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Hörmətli oxucular,

Azərbaycan Respublikasında diplomatik xidmətin 95 illiyinə həsr edilmiş nəşrimizin növbəti sayında sizi salamlamağa çox şadam.

İlk öncə qeyd etmək istədim ki, müasir diplomatiyamızın parlaq və şərəfli tarixi 1918-ci ildə Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin yaranması ilə başlayır. Bir əsrə yaxın müddət keçməsinə baxmayaraq ilk nəsil diplomatlarımız tərəfindən əsası qoyulmuş diplomatik xidmət ənənələri bu gün də müvəffəqiyyətlə davam etdirilir. Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyətinin cəmi 23 ay yaşamasına və ölkəmizin sovet İttifaqının tərkibində formal da olsa

bərabərhüquqlu respublika kimi saxlanılmasına baxmayaraq qeyd edilən dövrlərdə ölkəmizin diplomatik xidmət ənənələri inkişaf etməkdə davam etmişdir.

Müstəqilliyimiz bərpa olunduqdan sonra digər sahələrdə olduğu kimi diplomatiyamız da əldə etdiyi yeni uğurlara görə ümummilli lider Heydər Əliyevə borcludur. Böyük dövlət xadiminin hakimiyyətə qayıdışı ilə ölkəmizin tarazlaşdırılmış xarici siyasətinin həyata keçirilməsi Azərbaycanı beynəlxalq birliyin nüfuzlu üzvünə çevirmişdir. Bu gün müstəqilliyimizin möhkəmləndirilməsi, iqtisadi imkanlarımızın və hərbi qüdrətimizin artırılması, sosial rifahımızın yaxşılaşdırılmasına yönəlmiş xarici siyasət strategiyamız Prezident İlham Əliyevin müəyyən etdiyi kursa uyğun olaraq çevik və qətiyyətlə həyata keçirilməkdədir.

Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti cənab İlham Əliyevin müəyyənləşdirdiyi xarici siyasət kursunun həyata keçirilməsi Xarici İşlər Nazirliyinin fəaliyyətinin əsasını təşkil edir. Dövlətimizin xarici siyasət kursunun uğurla həyata keçirilməsi və qarşıya qoyulmuş vəzifələrin icrası nəticəsində demək olar ki, bütün dünya ölkələri ilə əməkdaşlıq münasibətləri qurulmuş, ölkəmizin müasir beynəlxalq münasibətlər sisteminə inteqrasiyası başa çatdırılmışdır.

Xüsusilə vurğulamaq istədim ki, Ermənistan-Azərbaycan Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsinin ölkəmizin beynəlxalq səviyyədə tanınmış ərazi bütövlüyü və sərhədlərinin toxunulmazlığı prinsiplərinə əsaslanaraq həlli diplomatiyamızın fəaliyyətinin əsasını təşkil edir. Ermənistanın işğalçı siyasətinin ifşası, münaqişənin beynəlxalq hüququn norma və prinsipləri əsasında, Azərbaycanın ərazi bütövlüyü çərçivəsində həll olunması xarici dövlətlərlə həm ikitərəfli, həm də çöxtərəfli formatda həyata keçirilən əməkdaşlıq zamanı gündəliyimizdə duran əsas məsələ olmuşdur.

İnanıram ki, Azərbaycan həqiqətlərinin geniş oxucu kütləsinə çatdırılması, diplomatiyamız ilə cəmiyyət arasında daha sıx və qarşılıqlı əməkdaşlıq münasibətlərinin qurulmasında "Diplomatiya aləmi" jurnalının xüsusi rolu davam edəcəkdir.

Bir daha Azərbaycan diplomatiyasının 95 illiyi münasibəti ilə "Diplomatiya Aləmi" jurnalının oxucularına və bütün həmkarlarıma öz səmimi təbriklərimi çatdırır, diplomatik xidmət orqanları əməkdaşlarının şərəfli və məsuliyyətli işində uğurlar arzu edirəm.

Elmar Məmmədov
Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici işlər naziri

**DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY OF
THE PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
H.E. Mr. ILHAM ALIYEV
IN THIRD QUARTER OF 2014**



VISITS BY THE PRESIDENT OF AZERBAIJAN H.E. Mr. ILHAM ALIYEV

13 – 15.07.2014

Official visit to the Italian Republic

List of meetings held during the official visit:

Meeting with President of the Italian Republic Giorgio Napolitano in an expanded format

Meeting with President of the Italian Senate Pietro Grasso

Meeting with Prime Minister of the Italian Republic Matteo Renzi

List of documents signed during the official visit:

Joint Declaration on strategic partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Italian Republic

Agreement on maritime transport between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Italian Republic

Memorandum of Understanding on economic cooperation between the Ministry of Economy and Industry of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Economic Development of the Italian Republic

Memorandum of Understanding on cultural cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Heritage and Cultural Activities of the Italian Republic

Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in the field of sport between the Ministry of Youth and Sport of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Department of Regional Affairs, Sports and Autonomy – Sports Office of the Presidency of the Council of Ministries of the Italian Republic

08-10.08.2014**Working visit to the Russian Federation**List of meetings held during the working visit:

Meeting with President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin

A joint meeting of President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin and President of the Republic of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan

A JOINT MEETING OF PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV, PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION VLADIMIR PUTIN AND PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA SERZH SARGSYAN***Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

- Thank you, Vladimir Vladimirovich.

Thank you for your attitude towards this issue. As we discussed yesterday, this issue needs to be resolved. It has gone too far. I hope that your involvement in this process will give a new impetus to the negotiations. As you mentioned, there is a format of negotiations, there is also a legal base for the settlement of the conflict. The UN Security

Council has adopted four resolutions demanding an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian occupation forces from Azerbaijani lands. Unfortunately, although more than 20 years have passed, these resolutions remain on paper.

The Minsk Group, in the person of its co-chairs, is working. They are trying to bring about a rapprochement between the parties, but they have not done well. So I think that as our close friend, partner and neighbor, Russia has a special role to play in the settlement process. We hope that soon, by means of negotiations, by peaceful means, we will find a solution that will comply with international law and justice.

04.09.2014 Working visit to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern IrelandList of meetings held during the working visit:

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev attended the opening of the NATO Summit in Wales

A joint meeting of President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan and US Secretary of State John Kerry

29.09.2014 Working visit to the Russian FederationList of meetings held during the working visit:

Meeting with President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Hassan Rouhani

Meeting with President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev

Meeting with President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin

List of documents signed during the working visit:

Five-sided intergovernmental documents have been signed as part of the 4th summit of the heads of state of the Caspian littoral states in Astrakhan with the participation of President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of Russia Vladimir Putin, President of Iran Hassan Rouhani, President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev and President of Turkmenistan Gurbangulu Berdimuhamedov. An agreement on cooperation in hydrometeorology of the Caspian Sea, an agreement on cooperation in warning and liquidating emergencies in the Caspian Sea and an agreement on the preservation and rational use of water biological resources in the Caspian Sea were signed by relevant ministries of the Caspian littoral states. Agreement on the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV ATTENDED THE 4TH SUMMIT OF THE HEADS OF STATE OF THE CASPIAN LITTORAL STATES***Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

- Dear Vladimir Vladimirovich!

Distinguished Presidents!

Dear summit participants!

First of all, I want to express my gratitude to President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin for the hospitality and the successful organization of the summit. It is good to be in Astrakhan, a city with which Baku has long-standing relations of friendship and cooperation.

The Third Caspian Summit held in Baku in 2010 gave an impetus to the negotiations to address the fundamental issues related to the legal status of the Caspian Sea, especially



on the development of common approaches on determining the width of national zones and protection of marine biological resources.

The “Agreement on Security Cooperation in the Caspian Sea” signed at the end of the Baku summit created an important mechanism for cooperation and interaction between border authorities and

other government agencies in the fight against smuggling, poaching, illegal migration, human trafficking, organized crime and terrorism.

Over the past period, a considerable amount of work has been done to strengthen the legal framework for cooperation in the Caspian Sea. The parties have finalized and proposed for signing the “Agreement on cooperation in the field of prevention and liquidation of emergency situations in the Caspian Sea”. The strengthening of cooperation and collaboration of Caspian littoral states in this area will facilitate more efficient and safe operation of the Caspian Sea.

I would especially like to note the importance of bilateral agreements between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation, as well as a trilateral agreement between Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Russia on the delimitation of the Caspian seabed. These agreements play an important part in a comprehensive settlement of the legal status of the Caspian Sea. Azerbaijan believes that the principles laid down in these agreements can provide a good basis for reaching agreement between all littoral states on the delimitation of the seabed.

We view the Caspian Sea as a sea of friendship, peace, security and cooperation. Azerbaijan attaches great importance to the development of bilateral relations with littoral states on the basis of mutual respect and mutual trust. Close friendly relations and multilevel cooperation between the littoral states are the key to stability, prosperity and security in our region.

Unfortunately, the main threat to regional security is posed by the aggressive policy of Armenia against Azerbaijan. The native land of Azerbaijan – Nagorno-Karabakh and seven other adjacent regions of Azerbaijan – have been under Armenian occupation for more than 20 years. As a result of Armenia’s policy of ethnic cleansing against the Azerbaijanis, more than a million people have become refugees and IDPs. The UN Security Council has adopted four resolutions demanding an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian troops from the occupied territories. Unfortunately, Armenia keeps ignoring them and the conflict

remains unresolved. The conflict must be resolved on the basis of international law and the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan which is recognized by the world community. Unfortunately, the dictatorial regime existing in Armenia is not capable of soberly assessing the realities of the modern world and perceiving the norms of international law. By implanting hatred towards Azerbaijan in their society and elevating the phobia of Azerbaijan to the level of state policy, and by characterizing the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as an inter-religious one, the Armenian regime is directly responsible for the consequences of delaying the conflict settlement.

The deepening of trade and economic relations, the improvement of the investment environment on the development and transportation of energy resources to international markets, the creation of safe and secure communications and the involvement of profitable and environmentally friendly technologies in the region of the Caspian Sea are among our top priorities. The Caspian Sea is a link in many international and regional projects on the development of transport corridors.

Azerbaijan attaches great importance to the cooperation with its Caspian neighbors in the oil and gas sector. Companies from Iran and Russia successfully participate as investors in the development of oil and gas resources in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea. Azerbaijan also carries out the transit of oil and oil products through its territory for companies from Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. There are also good prospects in the field of electricity and transportation within the tripartite cooperation among Azerbaijan, Iran and Russia. On 22 September of this year, Azerbaijan commissioned a ferry terminal as part of the first phase of the new Baku International Trade Sea Port. At the first stage the capacity of the port will be 10 million tons and 50,000 containers per year. Upon completion of the third phase, which is planned to be implemented in two years, the capacity will be 25 million tons of cargo and one million containers.

I want to inform my colleagues that last year Azerbaijan launched a new shipyard that meets the highest international standards and is capable of producing all kinds of vessels. This plant opens up additional opportunities for our countries to address the economic problems in the implementation of projects in the field of transport and communications. The modern logistics infrastructure we have created is a major contribution to our common cause and will further deepen cooperation in the Caspian Sea.

I would also like to emphasize the approval of the "Agreement on the conservation and sustainable use of biological resources of the Caspian Sea" adopted by the Third Baku Summit. Azerbaijan attaches great importance to cooperation in the environmental field and shares a common concern of littoral states about the current state of the Caspian environment. We

appreciate the common desire to cooperate more effectively and contribute to the activities of the Framework Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the Caspian Sea.

Reaffirming our commitment to a consolidated decision adopted at the Baku summit, we are in favor of agreeing an appropriate width of national zones on the basis of 25 nautical miles, which includes the body of water to which the sovereignty of a littoral state applies.

We reiterate our commitment to the generally accepted principle of a midline as a fundamental norm of delimitation of the seabed, and attach great importance to the issues of navigation, open access and transit from the Caspian Sea to other seas.

Azerbaijan also attaches great importance to cooperation with our neighbors in the Caspian Sea in the military and military-technical spheres. We believe that the presence of the armed forces of the parties and any military activities in the Caspian Sea should be based on the principle of equal security for all Caspian states. This will enhance mutual trust between the countries of the region. The Caspian Sea should remain so a zone of peace, friendship, cooperation and good neighborly relations.

In conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to the Russian side for the organization of the summit, which will undoubtedly further bring the positions of Caspian littoral states closer to the final solution of the important challenges we face. I would like to reaffirm our commitment to dealing with the matters relating to all areas of cooperation, including the legal status of the Caspian Sea, in the spirit of respect for the sovereign rights of littoral states and mutually beneficial partnership.

Thank you for your attention.

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV DELIVERED A STATEMENT FOR THE PRESS

Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

- Distinguished Presidents,

Dear ladies and gentlemen!

First of all, I would like to once again thank you, Vladimir Vladimirovich, for the organization of the summit, for the hospitality and for the atmosphere you have created for the discussion of issues both in a narrow and extended formats.

As a matter of fact, we have had a very efficient day today, had an open and very friendly dialogue on the important issues of our future cooperation in the Caspian Sea. Vladimir Vladimirovich has already pointed out the main issues we discussed today and the issues we resolved. I do not want to repeat that. I would like to say that I believe that the basis of our success is the close interaction which has historically existed among our peoples.

Azerbaijan has very close and mutually beneficial friendship and partnership with all Caspian states. Our peoples are bound together by history. It is a great asset that we have been able to preserve and are now multiplying the traditions of interaction, mutual support and good neighborliness. The years that have passed since the last summit held in Baku in 2010 have been spent usefully. The agreements we have reached today are the result of very hard and I would even say sincere work. If we hadn't displayed a common political will, it would probably be difficult to achieve what we have achieved.

And today we have made a decision which can in some ways be considered as a significant step forward. These decisions also give us more confidence that we can resolve all the issues related to our interaction in the Caspian Sea.



At different stages of our interaction there have been various estimates of how feasible it is to reach a consensus on fundamental issues of our cooperation. I think that today's discussions, the decision and the documents signed make it clear for all that where there is political will, we can resolve all the problems of our interaction. The key to security in the Caspian Sea is our partnership both bilaterally and multilaterally.

We in Azerbaijan are also very pleased that our neighbors across the Caspian Sea are also good partners between themselves. We always support each other and actively cooperate in international organizations. I think that these positive trends should and will certainly be continued because we live in this region. The Caspian is our common wealth. We will cherish and protect it even better with specific steps, including infrastructure projects and investments in the creation of new opportunities for our countries. The advantage of our countries is not only in the fact that we are friends with each other and treat each other sincerely, but also in the fact that we are economically self-sufficient states. Our countries do not have serious financial problems and we invest heavily in infrastructure.

Vladimir Vladimirovich has noted the need for a further development of the transport

infrastructure. I also said in my speech what is being done in Azerbaijan. I think that at the next step we need to consider the coordination of our transport spheres, including the coordination of our ports that are being created and have already been created in order to establish uninterrupted transportation in all directions – both in the North-South direction, which is very promising, and in the East-West direction. Azerbaijan participates in both projects, and we see only the benefits of such interaction. Security issues in the Caspian Sea, of course, require special attention, but I must say that given this level of cooperation and trust between our countries, each Caspian state ensures both its own security and the security of its neighbor.

In conclusion I would like to say that Azerbaijan is very pleased with today's results, documents signed and arrangements reached. I do hope that at the next summit we will resolve the issues that have not yet been resolved and move forward successfully. Thank you very much again for your hospitality.

**MEETINGS OF THE PRESIDENT OF AZERBAIJAN
H.E. Mr. ILHAM ALIYEV**

- 07.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Speaker of the Parliament of Georgia, David Usupashvili
- 07.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received the General Manager of the NATO Support Agency, Mike Lyden
- 07.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received the Secretary-General of the European People's Party, Executive Secretary of the Centrist Democrat International, Antonio Lopez-Isturiz White
- 08.07.2014 Ilham Aliyev received the NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for the Caucasus and Central Asia, James Appathurai
- 09.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions of Muslim countries in Azerbaijan on the occasion of the holy month of Ramadan
- 09.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, Samuel Santos Lopez
- 10.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of State for Energy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Michael Fallon
- 16.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to Azerbaijan, Richard Morningstar
- 23.07.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, Herbert Salber
- 05.08.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Iranian Minister of Communications and Information Technology, Mahmoud Vaezi
- 07.08.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of Defense of Latvia, Raimonds Vejonis
- 12.08.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Defense Minister of the Republic of Serbia, Bratislav Gasic

- 22.08.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by incoming Commander of the United States Transportation Command, Paul Joseph Selva
- 09.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania, Valdas Lastauskas
- 09.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of Norway's newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Bard Ivar Svendsen
- 09.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of Malaysia's newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Dato' Roslan Bin Tan Sri Abdul Rahman
- 09.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Moldova, Natalia Gherman
- 09.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by European Union Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighbourhood Policy, Stefan Fule
- 10.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, Ivica Dacic
- 10.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Defence Minister of Israel, Moshe Ya'alon
- 10.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by First Deputy Prime Minister of the Kyrgyz Republic, chair of the Azerbaijan-Kyrgyzstan intergovernmental economic-humanitarian commission, Tayirbek Sarpashev
- 11.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Defence Minister of Turkey, Ismet Yilmaz
- 11.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Federal Minister for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, Sebastian Kurz

- 12.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received director of the international development department at the French General Directorate for Armament, Stephane Reb
- 15.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by deputy head of the Government of the Russian Federation, co-chair of the Russian-Azerbaijani intergovernmental commission, Dmitry Rogozin
- 15.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received former Secretary of State for Defence of the United Kingdom, Member of the Parliament, Liam Fox
- 16.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, MP Andreas Schockenhoff
- 18.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Prime Minister of Montenegro, Milo Dukanovic
- 20.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received Minister of State for Trade and Investment of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Lord Livingston
- 20.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Acting Special Envoy and Coordinator for International Energy Affairs of the U.S. Department of State, Amos Hochstein
- 20.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received BP Group Chief Executive, Robert Dudley
- 23.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), Anne Brasseur
- 23.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received director general of Rossiya Segodnya international news agency, Dmitry Kiselyov
- 25.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Mayor of Moscow, Sergey Sobyenin
- 26.09.2014 President Ilham Aliyev received chairman of Russian Liberal-Democratic Party, member of the State Council, State Duma deputy, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy



**DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY
OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF
AZERBAIJAN,
H.E. Mr. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV
IN THIRD QUARTER OF 2014**

**VISITS BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC
OF AZERBAIJAN, H.E. Mr. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV**

22 - 26.09.2014

Working visit to the United States of America

**STATEMENT BY MINISTER ELMAR MAMMADYAROV AT THE OSCE
MINISTERIAL EVENT ON "ADDRESSING THE CRISIS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY:
THE WAY FORWARD AND THE ROLE OF THE OSCE"**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I agree that the subject that we are discussing today is both timely and topical. We observe a number of new challenges in the OSCE area that prevent this Organization to perform effectively functions that it has been mandated to and, hence, affect security of its Participating States. Among them there are the selective misinterpretations of the founding principles of the Helsinki Final Act, the growing number of instances of the threat or use of force in international relations, as well as a failure to ensure inviolability of internationally recognized borders of the OSCE participating States as a result of this use of force.

There is a lack of comprehensive and integral approach to the human rights and fundamental freedoms, application of double standards and selectiveness, attempts to destabilize security of the OSCE participating States under the pretext of human rights concerns.

