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MOSCOW AND THE DELIMITATION OF KARABAKH IN THE 1920S

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Editorial Note: As a contribution to the unveiling of the history of Soviet policy toward Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan in the World offers what is the first of a three part article on the origins of Soviet policy on this region that was prepared by distinguished Azerbaijani historian Jamil Hasanly. It originally appeared in Russia's Regnum News Agency at <http://regnum.ru/news/fd-abroad/armenia/1428880.html>. The second and third sections of Professor Hasanly's account will be published in the following issues of Azerbaijan in the World.

Recently on the *Regnum* Russian news agency site was placed a series of essays of my landsman and fellow student S.N. Tarasov relative to the recent history of the mountainous portion of Karabakh. In these essays, the author cast doubt on its inclusion with the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1918-1920). At the same time S.N. Tarasov attempted to recount the unique course of events in connection with the well-known declaration of N. Narimanov of December 1, 1920, and repeated the distorted idea about "the transfer by Stalin" in 1921 of the mountainous part of Karabakh to Azerbaijan. To back up his assertions, the author cited archival documents. However, this selection, instead of introducing clarity in the question under consideration in fact led to its distortion, and thus instead of clarifying these events calls forth only regret.

On April 28, 1920 Soviet forces occupied Baku. A month later, Karabakh was also occupied by Russian forces, and independent Azerbaijan ceased to exist. A little later, the same fate came to Armenia and Georgia. In this way, after a two-year break, the Trans-Caucasus again fell under the power of Russia, now already Soviet Russia. After Sovietization, Azerbaijan began to catastrophically lose its territories. In the first years of Sovietization, seeing how the central government of the Bolsheviks was transferring to Armenia lands that had been Azerbaijani from time immemorial and not being willing to put up with this injustice, N. Narimanov wrote to Lenin that the lands which under the Musavat government had been considered indisputably Azerbaijani, now under Soviet power had become subject of dispute, that the people saw this and was expressing its dissatisfaction. [1]

The activation of Armenians in Karabakh and other places of the republic from the first days of sovietization, the unpunished realization of the policy of force against the Muslim population are to be explained in the first instance by the weakness of Azerbaijan and its army and the demobilization of its forces. On June 29, 1920 S. Kirov reported to G. Chicherin that the Dashnaks were persecuting not only Muslims, but also Russians. He wrote that, "Of the 30,000 Russians in Kars oblast remain only 15,000; the remainder either had dispersed to Turkey or to Russia or had died." [2]

On June 19, N. Narimanov, M. Mdivani, A. Mikoyan, and A. Nuridzhanyan sent to G. Chicherin a telegram, in which they reported about the advance of the Dashnak army and its successes in Gazakh and Gadabay. A copy of this telegram was sent to G. Ordzhonikidze in Vladikavkaz, and it included the following notable lines: "The Armenians in fact are in a state of war with Azerbaijan. As far as the supposedly disputed Zangazur and Karabakh territories, which already are within the borders of Soviet Azerbaijan, we categorically declare that these places beyond any question must stay within the borders of Azerbaijan." [3]

G.Chichern, upset by the fact that authoritative Bolsheviks from Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia who had worked for many years in the Caucasus were showing resistance to the policy of the Center, sent on June 22, 1920 a letter to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) with a complaint about "the indiscipline of Baku comrades and the disturbing contradiction between their actions and the political line established by the Central Committee." In his opinion, the transfer to Azerbaijan of the disputed territories which had now been seized by Russia would make impossible an agreement with Armenia. [4]

The reasoning of Chicherin on this point is interesting. He explained to Lenin that "up to now Russia has not given these lands to the Armenians so as not to offend the

Tatars. When conditions are created for the sovietization of Georgia and Armenia, then all these problems will resolve themselves.” [5] From numerous explanatory notes and telegraphs of Chicherin to Lenin, Ordzhonikidze, and Narimanov, one thing is clear: Chicherin viewed Karabakh as something to be traded, as a decoy, in the course of negotiations with Armenia.

The strengthening of Armenian claims on the mountainous part of Karabakh forced Bolsheviks well known in the Caucasus, such as N. Narimanov, M. Mdivani, A. Mikoyan, and B. Naneyshvili, as well as even members of the military council of the XI Army Zh. Vesnik, M. Levandovsky and I. Mikhailov, to sign a letter to the Central Committee of the RCP(b), which stated that, “we consider it our duty to send to the Central Committee our single position on the question of Zangazur and Karabakh, the resolution of which during negotiations with Armenia is proceeding in ways that conflict with the interests of the revolution in the Caucasus. Karabakh under the Musavat government was entirely part of Azerbaijan. The unbroken nature of the cultural and economic ties of Karabakh and Zangazur with Baku, which provides support for thousands of workers from these provinces, and their complete separation from Yerevan was demonstrated at the peasant congress of Armenian Karabakh in 1919, which—despite the unbearable conditions for the Armenians under the Musavat regime and the provocative work of agents of Armenia—all the same decisively called for complete unity with Azerbaijan under conditions of a guarantee for the peaceful life of Armenians.” At the end of this letter, it was noted that the Muslim masses consider a betrayal the inability of Soviet power to preserve Azerbaijan in its old borders and explain this as a reflection of the pro-Armenian nature or weakness of Soviet power. Thus, those signing the document warned the center against any vacillation on the issue of Karabakh and Zangazur. [6]

In order to give an official character to the recognition of Armenia by Soviet Russia, G. Chicherin attempted to convince G. Ordzhonikidze that for Soviet Russia, a compromise was necessary with the Armenia’s Dashnak government. He wrote: “The Azerbaijan government declares disputable not only Karabakh and Zangazur, but also the Sharur-Daralagez district. The latter never has been declared a matter of dispute, and even the Musavat government always recognized it as part of Armenia. Without it, almost nothing would remain of Armenia. The Armenian peace delegation after lengthy resistance agreed to recognize Karabakh and Zangazur as disputable hoping that at the end of the day a significant portion of these localities will be given to Armenia, but they in no case agreed to recognize Sharur-Daralagez district as a matter of dispute. On the other hand, we must achieve agreement from the Azerbaijani government so that our treaty with Armenia will not be in contradiction with the demands of Azerbaijan. Given the enormity of your influence in Baku, we ask You to use it in order to get from the Azerbaijan government its assurance that it considered Karabakh and Zangazur matters of dispute, but not Sharur-Daralagez district. [7]

After Chicherin’s code cable of July 2, 1920 and discussion with the newly assigned plenipotentiary representatives of Soviet Russia in Armenia B. Legran and A. Gabrielyan, G. Ordzhonikidze by direct line reported to Moscow the following: “Azerbaijan insists on the immediate and unqualified recognition of Karabakh and Zangazur as part of its territory. In my opinion, this is necessary to do since both districts are economically drawn to Baku and are completely cut off from Yerevan, especially now with the Bayazet Turkish division cutting them off. ... According to the words of Comrade Gabrielyan, the Armenian delegation unconditionally will go along. With this resolution of the issue, Azerbaijan can be forced to agree to the cession of

the remaining territories. My opinion is the following: Karabakh and Zangazur must be immediately joined to Azerbaijan. I will force Azerbaijan to declare these regions autonomies, but this must come from Azerbaijan and not in any case must be mentioned in the treaty [with Armenia]." [8]

In another report to V.I. Lenin, I. Stalin and G. Chicherin on direct line, G. Ordzhonikidze openly reported that the Armenian government was intentionally introducing confusion on these issues: "Today Gabrielyan declared to me that the Armenian delegation, if Azerbaijan dropped its claims on Sharur-Daralagez district and the Nakhchivan district, would agree to the immediate unification of Karabakh and Zangazur to Azerbaijan. We agreed that on our arrival to Baku we would discuss this with Narimanov. As you see, there is no lack of clarity or understanding here. I can assure you that we quite clearly represented our peace policy and will continue to carry it out. I am certain and this is my deep conviction that for the strengthening of Soviet power in Azerbaijan and out continued holding of Baku, it is necessary to unite Nagorno-Karabakh [with Azerbaijan] and that there cannot be any vacillation about the plain portion of it. It was always Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan will guarantee the security of the Armenian population of this district with its head. We will declare an autonomy here and promise the Armenian population that it will be protected and that Muslim military units will not be introduced there."

