



Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy

School of International Affairs

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adabiweekly@ada.edu.az

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AZERBAIJANIS LOOK BACK TO 2010 AND FORWARD TO 2011

Editorial Note: True to its tradition, Azerbaijan in the World is offering a brief survey of different perspectives on Azerbaijan's foreign policy in 2010, looking into its evolving dynamics and assessing core accomplishments and major challenges of the year.

Azerbaijan in the World: Please give your review of the main foreign policy achievements of Azerbaijan in 2010.

Elin Suleymanov [Consul General of Azerbaijan to Los Angeles, California]: Azerbaijan continued to reinforce its position of an independent, pragmatic player as well as its position as a regional leader. Indeed, the country's consistent pursuit of its national interests has become a hallmark of Baku's foreign policy. Among its successes in 2010 were the conclusion of gas talks with Turkey and the signing of a strategic partnership accord with Ankara, visits by the secretaries of state and defense from the United States, President Ilham Aliyev's meeting with US President Barak Obama in New York, the Caspian Summit in Baku, and the NATO declaration on unresolved conflicts.

Rasim Musabayov, Dr. [MP, member of the Milli Majlis international and inter-parliamentary relations committee]: Azerbaijan's foreign policy was active as can be seen from the number of international visits by Azerbaijani officials led by President Ilham Aliyev, as well as from visits by the foreign leaders to Baku. We took part in all major international forums. We received in Azerbaijan and productively conducted summits on the Caspian Sea, World Religious Leaders, and the AGRI energy summit. Among the important agreements, I would note the Treaty on Strategic Partnership and Mutual Assistance with Turkey, as well as the Treaty on Borders with Russia.

Fikrat Sadykhov [Professor of Political Science, Western University, Baku & Political Analyst]: In the past year, we witnessed many events which have significant interest for Azerbaijan and demonstrate the growth of its diplomatic activity. Azerbaijan peacefully and confidently developed, firmly occupying the leading positions in the region and strengthening its relations with its allies and partners.

Thanks to the political firmness and diplomatic flexibility of Azerbaijan, the opening of the Turkish-Armenian border, about which Yerevan had so long dreamed, did not happen. Moreover, in 2010, Azerbaijani diplomacy developed a broad campaign to attract the attention of the international community to the problems of the region. That is clearly and convincingly shown by the speech of President Ilham Aliyev at the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in September, where he directed the attention of the chiefs of states to the non-fulfillment of four resolutions of the UN Security Council, as well as to the many activities conducted by the Armenian side on the territory of the occupied regions of Azerbaijan, ones which contradict the norms of the international law. In connection with this, a serious achievement of Azerbaijani diplomacy was the organization of a fact-finding visit of the international mission headed by the co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group to the occupied territories which had as its goal the assessment of the situation connected with the destruction of natural resources and the cultural heritage, as well as the illegal settlement and violation of property rights.

In 2010, the bilateral and multi-lateral ties of Azerbaijan significantly broadened. The number of our embassies and consular institutions abroad increased, a development that allowed us more fully and widely to present our country in the international arena and to gain wider support for our national interests.

Among the high points of Azerbaijani diplomacy during the past year was the Caspian summit which took place quite constructively in Baku. The agreement on security and also the joint declaration of the summit became an important stage in the development of cooperation in the Caspian basin. This was an important step in the further progress toward the agreement on all questions concerning the Caspian, an agreement which is now being developed.

In a definite sense, the Baku summit exceeded expectations. Mutually acceptable positions and common points of view on the most important problems of the region were agreed upon. And these found expression in the words of the joint declaration about issues concerning security, the struggle with terrorism and separatism, as well as with extremism and drug trafficking. But the main thing was the positive background and friendly atmosphere which was created by the summit.

AIW: Please list what you see as the main shortcomings of the foreign policy of Azerbaijan in 2010.

Suleymanov: As always, Azerbaijan's diplomatic corps can and must do more in the area of public diplomacy in order to win broader support for Baku. This is a learning process and the curve is, understandably, steep. Yet, there is room for improvement in this area.

Musabayov: On the whole, Azerbaijan's foreign policy was adequate to the existing international conditions, tasks and possibilities of the country. However, in my view, there was insufficient effort in the direction of European integration. Moreover, talks with the WTO were too drawn out. The potential of our country, the financial and cadres possibilities of the foreign ministry should allow for the conduct of a more creative foreign policy, one that would find and achieve additional possibilities to strengthen the foreign policy position of the country.