Attempts to transform the Organization into an area of competing and opposing political military groupings are troubling. Such groupings-based competition and build-ups puts under question the indivisibility of the OSCE area and seriously affects those States that due to different limitations cannot or will not join collective defense institutions and are not in comfort with diminishing role of OSCE in the European security architecture. Within the

OSCE area no State, group of States or organization can claim a primary responsibility for maintaining peace and stability or consider any part of the OSCE area as its sphere of influence. For non-bloc countries like Azerbaijan, OSCE is the pan-European security guarantor, whose multinational engagement protects Azerbaijan from biases of unilateral involvement.

There is a growing trend of simultaneously developing integration processes in the OSCE area, which put a number of risks and challenges not only for those striving to be part of integration processes, but also for non-block Participating States. Those processes are not discussed within the OSCE, but they affect security of the OSCE participating States and impact on the scope of implementation of the OSCE commitments. If they lead to a crisis situation, then OSCE remains the only regional arrangement to react, since neither of the competing integration unions or blocks is eager to compromise and develop a culture of dialogue and constructive engagement.

The OSCE is a cornerstone of the European security architecture. It is important to recognize the role of the Organization as of a platform for dialogue and promotion of trust and security. As the OSCE participating States we have to reiterate our commitment to uphold the Helsinki Final Act, its founding principles, as well as other OSCE commitments, which are the foundation and cornerstone of our cooperative security.

The OSCE documents established clear standards for participating States' treatment of each other and of all individuals within their territories. All OSCE commitments, without exception, apply equally to each participating State. Their implementation in good faith is essential for relations between States, between governments and their peoples, as well as between the organizations of which they are members.

It should be underlined that OSCE is neither a rival nor a competitor to any Western or Eurasian dominated unions or blocks, but it is a broad platform where disagreements and contradictions may be constructively addressed. Advantage of the OSCE would be fully utilized, if the Organization could manage not only to react to emerging crises, but preferably to prevent them from escalating.

We believe that the major mission of the OSCE is and should be the protection of norms and principles it advocates without constraints, double standards and geographical preferences, and to ensure the respect for them in interrelations of its Participating States.

It is important to open the OSCE agenda for discussion of any issue affecting security of any OSCE participating State and to try to address them in a constructive, non-accusatory

manner. To that end, there is a need to improve informal consultations among major stakeholders in the OSCE and those States who feel that their security is affected.

In this context, the Platform for Co-operative Security, which was adopted as an essential element of the Charter for European Security of 1999, is an advantage that is underutilized in OSCE. It can further strengthen and develop co-operation with competent organizations on the basis of equality and in a spirit of partnership. Such cooperation should be mutually reinforcing, while security interests of the non-block OSCE States should be taken into consideration in the inter-institutional talks on establishing cooperative relations among the OSCE and its partners.

The conflicts in the OSCE area are the key threats to the peace and security on the European continent. The current stalemate situation in the settlement process of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict is very dangerous in terms of peace and stability in the region.

The breakthrough for the resolution of the conflict is a withdrawal of the Armed Forces of Armenia from the occupied territories and return of ethnically cleansed Azerbaijani population back their homes. This action will help to create the atmosphere of confidence between Azerbaijani and Armenian communities of the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, which is a very important element towards sustainable peace building.

We believe that the OSCE Participating States reaffirm their unequivocal expectations for the soonest resolution of this conflict based on the above-mentioned approaches.

Thank you.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER ELMAR MAMMADYAROV AT THE GENERAL DEBATE OF THE SIXTY-NINTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. President,

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset, I would like to congratulate my good friend Mr. Sam Kutesa on his assumption of the Presidency of the sixty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly and wish him every success in fulfilling this highly responsible duty. We are also grateful to Mr. John Ashe for all his hard work in presiding over the sixty-eighth session.

Mr. President,

Azerbaijan reaffirms its commitment to the implementation of the global sustainable development agenda and reaching an agreement on the post-2015 Development Agenda.

My country's record in attaining the Millennium Development Goals is truly unique. Over the past ten years, the Gross Domestic Product of Azerbaijan has increased by 3.4 times. Now, the economy of Azerbaijan accounts for more than 80% of that of the South Caucasus. The unrivaled high rate of economic growth has been achieved thanks to prudent use of available resources and rapid transition to socially oriented market economy. The poverty rate was reduced from 49% in 2004 to 5.3% in 2014. Over the same period, the unemployment rate has been decreasing from 10.6% to 5%.

The Government has been implementing large-scale programs on improving good governance, strengthening rule of law, ensuring respect for human rights, providing facilitated access to public services, inclusive and equitable education, gender equality and empowering women, enabling access to affordable energy and protection of environment.

The rapid development at national level enabled Azerbaijan to embark on a new road of official development assistance in the status of an emerging donor. Over the past years, Azerbaijan has continued responding to humanitarian and socio-economic challenges faced by the developing countries through the Azerbaijan International Development Agency-AIDA and other channels.

The commitment to contribute to international development is widely shared across

our public. The leading non-governmental organization in Azerbaijan, the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, has implemented numerous social, humanitarian and development projects in a number of countries.

Azerbaijan has established itself as a reliable supplier of energy in the global market. Just recently, the groundbreaking ceremony was held in Azerbaijan launching the Southern Gas Corridor. This \$50 billion-project, which envisages construction of pipeline systems such as TANAP and TAP, will enable Europe to get gas supplies from a completely new resource base in Azerbaijan.

The project on the Trans-Eurasian information super highway (TASIM), which was initiated by Azerbaijan, will provide the countries of the region with ICT services, facilitating access to the Internet, telecommunication systems and e-info resources for 20 countries throughout the region.

Acknowledging the value of transport as an important mechanism for sustainable development, Azerbaijan has successfully launched several regional infrastructure projects. The Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway is an important link connecting Europe and Asia.

Against the background of various threats and challenges facing the world nowadays, it is critical to persistently stress the importance of promoting key values of different cultures, enhancing better understanding among diverse communities and encouraging mutual respect. Located between the two great continents of Asia and Europe, Azerbaijan is a unique place where East and West meet, world's main religions peacefully coexist, values and traditions of different cultures complement harmonically each other. It is not a coincidence that in recent years Azerbaijan has hosted numerous international events aimed at promoting the dialogue among civilizations and enhancing understanding among different religions, faiths and cultures.

Mr. President,

Violence and fragility remain the largest obstacles to the development. The world community is still facing serious breaches of the fundamental norms and principles of international law. Peoples throughout the world continue to suffer from devastating wars, aggression, military occupation and ethnic cleansing.

For more than twenty years, Armenia has been using force against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan. It has occupied around 20% of the territories of Azerbaijan and conducted ethnic cleansing against almost one million Azerbaijanis, as a result of which

no single Azerbaijani is left in Armenia or in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. No single Azerbaijani historic and cultural monument escaped destruction in the occupied territories and in Armenia.

In 1993, the United Nations Security Council adopted four resolutions that reaffirm the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory. The resolutions demand the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Armenian occupying forces from all the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. Further, the United Nations General Assembly, Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and numerous other regional organizations adopted various decisions supporting the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and demanded settlement of the conflict based on these principles.

Unfortunately, Armenia disregards all the aforementioned resolutions and the generally accepted norms and principles of international law and continues military occupation of Azerbaijani lands.

Armenia regularly violates the ceasefire and deliberately attacks Azerbaijani civilians, which results in the killings and woundings of inhabitants residing near the front line. Just recently, several Azerbaijani civilians visiting the graveyards of their relatives in the occupied territories were taken hostage and tortured, some of them even killed by Armenian forces.

It is therefore critical that the international community play a more proactive role in ending impunity for the crimes committed against the civilian population of Azerbaijan. Combating impunity is important to ensure sustainable peace and reconciliation.

Two days ago, the President of Armenia delivered a statement here at the General Debates trying to mislead the UN General Assembly by distorting the facts and the situation in the peace process, and misinterpreting the norms and principles of international law and the relevant documents adopted in this framework. The President of Armenia misuses the noble principle of self-determination to cover up his country's attempts to annex territories of the neighboring State, Azerbaijan, by use of force. The situation, which he tries to present as a self-determination of the Armenians living in Azerbaijan, has nothing in common with the principle of self-determination contained in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. In fact, the principle of self-determination requires the return of the displaced Azerbaijanis to the Nagorno-Karabakh region, where they will live together with the Armenian community in peace, dignity and prosperity within Azerbaijan. We believe in achieving this goal by political means.

Azerbaijan stands for a negotiated settlement of the conflict without prejudice to its rights under the Charter of the United Nations, in particular those set forth in the Article 51. The Government of Armenia must realize that the military occupation of a territory of another State does not represent a solution and its reliance on the status-quo is a grave miscalculation. Azerbaijan will never compromise its territorial integrity and the rights and freedoms of its citizens violated as a result of the aggression.

The unequivocal and consistent support by the international community for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan has been a crucial factor. It makes clear to Armenia that the current status-quo achieved as a result of aggression will never be accepted. I would like to thank the Member States for upholding the letter and spirit of the UN Charter by supporting the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. The international community does not and will not accept attempts to change the internationally recognized borders by use of force. The world should also not accept double standards, otherwise it can bring us back to the dark chapters of the last century. In this regard, the time is ripe to bring to justice those in Armenia who perpetuated acts of aggression against Azerbaijan and crimes against humanity, and impose sanctions on them.

Thank you.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER ELMAR MAMMADYAROV AT ANNUAL COORDINATION MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION MEMBER STATES

Mr. Chairman,

Dear Mr. Secretary General,

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to thank you and the Secretary General Mr. Iyad Amin Madani for having organized this Annual Coordination Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the OIC member states.

We are grateful to the kingdom of Saudi Arabia for a successful hosting of the 41st Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers and excellent leadership of the OIC Group in New York.

Since its establishment, OIC has carried out great initiatives and has taken serious steps to safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim Ummah all over the world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony among various peoples. But nevertheless, the rapid processes happening in our globalizing world necessitate our sustained cooperation. Therefore, it is utmost important to not only enhance our cooperation in the already defined fields, but also to explore new possible areas for our collaboration.

The situation in Palestine as well as in the Middle East at large continues to be a serious challenge for the Islamic Ummah and requires a unified stand of the OIC member states on international arena. The Government of Azerbaijan stands for the two-state solution and reaffirms its full support to the brotherly people of Palestine in their efforts for achieving peace, stability and establishment of their independent state with East Jerusalem as its capital. Therefore, we welcome all efforts aimed at bringing the soonest and just peace to this sacred land.

Azerbaijan is deeply concerned over the escalating violence in Iraq that claims so many innocent lives and endangers not only regional but international security. We should not remain indifferent to the grave violence and humanitarian crisis that forced hundreds of thousands of Iraqis flee their homes and devastated a number of cities and towns.

As a state which has been affected by terrorism in several ways, we believe that there is a vital necessity to further enhance our cooperation on combating international terrorism,

which remains the main challenge of the modern world that can be addressed solely on a joint basis. Azerbaijan condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes, as it constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security and supports all international efforts aimed at struggling against this evil.

We are very pleased to see that the cooperation between the two largest inter-governmental organizations – OIC and UN has become much more significant in the recent years. Considering both Organizations' common vision and purpose for a peaceful, secure and stable world we assess UN-OIC cooperation as strategic and believe that the partnership synergy between the two organizations should be enhanced further.

Distinguished Colleagues,

Azerbaijan reiterates its sincere gratitude to the Islamic Ummah, OIC member states and OIC Secretariat for their firm position to support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and their condemnation of the Armenian aggression.

In conclusion, let me once again extend our deep appreciation to OIC Secretary General Prof. Iyad Ameen Madani and his highly dedicated team for the professionalism in the realization of the goals and principles of our Organization.

Thank you.

**MEETINGS OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN, H.E. Mr. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV**

- 09.07.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, Samuel Santos Lopez
- 22.07.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the Co-Chairs of OSCE Minsk Group
- 21.08.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the Commander of United States Transportation Command, General Paul Selva
- 26.08.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to the Republic of Azerbaijan, Michal Labenda
- 26.08.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the newly appointed Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania to the Republic of Azerbaijan, Valdas Lastauskas
- 26.08.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the Republic of Azerbaijan, Josef Migas
- 01.09.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Samat Ordabaev
- 02.09.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the newly appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Norway to the Republic of Azerbaijan, Bard Ivar Svendsen
- 02.09.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the newly appointed UNICEF Representative in Azerbaijan, Andro Shilakadze
- 10.09.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation headed by the Defence Minister of Israel, Moshe Yaalon
- 10.09.2014 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Tomasz Orłowski

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THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

3 September 2014, Baku

Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev during the Press Conference

- Dear Mr. President, my dear brother.

Distinguished guests,

Ladies and gentlemen!

First of all, my dear brother, I would like to welcome you to Azerbaijan once again. Welcome to Azerbaijan!

We attach great importance to your visit. We are very pleased that less than a week after your swearing-in ceremony you are paying a visit to Azerbaijan, to your home. I want to take this opportunity to sincerely congratulate you on the great victory in the presidential election and wish you continued success.

Today, during our bilateral meeting and during a meeting with the participation of delegations we discussed all areas of our bilateral relations and have been further convinced that Turkish-Azerbaijani relations are at the highest level. Our relations are built on friendship and brotherhood. Today, we are building a beautiful building of our friendship and brotherhood on this solid foundation.

Political relations are expanding day by day. We always support each other in international organizations and conduct consultations related to foreign policy. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Turkish government for its efforts in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the support for Azerbaijan's fair position. It is very important to us. Turkey has always pursued an open policy on this issue, has always stood by Azerbaijan, stood by truth, justice and international law. This issue was also discussed today.

The Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict poses the biggest threat to the region. The internationally recognized territory of Azerbaijan has been under occupation for many years. Twenty per cent of our land is occupied, there are more than a million refugees

and internally displaced persons. We have been subjected to a policy of ethnic cleansing. The UN Security Council, the world's top organization, has adopted four resolutions in connection with the conflict, demanding an unconditional withdrawal of the Armenian forces from our lands. Unfortunately, Armenia flouts these resolutions and the conflict remains unresolved. The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict must be resolved only on the basis of international law and the territorial integrity of countries. And I am sure that it will be the case.



At the same time, Azerbaijan is always close to Turkey in all international organizations. Today, we also exchanged views on the far-fetched “genocide” which will be marked in Armenia next year. Turkey and Azerbaijan are working and will continue to work together at the level of Foreign Ministers and ambassadors. Our Diaspora and public organizations are working and will continue to work together in this direction, so that we work in a coordinated manner to dispel the myth of the “Armenian genocide”. Armenia and Armenians of the world are trying to mislead the international public opinion and to build history of lies. They are putting forward unfounded accusations against Turkey. None of them has a historical basis. This is a lie, slander and fiction. We will continue to make joint efforts with the countries close to us in order to expose the Armenian lies.

Of course, we discussed various aspects of our cooperation today. At the same time, we discussed cooperation in the defense industry and its prospects. There is also great potential in this area.

As always, one of the topics of discussion was energy projects that we share. When my dear brother and I signed the TANAP project two years ago, we could roughly expect where it would lead us. The TANAP project, which is our brainchild, today attracts the attention of the whole world. Our teams and groups have already begun work. I am sure that this historic project will be implemented in a timely manner. We have always been together in energy issues. TANAP is a project which, of course, requires broader international cooperation. It brings together more countries and companies. I am confident that with joint efforts and through common will, we will successfully implement this project.

Today we also discussed issues of mutual investment. This in some sense is a novelty in our relations because major mutual investment has been made both from Turkey and Azerbaijan in recent years. In the next five to six years even more Azerbaijani investment will be made in Turkey – about \$17-20 billion. I am very pleased that the Turkish side is

increasing its stake in our energy projects. It has increased its stake in “Shah Deniz” and owns a large share in the TANAP project. These are also Turkish investments in Azerbaijan. At the same time, due to the implementation of these projects great new opportunities are emerging. The main actors in these large energy projects are Turkey and Azerbaijan. And it should be the case. Today, our unity is already a factor on a global scale, and the stronger Turkey, the more confident we will feel. We are very pleased with Turkey’s successes. I am sure that our brotherly relations will continue to flourish.

Dear brother, I welcome you to Azerbaijan again and wish the people of Turkey happiness and continued success.

Thank you.

Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev during the official dinner reception

- Dear Mr. President, my dear brother.

It is a very remarkable day today. The President of the brotherly country and my dear brother has come to Azerbaijan on an official visit. Our friends involved in the activities of this visit are here with us. During our one-on-one and expanded meetings we had an extensive exchange of views. In our statements for the press we also spoke about the work done and, at the same time, the work to be done in the future.

To sum up, I want to say again that this visit has produced excellent results. The visit has been a great success. I am sure that this official visit will provide great support for the development of Turkish-Azerbaijani friendly and brotherly relations. It will give them a major boost.

And now we are gathered for a very nice ceremony. My dear brother Recep Tayyip Erdogan has been confidently leading Turkey for 11 years. We in Azerbaijan love Turkey very much. There is not a single person in Azerbaijan who would not love Turkey as much as their homeland. Therefore, we rejoice in Turkey's success as in our own.

Over the past 11 years, Turkey has covered a long and glorious path. This has been possible thanks to my dear brother.

We all know very well that before my dear brother came to power, the situation in Turkey was not so reassuring. There was an economic and political crisis, Turkey was gripped by a large debt, international financial institutions were to a certain degree dictating their will. Thanks to Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his activities, an end was put to all the negative phenome-

na in the economy and Turkey began to develop steadily. Today, in terms of economic development, Turkey is at the forefront. Several years ago the whole world and Europe were hit by a crisis – a financial and economic recession. But this crisis has not had any impact on Turkey because the Turkish government conducted sound economic policies supported by its people. During those years Turkey became a member of the “Big Twenty”. This is a historic achievement. Turkey is at the forefront in a club that brings together the leading countries of the world. And this did not fall from the sky. This is the result of hard daily work. Today, the successes of Turkey’s foreign policy are obvious. Turkey now has an impact on the processes taking place not only in the region but also in the world. It has become a force on a global scale. Of course, the main role in the implementation of all this work has been played by my dear brother, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his assistants, members of his team.



Over the course of these 11 years, we have worked together. We have tried to make Turkish-Azerbaijani friendship and brotherhood even stronger. Although this friendship and brotherhood are already so strong that it is not so easy to strengthen them further. But we have strived to further strengthen the unity between our two countries on the basis of the covenant given to us by history and our ancestors.

In recent years, the energy, investment, transport and other projects have not only brought us even closer together, but also had a very positive impact on the region. All of our initiatives – both in political and economic, energy and transport sectors – have benefited the region. The countries collaborating with us have also benefited from this. We are conducting a policy of goodwill. We are building our interests, if I may say so, our circle of influence on the basis of cooperation. In other words, we are always ready to help other countries and extend a helping hand. We are noted for our good intentions. In recent years, the Turkish-Azerbaijani unity has become a key factor on a global scale, at least in the region. I am sure that in the future we will do a lot more by the will of the peoples of Turkey and Azerbaijan. All these words have been confirmed by the Turkish people at the latest presidential election. The votes cast in favor of my dear brother are the votes cast for the work done. People see everything. We have a proverb: “The eyes of the people are scales”. People give an accurate assessment to everything. The Turkish people have given the right assessment. And the Azerbaijani people have also given the right assessment.