G. Ordzhonikidze warned that "a different decision on this issue will threaten our position in Azerbaijan and will win us nothing in Armenia. I completely well understand that the possibility cannot be excluded that we may need Armenia under certain political circumstances. Decide as you see necessary. We will follow all your directions. But permit me to bring to Your attention that such an attitude to Azerbaijan will strongly compromise us in the eyes of the broad masses of Azerbaijan and benefit to the highest degree our opponents." [9]

After the April 1920 turn of events, G. Ordzhonikidze for a certain time in Azerbaijan-Georgian and Azerbaijan-Armenian relations took the side of Azerbaijan, which was considered "Soviet Russia's firstborn in the East," and this seriously disturbed some in Moscow and particularly in the Peoples Commissariat for International Affairs. G. Chicherin, who headed this group, opposed Ordzhonikidze and called his position "concealed Orientalist and Muslimophile." In response to this, G. Ordzhonikidze said that his views had no relation to Muslim nationalism and that in his family there is not a single Tatar. [10]

G. Ordzhonikidze knew perfectly well who in the Center was muddying the waters and therefore in his transmission of the next reports by direct line he asked N. Alliluyeva to report to Stalin that Chicherin and Karakhan were again putting him "here in a hopeless position." [11] G. Chicherin showed an entirely different position when he wrote to Ordzhonikidze a telegram on July 8, which said the following: "We know quite well that the moment for Sovietization is also coming to Armenia, but to go in that direction now is premature. The most important thing which can be achieved now is the declaration of Karabakh and Zangazur as disputed regions, and for this it is necessary that the Azerbaijani government give its agreement. We need this [because] we absolutely must conclude a treaty with Armenia. The world situation requires this, and for this we must declare Karabakh and Zangazur, but no more, subjects of dispute." [12]

G. Chicherin and L. Karakhan directed the policy of the Peoples Commissariat for International Affairs concerning cooperation with Armenia at the expense of

Azerbaijan. Not having been able to block this policy, G. Ordzhonikidze on July 16 sent a telegram to V.I. Lenin, I. Stalin and G. Chicherin containing a request that peace with Armenia not be concluded prior to the arrival of the Azerbaijani delegation. He wrote: "Peace with Armenia without the participation of Azerbaijan will seriously disturb comrades here." [13] A. Mikoyan, a member of the Central Committee of the ACP(b), shared these positions and on June 29, he wrote to Ordzhonikidze: "We are indignant at the policy of the Center as regards Karabakh and Zangazur. You also defend our point of view before the Center. We are not against peace with Armenia, but in no case at the price of Karabakh and Zangazur." [14]

As we can see, it looked very strange that Soviet Russia and Dashnak Armenia were conducting secret negotiations concerning Azerbaijan without its participation and agreement. What was taking place with Armenia was actually an exact reflection of what had occurred with Georgia a month earlier. Then, there were many interesting places in the coded portion of the telegram which Ordzhonikidze and Kirov sent to Lenin and Stalin. They considered that the conclusion of an agreement with Georgia without the clarification of the position of Azerbaijan would lead to the failure of Soviet policy. Ordzhonikidze and Kirov wrote the following: "Why in concluding a treaty with Georgia are we refusing to conclude a treaty with fraternal Azerbaijan. If the Azerbaijani question is decided otherwise, please inform us." Then by special code, they warned the Center: "Not in any case should Karakhan be allowed to be the leader of eastern policy. The entire Zakatala scandal [a reference to the promise to transfer the Zakatala district to Georgia according to the Moscow Treaty of May 7, 1920] is understood here as the work of an Armenian." [15]

There is no doubt that L. Karakhan played an important role in the formation and implementation of the anti-Azerbaijani policy of the NKID of Soviet Russia. Both coded and open documents of that time point to his intrigues in the Karabakh question. For example, G. Ordzhonikidze openly wrote: "Karabakh is a second Zakatala of our foreign commissariat. Here is taking place a colossal provocation, which is being carried out by Armenians in Moscow." [16]

However, despite the strong pressure of the Center on Azerbaijan, it was not able to achieve its rapprochement with the position of Armenia. The negotiations of S. Kirov with Peoples Commissar M.D. Huseynov and the Armenian representatives in Tiflis failed to yield results. On August 6, he wrote to Chicherin that, as a result, he was able to gain only one thing from the Azerbaijanis: they were ready to yield to Armenians the Sharur-Daralagez district, but the rest, that is Nakhchivan district, Ordubad, Dzhulfa, Zangazur, and Karabakh, the Azerbaijanis decisively considered their own. In their turn, the Armenian representatives insisted on all these areas. The chief argument of the Azerbaijanis was that these oblasts belonged to Azerbaijan at the time of the Musavat government and yielding them now would harm Soviet power in the eyes of Azerbaijanis, Iran and Turkey. [17]

As a result of the negotiations conducted in Moscow and Yerevan, on August 10, 1920 was concluded an agreement consisting of six sections. Four of them were devoted to the artificially created territorial dispute with Azerbaijan. In the second section of the treaty, it was noted that with the exception of areas defined by the current agreement for the dislocation of forces of Armenia; the forces of the RSFSR will be dislocated in the districts of Karabakh, Zangazur and Nakhchivan, which are to be considered matters of dispute. The third paragraph specified that "the disputed territories occupied by Soviet forces do not pre-decide the issue about the

rights on these territories of the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic. By its provisional occupation, the RSFSR has in mind the creation of favorable conditions for the peaceful resolution of territorial disputes between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the basis of the provisions which will be established by a peace treaty which is to be concluded by the RSFSR and the Republic of Armenia in the nearest future." [18]

As a matter of fact, the speed at which the treaty between Russia and Armenia was concluded is explained by the fact that on exactly the same date was concluded the Sevres Treaty between Turkey and the Entente. The Sevres Treaty promised the Armenians great dividends and Soviet Russian diplomacy was concerned that Armenia might entirely fall under the influence of the Entente. The Sevres Treaty became the chief external factor which forced G. Chicherin speedily to conclude the agreement with Armenia. And the even not yet prepared as a diplomatic document, this agreement under pressure from Moscow was signed, and the Azerbaijani lands which were transformed by Soviet Russia into disputed ones were promised to Armenia.

From the very first days of the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, preparations were carried out so that the indisputable lands of Azerbaijan were declared disputable, which is what we see in the Russian-Armenian accord. G. Ordzhonikidze, who had been sent to Azerbaijan, on June 19, 1920, sent a telegram to V.I. Lenin and G. Chicherin reporting that in Karabakh and Zangazur, Soviet power had been proclaimed and that both these territories consider themselves part of Azerbaijan. He warned: "Azerbaijan cannot get along in any way without Karabakh and Zangazur. In general, in my opinion, a representative of Azerbaijan should be called to Moscow and together with him be resolved all questions concerning Azerbaijan and Armenia, and this should be done before the signing of an agreement with Armenia [because] a repetition of the Zakatala events by the Armenians would end with undermining our position here." [19]

The August 10 agreement concluded between Soviet Russia and Armenia without Azerbaijan being informed, however, was the result of a policy chosen by the Central Bolshevik government and particularly the Peoples Commissariat of International Affairs of Soviet Russia, which was directed at harming the interests of Azerbaijan.

In the territorial disputes of the two republics, someone very much wanted that Armenia would win. For this, certain leading workers at the Center were not averse to using deception or even provoking elements. Long before the signing of the accord [with Armenia], G. Chicherin in a report suggested to V. Lenin that "the Azerbaijan government has made a claim on Karabakh, Zangazur, and Sharur-Daralagez district along with Nakhchivan, Ordubad, and Dzhulfa ... To support this combination through the use of Russian units is totally impermissible. Our role must be absolutely objective and strictly dispassionate. It would be a fatal mistake for all our policy in the East if we were to begin to base ourselves on one national element against another national element. To take from Armenia some portions and hand them over to Azerbaijan would mean to give a false coloration to all our policy in the East." [20] Chicherin was then able to include part of his proposals in the official instructions sent to the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasus Front, where he in the name of the Central Committee of the party instructed them not to allow Azerbaijani or Armenian organs into the disputed territories. However, the territories he declared disputed were in fact the territories of Azerbaijan and were under the

control of Azerbaijani organs of power, which means that the directive of Chicherin was a crude violation of the sovereign rights and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

As we see, difficult days had arrived for the new powers in Azerbaijan. On the one hand, giving itself over to revolutionary pathos, the Azerbaijani Soviet power considered itself close to Soviet Russia, but on the other hand, by the hands of its worker-peasant allies in Soviet Russia were being taken away lands which indisputably belonged to Azerbaijan under the earlier government. This processes continued in such an unattractive form that even Soviet workers sent from Moscow to Azerbaijan recognized the injustice of such a relationship to the republic. One of these witnesses, the chairman of the Council of the National Economy of the Azerbaijan SSR N. Solovyev, in an extensive report to V.I. Lenin noted that, "There was hope in Moscow. But the peace treaties with Georgia and Armenia, the handing over to these republics of part of Azerbaijani territory with a Muslim population, have shattered, if not absolutely killed, this hope: according to the conclusion by the Muslim masses, not only did Moscow seize Azerbaijan, but is also endowing Armenia and Georgia at its expense. The treaty with Armenia—by which part of Azerbaijani territory with exclusively Muslim population was given to Armenia, the railway which had enormous strategic and economic importance was given up, and the single corridor directly connecting Azerbaijan and Turkey was destroyed—has been received particularly badly. What is one to say to ordinary Muslims when certain members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party explain such a treaty by saying that it has been drawn up according to directives from influential Armenians in the Center who call themselves communists, but who in reality are conscious or unconscious nationalists." [21]