Sadykhov: I consider that broader and deeper cooperation of Azerbaijan with the countries of Latin America and the Middle East would more fully correspond both to our national interests and to those priorities which form the basis of our balanced, multi-vector foreign policy. The countries of these regions have significant potential both in international regional organizations and in influencing Armenian diaspora organizations which operate in them.

AIW: How do you assess the progress achieved in 2010 in the process of resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict? How do you assess the chances for resolving the conflict in 2011?

Suleymanov: The Muskoka statement of the presidents of France, Russia and US at the G-8 Summit was an important reaffirmation of the main principles for the settlement of the conflict. There was also a certain intensification of actions by mediators, most notably by Russian President Dmitry Medvedev. However, as it has been the case for over 18 years, these efforts have yet to produce any tangible sign that Armenia is ready for peace. We should remain hopeful that in 2011 we shall see some real progress in the settlement, but obviously, Armenia's short-sighted inability to see its own future strategically and to move beyond narrow ethnic notions continues to pose a major threat to our region. Every year the conflict remains unresolved, this threat is becoming greater.

Musabayov: Unfortunately, no breakthrough on the resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict took place in 2010, an unfortunate result of the unconstructive position of Yerevan. The Armenian side did not accept—even with reservations—the renewed version of the Madrid Principles officially proposed at the OSCE Ministerial in Athens back in the summer of 2009. And it did not do so despite the several meetings of the two presidents organized and mediated by Russian President Dmitry Medvedev.

At the same time, to call the past year useless in this regard would be a mistake. In all basic diplomatic forums, Azerbaijan received support for its position, including from the European Parliament, the NATO summit, and the OSCE summit. That is, the European Parliament adopted on May 20 a special resolution on "The need for an EU strategy for the South Caucasus"—one based on the report by the Bulgarian

Member of Parliament Yevgeni Kirilov—demanding the withdrawal of Armenian forces from all occupied territories of Azerbaijan.

The NATO summit in Lisbon—one which the Armenian president did not even attend—proved even more important. In the Declaration adopted there, NATO reaffirmed its commitment to support “the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova” and ignored “the right to self-determination,” a principle to which the Armenians constantly appeal to cover their territorial pretensions.

Finally, the declaration which was adopted in Astana at the OSCE summit on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the “three-plus-two” format—one which was signed by the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan—confirmed their readiness for a final resolution of the conflict in conformity with the principles of international law, the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, as well as on the basis of the joint declarations that Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, French President Nicolas Sarkozy, and US President Barak Obama made on July 10 at L'Aquila and on June 26 at Muskoka. Let me also remind that, judging by the latter two declarations of the presidents of the US, France and Russia concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, the basic Madrid Principles say nothing about the possibility of its separation from Azerbaijan, while they do make clear the need for the liberation of the occupied territories and the return of internally displaced persons and refugees.

The world has still not put tough pressure on Armenia, but taking into consideration the very difficult economic situation of this country, it simply lacks the resources—economic, military and demographic—in order to hold out against a just resolution of the conflict based on international law. Consequently, if the international community moves to exert pressure on Armenia—something that could also become a result of our diplomatic activity—there could be a breakthrough in 2011, although more probable appears to be an inertia scenario, with the sides continuing their tactical diplomatic and information struggle without decisive success.

Sadykhov: Let us be open. Radical changes concerning the resolution of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict and the resolution of the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh did not take place in 2010. Official Yerevan as before marched in place, refusing to respond to the proposals of intermediaries and ignoring the norms and principles of international law. In this way, Armenia drove itself ever more deeply into the dead end.

At the same time, the position of official Baku on the resolution of the conflict remained unchanged: the problem must find its resolution in the framework of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. It is important to note that the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan was again confirmed both at the NATO summit in Lisbon and at the OSCE summit in Astana. Moreover, in May, the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of Armenian armed formations from the territories of Azerbaijan, a serious slap by Europe at the prestige of Armenia.

The development of the situation shows that the resolution of the conflict will be possible only in the case of serious pressure from the leading states on the aggressor country. In this context, Azerbaijan must work actively in three directions: First, it must devote its efforts to the realization of the resolutions and decisions adopted by international structures. Second, it must intensify its diplomatic activity in work with

leading states. And third, it must develop its defense potential and economic possibilities.