Today, during this historic visit, on behalf of the Azerbaijani state I am presenting my dear brother with the highest award of the Azerbaijan state – the Order of “Heydar Aliyev”. Dear brother, I want to present this high award to you now.

THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF MALAYSIA TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

12 September 2014, Baku

List of documents signed during the official visit:

Joint Declaration on friendly relations and partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Malaysia

Memorandum of Understanding between the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic and Petroliam Nasional Berhad company of Malaysia on cooperation in oil and gas sectors

Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan (represented by ADA University of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the Government of Malaysia (represented by Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) on cooperation in the field of training of diplomats

Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev during the Press Conference

- Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Ladies and gentlemen!

First of all, Mr. Prime Minister, let me warmly welcome you to Azerbaijan once again. Thank you for accepting my invitation to pay a visit to our country. This is the first visit of the Prime Minister of Malaysia to Azerbaijan. This is a historic visit which will leave a mark on the history of our cooperation. We attach great importance to this visit. I am confident that the results of the visit will strengthen our bilateral cooperation.

Our cooperation has a good history. I am sure that there are great prospects for the future, as we have established a very active political dialogue. I am sure that today's visit will also strengthen our political contacts. We have an active political dialogue within the framework of various international organizations.

Today we have signed a Joint Declaration. I am sure that it will be a very important document in terms of the development of our future cooperation because this document covers all aspects of our cooperation – political, economic and energy spheres.

At the same time, Mr. Prime Minister and I have held extensive discussions today. We have established a very positive cooperation within international institutions, in particular

the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and other organizations. I express my gratitude to Malaysia for the fact that this country sticks to a very strong position on the issue of Nagorno- Karabakh, always defends the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan. This position complies with international law and reflects our cooperation and brotherhood.



Unfortunately, Nagorno-Karabakh and seven adjacent districts have been under Armenian occupation for many years.

Armenia flagrantly violates international law. The most important international organization of the world, the UN Security Council, has adopted four resolutions calling for Armenia to immediately and unconditionally free our lands. However, Armenia pays no heed to them. Twenty per cent of our country is under occupation. The Armenians have conducted a policy of ethnic cleansing against the Azerbaijanis. I would like to point to the Khojaly genocide. There is a fact of the extermination of hundreds of innocent people. Our mosques and cemeteries have been destroyed. There can be no excuse for this - this is vandalism.

This violence and genocide have been perpetrated by criminal elements that are currently in the Armenian government. We always keep this issue in the spotlight. This conflict must be resolved within the framework of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan in the near future. This would contribute to regional peace and stability. Mr. Prime Minister, thank you once again for the resolute position of your country on this issue.

Today we have also discussed our economic cooperation. Agreement has been reached on mutual investments by companies from both countries. A business forum will be held today, where both countries will present their business opportunities. I do believe that we will identify practical steps for our cooperation to increase in the future.

We have examined joint investment opportunities - we are talking about the projects that will be implemented in third countries. I think there is great potential. Unfortunately, our turnover today is very low. But I am sure that after this visit some progress will be achieved.

Today we have had very detailed and wide-ranging discussions related to the energy sector. Our cooperation in this area has very good prospects. I believe that we can build a strategic partnership in this area – in exports, transportation, processing of energy resources and other issues. Therefore, the Memorandum of Understanding signed between SOCAR and Petroliam Nasional Berhad today creates excellent cooperation opportunities. I am sure that

officials from both companies will immediately begin an active dialogue and cooperation because the parties have already identified specific projects. I do hope to see tangible results as soon as possible.

I would also like to note that Malaysia is an important partner and friend for us in the world. We are implementing joint actions and making efforts to strengthen Muslim solidarity. We are actively cooperating within the framework of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. Malaysia has made great strides in terms of economic, political and social development. This can serve as an example for many countries. Malaysia has great achievements in terms of creating a strong and stable political system and a strong economic foundation. I do think that the development and solidarity of Muslim countries also contribute to the strengthening of cooperation. I believe that by consolidating our efforts we can do even more. We are very satisfied with our cooperation. In my opinion, today's visit opens a new page in our cooperation.

Mr. Prime Minister, welcome to Azerbaijan once again!

**THE WORKING VISIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

19 September 2014, Baku

***Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev during the
Press Conference***

- Dear Mr. Prime Minister, my dear brother,

Honorable guests,

Ladies and gentlemen!

Dear Mr. Prime Minister, let me warmly welcome you to Azerbaijan. Welcome to Azerbaijan!

I would like to congratulate you again on your election as Prime Minister of Turkey. I am sure that you will work hard in this important office and will do a lot for the development of both Turkey proper and Turkish-Azerbaijani relations.

In our one-on-one meeting today, we discussed the various areas of our bilateral ties. We have been further convinced that Turkish-Azerbaijani relations are at the highest peak, at the highest possible level. And this is the way they should be. Our peoples are fraternal peoples. We have been next to each other over the centuries, and today, of course, we are building our future together as two independent states.

Our political relations are developing day by day. Earlier this month President Recep Tayyip Erdogan was on an official visit to Azerbaijan. The honorable Prime Minister is on an official visit here now. I, too, paid my first official visits after being elected to Turkey. In fact, this is clear evidence of the level of our relationship.

At the same time, we are successfully cooperating in the economic sphere today. From the investment perspective Turkey and Azerbaijan make mutual investments, thus ensuring their own interests, while also further reinforcing each other. The volume of investments that will be made in Turkey from Azerbaijan is around \$20 billion. At the same time, investments are made in Azerbaijan from Turkey. We are very pleased with the increase of Turkey's share in "Shah Deniz" and TANAP projects because Turkish companies will have an even greater share here. The TANAP project is a Turkish-Azerbaijani project. This project was initiated only two years ago, and today the project is already being implemented.

Of course, our relations in the energy sector represent tremendous importance not only to the two countries involved, but also to the region and the world as a whole. Azerbaijan will host a major ceremony tomorrow – the construction of the Southern Gas Corridor begins tomorrow. 20 September is a historic day for us. Twenty years ago, precisely on 20 September, the “Contract of the Century” was signed. Twenty years on we are launching a project of the 21st century. Of course, the roles of the Turkish and Azerbaijani sides are particularly important to the success of this project.



Other projects are also implemented in the energy sector. I am confident that the implementation of the Trans-Anatolian, the Trans-Adriatic and the “Shah Deniz-2” projects will usher a new cooperation environment in the region. These projects will secure both our economic and political interests, and the number of countries that will participate in them is fairly high. Thus, Turkey and Azerbaijan as initiators of these projects will also

contribute to the broad international cooperation.

Of course, honorable Prime Minister and I have also discussed ways to resolve the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. I briefed the honorable Prime Minister on the current situation. Unfortunately, due to the unconstructive position of Armenia the conflict remains unresolved. The territories of our country recognized by the international community are under occupation. The difference between this conflict and other conflicts in the former Soviet Union is that there are four UN Security Council resolutions relating to it. The UN Security Council, the world’s most authoritative international organization, has adopted four resolutions. The Armenian side simply ignores and does not execute them. Twenty per cent of our land is under occupation. A policy of ethnic cleansing has been conducted against us. More than a million Azerbaijanis have become refugees and IDPs in their native land. Unfortunately, the activities of the mediators do not yield any fruit and Armenia flagrantly violates international law. As I said, there are decisions and resolutions of international organizations in connection with the settlement of this conflict. This conflict must be resolved only on the basis of these decisions and resolutions and within the framework of Azerbaijan’s territorial integrity. I am sure that there will come a time when Azerbaijan will fully restore its territorial integrity.

I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Turkish Government and state for standing by us all the time. Turkey has always demonstrated a fair stance – a stance that complies with the norms and principles of international law. Of course, the resolution of the conflict within the norms and principles of international law will usher peace and the

large-scale cooperation to the region in the future. This cooperation already exists today. However, because of its aggressive policy Armenia is isolated from all of these cooperation projects. Today, the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, the South Caucasus gas pipeline and other initiatives are carried out without the participation of Armenia. If the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is resolved, there will be even better opportunities for cooperation in the region. In any case, we will not back down from our position of principle and will do our utmost to resolve the conflict as soon as possible.

We have also discussed other issues. We have been further convinced that Turkish-Azerbaijani relations are the relations between friends, brothers and allies. Both sides will work hard for the development of these relations in the future.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister, welcome again!

THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

19 September 2014, Baku

List of documents signed during the official visit:

Joint Statement between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Bulgaria

Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev during the Press Conference

- Dear Mr. President, welcome to Azerbaijan! We are pleased to see you in our country. I believe that your visit will give a further boost to the development of relations between our countries. We are very pleased with the level of cooperation with Bulgaria. Your country is one of our reliable partners in Europe, and there is a high level of cooperation between us.

We have just signed a joint declaration which covers various areas of our cooperation. This is evidence of the high-level dialogue between our countries and mutual support in international organizations.

It reflects the areas of economy, energy and culture. At the same time, it is very important to us that it also points to the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and underlines the importance of resolving the conflict only on the basis of international law, i.e. based on the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty and inviolability of state borders, and relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council. We express our gratitude to Bulgaria for its position based on justice and international law.

Today we discussed all aspects of cooperation. I believe that the issues discussed will be implemented. A lot has already been done, but there is still a lot to do. The cooperation between our countries is a significant part of our bilateral agenda.

Tomorrow we will participate in a historic event together. A groundbreaking ceremony of the Southern Gas Corridor will be organized. It will be a new chapter in European energy security and will allow Azerbaijan the opportunity to transport its natural resources to European markets.

I am glad that Bulgaria is a member of the Southern Gas Corridor project. This is an important project for us and for Europe. Azerbaijan will be able to transport gas to Bulgaria and to other countries through the territory of your country in the future. By expanding the geography of gas supplies by means of the huge reserves available, we will be able to reach out to your neighbors.

We will hold intensive consultations and coordination on the issue of energy security in the coming years too. Tomorrow we will begin concrete work involving many countries. This will require coordination and proper planning of our steps.



We are committed to the timely and highly profitable implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor project, and I have no doubt that it will be the case. At the same time, we will be able to consider other projects in the energy sector, and we have discussed them today.

There are investment opportunities, possibilities for work in the construction sector and different ways of cooperation in a trilateral format. In short, our cooperation in the energy sector will create ample opportunities for our companies in important projects.

We have also discussed the issue of mutual investments. We welcome investments from Bulgaria to Azerbaijan and from Azerbaijan to Bulgaria. I am sure that it will also give a further impetus to our cooperation. In addition, I have also invited Bulgarian companies to Azerbaijan via Mr. President. Here they can invest in various infrastructure projects. Bulgarian companies can also work in our country as contractors.

In short, the high level of our political relations, as well as the warm and friendly relations, provides the business community with excellent opportunities to enhance our cooperation.

Mr. President, I want to thank you again for being with us at such a historic moment. Tomorrow we will celebrate an event that is of paramount importance to the development of Azerbaijan's energy sector. Let me welcome you again. I believe that our cooperation will be continued.

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONTRACT OF THE CENTURY AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOUTHERN GAS CORRIDOR

20 September 2014, Baku

Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev at the ceremony to mark the 20th anniversary of the Contract of the Century and the foundation of the Southern Gas Corridor

- Distinguished heads of state and government,

Dear guests,

Ladies and gentlemen!

My warm greetings to all of you! It is a very momentous and historic day in the life of our country today – the foundation of the Southern Gas Corridor is being laid. Let me congratulate you and the people of Azerbaijan on this occasion!

20 September is a historic date for our country. Twenty years ago, on 20 September 1994, the “Contract of the Century” was signed. It was a historic event because the young and independent Azerbaijan was not a popular country in the world at the time. Azerbaijan was faced with enormous challenges. The early years of our independence were extremely difficult.

The Armenian occupation, the civil war, the economic and political crises – all of these factors posed huge problems and hampered the development of our country.

Today, we are gathered at the Center named after great leader Heydar Aliyev to once again give a high assessment to the work done by the late President. It is thanks to his vision, courage and wisdom that the “Contract of the Century” was signed. This opened up extensive opportunities for the development of Azerbaijan. A huge investment influx was ushered to Azerbaijan. For the first time in history the process of international cooperation in the Caspian Sea began. Azerbaijan obtained the opportunity to deliver its ample oil resources to the world market. The overall economic and political development of our country began precisely with the “Contract of the Century”. So our oil strategy has been implemented for 20 years. It has brought huge benefits to our country. Over the years Azerbaijan has consistently expanded its capabilities. In those years oil pipelines linked the Caspian Sea with to the Black and Mediterranean Seas for the first time ever. This is also a historic achievement. I can say that in general the oil and gas sector has seen a number of important stages since 1994. I want to mention some of them. The signing of the “Contract

of the Century” on 20 September 1994 and the signing of the Agreement on the “Shah Deniz” gas field in 1996. This was also a very important event because the source of funding for the Southern Gas Corridor today is the “Shah Deniz” gas field. “Shah Deniz” is one of the biggest gas fields in the world with reserves exceeding 1 trillion cubic meters of gas.

In 1999, the Baku-Supsa oil pipeline was built, linking the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea. It was also a new export route.

And in 2003 the foundation was laid for the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, which linked the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean. Today it operates as an export pipeline not only for Azerbaijan, but also the countries located in the eastern part of the Caspian Sea. In addition, the construction of the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum gas pipeline in 2007 was also a historic event, as it enabled Azerbaijan to assert itself in the world as a gas country.

The construction of a new segment of the pipeline is actually beginning today. In 2007, Azerbaijan already commissioned the first part of the Southern Gas Corridor. In the ensuing years we worked hard on this major project. As you know, there were several options. In 2012, thanks to the activities of the political leaders of Turkey and Azerbaijan, the agreement was reached on the construction of the Trans-Anatolian pipeline. The TANAP project and its realization as a whole is a historic event. It was after the TANAP project was negotiated that the Southern Gas Corridor became discernible. The TAP project, the selection of the Trans-Adriatic pipeline as the main export route, was also a historic event in 2012.



At the same time, gas sale agreements were signed last year. In other words, all the horizons are open and the road ahead of us is clear. We simply need to work together to ensure the completion of the Southern Gas Corridor, and we will do it.

In short, Azerbaijan has consistently pursued its energy policy in recent years. Today’s ceremony is only the top of the work done. If the issues I have mentioned had not been resolved back then, there could be no talk of the Southern Gas Corridor today. Currently, the project is fully ready. The construction of the corridor begins today. In the future, we certainly need to try to do this work together with partner countries. Coordination should be at a high level.

This project will bring additional dividends to Azerbaijan. The country’s economy will grow

even faster despite the fact that in the last 10 years Azerbaijan has been the fastest growing economy globally. This project opens up new opportunities for us. Over the past 10 years our gross domestic product has grown by more than three times and the budget costs 20 times.

The external public debt accounts for only 8 per cent of our gross domestic product. Unemployment has dropped to 5 per cent and poverty slightly exceeds 5 per cent. According to the recent estimates of the Davos World Economic Forum, Azerbaijan's economy is ranked 38th in the world for the level of competitiveness. It is a great achievement for us, which shows that our economy is developing in a diversified manner.

Oil and gas resources are only an additional benefit and support for us. This allows us the opportunity to invest in these projects. Azerbaijan is the main investor in TANAP and will assume the main financial burden. In "Shah Deniz", TAP and other projects Azerbaijan is financing its share itself. Thus, the economic dividends obtained earlier are now serving our common interests.

At the same time, this project is very profitable for our partner countries. There are no losers in this project. Every party will benefit. Transit countries are also consumers. Consumer countries will achieve diversification of gas supplies. This project will contribute to the energy security of Europe. It is no coincidence that the document signed between the European Commission and Azerbaijan three years ago underlines the fact that Azerbaijan is a country playing a very important role in the energy security of Europe. And from this day on this role will further increase.

Indeed, energy security is a matter of national security for each country. It is impossible to separate the energy sector from politics and economics. Together with our partners we will take part in ensuring the energy security of Europe. The main source of funding is the "Shah Deniz" gas field. But there are even more gas reserves in Azerbaijan. Our proven gas reserves amount to 2.5 trillion cubic meters, while estimated reserves are projected at a level of 4-5 trillion cubic meters.

Caspian gas is the only new source for Europe. There are other sources too and Europe uses them. The volume of these sources may increase, but Azerbaijan is a new source now. I am sure that the diversification of energy security routes, the joint activities of producing, transit and consumer countries will bring success. This requires a very serious coordination effort. Prior to this only three countries participated in our oil and gas projects – Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey. Today we are entering a process of broad international cooperation. Azerbaijan as a gas producing country will supply its resources to the world market. Afterwards the project will be open to Georgia, Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, Italy,

and at the next stage to Montenegro, Croatia and other countries. Therefore, coordination should be done at a very high level.

I believe that a new international team is emerging in this sphere, in the oil and gas sector, today. All members of the team are here in this hall today. I am confident that our joint work will be successful and our team will succeed. Good luck!

YENİ TƏYİNATLAR – NEW APPOINTMENTS – НОВЫЕ НАЗНАЧЕНИЯ

H.M.PAŞAYEVİN "ADA" UNIVERSİTETİNİN REKTORU TƏYİN EDİLMƏSİ HAQQINDA AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 32-ci bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Hafiz Mir Cəlal oğlu Paşayev "ADA" Universitetinin rektoru təyin edilsin.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 8 iyul 2014-cü il.

F.İ.QURBANOVUN AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASININ BÖYÜK BRİTANIYA VƏ ŞİMALİ İRLANDİYA BİRLƏŞMİŞ KRALLIĞINDA, İRLANDIYA RESPUBLİKASINDA, İSLANDIYA RESPUBLİKASINDA VƏ DANİMARKA KRALLIĞINDA FÖVQƏLADƏ VƏ SƏLAHIYYƏTLİ SƏFİRİ VƏZİFƏSİNDƏN GERİ ÇAĞIRILMASI HAQQINDA AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 15-ci bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Fəxrəddin İsa oğlu Qurbanov Azərbaycan Respublikasının Böyük Britaniya və Şimali İrlandiya Birləşmiş Krallığında, İrlandiya Respublikasında, İslandiya Respublikasında və Danimarka Krallığında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri vəzifəsindən geri çağırılsın.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 9 iyul 2014-cü il.

**T.T.TAĞIZADƏNİN AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASININ
ÇEX RESPUBLİKASINDA FÖVQƏLADƏ VƏ SƏLAHİYYƏTLİ SƏFİRİ
VƏZİFƏSİNDƏN GERİ ÇAĞIRILMASI HAQQINDA
AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI**

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 15-ci bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Tahir Tofiq oğlu Tağızadə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Çex Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri vəzifəsindən geri çağırılsın.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 9 iyul 2014-cü il.

**T.T.TAĞIZADƏNİN AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASININ
BÖYÜK BRİTANIYA VƏ ŞİMALİ İRLANDİYA BİRLƏŞMİŞ KRALLIĞINDA
FÖVQƏLADƏ VƏ SƏLAHİYYƏTLİ SƏFİRİ TƏYİN EDİLMƏSİ HAQQINDA
AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI**

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 15-ci bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Tahir Tofiq oğlu Tağızadə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Böyük Britaniya və Şimali İrlandiya Birləşmiş Krallığında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri təyin edilsin.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 9 iyul 2014-cü il.