Such high-handed actions by Soviet Russia in relation to Azerbaijan generated the anger of N. Narimanov. He well understood that the chief organizers of these provocative games were the Peoples Commissar of International Affairs G. Chicherin, who from the summer of 1919 had stood in opposition to the eastern policy pushed by Narimanov, and the assistant peoples commissar L. Karakhan. Both occupied leading positions, which allowed them to define and in practice to carry out the foreign and especially the Eastern policy of the Soviets. In the struggle with Chicherin, N. Narimanov viewed the intervention of Lenin as the only way out because Lenin had before Sovietization given many beautiful promises. Still believing in the justice of Lenin's position concerning Azerbaijan, N. Narimanov in the middle of July wrote the following: "With the telegram of Comrade Chicherin, it is clear that Your information is one-sided or that the Center is being subjected to the influence of those who even now act jointly with the Denikin forces against Soviet power in Azerbaijan. If it is profitable to the Center to sacrifice Azerbaijan and to retain for itself only Baku with its oil and to stop conducting any Eastern Policy, then this can be done, but I warn: It is impossible to hold Baku without all of Azerbaijan in the neighborhood with the traitor Dashnaks and Georgian Mensheviks. On the other hand, I would like to find out how the Center view us, Muslims, and how it can resolve such important questions without us. The Center can relate to us with a lack of trust, but then even such responsible workers as Ordzhonikidze and Mdivani will not agree with such a decision. I say directly that the Center has taken the weapon from our hands and by its decisions about Karabakh and so on intensified, and provided support for, the provocation of the Musavat, which all the time insists that Muslim Communists have sold Azerbaijan to Russia, which recognizes the independence of Armenia and Georgia and, at the same time, considers for some reason the hitherto indisputable territories of Azerbaijan matters of dispute. Comrade Chicherin speaks about subordination to the policy of the center, but does

the Center realize that this very same center is forcing us into an untenable position. ... People here tell us directly: 'You cannot secure for Azerbaijan completely undisputable territories, but continue talking about the liberation of the East.'" [22]

In another letter to V.I. Lenin, N. Narimanov warned about the serious danger threatening Azerbaijan: "A terrible situation is being created. The Center recognized the independence of Georgia and Armenia and recognized the independence of Azerbaijan, but at the same time, the Center is giving totally indisputable territories of Azerbaijan to Armenia. If these same territories were given to Georgia, it would be possible somehow to struggle to win over public opinion, but to give them to Armenia, this is an unjustified and fatal mistake" (Narimanov 1990, p. 117).

Despite the tough and even at times sharply oppositional position of N. Narimanov, Soviet Russia chose to prefer the policy of denigrating Azerbaijan that had been developed by the Peoples Commissariat of International Affairs. In a diplomatic dispatch sent on July 20 by G. Chicherin to N. Narimanov, there was the following sarcastic comment: "Up until now not in one telegram was clarified to us by you or Ordzhonikidze why the occupation of Karabakh and Zangazur by Russian forces does not satisfy you and other local communists and why is required their immediate annexation to Azerbaijan. ... We need to develop relations with Armenia for it could happen that if Turkey turns against us, Armenia, even a Dashnak Armenia, could be an advanced post in the struggle against the attacking Turks." [23] In another letter, G. Chicherin warned the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) that one should approach Armenian-Azerbaijani relations by taking the position of Turkish policy into account. He wrote: "In the discussion of Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute, I have all the time indicated that in the case of a turn in Turkish policy toward the path of conquest in the Caucasus, Armenia will be a barrier against it and will defend us." [24]

As the position of Soviet Russia in Azerbaijan strengthened, this republic was step by step transformed into an advance post for the regional policy of the Bolsheviks, and on account of its natural resources, the position of the Georgian and Armenian bourgeois republics was weakened, and favorable conditions were created for the Sovietization of Armenia. In a code cable to V.I. Lenin sent by Legran on September 23, 1920, the intentions of Soviet Russia relative to Azerbaijani territories were defined in the following way: one should not be concerned about the transfer of Zangazur and Nakhchivan to Armenia. The very thought that these territories are needed by us for liberation military operations in the Turkish and Tabriz directions is utopian. And thus it is impossible to disagree with the territorial claims of Azerbaijan. The objective and well-based support from Moscow undoubtedly will satisfy Azerbaijan. As for Karabakh, it is possible to insist on its unification with Azerbaijan. [25] In another telegram on October 24, 1920, sent to G. Chicherin, B. Legran described his agreement with Armenians concerning Azerbaijani territories in the following way: "The Armenians have made the immediate recognition of their position with regard to Nakhchivan and Zangazur a categorical condition. I indicated that without Azerbaijan, this question cannot be resolved and that only by Armenia's dropping of claims to Karabakh could we put this before Azerbaijan. The Armenians agreed after long discussions and with inessential qualifications to withdraw as far as Karabakh is concerned." [26] But this refusal turned out to be premature, and at the end of November 1920, with the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia, the struggle for the mountainous part of Karabakh entered a new stage.

Reference

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[2] Telegram of S. Kirov to G. Chicherin, 29 June 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 5, op. 1, d. 2178, l. 1.

[3] Telegram of N. Narimanov, M. Mdivani, A. Mikoyan, and A. Nuridzhanyan to G. Chicherin, 19 June 1920, *State Archive of Azerbaijan Republic* (hereafter GA AR), f. 28, op. 1, d. 211, l. 115.

[4] Letter of Peoples Commissar of International Affairs G. Chicherin to the Politburo of the CC RCP(b), 22 June 1920, PDA PAR, f. 1, op. 1, d. 2a, l. 9.

[5] Response of G. Chicherin to a query by V. Lenin, June 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 2, op. 1, d. 1451, l. 1.

[6] Letter of Narimanov, Mdivani, Mikoyan, Naneyshvili, Vesnik, Levandovsky and Mikhailov to the Central Committee of the RCP(b), 10 July 1920, *PDA PAR*, f. 1, op. 44, d. 118, l. 25-27.

[7] Code Cable of G. Chicherin to G. Ordzhonikidze, 2 July 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 85, op. 3s, d. 2, l. 3.

[8] Response of G.K. Ordzhonikidze by direct line to the statement of Chicherin on 2 July concerning territories in dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia, July 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 85, op. 3s, d. 2, l. 6.

[9] Reminder by Ordzhonikidze by direct line to V. Lenin, I. Stalin, and G. Chicherin, July 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 85, op. 3s, d. 2, l. 8-9.

[10] Telegram of G. Ordzhonikidze to G. Chicherin, 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 64, op. 1, d. 17, l. 53.

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[12] Telegram of G. Chicherin to G. Ordzhonikidze, 8 July 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 64, op. 1, d. 17, l. 60.

[13] Telegram of G. Ordzhonikidze to V.I. Lenin, I.V. Stalin and G.K. Chicherin, 16 July 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 85, op. 3s, d. 2, l. 12.

[14] Telegram of A. Mikoyan to G. Ordzhonikidze, 29 June 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 64, op. 1, d. 17, l. 134.

- [15] Code cable of G. Ordzhonikidze and S. Kirov to V. Lenin and I. Stalin, 12 June 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 85, op. 2s, d. 2, l. 9-11.
- [16] Telegram of G. Ordzhonikidze to G. Chicherin, 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 64, op. 1, d. 17, l. 304.
- [17] Letter of S. Kirov to G. Chicherin, 6 August 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 80, op. 4, d. 102k, l. 1-2.
- [18] The text of the agreement between the RSFSR and the Republic of Armenia, 10 August 1920, *PDA PAR*, f. 1, op. 169, d. 249/II, l. 11-12.
- [19] Telegram of G. Ordzhonikidze to V.I. Lenin and G. Chicherin, 19 June 1920, *PDA PAR*, f. 1, op. 169, d. 249/I, l. 34.
- [20] Copy of a note to V.I. Lenin, 29 June 1920, *PDA PAR*, f. 1, op. 1, d. 2a, l. 13-14.
- [21] Information of N.I. Solovyev to V.I. Lenin, "Our Policy in Azerbaijan for Two Months (May-June) after the Revolution," 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 17, op. 84, d. 58, l. 15.
- [22] Letter of N. Narimanov to V.I. Lenin, July 1920, *PDA PAR*, f. 609, op. 1, d. 71, l. 41-42.
- [23] Dispath of G. Chicherin to N. Narimanov, 20 July 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 5, op. 1, d. 2097, l. 1.
- [24] Letter of G. Chicherin to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP(b), 5 October 1920, *Foreign Policy Archive of Russian Federation* (hereafter FPA RF), f. 04, op. 39, folder 232, d. 52987, l. 40.
- [25] Telegram of B. Legran to V.I. Lenin, 23 September 1920, *RSASPH*, f. 64, op. 1, d. 21, l. 144.
- [26] Secret telegram of B. Legran to G. Chicherin, 24 October 1920, *SRASPH*, f. 5, op. 1, d. 2178, l. 20.