AIW: How do you assess the energy diplomacy of Azerbaijan in 2010 and what in your view are the prospects in this area in the future?

Suleymanov: Azerbaijan continued its consistent policy of diversification of export routes and its contribution to European energy security. As already mentioned, the transit agreement with Turkey is a major accomplishment. In general, the Azerbaijani energy diplomacy in 2010 was built on Baku's long-term strategy of developing Caspian energy resources and promoting regional cooperation.

Musabayov: The diversification strategy is completely correct and is being implemented in a consistent way. That Russia and Iran are now listed among the customers of our gas only serves to make our position stronger in the eyes of our major partners and transit states, that is Turkey and Georgia. The realization of projects which will allow for Azerbaijan to enter the LNG market have good prospects for realization. That will allow us to broaden the circle of our customers to include Romania, Hungary and Ukraine. It is also a positive development that the question about a Trans-Caspian pipeline, at the initiative of Turkmenistan, has been brought back to the agenda. Moreover, negotiations on NABUCCO are moving into a decisive phase, something of which the forthcoming visit by the European Commission President José Manuel Barroso to Baku and further on to Ashgabat in the beginning of 2011 is indicative.

Sadykhov: Situated at the crossroads of major trade and transport networks, occupying a strategically important role in the region, and having significant oil and gas resources, our country has become a potentially important regional energy and infrastructure center. Azerbaijan has demonstrated that it plays an important role in energy security as a whole. In order to achieve its own energy goals, Azerbaijan will devote first order importance to the questions of the diversification of routes for energy flows, something that is important both for the European and Eurasian directions. The gas factor will assume significance in Azerbaijan's energy diplomacy in the coming year, one linked to the opening of the major *Umid* field in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian shelf, the reserves of which are estimated at approximately 200 billion cubic meters of natural gas and 30 billion cubic meters of gas condensate.

AIW: How do you assess the trend in relations of Azerbaijan with its nearest neighbors—Russia, Iran and Turkey—in the past year and what in your view are the prospects for the further development of these relations in 2011?

Suleymanov: Azerbaijan's relations with all its neighbors, except Armenia, continued to develop positively. With Turkey, the recent agreements are indicative of the high-level of cooperation. Azerbaijani-Iranian and Azerbaijani-Russian relations, too, led to some positive results this year. The Caspian Summit in Baku attests both to this and to Azerbaijan's growing regional role. Importantly, Azerbaijan also further strengthened its already excellent relations with Georgia and with partners across the Caspian, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. The outlook in all these areas looks bright for the year ahead.

Musabayov: With these countries and also with Georgia, Azerbaijan has been conducting an intensive dialogue. Trade and economic relations have been developing along an ascending line. Yet again I note the importance of the treaty on strategic partnership and mutual assistance signed with Turkey and the border treaty with Russia. Relations with Iran did not deteriorate, which, taking into consideration the situation around this country given its nuclear program, can also be considered an achievement. The main thing is that Azerbaijan was able to make its relations with the neighbors stronger in such a way that none of them will manifest an “elder brother” syndrome in their relations with Baku.

Sadykhov: The activity of Russia toward our region increased in the course of 2010. Three meetings of the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia took place with the participation and mediation of Russian president Dmitry Medvedev—in Sochi, Saint Petersburg, and Astrakhan. And it is particularly worth noting that in 2010, for the first time since independence, Azerbaijan and Russia signed an agreement on their state border, something which has enormous historical and political importance. It seems to me that the growing weight of Baku’s economic and defence potential and its influence in the region will have the collateral effect of keeping the Russian Federation actively involved with Azerbaijan in 2011, including in the resolution of the Karabakh conflict.

During 2010, Azerbaijan actively and fruitfully developed its allied and partnership ties with Turkey. A treaty on strategic partnership and mutual assistance was signed, which is now an important factor for the further rapprochement of the two countries. It seems to me that the dynamism of bilateral relations in the new year will be distinguished by a high level of closeness and mutual understanding. At the same time, one cannot exclude the possibility of new efforts toward achieving a rapprochement between Ankara and Yerevan as a result of the pressure of a number of leading states.