**F.R.ŞƏFİYEVİN AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASININ
KANADADA FÖVQƏLADƏ VƏ SƏLAHİYYƏTLİ SƏFİRİ VƏ
BEYNƏLXALQ MÜLKİ AVIASİYA TƏŞKİLATI YANINDA DAİMİ
NÜMAYƏNDƏSİ VƏZİFƏLƏRİNDƏN GERİ ÇAĞIRILMASI HAQQINDA
AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI**

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 15-ci bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Fərid Rauf oğlu Şəfiyev Azərbaycan Respublikasının Kanadada fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri və Beynəlxalq Mülki Aviasiya Təşkilatı yanında daimi nümayəndəsi vəzifələrindən geri çağırılsın.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 9 iyul 2014-cü il.

**F.R.ŞƏFİYEVİN AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASININ
ÇEX RESPUBLİKASINDA FÖVQƏLADƏ VƏ SƏLAHİYYƏTLİ
SƏFİRİ TƏYİN EDİLMƏSİ HAQQINDA
AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI**

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 15-ci bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Fərid Rauf oğlu Şəfiyev Azərbaycan Respublikasının Çex Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri təyin edilsin.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 9 iyul 2014-cü il.

**E.T.ABDULLAYEVƏ İKİNCİ DƏRƏCƏLİ FÖVQƏLADƏ VƏ SƏLAHIYYƏTLİ
ELÇİ DIPLOMATİK RÜTBƏSİ VERİLMƏSİ HAQQINDA
AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI**

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 24-cü bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Elman Telman oğlu Abdullayevə ikinci dərəcəli fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli elçi diplomatik rütbəsi verilsin.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 18 sentyabr 2014-cü il.

**E.T.ABDULLAYEVİN AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASININ
EFİOPIYA FEDERATİV DEMOKRATİK RESPUBLİKASINDA
FÖVQƏLADƏ VƏ SƏLAHIYYƏTLİ SƏFİRİ TƏYİN EDİLMƏSİ HAQQINDA
AZƏRBAYCAN RESPUBLİKASI PREZİDENTİNİN SƏRƏNCAMI**

Azərbaycan Respublikası Konstitusiyasının 109-cu maddəsinin 15-ci bəndini rəhbər tutaraq qərara alıram:

Elman Telman oğlu Abdullayev Azərbaycan Respublikasının Efiopiya Federativ Demokratik Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri təyin edilsin.

İlham Əliyev
Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti

Bakı şəhəri, 18 sentyabr 2014-cü il.

REDAKSİYANIN QONAĞI – EDITORIAL GUEST – ГОСТЬ РЕДАКЦИИ

MIRASLAM WAZERI

Charge d’Affaires and Counselor of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in Baku



Born in Paktika Province of Afghanistan on March 2, 1957.
1976: Graduated from Khoshhalkhan High School in Kabul.
1977-1983: Got the master degree on economics in “Friendship University” in Moscow, the Soviet Union.
1983-1987: Selected as an official responsible for foreign relations of Farmers Cooperative.
1987: Served at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as desk officer of International organizations of the Economic Cooperation Department.
2007: Second Secretary and responsible for consular affairs at the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in Kuwait.

2011: Served as desk officer of the Central Asia and Eastern Europe in the framework of the Administrative Department.

2013: Counselor to the Embassy of Afghanistan to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

January 2014: Charge d’Affaires of the Embassy of Afghanistan to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Distinguished charge d’affaires, first of all, on behalf of the “World of Diplomacy” journal and its editorial board, we would like to congratulate you with the occasion of the Independence Day of Afghanistan. How do you commemorate this significant date in the history of Afghanistan here in Azerbaijan?

Independence Day is celebrated in Afghanistan on 19th of August to commemorate the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1919 that granted complete independence for Afghanistan. Annually the Embassies of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in different countries commemorate this day by organizing the official reception. As the Embassy of Afghanistan in Baku is new opened and due to some difficulties emerged during the Presidential Elections in Afghanistan, we were unable to organize the official event on the occasion of the Independence Day in Azerbaijan. As the new President of Afghanistan is elected, next year we are planning to commemorate Afghanistan’s Independence Day as appropriately.

As you know, Afghanistan and Azerbaijan enjoy good relations. That is mostly because of our religious-cultural closeness and belonging to the Muslim world. However it would be interesting to hear about bilateral relations in more detailed form from the perspective of Your Excellency?

Relations between Afghanistan and Azerbaijan have the historical and cultural roots. In spite of the fact that two countries have no common border, Afghanistan and Azerbaijan are considered as neighbors. Two countries support each other as at the level of international organizations, so as enjoy bilateral relations in political, economic, cultural, educational, military and other spheres. There are more than 1000 Afghan students graduated the State Oil Academy of Azerbaijan, and more than 100 students got the diplomas from the Baku State University, Azerbaijan Medical University, the University of Foreign Languages, etc. Visit of the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan His Excellency Mr. Hamid Karzai in 2012 for participation at ECO conference in Baku and official visits made by high level Afghan officials to Baku is the evidence of close relations between our countries. During the official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan Mr. Zarar Ahmad Osmani to Baku, there were discussions about the new transit-transport way from Afghanistan-Turkmenistan-Azerbaijan-Georgia till Black Sea ports. In perspective, we are planning to sign an agreement on development of Black Sea Quadrilateral Cooperation.

The Government of Afghanistan has agreed with the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Azerbaijan, the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Defense to give the opportunity for Afghan military officers to study at the Academy under the Ministries and obtain the experience of Azerbaijan in appropriate spheres.

Beside of the educational sphere, we collaborate with the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Azerbaijan and in the near future will sign the Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the fields of Labour, Social Protection and Employment. There is also considered the Agreement on Visa exemption for holders of diplomatic passport that will facilitate the procedures of the visits of diplomatic passport officials between two countries.

What's more, the Head of the State Border Service of Azerbaijan Republic will visit Afghanistan and support in ensuring with all the necessity for strengthening boarder control.

Azerbaijan participates in ISAF operations in Afghanistan and contributes to the security of this country. Also ADA University and ANAMA organize trainings for Afghan officials. Could you please elaborate on this?

Azerbaijan within such international organizations as NATO and ISAF supports in maintaining stability and ensuring security not only in Afghanistan but in the whole region. During

NATO's conference in Brussels the President of Azerbaijan had a speech to the General Secretary of NATO where he stated: "Since 2014 Azerbaijan will support Afghanistan not only in financial and educational sphere, but in different fields. Recently one million euro was allocated, and one more million euro was donated to the national army of Afghanistan."

Annually during last 5 years ADA University organizes trainings for 18 Afghan officials from state institutions where Azerbaijan specialists share with the experience of Azerbaijan in economic development, security and in other fields. The importance of these trainings is that the officials can share with gained knowledge at the seminars held by state institutions and benefit to the economy and policy of the country. Nowadays 6 Afghan students are studying at ADA University, and one student has already graduated and got the diploma.

There were organized trainings by ANAMA experts in Kabul on planning, coordination and management all mine related activities. ANAMA also provided financial assistance to Afghanistan.

We believe that relations based on friendship and mutual trust between Afghanistan and Azerbaijan will strengthen in the future for the benefits of the people of both countries.

AZƏRBAYCAN DİPLOMATİK XİDMƏT ORQANLARININ 95 İLLİYİ 95TH ANNIVERSARY OF AZERBAIJAN'S DIPLOMATIC SERVICE 95 ЛЕТИЕ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЙ СЛУЖБЫ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА

THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

7 July 2014, Baku

Opening Speech by Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov

His Excellency Mr. President,

Dear conference participants,

As we know the Fifth Conference of the head of diplomatic corps is being held on the significant eve - 95 years of diplomatic service in Azerbaijan.

We are thankful to our national leader Heydar Aliyev for the achievements of our diplomacy along with the other achievements in every field. As a result of balanced foreign policy of our republic with the returning of great statesman to the power made Azerbaijan one of the influential members of the international society. Strengthening of our independence, improvement of our economic and military potential, the policy directed to the improvement of social wealth is implemented in an effective and decisive way corresponding as you have defined them.

His Excellency,

I would like to inform you about the activity of Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the period of the Fourth Conference held in 2012.

During the last two years our new embassies in the Swiss Confederation, Commonwealth of Australia, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Consulate in the Dubai city of United Arab



Emirates, the representative office in Colombia and Uruguay have been opened. Also the embassies of the Afghanistan Islamic Republic, Sudan Republic, Colombia Republic, Kingdom of Sweden, Kingdom of Spain, as well as some honorary consulates and representatives have begun their activity. Currently we have 57 embassies, 5 permanent representatives to the international organizations, 9 general consulates, 7 representation offices and 7 honorary consulates. There are 58 embassies, 4 general Consulates, 10 honorary consulates and 20 representations offices of international organizations in Azerbaijan.

Related to the implementation of the instruction given by his Excellency in last conference, I would like to declare that, Armenia- Azerbaijan- Nagorno Karabagh conflict- one the priority direction of our foreign policy, was the fundamental activity of our Ministry. The exposing of invasive policy of Armenia, the solution of the conflict on the basis of norms and principles of international law, within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan was the top issue in our agenda during the bilateral, as well as multilateral meetings. We have univocally declared to all our counterparties that the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan cannot be the object of the negotiations. Works carried out in the direction of establishment of diplomatic and legal bases for liberation of occupied Azerbaijani territories by Armenia and for the return of our cognates, who were expelled from their native lands as a result of the ethnic cleansing of Azerbaijanis by Armenians, were expanded. Some new efforts in the course of the acknowledgement and commemoration of one of the bloodcurdling tragedies that Azerbaijan nation faced during the XX century- Khojaly genocide, delivery of the Karabakh realities to the attention of international community were held. Therefore, in 15 states of USA, in the parliaments of Colombia, Czech Republic, Romania, Serbia, Honduras, Peru, Panama, Pakistan, Mexico, Jordan, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Khojaly tragedy was officially recognized, support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty was expressed and our republic was valued as a reliable strategic counterparty by these states.

At the same time, with the efforts of Azerbaijan, in the framework of the United Nations' Convention on Environmental Impact Assessment in a Trans-boundary Context ", a decision was adopted regarding Armenia's breach (violation) of its obligations under Espoo Convention because of the construction of new Metsamor nuclear reactor in the territory of Armenia and Convention's Implementation Committee was given a mandate to keep the issue under control and to hold relevant monitoring. On the other hand, Armenia's claim against Azerbaijan in connection with oil and gas projects carried out in Azerbaijan was found to be alleged and the final decision on Espoo Convention was made on observance of obligations by Azerbaijani side.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs will further strengthen its activities in the course of informing the international community about the realities of the aggressive policy of Armenia and conducting the effective counter-attack against the radical Armenian lobby.

His Excellency and Dear Conference participants,

During his operation (activities) in the United Nations Security Council in two years covering 2012-2013, Azerbaijan directly participated in the establishment of peace and security in the world, as well as in the different levels of discussion and decision-making regarding the development of civilizations and intercultural dialogue on the most pressing issues standing on the international agenda. Twice during these two years - in May 2012 and in October 2013- Azerbaijan chaired the Security Council, and held discussions on a number of important issues, as well as organized high-level events.

In May 2012, under the chairmanship of President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and with the presence of UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon a high-level meeting of Security Council on the theme of "Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts: Strengthening of international cooperation in fulfillment of obligations in combating terrorism" was held and the

Declaration by the Chairman of the Security Council was adopted as a final document. Since October 2013, in the second period of the chairmanship in the UN Security Council, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, with the initiative of Azerbaijan a high-level session of the organization was officiated on the topic of "Strengthening the Partnership Relations between the United Nations and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation".

During Azerbaijan's membership to the UN Security Council four resolutions and number of documents concerning Africa and Middle East were adopted. Trips were organized to the Great Lakes region of Africa and joint events of African Union and UN Security Council took place.

Besides the UN Security Council, Azerbaijan has continued its active cooperation with other UN bodies, Non-alignment Movement, Islamic Cooperation Organization, OSCE, Council of Europe, European Union, NATO, Economic Cooperation Organization, Council of Cooperation of Turkic speaking States, GUAM, Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, Gulf Cooperation Council, African Union, Arab League and other regional and international organizations. In many cases the initiatives made by Azerbaijan have led to the recognition of the new forms of the cooperation and to the increase in the effectiveness within the organizations.

Thanks to the bilateral work, Azerbaijan intensified its cooperation with neighboring states, the relations with the Far East, South and South-East Asian countries have been developed and the number of partners in Latin America and Africa has been increased.

Azerbaijan International Development Agency (AIDA), which was established within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has increased its number of projects in regard with sustainable development and international humanitarian and aid programs. In the framework of the scholarships provided, foreign students from Palestine, Saint-Vincent and Grenada have studied in Azerbaijani universities. The courses were organized for the experts from Angola, Algeria, Chad, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, Mauritania, Egypt, Nigeria, Sudan, Columbia, Vietnam, Oman and Kuwait in the field of oil and gas production. A contribution was made to the electronic government project in Afghanistan, furthermore, technical and financial support was provided to Palestine, UN Conference on Trade and Development Trust Fund, UN Emergency Response Funds, UN Office at Vienna Support Project, UN Voluntary Trust Fund for Victims of Human Trafficking, Black Sea-Caspian Sea Cooperation and Partnership Fund. Moreover, humanitarian and financial aid was provided for eliminating the results of natural disasters in Panama, Guinea-Bissau, the Philippines, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. All these activities, of course, lead to the positive image and stronger position of Azerbaijan in international arena.

According to the Presidential decree dated to January 13, 2014, "ADA" University was established on the base of Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy which was operating under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The university will provide professional education for the all levels of high education, extra educational programs, and do fundamental and applied scientific researches. The training and educational programs implemented in the university were broadened, the relations with the leading universities and research centers of the world, and experience and student exchange programs were improved.

One of priorities of the successful state policy implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan is to protect the rights of citizens of the Republic and whole Azerbaijanis who live abroad. As a result of the work done in the framework of the facilitation of the foreign visits of the citizens of the Republic of Azerbaijan and improvement of the consular cooperation, visa facilitation and readmission agreements were reached with number of countries, including the European Union.

His Excellency Mr. President,

You can be sure that, the colleagues of the diplomatic service who feel the high-level state care, will do everything in their power to implement the foreign policy determined by You and which aims to strengthen the independence, to restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state.

Thank you for your attention.

Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

- Dear Ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen.

Today's meeting is very important. These meetings are held every two years to discuss various aspects and identify new directions of our foreign policy. In other words, I believe that it is a very successful format which enables us to consistently pursue our foreign policy.

Our foreign policy is a continuation of our domestic policy. Today, Azerbaijan's foreign policy stands out for its integrity and independence. The main reason for that, of course, is the presence of a strong political will. In the absence of a strong political will no country can pursue an independent policy. Such political will is there. This political will showed itself in matters of both domestic and foreign policy. At the same time, the successful development of our country and the comprehensive economic independence of recent years have allowed us the opportunity to speak our word and defend our interests in the international arena as well.

In recent years, both political and economic reforms contributed to very extensive development of our country. Today Azerbaijan is one of a handful of countries capable of determining their future themselves and conducting an independent policy. The economic independence of Azerbaijan is fully secured. Azerbaijan is a self-sufficient country.

So all of these factors, our economic strength and our growing reputation in the world have enabled us to carry on pursuing a principled foreign policy. I can say that this policy is approved by the international community too. The international reputation of Azerbaijan is gradually enhancing. A growing number of countries wants to cooperate with us. Azerbaijan has managed to assert itself in the world, in the international arena as a reliable partner, a reliable friend. The sympathy for Azerbaijan in international organizations is obvious, and this is no coincidence. Graphic evidence of that was our election to the Security Council. It was a historic event. Our election to the world's top structure, the UN Security Council, has been a tremendous diplomatic and political success for the young and independent state. In essence, it demonstrates the image of our country, it shows what a great road it has covered in a short period of time. The vast majority of the international community, 155 countries, supported our candidacy, believed in us, and I know that they have not regretted doing that. As we stated, in the two years in the UN Security Council we upheld international law and justice. We still stand for them today and will always advocate them.

In short, we have a very positive international image. There are various factors of that. I want to say again: first of all, the successful development, the principled stance of our country, the fact that we put justice and law above everything else, and at the same time,

of course, the successful activity of our diplomatic services have played a very important role. So I want to congratulate the entire team of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Azerbaijan has a very successful foreign policy, and I am confident that in the coming years, thanks to the growing power and authority of our country, we will further strengthen our position in the international arena.

The main issue related to our foreign policy is the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Unfortunately, there has not been any progress in this area since our last meeting. Of course, different statements and efforts have been made. The OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs have repeatedly visited the region. But there is no result. The main reason is the unconstructive position of Armenia and its attempts to keep the conflict in a frozen state.

Unfortunately, the international community and the mediators directly involved in the matter have not sent any serious signals to Armenia. We have developed an opinion that the mediators dealing with the issue are more interested in keeping the situation as it is. Their primary goal is to maintain stability in the region and prevent war. We also want peace. But I have repeatedly stated that we want our lands back, we want to restore the truth and justice, we want a triumph of international law.

For the past several years this position of Armenia has prevented the issue from being resolved through negotiations. Of course, there is another way of resolving the issue. We have never denied this and stated openly that the military option is not ruled out because the situation observed in the international arena in recent months and years suggests that international law, unfortunately, does not work. The power factor plays a major role. The "might is right" principle, unfortunately, has significantly harmed the structure of international relations.

So that is a reality. We live in a real world and have to reckon with the realities. Therefore, our consistent policy associated with army building shows again how correct and timely these steps were. Today, while building up our military capabilities, we can solve the problem by military means. We simply believe that the potential of negotiations has not yet been fully exhausted. Using the political, economic and military pressure, we will strive to ensure that the issue is resolved peacefully.

But it has to be resolved. This issue cannot be frozen. Everyone should know that. The mediators dealing with this issue should also be aware and know that.

I believe that the certain activity observed in the work of the mediators in recent years has to do with our growing economic and military power. Just like Armenia, they are well aware that we can use our military strength to finally resolve the Karabakh issue at any time. I

want to say again that the power factor is crucial today. We must become and are becoming even stronger. Our economic, political and military potential is strong enough, and this factor will play a positive role in the negotiations.

Nagorno-Karabakh is native Azerbaijani land. From historical and legal perspectives, Karabakh has always been Azerbaijani land. The Azerbaijani people have lived and worked in Nagorno-Karabakh and other occupied lands for centuries. All historical monuments, place names, names of towns and villages have Azerbaijani origin. This is the truth. Of course, we know that, and the world knows and should know that as well.

I believe that the activity of diplomats should be focused primarily on this area. So date, the broad international community still does not know the truth about Karabakh. The Armenian lobby is trying to provide a distorted picture to the world. We should try to convey the real facts to the world public, including the truth about Erivan khanate.

As you know, on my initiative our scientists have created a large treatise on the Erivan khanate. This is very important. But this work reflects more factual and scientific matters. I think that for a wider audience it would be useful to release smaller brochures. I think that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism should prepare such brochures, so that they could be published in different languages and communicated to the foreign community. Also, the broad international audience was not aware of the transfer of Erivan to Armenia in 1918. When I first raised the issue, it seemed somewhat new to some people. But it is a reality. Everyone in Azerbaijan knows that now, and we must, as far as possible, point that out at international conferences, forums and events because this is the historical truth.



Historical factors have played a role in international law, there is case law. Therefore, there are fairly many factors that strengthen our position: historical, legal and political. In short, both historical and legal sides of the issue support our position.