**GORBACHEV 'MADE A MISTAKE' ON KARABAKH,
RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO BAKU SAYS**

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Vladimir Dorokhin, the Russian ambassador to Baku, told a group in the Azerbaijani capital at the end of July that former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had "made a mistake on the Karabakh question" and, moreover, that "Azerbaijan deserves to know more about this." As is often the case when a diplomat makes a statement about the past, Dorokhin's remarks on this point are important not only and perhaps

not so much as a contribution to historical understanding but also—and from the Azerbaijani perspective in particular—as an indication of Moscow’s current and future position on the resolution of the Karabakh conflict.

That is all the more so in this case because the ambassador’s comment came in response to questions posed by members of the Youth Social Chamber of Russia during their visit to Azerbaijan. Specifically, Dorokhin said, “Now already we can perfectly openly say that the leadership of the Soviet Union headed by Gorbachev made a mistake” on the Karabakh conflict, adding that that regime “simply incorrectly assessed this conflict and adopted incorrect means” to deal with it. [1]

Gorbachev has long had a bad reputation among Azerbaijanis. It was Gorbachev, after all, who sacked Heydar Aliyev from the Politburo. It was Gorbachev who ordered the Soviet Army into Baku in Black January. And it was Gorbachev who had a large number of ethnic Armenians among his advisors, most notably Academician Abel Aganbegyan, with almost no Azerbaijanis in this group.

But Dorokhin’s comments are about two other things, one far larger than the conflict over Karabakh and one specifically involved with that war. With regard to the former, Gorbachev, as Dorokhin and other Russian officials now appear ready to concede, simply did not understand the role of nationality in the Soviet system. Consequently, as many of them at least implicitly acknowledge, the former Soviet president did not understand that every one of his policies necessarily would have implications for the stability and even survival of the USSR. To put it in simplest terms, every one of Gorbachev’s policies would have worked had the country been mono-ethnic, but if the Soviet Union had been mono-ethnic, the USSR would not have been in the shape that it was in; and every one of those policies thus had the effect of contributing to the disintegration of that country, none more so than the specific approach Gorbachev adopted toward the Karabakh conflict.

Gorbachev’s approach to the Karabakh conflict in particular reflected that lack of understanding the ramifications of nationality in the Soviet system, especially given the way in which the Soviet Union was based on territorialized ethnic formations. On the one hand, while he was Soviet leader, Gorbachev routinely defended the existing territorial formations in public, but in an interview 18 months ago to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, he indicated that in 1988, the Kremlin and presumably he as its leader “was prepared to give Karabakh” a new territorial status as “a republic,” something that would have represented at least a partial victory for Armenian aspirations and a clear defeat for Azerbaijan, even though he claims that Abdul-Rahman Vazirov, the Azerbaijani party chief at that time, was close to accepting the idea. Indeed, he said, the sides were “close” to accepting “a proposal” for “a Karabakh republic.” [2]

Had this issue been discussed in public, it would have infuriated many Azerbaijanis and raised questions in the minds of other nationalities as to where the Soviet leadership was heading. But because Gorbachev tried to solve this problem via closed politics alone, his apparent willingness to change borders and to upgrade the status of Karabakh—his Foundation said in a report released at the time of his interview that Moscow was ready to “allocate half a billion rubles” to overcome what it called the “neglected” development of that Azerbaijani region and to improve links with Yerevan—meant that many Soviet officials likely reached one of two conclusions, both of which presented a danger to stability.

On the one hand, at least some came to believe that the use of violence could force Moscow's hand. After all, if Gorbachev was prepared to move in the direction the Armenians wanted, why shouldn't other groups try the same thing? In a multi-national empire, such thinking could prove fatal. And on the other, at least some others concluded that Gorbachev couldn't be trusted, that he was saying one thing and doing something else, a conclusion that meant his authority declined more generally.

At one level and perhaps the more important, Dorokhin's comments simply represent a reaffirmation of Moscow's current commitments—both unilaterally and as a co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group—to the principle of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. But at another level, they represent a repudiation of Gorbachev's remarks in March 2010 that while in 1988, "it was still possible to turn [Karabakh] into a republic," now because of length of the conflict, Gorbachev said, it may not be possible to "return" that region to Azerbaijan and thus solve the conflict that way.

Notes

[1] See <http://news.day.az/politics/279658.html> (accessed 17 August 2011).

[2] See http://www.armeniapedia.org/index.php?title=Mikhail_Gorbachev (accessed 17 August 2011).

**PAX TURCICA INSTITUTE:
A PLATFORM FOR TURKIC ADVOCACY AND
RESEARCH**

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Over a century ago, the idea of Turkic unity contributed to the liberation of Turkic-speaking subjects of the Russian Empire and to the establishment of a modern Turkish Republic in the Ottoman heartland. Such Turkic idealism also formulated the success of the first Azerbaijani democracy in 1918 (Altstadt 1992, p. 708) and promoted the development of national consciousness among the Turkic peoples of Central Asia in 1920s. The fall of Soviet Union in 1991 and the emergence of five newly independent Turkic states opened avenues for reviving the old ideals of unity; and while the classical definition of Turkism no longer has a role, the forces of globalization and networking have offered new opportunities for a conceptual redefinition of Turkic solidarity. The growing cooperation of Turkic expatriate communities in third countries is an important part of this process.

In the representative democracies of the West, émigré communities often wield a significant influence over bilateral relations between their homelands and place of residence as the cases of the Jewish, Greek and Armenian communities in the United States demonstrate.

Up to now, Turkic-American communities have played a relatively smaller role, the result of both their shorter histories and the diversity of their national interests. Nevertheless, as ever more members of these diasporas recognize, cooperation among them is essential—for advancing the interests of Turkic-Americans as a whole, on one hand, and facilitating ties between the United States and the Turkic nations, on the other—and that conviction lies behind the establishment of the Pax Turcica Institute (PTI).

Although formally registered only in 2011, the Pax Turcica initiative dates back to 2008, when a group of Turkish and Azerbaijani community leaders and scholars called for the creation of a unified Turkic-American research and advocacy platform. The idea was not to create another supra-grassroots organization, but rather to facilitate working relations and the networking of existing Turkic-American organizations and communities. The choice of the title was not incidental. The term *Pax Turcica* (or “Turkic peace” in translation from Latin) dates back to 16th century, to the period of tranquility, tolerance, cooperation, prosperity and reform following the largest Ottoman expansion into the European heartland under Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (Lamb 1956).

Given its mission, the *Pax Turcica* initiative has flourished through the cooperation of various Turkic organizations, including the Assembly of Turkish-American Associations, the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA), the Azerbaijan Society of America (ASA), the Azerbaijani-American Council (AAC), and the Uzbek Initiative. In addition, PTI also engages several non-Turkic organizations interested in cooperation. For example, Pax Turcica’s most recent action campaign in support of Turkey and Macedonia was held in collaboration with the United Macedonian Diaspora (UMD), the leading grassroots organization of Macedonian-Americans. [1]

The First Pax Turcica Conference held in May 2009 at Columbia University was the first and so far the only academic grassroots event that brought together scholars, community leaders, diplomats, and students from Turkish, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Kazakh, Tatar, and Kyrgyz communities. Apart from that, it was the only all-Turkic conference co-hosted by the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) at Columbia University. [2] Subsequently, PTI organized—in cooperation with TCA, ATAA, ASA—another conference on the history of Jewish communities in the Turkic world at the Center for Jewish History in New York. [3] More recently, Pax Turcica—together with ATAA and AAC—organized Khojaly memorial presentations at the George Washington University (GWU) [4] and the University of Toronto (UoFT), [5] and held a US Census Workshop in Washington, DC. And last year, Pax Turcica supported the major issue of the first Turkic magazine *Birlik*, issued at the University of California, Berkeley. [6] That same year, AAC issued the Pax Turcica US Postal Service-approved stamp to raise awareness of Turkic heritage in the 2010 US Census. [7]

In 2011, the Pax Turcica initiative made a big step forward by institutionalizing and engaging in Turkic-American grassroots advocacy. For this reason, the organization acquired a market-leading Capwiz online advocacy system and launched its first letter campaign in February, one dedicated to the 19th anniversary of the Khojaly massacre. [8] PTI Capwiz ability allowed the Pax Turcica Institute to build a nationwide grassroots membership, which now counts in thousands, and to more consistently represent the Turkic communities and organizations in the U.S. Congress, government and local media. In the past six months, PTI—in cooperation with ATAA, ASA, and AAC—launched 15 different action campaigns, including the

"March 31—Day of *Soyqirim*, the Azerbaijani Genocide," "April 23—Turkish National Sovereignty and Children's Day," opposing each of the five anti-Turkish bills—House Resolutions 304, 306, 2587, 180, and Senate Resolution 196—introduced in Congress during 2011. Within those six months, over 20,000 letters were sent to members of Congress and other public officials—with dozens of responses being received every week—and more than ten articles were published in the US media. [9] The latter represents a major achievement for less than 180 days of activity.