As far as Iran is concerned, relations between Azerbaijan and this country in 2010 retained their stable, good-neighborly character given the historical, cultural, and religious closeness of the two. There was an active political dialogue at both the bilateral and multi-lateral level, and economic cooperation increased. An important event in the social-political life of the two countries was the visit to Azerbaijan by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, one that resulted in the signing of a memorandum on mutual understanding in the area of energy and transport.

Iran, which is under strong pressure as a result of the international sanctions against it, will keep on searching for diplomatic levers to escape its existing situation and will attempt to do so by getting further closer with nearby countries and in the first instance with Azerbaijan in the coming year.

In short, relations with these countries will be developed within the framework of the bilateral agreements already signed and in correspondence with the realities of geopolitical circumstances.

AIW: How do you assess the trend in relations between Azerbaijan and the United States during 2010 and what in your view are the prospects for the further development of these relations in 2011?

Suleymanov: The New York meeting of Presidents Aliyev and Obama was an indication of the strong relations the two nations enjoy. Azerbaijan's importance was also underscored by the Baku visits of Secretaries Gates and Clinton. Azerbaijan has been doing its part to deepen and expand the partnership we have. For instance, we recently inaugurated Azerbaijan's first honorary consulate in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The prospects for the bilateral relations are very promising and wide open. The ball in this case is in Washington's court.

Musabayov: Here progress was minimal. Although the Obama administration became somewhat more active in the South Caucasus, as the visits of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and of Defense Secretary Robert Gates showed, American attention did not increase. Washington also was unable to overcome the intrigues of Armenian lobbyists and secure Senate confirmation for Matthew Bryza, although later President Obama gave him a recess appointment. It is obvious that as long as the United States keeps on considering its relations with the countries of the region exclusively in the context of Russia, Iran or Afghanistan, to expect a significant change is unwarranted.

Sadykhov: While one could still describe US-Azerbaijani relations, as they evolved in 2010, as those of strategic partnership, as a result of a number of circumstances, these ties were not distinguished by closeness and active cooperation. In the course of 2010, in fact, one could observe a certain abstraction of Washington from the problems of the region and in particular from the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Nevertheless, people in Azerbaijan regarded with understanding the political priorities of the US connected with the presence of its forces in Afghanistan and Iraq and with its concerns about the nuclear program of Iran.

At the same time, as a result of the active diplomatic efforts of Azerbaijan, the United States intensified its foreign policy vector in the Azerbaijani direction and at the end of the last year, the US president bypassing Congress named an ambassador to Baku. All this demonstrated the interest of Washington in the continuation of partnership relations with Azerbaijan and its understanding of the growing role of our country in the region. Proceeding from the above, one can predict that US-Azerbaijani relations will develop in the framework of partnership relations and strategic cooperation in 2011.

AIW: How do you assess the activities of Azerbaijan in public diplomacy in 2010?

Suleymanov: As noted, there is a room for improvement in the area of public diplomacy, and it is encouraging to see the Foreign Ministry focusing on capacity-building in this area. I very much hope that these efforts, including the programs at the ADA, will continue also in preparing the cadre for Azerbaijan's diplomatic corps.

Musabayov: Public diplomacy, if anything, declined in 2010—especially in the second half of it—at least from my subjective point of view. It seems to me that the dead-end which the conflict settlement process faced as a result of the unconstructive position of the Armenians has objectively put in place obstacles for the broadening of activity in the civil society sector as well. Nevertheless, there were meetings among NGO activists, journalists and others in bilateral and multilateral settings, including in Moscow, Istanbul, and Izmir. I myself participated in a majority of these meetings and can say that I observed a definite "stagnation" in them similar to the one in

official talks. Azerbaijan needs to find fresh and unexpected moves in order to increase its activities and make public diplomacy more productive.

Sadykhov: In the course of the entire year at the level of the expert community and public organizations, Azerbaijan took part in the work of various international forums, congresses, conferences, and roundtable meetings. An important event in this regard was the international symposium in Baku in October on "The South Caucasus in a Changing World," in which more than 150 foreign and local experts took part. The declaration adopted by that meeting underscored the leading role of Azerbaijan in the South Caucasus.

It is important that such meetings have a systemic character and assist the development of regional ties and cooperation and also promote the national interests of Azerbaijan.

AIW: In your view, what challenges stand before Azerbaijani foreign policy in 2011 and what actions must Azerbaijan take in order to be able to respond to them?

