.day.az/politics/319332.html).

Mustafa Dovletiar, head of the Iranian foreign ministry’s Center of International and Political Research, says that, “Azerbaijan and Iran have a lot in common in various spheres but that relations between the two ought to be at a higher level” (http://news.day.az/politics/319291.html).

Sinan Oghan, a deputy of Turkey’s Grand National Assembly, says that the attitudes of Turkish society to the Khojaly genocide have changed (http://news.day.az/politics/319210.html).

Gene Green, a US congressman from Texas, says that, “Azerbaijan is a friend and important ally of America” (http://news.day.az/politics/319339.html).

Russ Hiebert, a member of the Canadian Parliament, says that Canada “remembers that 20 years ago, hundreds of innocent residents [of Khojaly] were killed by the Armenian armed forces” (http://news.day.az/politics/319150.html).

1 March

President Ilham Aliyev says that, “Azerbaijan has always been proud that it is a constituent part of the Islamic world” (http://news.day.az/politics/319133.html).

Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmoud Mammadguliyev says that the latest round of talks with the World Trade Organization were productive (http://news.day.az/economy/319090.html).

Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmoud Mammadguliyev says that talks with the EU about simplification of the visa regime are “an important step in cooperating with the EU” (http://news.day.az/politics/319035.html).

Ali Ahmadov, deputy chairman and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, receives Koray Targay, the head of the Baku office of the OSCE (http://news.day.az/politics/319106.html).

The Azerbaijani embassy in Ankara warns students at Hacet University about the possibility of a provocation at an event commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide and suggests that they not take part (http://news.day.az/politics/319043.html).

Ali Ahmadov, deputy chairman and executive secretary of the ruling Yeni Azerbaijan Party, receives Koray Targay, the head of the Baku office of the OSCE (http://news.day.az/politics/319106.html).

Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, speaks at the Gebze Institute of High Technologies on the 20th anniversary of the Khojaly genocide (http://news.day.az/politics/319057.html).

Zhalya Aliyeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that, “the idea of support by the Armenian
lobby in France suffered a fiasco” (http://news.day.az/politics/318978.html).

Tahir Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says if the agricultural situation in Armenia does not change, Armenians will go hungry (http://news.day.az/politics/318955.html).


Azerbaijani military personnel take part in a NATO exercise (http://news.day.az/politics/319083.html).

The press service of the Argentine president says that Argentina will open an embassy in Baku in the near future (http://news.day.az/politics/318957.html).

The French government says that it will not take up new legislation imposing criminal penalties for the denial of the Armenian genocide before the June presidential elections (http://news.day.az/politics/318940.html).

Philip Gordon, US assistant secretary of state, says that, “a strong, independent and democratic Azerbaijan always will be a friend and partner of the United States” (http://news.day.az/politics/319084.html).

Standard & Poor’s says that Azerbaijan is among the countries least affected by deleveraging in the Eurozone (http://news.day.az/economy/319070.html).

**Note to Readers**

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