Building upon the annual Congressional testimonies by ASA and AAC, the PTI also pioneered its 2011 action campaign regarding foreign assistance by focusing on the direct U.S. aid to the occupied Karabakh region of Azerbaijan. The PTI campaign letter argued that the US aid was initially intended by Congress for all victims of the Karabakh conflict, but for the last several years, under the influence of the Armenian-American lobby, US aid was directed only to Armenians in the occupied Karabakh, depriving displaced Azerbaijanis of any help. Moreover, the amount of this aid allocation was elevated from 3 million USD to 8 million USD, while the actual consumption in the occupied Nagorno-Karabakh never exceeded 2 million USD. Hence the aid allocation was simply a big waste of US taxpayer dollars with a view to satisfying the whim of a single special ethnic interest group. In July 2011, within just five months of the PTI advocacy efforts, House Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs omitted the wording and amount of direct aid to Nagorno-Karabakh in the FY 2012 budget proposal. This is not a final victory until the full House Appropriations Committee vote (and some might argue that the omission was due to the reduction of overall budget spending), but the developments show that the Turkic community is being heard and Pax Turcica is proud of its role in this effort.

In the coming months, PTI will focus on actively engaging Turkic communities to raise awareness of their issues in local constituencies. This may be a challenging task, especially in areas with major influence of Armenian-American ethnic interest groups. But it is a key to building an equally influential community that can overcome such obstacles. For instance, in 2008, AAC became the first Azerbaijani-American grassroots organization to organize a community visit to California State Assembly and to observe the Azerbaijani flag rising to honor AAC delegation in California Senate chambers.

PTI also plans to expand its activity on the academic front by organizing educational programs at major U.S. and Canadian universities throughout the year. In past, PTI group partnered with Turkish and Azerbaijani student associations at George Washington University, University of Toronto, University of California Berkeley, University of California Irvine, and Columbia University. These partnerships will be taken to a qualitatively new level via the Pax Turcica academic grassroots network. Finally, PTI also works to build partnerships with Tatar, Kazakh, Uyghur and Kyrgyz communities and organizations in the US in order to expand the range of focus of its advocacy.

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Notes

[1] See <http://forum.kajgana.com/threads/...> [17 July 2011] (accessed 16 August 2011).

[2] See <http://uzbekinitiative.grouppsite.com/calendar/event/2009/5/16/114170> and <http://news.day.az/politics/157601.html> (both accessed 16 August 2011).

[3] See <http://news.day.az/society/182749.html> (accessed 17 August 2011).

[4] See <http://www.news.az/articles/society/8740> and <http://en.trend.az/news/karabakh/1836899.html> (both accessed 17 August 2011).

[5] See <http://az.trend.az/news/karabakh/1835603.html> (accessed 17 August 2011).

[6] See <http://www.news.az/articles/society/7494> (accessed 17 August 2011).

[7] See <http://en.trend.az/news/society/1621090.html> (accessed 17 August 2011).

[8] See <http://en.trend.az/news/karabakh/1824261.html> (accessed 17 August 2011).

[9] See <http://www.mycentraljersey.com/article/20110722/NJOPINION0201/307220021/Opposes-resolution-on-Turkish-genocide;>
[http://www.sunherald.com/2011/07/19/3283925/congress-cannot-rewrite-turkish.html;](http://www.sunherald.com/2011/07/19/3283925/congress-cannot-rewrite-turkish.html)
[http://www.grandcoulee.com/articles/2011/07/21/opinion/letters/doc4e26ff92199ab509375312.txt;](http://www.grandcoulee.com/articles/2011/07/21/opinion/letters/doc4e26ff92199ab509375312.txt) [http://www.press-citizen.com/article/20110625/OPINION05/106250331/Is-U-S-offending-a-long-time-ally-;](http://www.press-citizen.com/article/20110625/OPINION05/106250331/Is-U-S-offending-a-long-time-ally-) and <http://www.sonomanews.com/Web-2011/Celebrating-Azerbaijan/> (all accessed 17 August 2011).

A CHRONOLOGY OF AZERBAIJAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

I. Key Government Statements on Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy

President Ilham Aliyev says that "Azerbaijan today plays in the region a stabilizing role which will grow step by step" (<http://news.day.az/politics/283226.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev tells diplomats from Muslim countries accredited in Baku that he is glad that "the number of embassies of Muslim countries in Azerbaijan is growing" and underscores that his government "is striving to raise" Azerbaijan into the ranks of developed countries (<http://news.day.az/politics/282762.html>).

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that "the states of the South Caucasus must escape from

conflicts which were created by outside forces”
(<http://news.day.az/politics/285762.html>).

II. Key Statements by Others about Azerbaijan

Turkey’s Grand National Assembly removes the protocols on relations between Turkey and Armenia from its agenda thus depriving them of any juridical force
(<http://news.day.az/politics/284746.html>).

The US Department of State annual report on terrorism says that Azerbaijan “actively opposed terrorist organizations seeking to move people, money and material through the Caucasus”
(<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/170479.pdf>).

Moody’s Investors Service says that its prognosis for the Azerbaijani banking system remains stable (<http://news.day.az/economy/281573.html>).

III. A Chronology of Azerbaijan’s Foreign Policy

August 31

President Ilham Aliyev telephones his Tajik counterpart Emomali Rakhmon
(<http://news.day.az/politics/285987.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Koray Targay, the incoming head of the Baku Office of the OSCE (<http://news.day.az/politics/285979.html>).

The Foreign Ministry calls on Armenia to withdraw its forces from the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/285962.html>).

Gular Ahmadova, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the lack of any international sanctions against Armenia has convinced Yerevan officials that they can lie without limit (<http://news.day.az/politics/285908.html>).

Serbian Foreign Minister Vuk Jeremic makes a working visit to Baku
(<http://news.day.az/politics/285869.html>).

The US allocated 10 million US dollars in military assistance to Azerbaijan
(<http://news.day.az/politics/285968.html>).

August 30

Rovshan Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that “the ruling clan of Armenia is not in a position to take rational steps” (<http://news.day.az/politics/285783.html>).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkey’s ambassador to Baku, says that Azerbaijan and Turkey keep on discussing the technical issues of a package of gas accords, including on the direct transit of Azerbaijani gas to Europe
(<http://news.day.az/economy/285846.html>).

Joseph Owen, the representative of the World Bank in Azerbaijan, says that the bank supports Baku's efforts to diversify its economy and develop the non-petroleum sector (<http://news.day.az/economy/285632.html>).

August 29

Nazim Ibrahimov, head of the State Committee for Work with the Diaspora, says that "the problems of Azerbaijanis living in Georgia will be solved" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285771.html>).

Shovgi Mehdizade, counselor of the Azerbaijani embassy in Georgia, says that "Azerbaijan is playing an important role in the economic life of Georgia" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285757.html>).

Gunduz Ismayilov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Work with Religious Structures, says that the creation of the Administration of Muslims of Georgia "disturbs" Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/285753.html>).

Samad Seyidov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that divisions between Armenia and the Armenian diaspora of the United States reflect underlying problems in Yerevan's position on Armenia's borders (<http://news.day.az/politics/285690.html>).

Ganira Pashayeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the development of Azerbaijan and Georgia are interconnected" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285728.html>).

The Batumi Conference on "The Integration of Georgian Azerbaijanis in Society in the context of Azerbaijani-Georgian Cooperation" issues an appeal to the presidents of Azerbaijan and Georgia praising them for their cooperation and noting that they are "a guarantee of the ever strengthening strategic partnership between the countries" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285770.html>).