Musabayov: Questions about the Iranian nuclear program and the continuing dead end in talks about Karabakh will define the foreign political agenda in 2011. The risks and opportunities in both are interconnected. As Azerbaijan increases its defense potential, it will be in a better position should circumstances dictate a force majeure resolution. It is important to develop to the maximum extent possible mechanisms of strategic partnership with Turkey and to support at a high level dialogue with Russia and other leading and neighboring countries in order to minimize risks and push forward the resolution of priority questions for our country. In the first instance, this concerns the Karabakh conflict and the division of the Caspian.

Sadykhov: Beyond any doubt, the main challenge standing before Azerbaijan and its foreign policy apparatus is represented by the continuing occupation by Armenia of Azerbaijani territories and the lack of a resolution of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is also important not to forget the fact that the leading states of the world will again try to promote Turkish-Armenian rapprochement, which cannot fail to elicit an adequate reaction from Azerbaijan. Naturally, official Baku is not indifferent to such a development and will take all diplomatic, political and economic steps to block this process.

As before, the threat of military actions against Iran initiated by the United States will continue, but the involvement of the US in military conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as the pragmatism of European countries will hardly allow that in the near term. At the same time, official Tehran has displayed a sufficient level of flexibility in critical situations so as to ward off such an action anytime soon.

I consider one of the serious threats in the region to be the sharpening of the situation in the North Caucasus. Circumstances in the North Caucasus republics of the Russian Federation remain extremely unsettled and explosive. Azerbaijan, given its location, will work to cooperate more fully with both the official structures of Russia itself and with the leaders of the republics of the North Caucasus. All this to a certain extent will help neutralize the challenges and threats emanating from this region.

**PROGRESS TOWARD A BREAKTHROUGH:
AZERBAIJAN AND THE WORLD IN 2010**

Paul Goble
Publications Advisor
Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy

Many in Azerbaijan and elsewhere expected 2010 to be a breakthrough year that would lead to the end of Armenian occupation of 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory, and because that has not happened, some of them are now giving the most pessimistic assessments of Baku's foreign policy activities in 2010. But that is a serious mistake. On the one hand, the reaction of various international actors, including Azerbaijan, to the lack of progress on what is commonly referred to as the Karabakh conflict in fact makes progress more likely rather than less in 2011. And on the other, the focus on the Karabakh issue alone distracts attention from the major foreign policy moves, both institutional and political, that Baku did achieve over the last 12 months.

The reasons for optimism about the Karabakh conflict at the start of 2010 were obvious: Turkey and Armenia seemed to be edging toward an opening that would give Ankara greater influence over Yerevan and allow Yerevan to take steps on Karabakh that it has so far refused to do. Kazakhstan was the president in office of the OSCE and had made it clear that finding a solution to the Karabakh issue was at the center of its agenda. And both the leaders of the OSCE Minsk Group co-chair countries, in particular Russia's President Dmitry Medvedev, and the governments of neighboring countries not part of the Minsk process such as Iran all became more active.

Despite all that, however, there was no resolution. Armenia refused to move, and the OSCE summit in the Kazakhstan capital of Astana came and went without progress—or at least without the kind of progress that non-diplomats could see. That failure led more officials in both Azerbaijan and Turkey to talk about a military option and prompted even more politicians and commentators there and elsewhere to conclude that this frozen conflict was going to stay frozen for a long time to come.

But there are at least three reasons why that conclusion is not justified. First, increasing frustration with the OSCE and its Minsk Group in Baku and elsewhere simultaneously forces its co-chair countries to become more active lest the OSCE itself lose its way, something various leaders suggested in Astana was already the case, and prompts other countries like Iran and even India and China to assume a larger role either to project their rising power or to win plaudits from the current leaders of the international system. Thus, 2011 almost certainly is going to see a newly active Minsk Group and actions by others, with each of these trends pushing the other forward.

Second, 2010 was a year in which Azerbaijan's power, influence and standing all rose while that of Armenia declined, developments that put new pressures on Yerevan to settle before these trend lines separate even further. Azerbaijan's military program was growing both because of its own investments and because of expanding ties with

Turkey in the defense industry. Armenia's military continued to weaken along with its economy. Moreover, Azerbaijan's political influence and standing increased because Baku showed itself willing to live according to the OSCE's revised proposals, something Armenia refused to do. Indeed, one can see US President Barak Obama's decision to give Matthew Bryza a recess appointment as a bow to Baku's increased standing and as evidence that "the Armenian lobby" which Azerbaijanis have often seen as all-powerful is now anything but.