Nagorno-Karabakh is an integral part of Azerbaijan. The UN Security Council has adopted four resolutions on an unconditional withdrawal of Armenian armed forces from our lands. You know that perfectly well. Other international organizations have also adopted resolutions and decisions. So this already represents a very solid legal basis. However, this has yet to yield tangible results. But the historical and legal basis is already in place. Under such

circumstances, of course, the creation of a second Armenian state on Azerbaijani territory is completely impossible. Of course, the Azerbaijani state will never allow this to happen and no country will ever recognize the self-proclaimed "Nagorno-Karabakh republic" as an independent entity. The illegal referenda conducted there are not and never will be recognized by the world community. The issue will be resolved within the territorial integrity of our country. There is no other option! I want to reiterate this. A second Armenian state can never be created on Azerbaijani territory! Azerbaijan will restore its territorial integrity! We simply want to do it as soon as possible. And we will.

I should also note that, of course, our people, refugees and displaced persons are suffering from this conflict. But we need to resolve this issue substantially. In other words, a half-hearted solution to the problem may be only a stage. Of course, a phased solution prevails and will prevail. But we should not forget about our main goal. The Azerbaijanis must be able to return to the occupied territories. Nagorno-Karabakh is also occupied land. Azerbaijan must regain its sovereignty. The Armenian people can live in a high status of autonomy within Azerbaijan. We have proposed this, and this approach is based on the very positive experience available in the world and Europe. You as diplomats know this very well. We have studied this issue – how many autonomies there are in the world, in Europe. All the issues there are regulated perfectly well. Such an approach should also prevail in our issue.

Of course, in the future our people should and will return to all our historic lands. I am sure that this day will come. The political weight, the economic potential of our country and our demographic situation give reason to say so. Our population is growing and will continue to grow, while the population of Armenia is and will be shrinking. This is the goal behind our holding Armenia in an isolated state to some extent. We have isolated them from all economic and energy projects. We have been criticized for this. We are still criticized today, and you are well aware of that. But we need to reach our goals. If the criticism is legitimate, then we can certainly accept it. But we can never take into account unfounded criticism. Therefore, Armenia will continue to be in an isolated state. Under such circumstances, of course, there is no potential for Armenia to develop, as it has a very small domestic market and export opportunities are equal to naught. This is why there is growing migration every year. According to their own official statistics, 40,000 Armenians left the country in the first quarter of this year. But the real figure is even higher. Over the year it will exceed 100,000. Azerbaijan is growing stronger, while Armenia is weakening.

Armenia is held on its feet only by outside assistance, the Diaspora and the special attitude of certain countries. And you know very well that this factor also plays a role here.

However, the development of global processes shows that we are getting closer to our goal with every year and every month, and our goal is to restore our territorial integrity and to

raise the flag of Azerbaijan in Shusha and Khankandi. This is our main goal, and in order to achieve it not only the diplomats but also the whole of our society should join their efforts. And it has done! This our national cause. There is no more important issue than this in Azerbaijan. We work hard on it every day and we will work hard to achieve this goal.

The key areas related to our foreign policy have been determined. I want to express my opinion on some issues. Of course, our foreign policy is justified, a strategic course has been chosen and it continues. But, of course, we need to clarify these issues from time to time, the priorities must be identified correctly, and in this case our foreign policy will be even more successful. Our relations with our neighbors are very positive. I believe that we must continue to develop these relationships.

With all our neighbors except for Armenia, of course, we have very sound relationships. These are equal relationships built on a very solid basis. Our relations with all our neighbors already provide for our bilateral interests. And this is the way it should be. We live in this region, in this geographical area. Therefore, sound and good-neighborly relations with neighboring countries are important for every country, including Azerbaijan. I am very glad that with all our neighbors we have excellent, equitable and fundamental relations. There is both political and economic component here.

Of course, historical and cultural ties also play a role, and I believe that we will further strengthen the relations with our neighbors in the coming years. After all, we also want to see development everywhere, we want peace and, of course, the situation around us always to be stable. The current realities of Azerbaijan consist in the fact that there is no internal source of danger. There are no disturbing moments either. This situation has been created by the rapid development of Azerbaijan, the stability and unity among the people and the government, and our successes in domestic and foreign policies. There is no internal source of danger.

Therefore, of course, we want no sources of danger around us. We are working with our neighbors in this direction in bilateral and multilateral formats. I believe that this should remain a priority for the coming years. At the same time, trilateral formats have been determined on our initiative again in recent years. I should note that it is the initiative of Azerbaijan, and such formats exist today. There are trilateral formats of Azerbaijan-Turkey-Georgia, Azerbaijan-Turkey-Iran and more recently Azerbaijan-Turkey-Turkmenistan. Meetings are held at the level of the ministries of foreign affairs, economy and industry. One meeting at the presidential level has already been held. This is also very useful. Here, of course, we discuss political, economic and energy issues. This is a very successful format of cooperation. I can say that there are excellent results of this format. Such meetings in themselves are a very positive sign, as regional cooperation is further strengthened here. We

have always sought to strengthen regional cooperation. Every country, including Azerbaijan, can provide for its interests more effectively through regional cooperation. Therefore, when such initiatives yield fruit, it certainly makes us happy. Our foreign policy does not stand still. We must always be in search, constantly think about new forms of cooperation, take the initiative for Azerbaijan's foreign policy to be even more successful.

Of course, we give preference to the bilateral format. We stand for equal and mutually beneficial relations with all countries. We have managed to achieve that. Of course, the bilateral format is the most successful one. We have very strong relations with Muslim countries. Azerbaijan is part of the Muslim world. We are very active in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

Through this organization we have held numerous events in Azerbaijan. We are contributing to the strengthening of Muslim solidarity. Of course, the support of Muslim countries in the international arena, particularly in the UN, is very important. This mutual support has already become a reality. Of course, this further strengthens us. We have historical ties with Muslim countries. Today these ties have elevated to a higher level. Therefore, the relations with Muslim countries should be in constant development in the coming years. Here, of course, different options are possible. Political relations are certainly at a very high level. I think that we need to step up our economic cooperation. The possibilities for this are available. I believe that by investing in Muslim countries, we can improve the situation in the economic sphere.

European countries are our traditional partners. I think that the bilateral format is also in our best interest here. With the majority of European countries we have very businesslike and cordial relations. This is evidenced by my visits to European countries and the visits of heads of European states and governments to Azerbaijan. Europe is our main trading partner. Our exports to Europe prevail.

Of course, there are excellent opportunities for the development of bilateral relations. Our relations are also built on mutual interests. By getting closer to Europe, we continue to deepen the political reforms in Azerbaijan. It is very important for us. We learn and adopt the positive experience of Europe in this area, as it is necessary for the successful development of our country.

At the same time, we need the European technology. Today we are rapidly developing our country. The process of modernization and industrialization is under way. There is major development not only in Baku, but everywhere else. It is impossible to achieve such development without new technologies. It is true that none of these technologies are given to us for free. We buy them, and there are no problems. There are so many companies

interested in selling the technology to us that there are no difficulties here. But I believe that this issue should also be resolved in the bilateral format. When we consider that some European countries have not eliminated the consequences of the economic and financial recession, then, of course, the activities of European companies in Azerbaijan are of great interest to them.

Infrastructure, oil and gas projects are implemented in Azerbaijan. As you know, tens of billions of dollars will be invested in the coming years. Of course, European companies will be actively involved in this. I think that for our diplomats working in European countries these economic interests should be in the foreground. Azerbaijan is one a handful of countries where there is no crisis, no difficulty and no dependence. On the contrary, our growing economic power and financial capacity have enabled us to invest not only domestically but also in Europe.

Of course, our cooperation with Asian countries has been developing rapidly in recent years, and I am very positive about it. When we had just regained independence, our foreign policy mainly represented a response to the interest in us. In other words, we forged ties with those who took an interest in Azerbaijan. Of course, the first such interest was shown by European countries – countries of the West. In particular, the interest in the oil and gas sector played a major role there. And we, of course, built our relationships primarily with those countries. In general, in the early years there was an idea that our main partner is the Western world. Of course, we have lived in the conditions of independence for 23 years, and there are no secrets for us in the world. Therefore, in the early years of independence our relations with Asian countries were not good enough for some time. But today they are at a level that fully satisfies us.

My visits, the visits of leaders of Asian countries to Azerbaijan, the mutual interests and mutual respect epitomize these relationships today. There is great potential for political and economic cooperation with Asian countries. There is a great interest in Azerbaijan. This is due to the potential of our country and to the issue I mentioned earlier – the independent policy.

There are not so many countries conducting an independent policy in the present-day world. Sometimes unilateral and radical policies are conducted under the guise of an independent course. We do not advocate that. We do not intend to pursue a policy of confrontation with any country. This is not in our interest. We are ready for any stand-offs. If necessary, we speak your word and defend our interests. But we do not see any need for that. On the contrary, we intend to build good relationships with all countries and have achieved that, but not at the expense of our national interests, which is the main issue, but by establishing equal relationships.

Therefore, our independent policy and principled stance on international issues enhance the sympathy of Asian countries for us. Of course, we will continue to work actively in this direction. We have cooperated with international organizations for many years. I believe that Azerbaijan pursues a very successful policy in international organizations. This is explicitly demonstrated by our election to the UN Security Council. Our activities in the United Nations, of course, are a priority because the UN is the only organization where all countries of the world are concentrated. In fact, the concept of the "international community" should primarily imply the UN.

Unfortunately, the concept of the "international community" has been used in the media in recent years, implying only a group of countries. But the international community is the UN, and the UN supports Azerbaijan and has provided its support to us. So now we have great and indispensable experience, and we need to expand our efforts in the UN. We can strengthen our bilateral ties within the United Nations, in particular with countries with which our relations are not at the proper level yet, and we are doing that.

We are very actively involved in other international organizations and, of course, in the OSCE. Unfortunately, the OSCE has thus far failed to have its say and achieve a tangible result in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Over 20 years, the issue has been in a state of "neither peace nor war". The OSCE has twice sent fact-finding and evaluation missions to the occupied lands. They prepared a report and then tried to balance it. How can this be balanced?

Our lands are occupied, no stone has been left standing. All our cities, mosques, historical monuments and cemeteries have been destroyed, so what balanced report can we talk about here?! Of course, this is a hypocrisy, it is an intolerable approach.

But despite this, they can not completely deny the truth. These missions have also produced positive results, I think.

Baku has recently hosted a meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. We spoke our word from this rostrum too and will continue to do so. We always express and will continue to express our position of principle in all international organizations we are a member of. I want to say again that it is impossible to argue with us from a logical point of view. We tell the truth that some people do not like. That is their own business. But we are telling the truth. We are telling the truth also on the Karabakh issue, on other issues, on the domestic situation, on the processes going on in the world. It is impossible to deny the truth. Therefore, of course, our activities in the OSCE will continue to be very active.

I have already mentioned the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. I believe that our work

in this organization has been very successful. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation has repeatedly adopted principled resolutions on the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. I believe that within the framework of this organization and also in the bilateral format with Muslim countries we must fully communicate the truth about Karabakh. Of course, they know it. If they did not know, these resolutions would not have been adopted. But what do we see? Armenia is trying to establish or strengthen bilateral relations with Muslim countries. Sometimes the lack of information creates such opportunities for them. But I think that if the officials of all Muslim countries find out that the Armenians have destroyed mosques in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, it is unlikely that Armenia will ever succeed in establishing these relations.

Therefore, I believe that it is necessary to publish 5-10-page brochures, books of various sizes, magazines consisting of photographs and information about destroyed monuments and religious sites of Azerbaijan. These should be sent to all external agencies, ministries of foreign affairs, media organizations, "think tanks" of all countries, so that they know: how can a country destroying mosques collaborate successfully with Muslim countries?! Armenia, of course, wants to conceal and deny this truth, but we must not let this happen. Therefore, of course, in parallel with diplomatic efforts there should be powerful propaganda. In fact, it is already conducted and there are positive results. I simply want it to be even more positive.

Our relations with other international organizations are also successful. We currently chair the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. While in Strasbourg recently, I set out our priorities related to the chairmanship, so I do not want to repeat that. At the same time, I have repeatedly expressed my opinion about our activities within the organization as a whole.

Unfortunately, this organization has an anti-Azerbaijani group acting for many years. Diplomats will know very well that this group did not want to admit Azerbaijan to the Council of Europe. At the same time, they put forward unfounded accusations against us. Some even said that if Azerbaijan became a member of the Council of Europe, this would change the blood of this organization. Just look at the racist, xenophobic and fascist position taken by these people! There are such people and no-one can deny that.

They are backed by the Armenian lobby. As you are well aware, the number one target for the Armenian lobby today is Azerbaijan. By joining their forces they are conducting a campaign against Azerbaijan. They have representatives, of course, in the media, other governments and public entities. They have deep roots and selected Azerbaijan as target number one.

They are trying to attack us from all sides. Despite this, they cannot have an impact on our successful development. It would be good if they had a better understanding of the deplorable situation Armenia is in at the moment and asked themselves: why is Armenia in such a terrible

state, why is this country gradually losing its independence, is unable to pursue an independent policy and is only engaged in serving others and sees its future in that!? The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has the Armenian lobby, as well as members that stick to a biased position against Azerbaijan. We have given them an answer. I responded to them back when I was the head of our delegation. I responded to them this time too, because, let me I say again, they cannot argue with us on the basis of logic. They can lie, but when we are there, we expose this lie because a lie is a lie. Once again, if criticism is justified, we will accept it as it helps us. But unjustified criticism is just an attempt to slander our country.

At the same time I believe that our successful activities in the Council of Europe have completely changed the situation. The biased anti-Azerbaijani report prepared in January of last year has suffered a complete fiasco. The deputy who presented the report was completely disgraced. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe rejected this unfounded and biased report, which was compiled on the basis of false information. It is our great victory. Therefore, we will continue to work actively in the Council of Europe. I know that the smear campaigns conducted against us recently both frustrate and disturb Azerbaijani society. The information and questions I am receiving boil down to the following: why shouldn't we respond to blatant injustice? We do respond!

Why is our European policy still among foreign policy priorities? I always say that we should go towards our goal, and we do.

I think it would be wrong if we were to pay attention to those who are trying to hamper us because, in fact, we have very strong and sound bilateral relations with European countries. This is evidenced by my numerous visits to European countries and the visits of European heads of state and government to Azerbaijan. I can openly tell you that during bilateral visits paid in the 11 years and in the bilateral meetings with European leaders, I have never encountered any disrespect for Azerbaijan or attempts to interfere with our affairs. Never! Some people calling themselves opposition or human rights activists believe that someone may say something to us and we will fulfill that. These are naïve people. To put it mildly, either they are really naïve or they just want to create such an impression. Over the 11 years European leaders never told me a word in connection with our domestic policies. I am saying this for the first time today. Of course, international organizations should speak, such is their political life. We just need to know that.

Of course, we have to respond and fully respond to every unfounded accusation. Our diplomats also need to keep an eye on this in the countries where they work and respond to unfounded accusations in the media or a non-governmental organization. However, let me say again that this should not deflect us from the common goal. Our goal is to become a developed country.

Our goal is to restore the territorial integrity and secure a prosperous life for the Azerbaijani people in the years ahead. We are moving towards this goal. We are moving ahead in all directions. We have a domestic policy, an economic policy, a social policy, an army building policy, in connection with foreign policy a policy that relies on a judicious and conceptual approach.

This is the reason for our success. Foreign visitors often ask me about the reasons for Azerbaijan's success. How can I explain that? To explain this, we must look at the 10-year history again. In other words, it is the result of a coherent policy.

So I think that we simply have to further intensify our work in all bilateral formats and in international organizations. We must and do speak our word. I think that equal relationships have been made possible thanks to the growing power of Azerbaijan.

Of course, our embassies should maintain an active relationship with Diaspora organizations. I know that this is the case. In previous years there were certain contradictions. Both during meetings with representatives of the Diaspora and at the Congress afterwards I repeatedly said that Diaspora organizations and embassies should be together. The embassy is an entity conducting the foreign policy of Azerbaijan. Diaspora organizations should rally around embassies. They shouldn't argue with each other and should not harm the country through their activities.

Of course, I believe that our state policy has produced results here, and I know that in most cases Diaspora organizations are working together with the embassies and conducting various activities. I think that this multiplies our strength. At the same time, representatives of the Diaspora feel confident because they know that a strong Azerbaijani state is behind them. They also know that the Azerbaijani government will always protect and defend its citizens. Many events have confirmed this.

Our growing economic opportunities, of course, have a positive impact on our foreign policy. I want to say again that there is a great need for investment abroad today. You will also know quite well that the main focus of the policies of some Western countries in handling the crisis is on increasing investment. But at what expense? If there are no domestic resources, then how can investment be made? Only by means of foreign investment. Most foreign investors – at least our experience shows that – are Western countries. Now there is a crisis there. So there is a strong interest in countries with investment opportunities. And Azerbaijan is one of such countries. Therefore, I believe that our economic diplomacy should also be very active. Here I see a few directions.

First of all, it is necessary to channel Azerbaijani investment to foreign countries. In fact, it

is an integral part of our policy today. There are economic laws. In the future we will not be able to invest a lot in the country's economy because it can accelerate inflation and lead to other negative processes. We invest in controlled volumes. We also have financial resources.

So we are accessing foreign markets now – the countries with which we have good relations – with our investments. It is also very important.

Therefore, I believe that a collaborative effort of the Ministry of Economy and Industry, the State Oil Fund of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is required. We, of course, approve the portfolio of investment to be made abroad. Our embassies are trying to take Azerbaijani companies to foreign markets. I set this task at the previous meeting. The number of Azerbaijani companies working abroad has been growing in recent years and their activities expanding. Our energy diplomacy is also, of course, a very important issue, because it is impossible to separate energy security from national security today. Azerbaijan has fully provided for its own energy security and is actively involved in providing for the energy security of other countries.

The agreements signed in recent years will greatly enhance our capabilities and transform Azerbaijan into a country even more important for the world and Europe. "Shah Deniz-2", TANAP and TAP projects are the largest infrastructure projects in Europe. Azerbaijan has assumed the leadership. As a result of these projects, we will obtain access to a vast market. Europe will obtain access to a new source of gas. A new source of gas is the most important thing – not a new route but a new source of gas. A new source of gas for Europe today is only Azerbaijan. There is no and will not be any other new source in the near future.

Therefore, in connection with this matter – at the same time, during the implementation of these projects tens or hundreds of foreign companies will be in operation – contracts will be signed. Many contracts have already been signed and are a great source of income for these companies. I think that all the issues here, of course, will be resolved through open bidding. Again, Azerbaijan as a leader and initiator of these projects can speak its word. Here, it seems to me, we should consider both the economic parameters and our bilateral relations. Therefore, as a result of these projects, we will achieve several objectives. I am confident that we will implement these major projects on time.

I want to say again that Azerbaijan conducts a principled and consistent foreign policy. We conduct and will continue to conduct an independent foreign policy. Azerbaijan's diplomatic corps works successfully. In general, I am satisfied with your work. Of course, there may be various errors and shortcomings. But overall, the Azerbaijani diplomacy is undergoing a period of development. I wish you continued success in your activities. Thank you.