Mirza Davitaya, Georgian minister for diaspora issues, says that Georgia "always observes with pride the development of Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285729.html>).

Mirza Davitaya, Georgian minister for diaspora affairs, says that Georgia unequivocally supports the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the liberation of the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/285727.html>).

August 28

Ali Hasanov, head of the social-political department of the Presidential Administration, says that in addition to promoting its own development, Azerbaijan is helping Georgia (<http://news.day.az/politics/285695.html>).

Nazim Ibrahimov, head of the State Committee for Work with the Diaspora, says that "the friendship of the Azerbaijani and Georgian peoples has deep roots" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285691.html>).

August 27

Azerbaijan sends a note of protest to the German Foreign Ministry demanding that Berlin block plans to hold a concert in Stuttgart devoted to the separatist regime

in Nagorno-Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/285582.html>;
<http://news.day.az/politics/285678.html>).

Asef Hajiyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenian leaders have increasingly adopted an anti-Russian position in an attempt to explain away their own failures in foreign policy (<http://news.day.az/politics/285490.html>).

August 26

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives his Ukrainian counterpart Konstantin Grishchenko to discuss bilateral ties and the future of GUAM (<http://news.day.az/politics/285372.html>).

The Foreign Ministry says that it is "carefully following the situation in Libya" and that it hopes for "the most rapid reestablishment of peace and quiet in this country" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285433.html>).

Samad Seyidov, head of the Azerbaijani delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, says that the appointment of an additional rapporteur of the Council of Europe for political prisoners in Azerbaijan is "a decision far from objectivity" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285362.html>).

Bakhtiyar Sadykhov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Yerevan's steps made the ratification of the Armenian-Turkish protocols impossible" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285286.html>).

Fazil Mustafa, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Yerevan's declarations at present are directed exclusively at a domestic audience (<http://news.day.az/politics/285308.html>).

The Ninth International Summer Forum of Azerbaijani Youth Who have Studied Abroad (ASAIF) opens in Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/285376.html>).

Yusif Halachoglu, a deputy of Turkey's Grand National Assembly, says that "the strengthening of ties among Turkey, Russia and Azerbaijan can lead to a situation in which Armenia will remain isolated" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285314.html>).

Pakistani Senate Chairman Farooq Hamid Naek tells Dashgyn Shikarov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Islamabad, that Pakistan remains grateful for Baku's assistance after the earthquake in 2005 and the flooding in 2010 (<http://news.day.az/politics/285428.html>).

The EU Council adopted a decision to appoint Philippe Lefort as the European Union Special Representative (EUSR) for the South Caucasus and the crisis in Georgia. That is, Philippe Lefort will perform the functions of both Peter Semneby who served as EUSR for the South Caucasus until 28 February 2011, and Pierre Morel who served as EUSR for the crisis in Georgia until 31 August 2011 (http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/press_corner/all_news/news/2011/2011_08_26_2_en.htm).

Serik Primbetov, Kazakhstan's ambassador to Baku, says that Azerbaijani-Kazakhstani ties are "developing dynamically and at present are at the level of strategic partnership" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285384.html>).

Bishop Faige of Germany says that "Armenia must leave occupied Azerbaijani territories" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285406.html>).

August 25

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov tells a group of visiting permanent representatives to the United Nations that "the preservation by the international community of the status quo in the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is unacceptable and that a resolution of the conflict is possible only in the framework of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285292.html>).

Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov receives Koray Targay, the new head of the Baku Office of the OSCE (<http://news.day.az/politics/285268.html>).

Ambassador Agshin Mehdiyev, Azerbaijan's permanent representative to the United Nations, along with his Turkish, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan counterparts, sends a proposal to the UN Secretary General calling for the UN General Assembly to approve making the Council of Cooperation of Turkic Language States an observer to that body (<http://news.day.az/politics/285220.html>).

The Azerbaijanis of Germany send a letter of protest to the government of Baden-Wurtemberg and to the mayor of Stuttgart protesting plans to hold a concert there on "the 20th anniversary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285307.html>).

Zhalya Aliyeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "if the leadership of Armenia will act in the same spirit as it does now, then in the near future, revolutionary changes in that country are completely possible" (<http://news.day.az/politics/285128.html>).

Zhalya Aliyeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that a new law on tourism should devote particular attention to propagandizing the history of Azerbaijan to tourists (<http://news.day.az/economy/285266.html>).

Kamal Ismailzade, the head of the department of economic ties with CIS countries of the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers, says that the CIS was created in order to prevent economic losses from the end of the USSR and that it may play a role as an analogue to the European Union in the future (<http://news.day.az/economy/285183.html>).

The Argentine Senate establishes an inter-parliamentary friendship group with Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/285145.html>).

August 24

Prime Minister Arthur Rasi-zade receives 12 permanent representatives of UN member countries during their visit to Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/285070.html>).

Emergency Situation Minister Kamaladdin Heydarov receives Naser Abdul Karem Rahemin, the Palestinian ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/285095.html>).

The Foreign Ministry welcomes the statement of the French Foreign Ministry that the visit of deputies of the French National Assembly to Nagorno-Karabakh does not represent a change in the French position on the resolution of the conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/284970.html>).

Elchin Amirbayov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Paris, says that the visit by French deputies to Nagorno-Karabakh is in conflict with international norms (<http://news.day.az/politics/285012.html>).

Elman Arasly, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Amman, meets with Jordanian Minister Haifa abu Gazaleh to discuss expanding bilateral tourism (<http://news.day.az/economy/284950.html>).

Musa Gasymlly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the visit of French deputies to the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan casts doubt on the mediating role of France in the resolution of the conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/285077.html>).

Govhar Bakhshaliyeva, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that deepening economic problems in Armenia are behind the decline of that country's permanent population (<http://news.day.az/politics/284938.html>).

The Euro-Atlantic Organization of Azerbaijani Youth is admitted as a consulting member to the UN Economic and Social Council (<http://news.day.az/society/285039.html>).

The Libyan Embassy in Baku raises the flag of the Libyan National Transitional Government (<http://news.day.az/politics/285060.html>).

August 23

Defense Minister Safar Abiyev receives British Air Vice-Marshal Graham Howard and tells him that "the continuing occupation policy of Armenia is connected with the existence in the world of a policy of double standards" (<http://news.day.az/politics/284818.html>).

Ambassador Agshin Mehdiyev, Azerbaijan's permanent representative to the United Nations, says that his office "reacts to each step taken by the Armenian side on the issue of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict" (<http://news.day.az/politics/284801.html>).

Aydyn Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, calls on French deputies to study the history of the Caucasus before making any further statements about Karabakh (<http://news.day.az/politics/284852.html>).

Evda Abramov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the Armenian president is afraid to make an historic step" (<http://news.day.az/politics/284750.html>).

The Azerbaijan Youth Organization of Russia, together with the All-Russian Popular Front, marks the Day of the Russian State Flag (<http://news.day.az/society/285036.html>).

Aleksandr Mishchenko, Ukraine's ambassador to Baku, hosts a ceremony in the Azerbaijani capital in honour of the Day of the State Flag of Ukraine (<http://news.day.az/politics/284899.html>).

The Iranian embassy in Moscow says that Armenian media outlets have lied when they reported that the Iranian ambassador to Russia had referred to "the government of Nagorno-Karabakh" (<http://news.day.az/politics/284809.html>).

Latvian President Andris Bērziņš names Roman Aliyev, the head of the Latvian Center of Azerbaijani Culture, as head of the restored Consultative Council on the Affairs of National Minorities (<http://news.day.az/politics/284790.html>).

A Kyiv conference of the Council of National Communities of Ukraine notes Azerbaijan's longstanding tradition of ethnic and religious tolerance (<http://news.day.az/society/284990.html>).

August 22

Defense Minister Safar Abiyev receives Hulusi Kilic, Turkey's ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/284619.html>).

Novruz Mammadov, head of the foreign relations department of the Presidential Administration, says that Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan is guilty of hypocrisy by his promotion of the idea of "Greater Armenia," an imaginary place that includes portions of the territory of contemporary Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Iran (<http://news.day.az/politics/284689.html>).

Fazail Agamaly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Iranian reports that Yerevan has provided bases for the training of Kurdish separatists and terrorists are nothing new (<http://news.day.az/politics/284572.html>).

Allahshukur Pashazade, the sheikh-ul-Islam and head of the Administration of Muslims of the Caucasus, takes part in a conference on "the Place and Role of Sufism in Islam" in Chechnya (<http://news.day.az/society/284696.html>).