And third—and this may be the most important reason for optimism rather than pessimism on this point—the failure of the OSCE Minsk Group to achieve an accord this year not only opens the way for new participants in the peace process but also new ideas as well. As many Azerbaijani commentators have pointed out, the Minsk Group has failed to reconcile the two principles it has sought to bring together, that of the inviolability of the territorial integrity of states and that of the right of nations to self-determination. Those principles do not necessarily conflict, but bringing them together in a way that does not constitute a victory for one side and a defeat for the other is a problem. Now, as was the case in the years before the Minsk Group was formed, there may be a chance for new ideas, including perhaps the defense of both through expanded international involvement.

However that may be, focusing on the Karabakh issue alone inevitably distracts two other developments in Azerbaijan's foreign policy during 2010 that appear likely to prove equally or even more important in the coming years. The first of these is institutional; the second is a broadening of Baku's approach to the world. Institutionally, Azerbaijan made serious steps toward fulfilling President Ilham Aliyev's promise three years ago that Baku would have 80 embassies and more consulates around the world, thus doubling its representation abroad in a matter of months.

Not only did Azerbaijan open embassies and consulates general in many countries in 2010, but it both staffed them with professionals trained at places like the Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy and with experience in the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Baku. Moreover, this fall, again in response to an initiative by President Aliyev, the foreign ministry began setting up public outreach offices in most of these missions, thus ensuring that Azerbaijan's message to the world will be delivered to important publics and that Baku will play an increasing role in the large and increasingly active Azerbaijani diasporas in many capitals.

All of this has contributed to a broadening of Azerbaijan's approach to the world both geographically and functionally. Over the course of 2010, Baku sent senior diplomats to Asia and Latin America, places where Azerbaijan has important economic and political interests and is opening missions, as well as expanded its presence in Iran, Georgia, the Russian Federation, and Turkey, where it has equally important concerns. In the case of Russia, it has reached a border accord, and Baku is currently negotiating with Georgia to achieve the same. Finally, during the last 12 months, Azerbaijan has increased its contacts with Central Asian states with whom it has much in common culturally and linguistically but with whom it has obvious interests in the Caspian and the question of gas and oil transit.

Azerbaijan's expansion reflects Baku's increasing interest in playing a role not just as an energy supplier but as a major regional power, something other countries are interested in seeing it become either as a counterweight to the expansion of Turkish and Iranian influence or as a guarantor of security in a region that has known little of

it over the last centuries. Most commentaries on Azerbaijan begin and end with oil and gas, but increasingly, Azerbaijani diplomats are talking about other issues as well. And that shift, one that has passed below the radar screens of many, may be the most important reason for an optimistic assessment about Azerbaijan's role in the world in 2011.

A CHRONOLOGY OF AZERBAIJAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

I. Key Government Statements on Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy

President Ilham Aliyev says that "as long as Azerbaijani lands remain occupied, Armenia will live in fear" (<http://news.day.az/politics/245071.html>).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the President's Office, says that in the course of the next year, Azerbaijan will increase pressure on international and regional organizations responsible for the resolution of the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/245964.html>).

Aydin Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that US President Barak Obama's decision to give Matthew Bryza a recess appointment as ambassador to Baku shows that "the Armenian diaspora in the US is not all powerful" and that "the US is interested in good strategic relations with Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/246025.html>).

II. Key Statements by Others about Azerbaijan

Mohammad Yahya Marofi, the secretary general of the Economic Cooperation Organization, says that that body "highly values the participation of Azerbaijan in [its] initiatives" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244389.html>).

Onur Oymen, a member of Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that in the event of a war with Armenia, Azerbaijan can count on the support of Turkey (<http://news.day.az/politics/243781.html>).

James Appathurai, special representative of NATO's secretary general for the Caucasus and Central Asia, says that "Azerbaijan is a reliable partner of NATO" (<http://news.day.az/politics/243660.html>).

III. A Chronology of Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy

31 December

First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva is awarded the Service to the Turkish World Prize by TURKSAV, the association of writers and artists of Turkey (<http://news.day.az/politics/246071.html>).

The Consulate General of Azerbaijan officially opens in Batumi (<http://news.day.az/politics/246084.html>).