AZƏRBAYCAN XALQ CÜMHURİYYƏTİ XARİCİ İŞLƏR NAZİRLİYİNİN KATİBLİYİNƏ DAİR MÜVƏQQƏTİ TƏLİMATI – 9 İYUL 1919-cu il TEMPORARY INSTRUCTIONS ON SECRETARIAT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC – 9 JULY 1919 ВРЕМЕННАЯ ИНСТРУКЦИЯ О СЕКРЕТАРИАТЕ МИНИСТЕРСТВА ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ – 9 ИЮЛЯ 1919 год

ВРЕМЕННЫЙ КАКАЗЪ

КАНЦЕЛЯРІИ МИНИСТЕРСТВА ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДѢЛЪ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ.

Во главѣ канцеляріи Министерства Иностранных Дѣлъ стоитъ Директоръ ея, въ рукахъ коюго находится управление всеми отдѣлами канцеляріи и внутренней распорядокъ. -

Непосредственнымъ помощникомъ и замѣстителемъ Директора Канцеляріи является Вице-Директоръ, на обязанности коюго лежить заведеніе всей текущей перепиской Канцеляріи, на Дипломатическаго характера.

На обязанности Секретаря лежить заведеніе Дипломатическимъ отдѣломъ и личной перепиской Министра.

Канцелярія Министерства состоитъ изъ трехъ отдѣленій, а именно: Дипломатическаго, 2. Общихъ Дѣлъ и 3. Хозяйственнаго.

При канцеляріи состоитъ Драгоманъ, обслуживающій все отдѣленія Канцеляріи, Старшій и Младшій Чиновникъ Сособыхъ порученій, исполняющіе порученія г. Министра, пріемъ Младшій Чиновникъ Сособыхъ Порученій вѣдаетъ также пріемомъ посетителей.

Регистратура и архивъ-офісѣ для всей канцеляріи.

Отдѣленіе Общихъ Дѣлъ вѣрлется Дѣлопроизводителю его, хозяйственный Отдѣлъ-Бухгалтеру и Архивъ-Архивариусу на правахъ начальниковъ Отдѣловъ, которые вѣдаютъ не только всей текущей перепиской вѣрренныхъ имъ отдѣловъ, но и являются ответственнымъ за полноту информации Директора Канцеляріи по всемъ вопросамъ подлежащимъ вѣднію отдѣловъ.

ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЕ ОТДѢЛЕНІЕ.

Отдѣленіемъ вѣдуетъ Секретарь Министерства. При отдѣленіи состоитъ Дѣлопроизводитель, 2 помощника Дѣлопроизводителя, переводчикъ съ иностранныхъ и турецкаго языковъ, 3 ремизтонистки, въ томъ числѣ одна иностранныхъ языковъ и одна канцелярскій писатель.

Відділію Стділа подлежатъ переписка Дипломатическаго характера,
а также:

- 1/ Составленіе, по порученію г. Министра илѣтатовъ и нотъ, представляемыхъ иностраннымъ Правительствамъ.
- 2/ Составленіе отвѣтныхъ нотъ.
- 3/ Составленіе формальныхъ грамотъ и писемъ отъ имени Правительства.
- 4/ Дѣла о признаніи независимости Азербайджана и вопросы о территорияльныхъ границахъ.
- 5/ Дѣла о признаніи Дипломатическихъ представителей, Генеральныхъ Консуловъ, Вице-Консуловъ и Консульскихъ Агентствъ Иностранныхъ Державъ.
- 6/ Занята интересовъ гражданъ Республики за-Границей.
- 7/ Помощь въ подлинными переводовъ разныхъ актовъ и документовъ, писанныхъ на иностранныхъ и турецкомъ языкахъ и наоборотъ.
- 8/ Переписка секретнаго характера.
- 9/ Шифръ.

II. ОТДѢЛЕНІЕ СПИШКЪ ДѢЛЪ.

Отдѣлъ является Диплопромавозителемъ. При отдѣлѣ состоятъ: Помощникъ Диплопромавозителя, 2 редакторскихки и Канцелярскій служитель.

Відділію Отдѣла подлежатъ:

- 1/ Веденіе переписки съ Центральными и мѣстными Учрежденіями Республики,
- 2/ Оказаніе законнаго содѣянія просьбамъ иностранцевъ, пребывающихъ на территоріи Республики,
- 3/ Дѣла объ юридическихъ отношеніяхъ гражданъ Республики за-Границей и иностранцевъ въ предѣлахъ Республики.
- 4/ Разная переписка о границахъ Республик/пребывающихъ за-Границей и объ иностранцахъ, пребывающихъ на территоріи Республики.
- 5/ Удостовереніе по требованію Правительственныхъ учреждений и просьбамъ частныхъ лицъ-заявителей о выдачѣ паспортовъ, визъ и Консульствъ иностранныхъ Государствъ на документахъ и актахъ, которые предъявляются въ присутствіи въ мѣста Республики.

8/ Удостоверение азовидительствований архжутственныхных ²⁸ мѣстъ
Республики на актахъ и документахъ, которые отправляется въ уста-
новленія иностранныхъ Государствъ.

9/ Удостоверение азовидительствований и подписей баржевыхъ
мандровъ, Нотариусовъ и другихъ лицъ, уполномоченныхъ на то за-
кономъ на переводахъ, сдѣланныхъ съ тарского на другіе языки и
актахъ, подлежащихъ отправкѣ въ судобныя и правительственныя мѣстъ;
иностранныхъ Государствъ.

10/ Веденіе дѣлъ о личномъ составѣ войскъ установленій Мини-
стерства,

11/ Веденіе дѣлъ о законопроектахъ различныхъ ведомствъ Рес-
публики, препровождаемыхъ для ознакомленія,

12/ Составленіе разныхъ законопроектовъ по подведомственнымъ
Министерству дѣламъ, а также справокъ и объясненій по нимъ.

13/ Веденіе нарядовъ: къ руководству и по предметамъ общаго ха-
рактера.

ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОЕ ОТДѢЛЕНІЕ.

Отдѣлъ вѣрнется Вухгалтеру. При отдѣлѣ состоитъ помощникъ ^{двухъ}
производителя.

Въ вѣдѣніи начальника хозяйственного отдѣла находятся всѣ пу-
зеры канцеляріи, швейцаръ и горничная.

Вѣдѣнію отдѣла подлежатъ:

1. Составленіе сметъ расходовъ по Министерству,
2. Запѣдованіе войскъ назначенныя имуществомъ Министерства, какъ въ
предѣлахъ Республики, такъ и за-границей.
- 3/ Веденіе бухгалтерскихъ книгъ,
- 4/ Производство войскъ расходовъ по Министерству,
- 5/ Экзекуторская часть.

ОБЩАЯ РЕГИСТРАТУРА.

Регистратура находится въ вѣдѣніи регистратора; при немъ состоитъ
его помощникъ.

Регистраторъ, кромѣ веденія входящаго и исходящаго журнала вѣдает также экспедиціей курьеровъ и на обязанности его лежитъ провѣрка развѣдныхъ книжекъ курьеровъ.

А Р Х И В Ъ .

Архивъ Министерства вѣрлется архивариусу, который занимается собираніемъ и приведеніемъ въ систему всѣхъ актовъ, документовъ и бумагъ, относящихся къ Закавказью, а, главнымъ образомъ, къ Азербайджану.

Въ архивѣ хранятся:

1/ Акты и бумаги, относящіеся къ важнѣйшимъ событіямъ политической жизни Азербайджана,

2/ Дѣла, оконченныя производствомъ,

3/ Ниуровыя книги и документы всѣхъ установленій Министерства.

Канцелярскіе служащіе, какъ-то: канцелярскіе чиновники и ремингтонистки раздѣляются для работъ въ отдѣлахъ Директоромъ Канцеляріи соответственно количеству работъ въ томъ или иномъ отдѣленіи, а равно, въ зависимости отъ интенсивности работъ въ отдѣленіи Директоромъ могутъ быть командированы къ временному исполненію тѣхъ или иныхъ обязанностей, всѣ члены канцеляріи.

Вся, получаемая Министерствомъ почта поступаетъ въ регистратуру гдѣ вскрывается регистраторомъ и заносится въ реестръ входящихъ бумагъ, за исключеніемъ секретныхъ пакетовъ и телеграммъ, которые по полученіи немедленно подаются г. Директору.

Въ неприсутственные дни для приѣма почты, а также для экстренныхъ работъ устанавливается очередное дежурство канцелярскихъ служащихъ по одному человѣку изъ числа помощниковъ дѣлопроизводителей канцелярскихъ служащихъ и по одной ремингтонисткѣ.

Телеграммы, получаемыя въ неприсутственные дни немедленно, по ихъ вступленіи отсылаются на квартиру г. Директору.

По записи, поступающей почты въ реестръ входящихъ бумагъ, регистраторъ всю почту подаетъ Вице-Директору, причемъ послѣдній, по рассмотреніи почты, распределяетъ ее по соответствующимъ отдѣламъ.

Канцеляріи и возвращаетъ обратно въ регистратуру для передачи въ соответствующія отдѣленія подѣ расписки начальниковъ отдѣленій или ихъ помощниковъ.

По полученіи почты Начальники Отдѣленій, ознакомившись съ содержаніемъ бумагъ, отмѣчаютъ на нихъ номера дѣлъ, къ которымъ они относятся и, въ случаѣ необходимости, дѣлаютъ на нихъ, за своей подписью письменныя справки. Если того, начальники отдѣленій докладываютъ поступившую въ ихъ отдѣленіе переписку г. Директору.

Исходящія бумаги составляются въ соответствующихъ отдѣленіи Канцеляріи по резолюціямъ и скрѣпляются Начальниками соответствующихъ отдѣленій, которые, послѣ того, подаютъ ихъ на подпись г. Директору или Вице-Директору, согласно резолюціи г. Директора.

Переписка дипломатическаго характера, а также всѣ бумаги, идущія за подписью г. Министра скрѣпляются Начальниками Отдѣленій и подписываются г. Директоромъ и г. Министромъ. Бумаги, исходящія отъ Министерства подписываются г. Директоромъ или г. Вице-Директоромъ и скрѣпляются г. дѣлопроизводителемъ.

По записи исходящихъ бумагъ въ реестръ и отправкѣ ихъ по принадлежности, регистраторъ, отмѣтивъ номера исходящихъ бумагъ на отпускахъ, передаетъ послѣдніе въ соответствующія отдѣленія подѣ списку.

Отпуски бумагъ обязательно должны имѣть скрѣпку.

Веденіе Приказовъ по Министерству Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ, а также по Канцеляріи Министерства временно возлагается на Драгомана, у котораго сосредотачиваются всѣ свѣдѣнія, подлежащія отдачѣ въ приказахъ. На Драгомана возлагается обязанность составлять черновые приказы по Министерству и Канцеляріи Министерства. Начальники отдѣловъ должны слѣдить за тѣмъ, чтобы Драгоману своевременно передавались бы всѣ свѣдѣнія и распоряженія, подлежащія отдачѣ въ приказахъ.

Приказы по Министерству подписываются г. Министромъ или за него г. Товарищемъ Министра. Приказы по Канцеляріи Министерства подписываются г. Директоромъ Канцеляріи или за него г. Вице-Директо

ромъ. Всѣ черновыя Приказы скрѣпляются лично, на обязанности не лежатъ веденіе ихъ.

Посѣтителей, въ назначенные для пріема г. Министромъ, его Товарищемъ и Директоромъ, а также для выдачи справокъ изъ Канцеляріи чины, принимаетъ Младшій Чиновникъ Особыхъ Порученій, который ведетъ списокъ посѣтителей.

Посѣтители допускаются на пріемъ къ г. Министру и его Товарищу по докладѣ о нихъ Директору Канцеляріи.

Изъ чиновъ канцеляріи, безъ особаго вызова въ кабинетъ г. Министра являютъ съ докладомъ: г. Директоръ, Вице-Директоръ, Секретарь и Чиновникъ Особыхъ Порученій.

Ежемесячно, не позже 5 числа каждаго мѣсяца, приказомъ по канцеляріи, подъ Предсѣдательствомъ Директора назначается коммиссія, состоящая изъ Предсѣдателя и двухъ членовъ для проверки правильности веденія бухгалтеріи, причемъ о результатахъ этой проверки сообщается въ приказѣ по Канцеляріи Министерства.

Смѣта расходовъ по Министерствѣ у составляется Бухгалтеромъ и обсуждается въ Комиссіи подъ предсѣдательствомъ Директора Канцеляріи.

Членами этой Комиссіи состоятъ: Вице-Директоръ, Секретарь и Бухгалтеръ.

Составлено 9 Іюля 1919 г.

ВИЦЕ-ДИРЕКТОРЪ КАНЦЕЛЯРІИ

Съ подлиннѣмъ верно:

AZƏRBAYCAN XALQ CÜMHURİYƏTİ XARİCİ İŞLƏR NAZİRLİYİNİN KATİBLİYİNƏ DAİR MÜVƏQQƏTİ TƏLİMATI – 9 İYUL 1919-cu il
TEMPORARY INSTRUCTIONS ON SECRETARIAT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC – 9 JULY 1919
ВРЕМЕННАЯ ИНСТРУКЦИЯ О СЕКРЕТАРИАТЕ МИНИСТЕРСТВА ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ – 9 ИЮЛЯ 1919 год

AZƏRBAYCANIN XARİCİ İŞLƏR NAZİRLƏRİ MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF AZERBAIJAN МИНИСТРЫ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА



Məmməd həsən Cəfər qulu oğlu Hacınski
28 may - 7 dekabr 1918



Əlimərdan bəy Ələkbər oğlu Topçubaşov
6 oktyabr - 26 dekabr 1918



Fətəli xan İsgəndər xan oğlu Xoyski
26 dekabr 1918 - 14 mart 1919;
4 dekabr 1919 - 1 aprel 1920



Məmməd yusif Hacıbala oğlu Cəfərov
14 mart - 22 dekabr 1919

AZƏRBAYCANIN XARİCİ İŞLƏR NAZİRLƏRİ
MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF AZERBAIJAN
МИНИСТРЫ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА



Nəriman Kərbəlayi Nəcəf oğlu Nərimanov
28 aprel - 2 may 1920



Mirzədavud Bağır oğlu Hüseynov
2 may 1920 - dekabr 1921



Mahmud İsmayıl oğlu Əliyev
noyabr 1943 - sentyabr 1944



Tahirə Əkbər qızı Tahirova
aprel 1959 - 23 noyabr 1983



Elmira Mikayıl qızı Qafarova
dekabr 1983 - 22 dekabr 1987



Hüseynağa Musa oğlu Sadıqov
27 yanvar 1988 - may 1992

AZƏRBAYCANIN XARİCİ İŞLƏR NAZİRLƏRİ
MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF AZERBAIJAN
МИНИСТРЫ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА



Tofiq Məsim oğlu Qasımov
may 1992 - 26 iyun 1993



Həsən Əziz oğlu Həsənov
2 sentyabr 1993 - 17 fevral 1998



Tofiq Nadir oğlu Zülfüqarov
5 mart 1998 - oktyabr 1999



Vilayət Muxtar oğlu Quliyev
26 oktyabr 1999 - 2 aprel 2004



Elmar Məhərrəm oğlu Məmmədyarov
2 aprel 2004

AZƏRBAYCAN XALQ CÜMHURİYYƏTİ NAZİRLƏR ŞURASI – 1919-cu il СОВЕТ МИНИСТРОВ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ – 1919 год COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC – 1919

AZƏRBAYCAN XALQ CÜMHURİYYƏTİ NAZİRLƏR ŞURASI – 1919-cu il
СОВЕТ МИНИСТРОВ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ – 1919 год
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE AZERBAIJAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC – 1919



AZƏRBAYCAN DİPLOMATİK XİDMƏTİNİN VETERANLARI – VETERANS OF AZERBAIJANI DIPLOMATIC SERVICE – ВETERАНЫ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЙ СЛУЖБЫ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА

ИСТОРИЯ НАРОДА, КАК ФАКТОР ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ

Гасан Гасанов*

Большую часть жизни я не представляю свое сознание без взгляда на историю. Мое детство и юность прошли в Тбилиси 40-50-х годов. Тогда это был многонациональный город стойких национальных традиций. Здесь прекрасно уживались вместе с грузинами не только мы, азербайджанцы, но и армяне, и русские, и евреи (европейские и грузинские), курды, греки и другие народности. Но ни одна нация не потеряла здесь своего лица, не растворилась в коренном народе. И не только потому, что никто из них не мешал друг другу жить и не становился в позу нации-гегемона, но и еще потому, что большинство национальностей жили самостоятельными общинами, в своих кварталах, как мы в своем, Харпухе на Майдане, заботливо сохраняя свои язык, религию, обычаи и традиции, общаясь с грузинскими, русскими, армянскими ребятами, в Тбилисской школе, расположенной в Сололаках, которой учился в 1948-1958 годы, я был единственным азербайджанцем. Говоря на русском или грузинском языках, я четко осознавал, что я иной, я азербайджанец, поэтому старался сохранить свой имидж азербайджанца. Мои самые близкие школьные друзья были грузины, русские, армяне, евреи - грузинские и русские (так называли у нас европейских евреев). Общаясь с ними, посещая семьи своих одноклассников, я пользовался их домашними библиотеками. Можно сказать, что моя читательская практика начиналась с чтения грузинских и армянских исторических романов. Наряду с читательскими эмоциями, возникающими под влиянием исторических сюжетов связанных с историей других народов, у меня возникало беспокойство, от того, что не располагаю возможностью, получать заряд от чтения азербайджанских исторических романов. Тогда среди тбилисской молодежи часто возникали дискуссии на исторические темы. В силу своей слабой осведомленности я, или защищался, как мог, или был пассивным участником этих дебатов. Уже впоследствии, переехав в Баку, я стал свидетелем того, что касается роль исторических произведений в формировании национального самосознания азербайджанского народа, довольно незначительна.

Необходимо научиться искусству постановки своих этнических целей. По словам итальянского журналиста Дж. Кьеза, «если чужую цивилизацию скопировать абсолютно

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точно нельзя, то совсем ни к чему подражать ей тогда, когда она сама начинает задумываться над своими проблемами и своей ограниченностью». Азербайджан может ориентироваться на западный уровень материального развития, но должен создавать свою социальную и духовную структуру, которая может в чем-то не совпадать ни с западной, ни с какой-либо другой и будет базироваться на национальной традиции и психологии.

Время шло, по мере увеличения азербайджанской научной и художественной исторической литературы, увеличивалось мое стремление их освоить. Наконец на склоне лет, в моей жизни возникла ситуация, когда я решил заниматься историей на профессиональном уровне. Это дало мне право высказывать некоторые свои соображения по исторической проблеме.

Современный дипломат располагает огромным арсеналом факторов, которые могут быть положены, с критическим восприятием, в основу его работы. Уроки, которые сегодняшней Азербайджанской дипломатии следует учесть, задачи которые приоритетные для дипломатической деятельности государства обширны. Их нельзя сужать или выхолащивать.