Adil Garibov, the head of the Institute of Radiation Problems at the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, calls for research on the environmental impact of the Gabala radar station (<http://news.day.az/society/284672.html>).

The Ecology Ministry reports that Armenian and Georgian sources continue to pollute the Kura and Araz rivers (<http://news.day.az/society/284618.html>).

Azerbaijan becomes an observer to the European Youth Parliament (<http://news.day.az/politics/284684.html>).

Turkey's Grand National Assembly removes the protocols on relations between Turkey and Armenia from its agenda thus depriving them of any juridical force (<http://news.day.az/politics/284746.html>).

August 21

The Foreign Ministry says that the statements by Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan at a Lake Sevan youth movement conference show that he "wants to put an end" to all accords reached so far on the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/284540.html>).

August 20

Deputy Industry and Energy Minister Gulmammad Javadov and Korean officials sign cooperation accords (<http://news.day.az/economy/284463.html>).

August 19

Bayram Safarov, the head of the Azerbaijani community of Nagorno-Karabakh, says that his group is actively organizing representations of the Azerbaijani community of Nagorno-Karabakh in various foreign countries (<http://news.day.az/politics/284267.html>).

The African Union sends a letter of thanks to Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov for Azerbaijan's humanitarian assistance to Somalia (<http://news.day.az/politics/284260.html>).

Gas flows from Iran to Turkey, interrupted by an August 11 explosion and that led to increased Turkish purchases of Azerbaijani gas, resume (<http://news.day.az/economy/284275.html>).

August 18

Elman Arasly, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Amman, reports on the basis of conversations with Feisal Faiz, the speaker of the Jordanian parliament, that Jordan supports the position of Azerbaijan on the Karabakh issue (<http://news.day.az/politics/284166.html>).

Elchin Guliyev, the head of the State Border Service, says that "a number of countries" would like to have their border guard officers trained in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/society/284131.html>).

Achim Steiner, executive director of the UN Environment Program (UNEP), greets the accord signed by the Caspian states, including Azerbaijan, that calls for a joint struggle against the pollution of the Caspian Sea (<http://news.day.az/politics/284141.html>).

The Iranian Foreign Ministry responds to Azerbaijan's note of protest concerning the recent declaration of General Seid Hasan Firuzabadi, the chief of the Iranian General Staff (<http://news.day.az/politics/284014.html>).

August 17

Ayдын Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Azerbaijan has not and will not allow the Gabala radar station to be used against the interests of neighboring states and in particular allies (<http://news.day.az/politics/283921.html>).

Elman Mammadov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Yerevan does not have the resources to populate the occupied territories" (<http://news.day.az/politics/283881.html>).

Asim Mollazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the Armenian side is trying to continue an imitation of a negotiating process on Karabakh" rather than reach an agreement (<http://news.day.az/politics/283749.html>).

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev calls on the Caspian littoral states to live up to their promises on a moratorium on sturgeon fishing (<http://news.day.az/politics/283979.html>).

Matthew Bryza, US ambassador to Baku, says that "the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by peaceful means is a priority for President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton" (<http://news.day.az/politics/283915.html>).

Turkmenistan has proposed discussing Caspian region security at the upcoming 66th session of the UN General Assembly (<http://news.day.az/politics/283805.html>).

August 16

President Ilham Aliyev says that "the main goal of social policy is to strengthen Azerbaijan and improve the well-being of the Azerbaijani people" (<http://news.day.az/politics/283464.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev appoints Elkhan Polukhov Azerbaijan's ambassador to South Africa (<http://news.day.az/politics/283783.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev appoints Latif Gandilov Azerbaijan's ambassador to Kazakhstan (<http://news.day.az/politics/283783.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev appoints Gursel Ismailzade Azerbaijan's ambassador to Japan (<http://news.day.az/politics/283783.html>).

Ambassador Akshin Mehdiyev, Azerbaijan's permanent representative to the United Nations, calls upon UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon to direct his attention to Armenia's actions (<http://news.day.az/politics/283636.html>).

Elmira Suleymanova, Azerbaijan's ombudsman, says that Azerbaijan is carrying out significant efforts to bring the country's laws into correspondence with international standards (<http://news.day.az/society/283660.html>).

Neftgaztikinti of the State Oil and Gas Company of Azerbaijan concludes an agreement with Turkmenistan to conduct exploration work in the Turkmen sector of the Caspian (<http://news.day.az/economy/283720.html>).

General Ucel Karauz begins service as Turkey's military attaché to Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/283722.html>).

Roland Kobia, head of the European Union representation in Azerbaijan, says that the process of resolving the Karabakh issue must be accelerated (<http://news.day.az/politics/283701.html>).

The Permanent Committee of the Convention on International Trade of Wild Flora and Fauna Under Threat of Extinction discusses means for preserving the Caspian sturgeon (<http://news.day.az/economy/283616.html>).

August 15

Deputy Prime Minister Ali Hasanov discusses the history of the Karabakh conflict during an interview with Al-Jazeera's Turkish service (<http://news.day.az/politics/283542.html>).

Novruz Mammadov, head of the foreign relations department of the Presidential Administration, says that Prime Minister Arthur Rasizade, not President Ilham Aliyev, will take part in the September CIS summit in Dushanbe (<http://news.day.az/politics/283592.html>).

Shahin Abdullayev, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Cairo, greets the Arab-Islamic world on the occasion of Ramadan (<http://news.day.az/politics/283543.html>).

Zakir Garalov, procurator general of Azerbaijan, receives Aleksandr Bastrykin, head of the investigation committee of Russia, to discuss cooperation (<http://news.day.az/politics/283588.html>).

Mubariz Gurbanly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Karabakh plays "the role of a barometer of Armenian politics" (<http://news.day.az/politics/283585.html>).

Aydyn Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Armenia is being transformed into a state without a population" (<http://news.day.az/politics/283539.html>).

Tair Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the population of Armenia understands that its country is not independent and that it is ruled from abroad" (<http://news.day.az/politics/283397.html>).

Azerbaijani military personnel take part in de-mining training in Izmir, Turkey (<http://news.day.az/politics/282923.html>).

Debnath Show, India's ambassador to Baku, says that New Delhi intends to expand its cooperation with Azerbaijan in the areas of tourism and agriculture (<http://news.day.az/politics/283449.html>).

August 13

The Presidential Administration responds to a letter from a 13-year-old school girl from Khankandi about the Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/283333.html>).

Officials from the Caspian States, including Azerbaijan, at a meeting in Aktau sign an accord about preventing oil leaks in the Caspian (<http://news.day.az/politics/283291.html>).

The Pakistan Observer publishes a major article on Azerbaijani First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva (<http://news.day.az/politics/283338.html>).

August 12

Ambassador Agshin Mehdiyev, Azerbaijan's permanent representative to the United Nations, signs on behalf of Baku an agreement with the UN to provide assistance to Somalia (<http://news.day.az/politics/283044.html>).

Javanshir Akhundov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Tehran, presents a protest note to the Iranian defense ministry concerning statements made by Seid Hasan Firuzabadi, chief of the Iranian General Staff (<http://news.day.az/politics/283175.html>).

Mubariz Gurbanly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that it is "senseless" to try to use the Karabakh conflict as a means of pressure on Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/283159.html>).

Fazil Mustafa, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenia's economic decline reflects the lack of any domestic production there and warns that the country cannot continue to exist on assistance from abroad alone (<http://news.day.az/politics/283046.html>).

Musa Guliyev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Azerbaijan will offer asylum to individuals who are subject to violence in their daily lives (<http://news.day.az/society/283217.html>).

Ayдын Mirzazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that there are indications of new splits within "the Karabakh clan" that has long dominated Armenian politics and been more concerned about its property and power interests than about those of Armenians more generally (<http://news.day.az/politics/283121.html>).

Inayatullah Kakar, incoming Pakistani ambassador to Baku, says that Pakistan considers the expansion of economic ties between the two countries to be extremely important (<http://news.day.az/politics/283070.html>).

Vladimir Dorokhin and Serik Primbetov, the ambassadors to Baku of Russia and Kazakhstan respectively, meet with Azerbaijani students (<http://news.day.az/politics/283183.html>).

Ali Larijani, the speaker of the Iranian parliament, says that Iranian officials must not disrupt Tehran's relations with neighboring Muslim countries by meaningless and inappropriate statements as Seid Hasan Firuzabadi, the chief of the Iranian General Staff appears to have done (<http://news.day.az/politics/283126.html>).

August 11

Novruz Mammadov, head of the foreign relations department of the Presidential Administration, says that Azerbaijan's relations with Iran are always based on "the principles of good neighborliness, friendship and useful cooperation," something that makes certain statements by Iranian officials troubling given that they

suggest there are "certain circles in Iran" which do not want good ties with Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/282981.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Nadir Huseynov says that Azerbaijan has presented a note of protest to Iran concerning the statements of Seid Hasan Firuzabadi, chief of the Iranian General Staff (<http://news.day.az/politics/282971.html>).