Azerbaijanis around the world officially mark the Day of Solidarity of Azerbaijanis of the World (<http://news.day.az/politics/245207.html>).

30 December

Abdulkerim Aydemir, a member of Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that "a catastrophic future awaits Armenia" unless Yerevan changes course (<http://news.day.az/politics/245755.html>).

29 December

The European Union, responding to a note of protest from Azerbaijan, says it was not informed about the goals and program of Tomasz Poreba, a European Parliament member, in Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/245829.html>).

28 December

Shukru Ayalan, a member of the Turkish delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, says that Armenia "does not have the bravery" for attacking Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/245520.html>).

27 December

President Ilham Aliyev confirms the memorandum on energy and transportation cooperation with Iran signed on November 17 (<http://news.day.az/politics/245568.html>).

Culture and Tourism Minister Abulfaz Garayev says that his ministry has sent to international organizations a report about the status of historical and cultural monuments in the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/culture/245550.html>).

Ombudsman Elmira Suleymanova receives Erling Skjonsberg, Norwegian ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/society/245572.html>).

Asef Hajiyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the adoption in 2010 by the German parliament of a document recognizing the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan may produce "a civil war" in Armenia (<http://news.day.az/politics/245066.html>).

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili says that he has "learned a great deal from [President] Ilham Aliyev" (<http://news.day.az/politics/245456.html>).

Reshat Dogru, a member of Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that "Armenia does not have time for reflection" (<http://news.day.az/politics/245196.html>).

25 December

The Azerbaijani embassy in Moscow hosts a reception in advance of the Day of Solidarity of Azerbaijanis of the world (<http://news.day.az/politics/245494.html>).

24 December

President Ilham Aliyev says that "as long as Azerbaijani lands remain occupied, Armenia will live in fear" (<http://news.day.az/politics/245071.html>).

Tahir Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Armenia planned to draw Azerbaijan into a major provocation" by the actions of its soldiers along the cease-fire line (<http://news.day.az/politics/244991.html>).

23 December

President Ilham Aliyev tells the Istanbul summit of the Organization of Economic Cooperation that Azerbaijan "devotes very great significance" to the activities of that group (<http://news.day.az/politics/244722.html>).

Turkish President Abdulla Gul says that "for the solution of problems in the Caucasus, Azerbaijan territories must be freed from occupation and Azerbaijani refugees must return to their lands" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244984.html>).

Mujdat Kushku, a deputy in Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that "the actions of Armenia ever more deepen the atmosphere of distrust" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244710.html>).

22 December

Asim Mollazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the US as a co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group "unfortunately somewhat reduced its activity during the course of 2010" and that this in turn is "negatively affecting the relations of the United States with Turkey and Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244402.html>).

Bakhtiyar Aliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that there "cannot be any discussion about the sovereignty of Armenia" in the course of discussions about the resolution of the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/244557.html>).

The Italian newspaper *Il Foglio* issues a formal apology to Azerbaijani First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva (<http://news.day.az/politics/244778.html>).

Atilla Kaja, a deputy in Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that recent actions by Armenians "can lead to use of force for the resolution of the Karabakh conflict" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244497.html>).

21 December

The Foreign Ministry summons the Polish ambassador and the EU representative to Azerbaijan to formally protest the illegal visit to the occupied territories by Tomasz Poreba, the main rapporteur for the European Parliament on Armenia (<http://news.day.az/politics/244574.html>).

Ali Hasanov, the head of the social-political department of the President's Office, says that "Azerbaijan has a decisive influence on regional processes" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244502.html>).

Aydin Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, criticizes the Organization of the Collective Security Treaty for suggesting that Azerbaijan's military spending is "disproportional" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244575.html>).

Nizami Jafarov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenia "as in previous years, has continued its efforts to oppose the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh conflict" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244239.html>).

20 December

Elnur Aslanov, the head of the political analysis and information provision department of the President's Office, says that "today time is working for Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244273.html>).

The Defense Ministry says that Armenian forces continue their provocations along the cease-fire line (<http://news.day.az/politics/244227.html>).

Fazil Mustafa, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the Armenian parliament's adoption of a law permitting the conclusion of treaties with unrecognized states, is "a loss for Armenia" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244047.html>).

19 December

Industry and Energy Minister Natig Aliyev completes a four day visit to Egypt to discuss expansion of bilateral trade (<http://news.day.az/economy/244106.html>).