Факторы, могущие влиять на формирование дипломатической практики, учитывались во все исторические периоды. При этом, по мере развития и усложнения мировой системы, количество факторов неустанно расширяется. В числе дипломатических приемов, на протяжении многих веков решающее значение определяли два фактора: в основном сила и в значительной степени династические браки. При всем том, что подавляющее большинство современных стран мира, не теократические, фактор религии в международных отношениях и мировой дипломатии продолжает сохранять свою актуальность. Большую часть XX века, важнейшим дипломатическим фактором была приверженность стран к разным идеологическим схемам. Геополитические ситуация страны и как следствие интересы мировых держав является одним из основных факторов, влияющих на формирование дипломатических приемов стран. Важнейшим фактором влияющим на формирование дипломатических приемов, является противостояние ценностей. Если подытожить сказанное, то получается, что в отличии от древней и средневековой дипломатии, современная дипломатия отличается формированием на основе не отдельно взятых факторов, а комплекса политических, военных, экономических, гуманитарных, и др. факторов. Функции дипломатических представительств формировались исторически под влиянием факторов, которые выражали потребности представляемого им государства. Известный английский ученый-теоретик международного права Л. Оппенгейм отметил, что деятельность каждого посольства (миссии) держится на "трех китах" - "переговорах, наблюдении и защите". Защита чего? Защита всяческих интересов своей страны, как в историческом, так и в

текущем понимании этих интересов. Азербайджанский дипломат, в своей повседневной работе должен быть в состоянии выступать в роли эксперта по культуре и искусству, страноведению, науке, экономике, образованию, религии, истории, праву нашей страны. Именно подобная эрудиция составляет основу профессиональной компетентности современного дипломата. Подбор факторов дипломатической деятельности должен исходить из реальных условий страны, интересы которой дипломат призван защищать. Высказывание английского премьер-министра и министра иностранных дел Г. Дж. Т. Пальмертона, еще в середине XIX в. сформулировавшего основную внешнеполитическую задачу Великобритании, в форме: «У нас нет вечных союзников и у нас нет постоянных врагов; вечны и постоянны наши интересы. Наш долг — защищать эти интересы», в настоящее время стала не только хрестоматийной, но и универсальной в части многих стран мира. Конечная цель деятельности дипломата, заключается в внесении своего вклада в формирование образа своей страны в стране пребывания. Уезжая, он должен отчитаться перед собой, что внес он в репутацию своей страны в сознании общественности страны его пребывания. Основными факторами, которые могут повлиять на формирование имиджа азербайджанской дипломатии, являются: Факторы, составляющие основу национальных ценностей, также закладываются в основу национальной дипломатии. У нашего народа на протяжении веков сформировалась довольно стройная система национальных ценностей, состоящая из языка, этнического происхождения, религии, Родины, семьи, почитания старших.

Возникает естественный вопрос, каким образом, факторы, связанные с национальными ценностями, могут быть положены в основу дипломатической деятельности?

Гегбельсу приписывают слова: «Отними у народа историю - и через поколение он превратится в толпу, а еще через поколение им можно управлять, как стадом». Наряду с политическими ошибками, наши территориальные потери, на протяжении нескольких веков, объясняются и этим фактором, забывчивостью нашей истории, а если точнее изначальным незнанием нашей истории. Современные исторические процессы, и наличие по соседству с нами армян которых Ст. Шаумян, называет «назойливым соперником» азербайджанцев, требует у современного поколения оживления своей истории, возведения ее в ранг национальной ценности называемой «знание истории».

В адрес азербайджанских дипломатов, пытающихся разъяснить об исторической принадлежности Карабахского региона, порой слышатся выражения «не увлекайтесь историей», «забудьте историю», а попытки объяснить причины отсутствия экономического сотрудничества с Арменией, вызывает реплику, что «доверие у противника можно завоевать, отправляя ему добрые сигналы» и т.д. Ясно, что подобные реплики не отражают реалию. В английском языке, имеется термин, отсутствующий в других языках «Humbug» - «хамбаг». Сленговый термин «хамбаг»

означает правдоподобную ложь, или ложь, неотличимую от правды, или, возможно наиболее точно, двусмысленное выражение, в котором ложь замаскирована под правду. который Некоторые из армянских политологов обвиняют английскую дипломатию в чрезмерном увлечении этим методом, в то время как налицо, что пропаганду армянской истории и природу армянской дипломатии нельзя понять без термина «хамбага».

Чаще всего эти разговоры бывают не с официальными лицами, а с представителями общественности и особенно прессы. В своей дипломатической практике, в подобных случаях, я пытаюсь быть исключительно откровенным. На реплики вроде «не увлекайтесь историей», «забудьте историю», отвечаю, что, во-первых, когда Армения на протяжении веков и последних десятилетий убеждала Вас в наличии у них прав на наши земли, вы их слушали. И не только слушали, но и запоминали, и до сих пор в книгах и различных публикациях появляются сообщения с откровенными симпатиями в адрес Армянской истории. Во-вторых, доброжелательно добавляю, «Вы же не забываете кровавые и драматические страницы своей истории, зачем мы долбаны забывать. Тем более, что вы уже перешагнули через эти события, а мы продолжаем жить в этих драматических условиях». На вторую реплику я стараюсь быть более категоричным и отвечаю: «Когда Гитлер захватил почти всю Европу, разве кто либо из оккупированных стран с ним сотрудничал или может быть обеспечивали его энерго-ресурсами?». Думаю, что в действительности мы, когда то должны предать забвению нынешние драматические страницы наших отношений с соседом. Но это возможно произойдет, тогда, когда будет перевернута ныне сложившаяся страница истории. Поэтому надо знать не только свою историю, но и тенденции мировой истории, которые, к сожалению, время от времени повторяются.

Именно поэтому вызывает у меня беспокойство, тот факт, что среди наших национальных ценностей нет очень важной - «знание истории». В то же время, в современной мировой практике, знание истории, географии, обычаев, культуры является обязательными условием не только для граждан любой европейской страны, но и для эмигрантов, желающих получить гражданство в таких странах как Российская Федерация, США, ФРГ, Канада, Чехия, Латвия, Швейцария, Австралия, Дания, Нидерланды, Южная Корея и др. При этом речь идет не о собеседовании на произвольные темы, а о сдаче письменного экзамена по утвержденной программе. Возникает естественный вопрос, если обязательно надо знать историю страны, которую взрослый эмигрант выбирает в качестве места своего будущего проживания, то какова должна быть ответственность человека, который живет в стране, где родился он и его предки, встречает здесь своих иностранных гостей, пытается убеждать их в достоверности истории своей страны и народа, и особенно дипломату, который собирается по достоинству представлять свою страну за рубежом.

В своем знаменитом труде «О методе ведения переговоров с монархами» А. Кальер¹ рассматривает вопрос, какие качества необходимы для профессионального дипломата; и хотя его замечания были сделаны почти 300 лет тому назад, но и сейчас еще многие из них заслуживают серьезного внимания. Из его совета следует, что дипломат должен хорошо знать, не только историю своей страны, но и страны своего пребывания. В частности он говорит: «Хорошо, если бы он знал или изучал историю страны своего пребывания, чтобы при случае он мог побеседовать с монархом или с вельможами его двора о великих делах их предков и о том, что совершено ими самими,— такая беседа непременно поможет ему приобрести их расположение; следует чаще наводить разговор на эти темы, побуждая самих собеседников рассказывать об этом, ибо, слушая их рассказы, он, наверное, доставит им удовольствие,— следовательно, ему останется лишь вновь искать случая, сделать это».

К сожалению, знание истории, для подавляющего большинства нашей молодежи, ограничивается репликами с упоминанием знаковых личностей как Кероглу, Бабек, Шах-Исмаил, Деде-Горгуд и пожалуй все. Практика моего общения с молодежью и в частности с молодыми дипломатами, показывает исключительно низкий уровень их исторических знаний. Если знание истории, в современном мире, как выше я отметил, является ценностью для эмигранта, то, как можно объяснить его игнорирование в наших условиях, когда наша история, взята под прицельный огонь фальсификаторов? При заведении разговора на эту тему получаешь, как правило, сетование на то, что в Азербайджане нет специальных исторических изданий для молодежи; что имеющиеся научные монографии по языку и жанру не всегда доступны для молодежи. Возможно это так. Но это не снимает ответственности за создание подобной системы.

Нашему посольству потребовалось несколько лет, для того, чтобы убедить ответственных в Азербайджане, за это лиц, в необходимости составления специального учебника для обучения иностранцев, в данном случае поляков, азербайджанскому языку. Нам это, наконец, удалось, посольство за счет своего бюджета перевел это учебное пособие на польский язык, вскоре на его основании начнется преподавание азербайджанского языка в Варшавском Университете. В эту секцию уже записалось 18 студентов университета. Но, в то же время в ответ на запрос одного из Польских университетов, нам пока не удалось убедить, в необходимости составления учебника по «Азербайджановедению».

Историю, я оцениваю, как один из инструментов современной азербайджанской дипломатии.

¹ Calliers, De la maniere de negocier avec les souverains, Paris, 1716, См. Э. Сатоу, Руководство по дипломатической практике, Изд-во, ИМО, Москва 1961, Перевод Панафидин С., Кублицкий Ф.

Почему?

Потому, что против нашего народа уже много веков ведется информационная война, требующая своего системного опровержения. Там где конфликт - там и информационная война, т.е. информационное воздействие, с конкретной целью. Осознали мы это лишь в 20 веке, хотя она велась против нас еще в средние века. Не бывает двух одинаковых информационных войн. С моей точки зрения, имеются два вида информационного воздействия: «концептуальная информация» и «смысловая информация». Концептуальной информацией, как инструментом войны пользуются тогда, когда отсутствуют аргументы, а смысловой информацией пользуются тогда, когда достаточно аргументов в пользу информации направленной на воздействие.

Приведу несколько примеров, «концептуальной информации», используемой армянской стороной, как в поддержку истинности своей истории, так и в части искренности нашей истории. «Армяне самый древний народ в мире», «Армения первое христианское государство в мире», «Армяно-азербайджанская война это христианско-исламское противостояние сигнализирующая о конце света» (так написано в одной из книг, изданных в Польше), «Азербайджанцы не нация, а сбор разных народов», «азербайджанцы это тюрки, а тюрки прибыли в Закавказье в 12 веке и поселились на армянских землях», «Азербайджанцы никогда не имели государства, а впервые создали его в 1918 году», «Великая Армения простиралась до Каспийского моря и включала в себя Карабах», «Карабах это древний армянский Арцах» и т.д.

В Польше, думаю и во многих других европейских странах, к нашему великому сожалению, верят в истинность армянской истории, и не верят нашей древней истории. Я поинтересовался этой проблемой, в многочисленных беседах с лицами, выступающими в качестве пропагандистов армянской истории. Практически получается, что иностранец, прибывающий в Армению, получает там системную информацию об истории Армении, часто не от ученых, а от рядовых лиц. Другое дело насколько объективна эта информация. Тем не менее, иностранец уезжает из Армении, в качестве добросовестного учащегося прошедшего полный курс армянской истории. Поэтому он верит в полученную информацию и становится его активным пропагандистом. А информация, которую передаем, мы в виде разрозненных фрагментов, к сожалению не вызывают доверия.

Почему? Потому, что доверие в любом деле, в том числе особенно при передаче иностранцу информации о твоём народе следует заслужить.

Доверие, в данном случае, можно завоевать, не назойливостью, а только компетентностью, готовностью ответить на вопросы, аргументированностью,

иллюстративностью передаваемой исторической информации. Не исключается, что многие приезжающие в Азербайджан, уже осведомлены об истории Азербайджана, как говорится не из первых рук. Поэтому порой его вопросы могут казаться подвохом, надо к ним относиться с пониманием и хладнокровно. Гость это где-то прочитал, или кто-то уже успел ему это рассказать. Если вы хотите вызывать доверие, нужно для начала с доверием отнестись к другому человеку.

Историю, нашего народа, как никакого другого, следует представлять в виде реалии. Что это такое? В науке уже доказано, что Девичья Башня, была построена в 8 веке до н.э., а мы продолжаем рассказывать, что она была построена в 12 веке н.э. О Девичьей Башне имеются несколько легенд, в т.ч. те, которые записаны самими европейцами еще в 18 веке в Баку, а мы продолжаем рассказывать легенду о «об отце влюблённом в свою дочь». На сооружениях Храма Атешгях в Сураханах, четко написано, что оно является святилищем индийских Богов «Джаваладжи» и «Ганешу», а кое-кто из наших, продолжает настойчиво утверждать, что это зороастрийский храм. Как можно вызвать у иностранца доверие к нашей истории, если мы голословно утверждаем, что название нашей страны и народа (Азербайджан, азербайджанцы), название нашей столицы (Баку, Баду-Куба), происхождение и название нашего основного праздника (Новруз-Байрам), происхождение и название нашего основного национального орнамента (Бута) имеют персидские корни?

Не вдаваясь в детали, вынужден, полагаясь на последние научные исследования, обзорно осветить эти проблемы. Происхождение понятия Азербайджан ни в историческом, ни в лингвистическом отношении не имеет никакого отношения к персидской культуре и языку. Это понятие возникло в 614 г. до н.э., в то время как первая персидская империя Ахеменидов возникла в 550 г. до н.э., т.е. почти 70 лет спустя. Название Баку, никак не может иметь персидское происхождение так как под таким названием он впервые упоминается в древнеегипетских источниках за две тысячи лет до н.э. Название Баду-Куба, никак не может иметь персидское происхождение так как по фарси город ветров будет не Баду-Куба, а «Шахребад/Şəhrebəd», слово Новруз не соответствует персидской грамматике, т.к. на персидском «новый день» будет не Новруз, а «Рузино», а новый год «Салено». Понятие Баку, никак не могло бы произойти от фразы Баду-Куба, потому, что если даже не учитывать египетские источники, слово Баку впервые упоминается в арабских источниках в 10 веке н.э., а Бадкуба в 14 веке н.э., т.е. четыреста лет спустя. Зороастризм, никак не может быть нашей религии, т.к. во-первых его основные принципы противоречат нашим моральным ценностям (у зороастрийцев культивируется инцест), а во-вторых это не межэтническая религия, подобно современному монотеизму, а сугубо персидская.

Для пропаганды, нашей истории в Венгрии и Польше, я составил специальный проект,

которым предусмотрено издание на венгерском и польском языках большого числа произведений об Азербайджане. В Венгрии, нам удалось издать 15 книг, в Польше же уже набравшись опыта нам удалось уже издать 28 наименований книг из 50-ти намеченных. Перед тем как начать издание, я предложил очень авторитетному в Польше органу «Институт культуры Адама Мицкевича», приступить к совместному изданию, намеченной согласно этого проекта литературы. В рамках этого проекта предусмотрены шесть серий книг.

В серии «Азербайджано-польские отношения», предусмотрены книги о поляках в Азербайджане и азербайджанцах в Польше. В этой серии изданы две книги Виляята Гулиева, который в качестве первого посла Азербайджана в Польше, провел огромную работу по исследованию деятельности поляков в нашей Первой Республике и отношении азербайджанских политэмигрантов к великому сыну польского народа Юзефу Пилсудскому. С большим интересом знакомятся поляки с книгой о визите Папы Римского Ян Павла 2 в Баку по приглашению Президента Гейдар Алиева.

В рамках серии «Азербайджанская кухня», изданы книги «Азербайджанская долма», которая показывает, исконно азербайджанское происхождение этого уникального и всемирно известного блюда. В рамках серии «Культура и искусство Азербайджана», «Архитектура Азербайджана», изданы книги об архитектуре, музыкальном искусстве, ювелирных изделиях, ковроткачестве и др. В рамках серии «Фольклор Азербайджана», издана книга о наших пословицах и поговорках, среди которых особый интерес у поляков вызывает обычная для нас фраза «Аталар созлари/Слова отцов». В рамках серии «Народные эпосы Азербайджана» изданы важнейшие героические эпосы, как Кероглу, Деде-Коргуд, Огуз-хан. Ознакомление, с этими эпосами, дает польским читателям возможность, сравнить эти произведения с эпосами Гомера, с сагами европейских народов, и убедиться в древности и уникальности азербайджанского народа.

В рамках серии «Нагорно-карабахский регион Азербайджана», наряду с исследованиями современных ученых мы издали текст «Кюрекчайского трактата». Публикация текста дает возможность польскому читателю, лично ознакомиться с его содержанием, важным аспектом которого является то, что Карабахское ханство получило покровительство Российской империи в 1805 году, в качестве сугубо азербайджанского государственного образования обладающего правом на заключение международного контракта. В этой же серии издан сборник «Резолюции СБ ООН по карабахскому конфликту», в который наряду с самими резолюциями, включены и стенограммы заседаний Совета Безопасности при принятии этих резолюций. Резолюции дают возможность проследить за индивидуальной позицией членов СБ ООН по азербайджано-армянскому конфликту.

Издательство «Реваш» под патронатом Посла Армении в Польше Ашота Галояна, и авторству Лешек Ваксмундского издало путеводитель по Армении, в котором история и география Азербайджана была искажена. В содержании книги были откровенные выражения, носящие провокационный характер. Я встретился с издателем этого путеводителя, на предмет исправления допущенной им ошибки при издании этой книги. В результате моих критических замечаний допущенных в тексте, мы договорились, что он издаст Путеводитель по Азербайджану приняв текст в той форме, в какой мы ему представим. В конце беседы, я задал ему вопрос, каковы истоки его любви к армянам и безразличия к азербайджанцам. Я привожу буквально, то, что он мне сказал: в детстве, рядом с нашим домом был прилавок с которого один армянин торговал фруктами. Когда я выходил на улицу он бесплатно давал мне яблоко. В то же время вы являетесь первым азербайджанцем, которого я вижу наяву. Я буквально сказал, ему неужели, ради одного яблока съеденного вами в детстве, вы готовы идти против истины и наговаривать на народ, представителя которого вы даже не видели. Он ничего не ответил и сказал, но «мы уже с вами уже договорились». При поддержке Министерства культуры Азербайджана мы выпустили путеводитель, который, во-первых по объему больше чем армянский, а во-вторых в ней даётся объективная информация о нашей истории и географии, которая полностью опровергает измышления данные в армянском путеводителе. В настоящее время этот путеводитель на польском языке продаётся во-всех книжных магазинах Польши.

Совместно с Варшавским Университетом мы издали «Учебник азербайджанского языка» для польских университетов.

Кроме этих книг мы выпустили открытки, отражающие агрессию Армении и вандалистские действия армянских оккупантов, как «Трагедия Ходжалы», «Расстрелянные памятники Натаван, Узеира Гаджибекова, Бюль-Бюля», «Карта территорий захваченных армянскими вооруженными силами в 1988-1993 гг.», «Карта азербайджанских ханств на начало 19 века, к периоду завоеваний Российской империи», «Карта поэтапного захвата, армянами азербайджанских территорий, начиная с 1805 года», «Инициатором сумгаитских событий был армянин Эдуард Григорян!», «Протокол решения Азербайджанского правительства о передаче армянской стороне города Эривана» и др.

Если тираж издаваемых нами книг составляет 1000 экземпляров, то тираж каждой из открыток составляет несколько тысяч в зависимости от того какой они представляют интерес. Книги и открытки передаются нами ведущим государственным и ведомственным (университеты, лицеи, гимназии и т.д.) библиотекам, в настоящее время в общей сложности более чем в сорока библиотеках Польши, имеются уголки азербайджанской книги.

Посольство строго следит за изданиями, в которых искажается карта современного Азербайджана и принимаем немедленные меры вплоть до изымания из продажи и переиздания. Особенно часто мы встречали эти извращения в т.н. «Ежедневниках». В последнее время подобные ошибки не наблюдаются.