Yashar Aliyev, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Washington, attends an iftar at the White House at the invitation of US President Barak Obama (<http://news.day.az/politics/283004.html>).

Polad Bulbuloglu, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Russia, announces plans for the opening of an Azerbaijani-language school in Yekaterinburg (<http://news.day.az/politics/282989.html>).

Mubariz Gurbanly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the meeting of President Ilham Aliyev with his Russian counterpart Dmitry Medvedev in Sochi represents "the next stage of talks on the resolution" of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/282899.html>).

Fazail Ibrahimli, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that Armenians relate to the political processes in their country with "apathy" (<http://news.day.az/politics/282842.html>).

The Iranian Foreign Ministry says that reports about the statements of Seid Hasan Firuzabadi, the chief of the Iranian General Staff, do not correspond to reality (<http://news.day.az/politics/283008.html>).

The Press Council of Azerbaijan and UNESCO launch a project on media and climate change (<http://news.day.az/society/283029.html>).

The Iranian Foreign Ministry says that reports about the statements of Seid Hasan Firuzabadi, the chief of the Iranian General Staff, do not correspond to reality (<http://news.day.az/politics/283008.html>).

A delegation of senior militia officers from China visits Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/282919.html>).

August 10

President Ilham Aliyev tells diplomats from Muslim countries accredited in Baku that he is glad that "the number of embassies of Muslim countries in Azerbaijan is growing" and underscores that his government "is striving to raise" Azerbaijan into the ranks of developed countries (<http://news.day.az/politics/282762.html>).

President Ilham Aliyev receives Roosevelt Skerrit, prime minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica (<http://news.day.az/politics/282823.html>).

Novruz Mammadov, head of the foreign relations department of the Presidential Administration, says that the meeting of President Ilham Aliyev with his Russian counterpart Dmitry Medvedev in Sochi on August 9 will contribute to the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/282726.html>).

Fuad Askarov, head of the law enforcement department of the Presidential Administration, says that the decision of President Ilham Aliyev to allow former president Ayaz Mutallibov to come to Azerbaijan for the funeral of his son was a humane step that "must not be used for political speculations" (<http://news.day.az/politics/282796.html>).

The Georgian Foreign Ministry says that it deeply regrets the loss of life and property as a result of the explosion in the Hajigabul district of Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/282816.html>).

August 9

President Ilham Aliyev meets with his Russian counterpart Dmitry Medvedev in Sochi and expresses his thanks for Moscow's contributions toward the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (<http://news.day.az/politics/282535.html>).

Bakhtiyar Sadykhov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that recently some in Armenia are coming to recognize the realities now threatening their country (<http://news.day.az/politics/282503.html>).

Azerbaijan's population has increased 24.4 percent over the last 20 years and 11.2 percent over the last decade alone (<http://news.day.az/society/282609.html>).

August 8

The Azerbaijani government provides Somalia with 100,000 US dollars in assistance (<http://news.day.az/politics/282407.html>).

Fahraddin Gurbanov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to London, hosts a meeting of British businessmen on investment opportunities in Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/economy/282464.html>).

Elman Mammadov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the international community, including the OSCE Minsk Group, "must put pressure on Armenia for the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict" (<http://news.day.az/society/282376.html>).

Former Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutallibov makes a private visit to Azerbaijan to attend the funeral of his son (<http://news.day.az/politics/282454.html>).

The Central Council of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in Germany appeals to the German parliament to put pressure on Armenia to leave the occupied territories (<http://news.day.az/politics/282461.html>).

August 6

Allahshukur Pashazade, the sheikh-ul-Islam and head of the Administration of Muslims of the Caucasus, receives Matthew Bryza, US ambassador to Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/282194.html>).

August 5

Aslan Aslanov, the head of AzerTAg, says that Azerbaijan Telegraph Agency is the child of the first democratic state in the East, the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (<http://news.day.az/hitech/282059.html>).

Siyavush Novruzov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that he hopes NATO's Parliamentary Assembly will adopt "an objective document on Nagorno-Karabakh" (<http://news.day.az/politics/282119.html>).

Rovshan Rzayev, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that he does not believe that there could be a change in leadership in Armenia that would not make holding on to Karabakh a justification for their remaining in power (<http://news.day.az/politics/281971.html>).

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu receives Azerbaijan's Deputy Foreign Minister Araz Azimov (<http://news.day.az/politics/281993.html>).

August 4

Ambassador Agshin Mehdiyev, Azerbaijan's permanent representative to the United Nations, says that his mission has raised the question within the UN of the killing by Armenian forces of a 13 year-old Azerbaijani girl (<http://news.day.az/politics/281906.html>).

The Asian Development Bank announces that it plans to provide 945 million US dollars in credits to Azerbaijan during 2011-2013 (<http://news.day.az/economy/281833.html>).

August 3

Asim Mollazade, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "Armenia has territorial claims on all its neighbors" (<http://news.day.az/politics/281693.html>).

Abdin Farzaliyev, head of Baku's Narimanov district, meets Konstantin Markelov, vice governor of Astrakhan (<http://news.day.az/politics/281700.html>).

Azerbaijani military attachés from around the world meet at the Academy of Armed Services in Baku (<http://news.day.az/politics/281684.html>).

Sabir Rustamkhanly, the vice president of the Congress of Azerbaijanis of the World, says that former Congress leader Saftar Rahimli and his supporters are attempting to split the group (<http://news.day.az/politics/281745.html>).

August 2

President Ilham Aliyev signs a directive on the construction in Baku of a Museum of Independence (<http://news.day.az/politics/281630.html>).

Naira Shakhtakhtinskaya, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Vilnius, takes part in Lithuanian commemorations of the 20th anniversary of the Medinikai killings (<http://news.day.az/politics/281628.html>).

Fazail Agamaly, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that the misfortunes of Armenia today are "the direct result" of its aggressive policy toward Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/281474.html>).

Bayram Safarov, the head of the Azerbaijani community of the Nagorno-Karabakh Region of the Azerbaijani Republic, says that the population of Armenia is "rapidly declining" (<http://news.day.az/politics/281563.html>).

Bayram Safarov, the head of the Azerbaijani community of the Nagorno-Karabakh Region of the Azerbaijani Republic, says that the preliminary number of members of the Azerbaijani community of Nagorno-Karabakh is "more than 75,000" (<http://news.day.az/society/281580.html>).

Hulusi Kilic, Turkish ambassador to Baku, says, that "Turkey does not take seriously the comments of the president of Armenia" (<http://news.day.az/politics/281623.html>). In other comments, he says that the recent visit of Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan underscores the importance and closeness of ties between Turkey and Azerbaijan (<http://news.day.az/politics/281593.html>).

Moody's Investors Service says that its prognosis for the Azerbaijani banking system remains stable (<http://news.day.az/economy/281573.html>).

August 1

Finance Minister Samir Sharifov says that the resolution of the US debt crisis is important for Azerbaijan and the world given the central role of the dollar in the international system (<http://news.day.az/economy/281452.html>).

Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmoud Mammadgulyev takes part in discussions in Switzerland on Azerbaijan's application for membership in the World Trade Organization (<http://news.day.az/economy/281400.html>).

Elnur Aslanov, head of the political analysis department of the Presidential Administration, says that "Armenia is headed toward default" (<http://news.day.az/politics/281392.html>).

Fahraddin Gurbanov, Azerbaijan's ambassador to London, says that prospects for the expansion of economic ties between Azerbaijan and the United Kingdom are excellent (<http://news.day.az/politics/281426.html>).

Elman Mammadov, a Milli Majlis deputy, says that "the danger of the start of military actions over Karabakh is perfectly real" (<http://news.day.az/politics/281309.html>).

Bayram Safarov, the head of the Azerbaijani Community of the Nagorno-Karabakh Region of the Azerbaijani Republic, says the decision of the US Congress not to provide aid directly to the separatist regime in Karabakh is "a positive development" (<http://news.day.az/politics/281456.html>).

Azerbaijani and US military units are conducting a series of joint exercises (<http://news.day.az/politics/281314.html>).

Azerbaijan hosts a summer school for students from CIS countries
(<http://news.day.az/society/281422.html>).

The US Azerbaijani Network has called on the Senate to adopt a resolution recognizing the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan
(<http://news.day.az/politics/281332.html>).

Namig Heydarov, an Azerbaijani, is named the head of the UN office in the Afghan city of Mazar-i-Sherif (<http://news.day.az/politics/281375.html>).

Note to Readers

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