Rovzet Gasymov, the head of the international relations department of the Central Election Commission, says that "the presidential elections in Belarus took place in a normal atmosphere" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244163.html>).

18 December

Rufat Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that he has observed no problems in the presidential vote in Belarus (<http://news.day.az/politics/244068.html>).

The Society of Slovenian-Azerbaijani Friendship holds its first session in Nova Gorica (<http://news.day.az/politics/244061.html>).

Azerbaijani diaspora organizations in the US launch a campaign against Congressional adoption of a resolution calling for the recognition of "the Armenian genocide" (<http://news.day.az/politics/244039.html>).

Belarusian President Aleksandr Lukashenko awards Ziyad Samadzade, a Milli Majlis deputy, with the Francisca Skorina Medal (<http://news.day.az/politics/244101.html>).

17 December

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives Khalil Akynji, secretary general of the Cooperation Council of Turkish Language States (<http://news.day.az/politics/243960.html>).

Defense Industry Minister Yaver Jamalov says that the industries he is responsible for have increased production by 115 times (<http://news.day.az/economy/243809.html>).

Azerbaijani media report that US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton telephoned President Ilham Aliyev on December 15 (<http://news.day.az/politics/243772.html>).

Ombudsman Elmira Suleymanova sends an appeal to her Russian counterpart Vladimir Lukin asking him to intervene to defend the rights of Azerbaijani citizens who may have been affected by the ethnic clashes in Moscow and other Russian cities (<http://news.day.az/society/243980.html>).

Milli Majlis members say the Armenian parliament's adoption of legislation governing relations with unrecognized states is "the latest maneuver" of Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan (<http://news.day.az/politics/243926.html>).

The Milli Majlis confirm the Azerbaijani delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. It includes Bahar Muradova, Eldar Ibrahimov, Fattah Heydarov, Rabiyyat Aslanova, Azay Guliyev, and Aghalar Valiyev (<http://news.day.az/politics/243923.html>).

Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, meets with Magid Eldib, the rector of the Egypt's Ain Shams University (<http://news.day.az/politics/243870.html>).

Giedrius Cekuolis is named the new special representative for protracted conflicts during the Lithuanian presidency of the OSCE (<http://news.day.az/politics/243855.html>).

Ulvi Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says "Armenia does not have any resources for the conduct of a war" against Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/243812.html>).

Oguz Oyan, a member of the Turkish delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, says that Ankara "cannot move in the direction of the normalization of relations with Armenia" as long as Armenia is occupying Azerbaijani territory (<http://news.day.az/politics/243695.html>).

Khanhuseyn Kazimly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the OSCE Minsk Group in recent times "has done nothing particularly significant" for the resolution of the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/243595.html>).

Onur Oymen, a member of Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that in the event of a war with Armenia, Azerbaijan can count on the support of Turkey (<http://news.day.az/politics/243781.html>).

16 December

Emergency Situations Minister Kamaladdin Heydarov is presented with a special award from the Russian Emergency Situations ministry for his cooperation (<http://news.day.az/politics/243648.html>).

Polad Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijani ambassador to Moscow, says that "the Karabakh conflict has become a factor of ethnic divisions in the South Caucasus" (<http://news.day.az/politics/243733.html>).

Vilayat Guliyev, Azerbaijani ambassador to Budapest, publishes an article there on bilateral relations (<http://news.day.az/politics/243702.html>).

Elman Mammadov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the possibilities for Armenia in a military confrontation with Azerbaijan are close to zero" (<http://news.day.az/politics/243625.html>).

Aydin Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "ever more citizens of Armenia are dissatisfied with the policies of the leadership of [that] country" (<http://news.day.az/politics/243142.html>).

Vladimir Dorokhin, Russian ambassador to Baku, says that Azerbaijan was the first state which offered Russia help in putting down recent forest fires and that Russia "positively" evaluates this step (<http://news.day.az/politics/243667.html>).

Serik Primbetov, Kazakhstan's ambassador to Baku, says that Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are reliable partners whose cooperation has "great potential" to increase (<http://news.day.az/politics/243756.html>).

Mehmet Ceylan, deputy chairman of the foreign relations committee of Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that "the fate and future of the protocols signed between Turkey and Armenia entirely depends on the future of Azerbaijani-Armenian relations" (<http://news.day.az/politics/243713.html>).

Note to Readers

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