Порой, в армянских изданиях Польши, приводится искаженная информация об истории и исторической принадлежности Нахчывани. В связи с этим, совместно с руководством Нахчыванской республики, мы разработали и уже в большей степени реализовали программу действий. В частности издали «Календарь 2013 года», под эгидой «Нахчыванский край Азербайджана», на монетной фабрике Польши были отчеканены памятные медали «Памятники Архитектуры Нахчывана», издали книгу «», в июне 2014 года, во втором индустриальном и культурном центре Польши городе Кракове провели Дни Культуры Азербайджана на примере Нахчывани. В рамках мероприятия была проведена выставка товаров производимых в Нахчывани, проведены встречи и заключены соглашения с Ягелонским, Экономическим и Горным Университетами и Краковским отделением Академии Наук Польши. Была проведена выставка «Нахчыван: история и современность». Заключительное мероприятие было проведено в самом авторитетном зале в здании Краковского театра Оперы и Балета. Зал был переполнен, а участники концерта, мастера искусств из Нахчывани, неоднократно вызывались на бис.

В условиях польской реалии, мы часто встречаемся с верой, в распространяемые про-армяно настроенными лицами, в то, что слово «Азербайджан», во-первых не имеет исторического отношения к территории, которую ныне занимает Азербайджанская республика, а во-вторых придумана, при том, не нами и всего лишь в 1918 году. В связи с этим, я начал с архивов и библиотек Польши, а затем масштабы моих поисков вышли за пределы Польши и я сумел собрать огромное количество географических карт, в подавляющем большинстве старинных, в которых сообщается информация о политической географии азербайджанских государств и в частности именуемых в форме «Азербайджан». Я решил реализовать свою картографическую коллекцию в двух направлениях. Во-первых, в настоящее время по поручению Фонда Молодёжи при Президенте Азербайджана, я завершаю сбор материалов и издание Атласа под названием «История Азербайджана на мировых картах». Думаю, что это издание даст ответ на многие вопросы, которые ныне возникают перед нашей молодежью при общении с иностранцами. Во-вторых, у меня возникла идея отпечатать на внешней стороне Новогодней поздравительной открытки, карту Азербайджана, изданную в 1740 году в немецком городе Аугсбург Конрадом Тобиас Лоттером. Особенность этой карты заключается в том, что слово Азербайджан на этой карте охватывает пространство, как к югу, так и северу от реки Аракс. Эта карта убедительное свидетельство того, что, еще в 18 веке европейские картографы понятие Азербайджан относили также к территории,

которую ныне занимает Азербайджанская Республика. Поздравительную новогоднюю открытку, с изображением этой карты мы уже второй год, отправляем, в количестве, более 1000 экземпляров, на имя руководящего состава и общественности Польши.

Дипломат, работая в той или иной стране должен или полюбить эту страну или же отказаться от работы там. Любовь к стране пребывания, может выражаться разными формами. Речь не может идти лишь о любви, выраженной в тостах во-время застолья, которая в принципе не возбраняется. С моей точки зрения, любовь дипломата к стране пребывания должна быть, в какой-то мере, увековечена. В своей дипломатической практике я встретился с оригинальным случаем подобного увековечения. Приступив к работе в Нью-Йорке в качестве Постпреда Азербайджана при ООН, я познакомился с обаятельным человеком, оказавшим мне, и в целом нашему молодому дипломатическому коллективу, неоценимую помощь в нашем становлении. Этот человека был моим коллегой, работал в качестве Постпреда Турции при ООН, а звали его Мустафа Акшин. Я вообще по природе очень любознательный, никогда не упущу возможности задать собеседнику вопрос, относительно неожиданно возникшей информации. Я спросил его, какова история его имени Акшин, потому, что я не встречал такого имени среди турков. Он мне ответил, что он первый, кого в Турции называли этим именем. Как это было? Он ответил: Мой отец в молодые годы работал в Турецком консульстве в Баку, где в то время шел спектакль, главного героя которого звали Акшин. В честь него и отец назвал меня Акшином. Так, всю свою жизнь, этот замечательный турецкий дипломат, с гордостью носит азербайджанское имя и помнит, что его отец не просто работал в Азербайджане, о и любил этот народ. Кстати, Мустафа Акшин, рассказал мне следующий забавный случай, связанный с принятием Азербайджана в ООН. В ООН поступило письмо из Азербайджана, с какой-то просьбой. Письмо было написано на азербайджанском языке с использованием кириллицы. В Секретариате ООН не смогли прочесть письмо поэтому, зная близость языков, обратились за помощью, в Турецкое Постпредство. В Турецком постпредстве естественно не было человека, одновременно знавшего и азербайджанский язык и кириллицу. Поэтому они привлекли для чтения письма, одного знающего кириллицу и другого знающего азербайджанский язык. Один из этих дипломатов озвучивал кириллицу не понимая того, что там написано, а другой зная азербайджанский язык, услышанное фиксировал на бумаге. Таким образом, был прочитан этот текст. Уже затем, он был переведен на английский язык.

Действия азербайджанских дипломатических миссий не могут не беспокоить армянских лоббистов, так как они теряют, а может уже потеряли, в мировом пространстве информационную монополию. Азербайджан все более уверенно сообщает миру о своей истории и сегодняшних реалиях. Рассказанная выше, моя дипломатическая практика в Венгрии и в Польше, является всего лишь небольшой частью этой огромной государственной программы.

С нашей точки зрения, человек, который желает стать азербайджанским дипломатом, должен знать историю, значительно выше среднего знатока. Каждый дипломат, и особенно молодые, должны быть готовы к ответу на вопросы, которые возникают в разных странах мира. Было бы целесообразно, в системе МИД-а Азербайджана, иметь группу экспертов, способных готовить, аналитические материалы по отдельным проблемам истории Азербайджана и в частности, по истории отношений Азербайджана с нашими современными партнерами. В этих документах освещать историю современных связей, очень важно, но не достаточно, нужны и факты далекой истории. Исключить недоверие к истории Азербайджана, является одним из самых злободневных проблем нашей дипломатии. Эта работа была начата еще А.М.б. Топчибашевым. Насколько эта идея важна для т.н. внутреннего употребления, еще более она важна для нашей внешней политики. Возведение «знания истории» в ранг национальной идеи в действительности историческая задача, и она стоит усилий лучших людей нашего народа.

ARXIV SƏNƏDLƏR – ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS – АРХИВНЫЕ ДОКУМЕНТЫ

OSMANLI VƏ ALMAN İMPERİYALARI ARASINDA İMZALANMIŞ MƏXFİ PROTOKOL (1918-ci il)

Aşağıda imza atmış

Zati Aliləri Osmanlı İmperiyasının Baş Vəziri Tələt Paşa və Alman İmperiyasını Xarici İşlər üzrə Dövlət katibi cənab fon Hintze fikir mübadiləsi məqsədilə bir araya gələrək bəyan edirlər:

1. Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti Qafqaz Azərbaycan, Gürcüstan və Ermənistan Respublikalarını bu andan etibarən müstəqil Dövlətlər kimi tanımaq istədiyini bəyan edir. Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti Gürcüstanı tanımağa hazırdır. Təəssüf ki, indiki vaxtda eyni münasibəti Azərbaycan və Ermənistanla bağlı göstərmək iqtidarında deyildir. Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti ilə Gürcüstanla bağlı razılaşdırılmış öhdəliklərə əsasən, Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti Gürcüstanın tanınması məsələsini uzatmayacaq. Eyni zamanda, Azərbaycanda və Ermənistanda yaradılmış Hökumətlərlə əlaqə yaratmaq məqsədilə, bu ölkələrə konsullar göndərməmiş o bu addımı atmayacaqdır.

Qafqaz Respublikalarının Osmanlı Hökuməti tərəfindən tanınması ilə əlaqədar, Rusiya və Türkiyə arasında çətinliklər yaranarsa, Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti münaqişəyə yol verməmək və öz Müttəfiqini və Rusiyanı qarşılıqlı anlaşmaya gətirmək üçün əlindən gələni edəcəkdir.

Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti gecikmədən öz ordu hissələrini Azərbaycandan və Ermənistandan çıxaracaq. Osmanlı ordu hissələrinin Aleksandropol-Culfa dəmiryolu xətinin təhlükəsizliyini təmin etmək üçün mühafizə hissəsindən, eləcə də iki respublikaya aid olan ərazidən dərhal çıxarılmasından sonra Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti öz növbəsində Azərbaycan və Ermənistanın Rusiya tərəfindən tanınması üçün vasitəçilik edəcəkdir.

2. Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti Şimali Qafqazın və Türküstanda müstəqil dövlətlərin yaradılması istiqamətində işləmək niyyətində olduğunu və bu dövlətlərlə ittifaqın yaradılmasını təmin etmək üçün əlindən gələni edəcəyini və burada əldə ediləcək yeni qüvvələri müttəfiqlərin maraqları naminə istifadə edəcəyini bəyan edir.

Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti indiki vəziyyətdə Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökumətinə dəstək ola bilmədiyinə görə təəssüflənir və bununla əlaqədar daha heç bir etiraz bildirməyəcəkdir.

3. Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti və Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti müxtəlif Qafqaz Respublikaları üzərində malik olduqları təsirdən istifadə edərək Dörd Müttəfiq ölkənin müharibə dövründə bu regionun iqtisadi ehtiyatlarından maksimal xeyir götürə bilmələri üçün özlərindən asılı olan işləri görəcəklər. Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti, Osmanlı İmperiyasına, iki digər müttəfiqi - Rusiya və Qafqazın müxtəlif Hökumətlərinə, maraqlı tərəflər arasında bağlanacaq sazişlə tənzimlənəcək pay bölgüsünə əsasən, Bakıda hasil olunacaq neftdən pay verəcəklər.
4. Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti bütün Rusiyada olduğu kimi Kırım da müsəlmanların durumlarının, onların milli xüsusiyyətlərinin, dinlərinin və mədəniyyətlərinin qorunmasının Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti üçün böyük əhəmiyyət kəsb etdiyini qəbul edir. Yarımadanın gələcək siyasi statusuna xələl gətirmədən, Alman İmperiyasının Hökuməti bu ölkədə, indiki siyasi durumun (Şura Prezidentinin müsəlman olması şərtilə qarışıq kabinet) saxlanması ilə razılaşıır.
5. Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti Qara Dəniz Rus donanması məsələsinin Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti üçün böyük əhəmiyyət kəsb etdiyini qəbul edir. Bu məsələnin həlli zamanı Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti Osmanlı donanmasının gücləndirilməsini təmin etmək üçün əlindən gələni etməyi öhdəsinə götürür.
6. Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti Azərbaycan Hökumətinə, onun ərazisində yaradılmış Almaniya müstəmləkələrinə, keçmiş Rus İmperiyasının digər yerlərində onlara göstəriləcək eyni münasibətin təmin edilməsində dəstək olacaqdır.
7. Almaniya İmperiyasının Hökuməti və Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti, Brest sazişinin VII bəndinin müddəalarına əsasən, İranın siyasi və ərazi bütövlüyünün qorunması ilə tam razıdır. Osmanlı İmperiyasının Hökuməti ingilislərə qarşı hərbi əməliyyatları bitirdikdən dərhal sonra qoşunlarını İrandan çıxaracaqdır. Hər halda o, hərbi işğal zamanı Almaniya və İran arasında əlaqə üçün şərait yaradacaqdır.

Sənəd Berlində iki nüsxədə hazırlanmışdır.

Sentyabr 1918-ci il.

*Protocole secret .**Les soussignés**Son Altesse Talaat Pascha, Grand-Véxir de l'Empire Ottoman,**et**Son Excellence Monsieur von Hintze, Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de l'Empire Allemand ,**s'étant réuni pour un échange de vues sur les questions du Caucase, déclarant ce qui suit :*

1^o) Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman déclare vouloir reconnaître dès à présent les Républiques d'Azerbaydjan du Caucase, de Géorgie et d'Arménie comme Etats indépendants.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand, tout en étant prêt à reconnaître la Géorgie, regrette de ne pas être en mesure, à l'heure qu'il est, d'en faire autant par rapport à l'Azerbaydjan et à l'Arménie. Vu les engagements pris d'accord avec le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman vis-à-vis des Géorgiens, le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand ne saurait plus ajourner longtemps la reconnaissance de la République de Géorgie. Cependant il n'y procédera pas avant d'être entré en rapports avec les Gouvernements de fait qui se sont formés en Azerbaydjan et en Arménie, en déléguant des consuls dans ces pays.

Dans le cas où des complications surgiraient entre la Turquie et la Russie du fait de la reconnaissance des Républiques caucasiennes par le Gouvernement Ottoman, le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand fera tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour éviter un conflit et

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amener une entente entre son allié et la Russie.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman retirera sans délai les troupes ottomanes de l'Azerbaydjan et de l'Arménie. Le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand de son côté, offrira ses bons offices à l'effet que la Russie reconnaisse les Républiques d'Azerbaydjan et d'Arménie, dès que les troupes ottomanes auront été retirées des territoires, revenant à ces deux Républiques, sauf les gardes nécessaires pour garantir la sécurité du service sur la ligne Alexandropole-Djoulfa.

2^o) Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman déclare qu'il a l'intention de travailler à la formation des Etats indépendants au Nord de la Caucase et dans le Turkestan et de faire son possible pour assurer une alliance avec ces Etats et ^{pour} à utiliser dans l'intérêt des alliés les nouvelles forces qu'on pourrait se procurer ainsi .

Le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand, tout en regrettant de ne pas pouvoir dans les circonstances actuelles, prêter son concours au Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman dans ces entreprises, n'y soulèvera pas non plus d'objections .

3^o) Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman et le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand useront de leur influence auprès des différents Gouvernements du Caucase et feront eux-mêmes tout ce qui dépend d'eux pour que, pendant la guerre, les Puissances de la Quadruple Alliance puissent s'assurer le maximum de profit de toutes les ressources économiques des dites régions.

F Le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand fera bénéficier l'Empire Ottoman, comme ses deux autres alliés, ainsi que la Russie et les différents Gouvernements du Caucase pour une part équitable à déterminer d'un commun accord entre les parties intéressées, des huiles, qui seront produites dans le district de Bakou .

4^o) Le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand reconnaît que la situation des musulmans en Crimée, comme en Russie en général , en ce qui concerne la conservation de leur caractère national, de leur religion et de leur culture, est d'une importance particulière pour le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman.

Sans préjudice à la forme politique future de la péninsule, le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand, en tant que cela dépend de lui, est d'accord que l'Etat de choses existant dans ce pays (un cabinet mixte avec un Président du Conseil Musulman) soit maintenu.

5^o) Le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand reconnaît que la question de la flotte russe de la Mer Noire est d'une importance particulière pour le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman .

Lors du règlement définitif de cette question, le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand s'engage à faire tout son possible pour assurer le renforcement de la flotte ottomane.

6^o) Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman fera tout son possible auprès du Gouvernement de l'Azer-

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baydjan pour assurer aux ~~colons~~ allemands établis sur son territoire le même traitement qui leur sera accordé dans les autres parties de l'ancien Empire russe .

70) Le Gouvernement Impérial Allemand et le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman sont tout-à-fait d'accord pour maintenir, conformément aux dispositions de l' Art.VII du traité de Brest, l'intégrité territoriale et politique de la Perse.

Le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman retirera ses troupes de la Perse, aussitôt que les opérations contre les Anglais seront finies. Il facilitera de toute façon la communication entre l'Allemagne et la Perse pendant le temps de l'occupation militaire.

Fait à Berlin, en double expédition,
le Septembre 1918.

MƏQALƏLƏR - ARTICLES – СТАТЬИ

ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЛЕГАЦИИ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА В ПЕРИОД КАННСКОЙ И ГЕНУЭЗСКОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЙ (1922)

Георгий Мамулиа*, Рамиз Абуталыбов**

В январе 1922 г. основной темой политики стран Антанты в отношении Советской России был вопрос восстановления экономических отношений, являвшийся предметом острых англо-французских противоречий. Граждане Франции наиболее пострадали от отказа большевиков выплатить долги царского правительства и насильственной национализации, произведенной ими в России. Огромное количество рядовых французов были акционерами «русского займа». Отказ большевиков признавать долги царского правительства нанес сильнейший удар по и без того незавидному финансовому положению 1 600 000 французских вкладчиков, делая из них весьма влиятельный и многочисленный слой, заинтересованный в проведении антибольшевистской политики¹.

Таким образом, в отличие от британского премьер-министра Ллойд Джорджа, заинтересованного в возвращении русского рынка, французы, в качестве предварительного условия восстановления экономических отношений, выдвигали безусловное положительное решение большевиками вопроса о царских долгах, оставаясь приверженцами политики санитарного кордона².

Вопрос восстановления экономических отношений с Советами напрямую касался Азербайджана. Около 90% нефти бывшей Российской империи в то время добывалось в Кавказском регионе, на нефтепромыслах Баку и Грозного, которые, в отличие от других предприятий советской России, сравнительно мало пострадали в 1918-1920 гг.

После захвата Азербайджана красной армией в конце апреля 1920 г. в стране, в соответствии с теорией и практикой большевизма, проводилась тотальная национализация нефтяной промышленности, в результате чего были ликвидированы 272 частные компании, большая часть которых принадлежала иностранным гражданам³.

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¹ Duroselle J.-P. Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours. Paris. 1990. p. 67.

² Ibidem. p. 64-65.

³ Гасанлы Д. История дипломатии Азербайджанской Республики. Т. II. Внешняя политика Азербайджана в годы советской власти (1920-1939). Москва. 2013. с. 581.

Осознавая экономическую привлекательность Кавказа для стран Антанты, большевики не преминули сделать природные ресурсы региона предметом политических спекуляций, таким образом, еще больше раздувая противоречия в стане западных союзников.

В начале 1922 г. до находящихся в Париже представителей дипломатических миссий Азербайджана, Грузии и Северного Кавказа стали доходить слухи, что англо-голландская компания «Ройал Датч Шелл» ведет переговоры с большевиками относительно покупки бакинской нефти. В случае заключения подобного контракта, большевики заручились бы поддержкой Генри Детердинга – владельца упомянутой компании, одного из влиятельнейших людей в английской и европейской политике.

Предметом особого обсуждения в Каннах 6-13 января 1922 г., наряду с проблемой репараций и экономического восстановления Европы, явился вопрос восстановления экономических отношений с Россией и проблема русских долгов.

Стремясь сохранить вовлеченность Великобритании в европейские дела и франко-британский альянс в целом, Аристид Бриан, председатель Совета министров и министр иностранных дел Франции, был вынужден уступить в этом вопросе Ллойд Джорджу, хотя большая часть французского политического класса была против приглашения на будущую конференцию большевиков до принятия ими ряда предварительных условий. В результате этих и прочих причин кабинет А. Бриана пал буквально через неделю.

Тем не менее, и Раймону Пуанкаре, наследнику Бриана на его посту и стороннику более твердого курса в отношении большевизма, пришлось согласиться на приглашение Советов на будущую конференцию безо всяких предварительных условий, так как это соглашение до него уже было подписано Брианом⁴.

4 января 1922 г., в день встречи руководителей Антанты в Каннах непосредственно перед началом конференции, Али Мардан-бек Топчибаши, Акакий Чхенкели, Абдул Меджид Чермоев и Аветис Агаронян, руководители дипломатической миссии Азербайджана, Грузии, Северного Кавказа и Армении в Париже, обратились к Бриану, так же, как и к членам Верховного совета Антанты, с особой нотой⁵.

⁴ Duroselle J.-P. Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours. p. 65-66.

⁵ Еще 10 июня 1921 г., дипломатическими представителями республик Кавказа в Париже была подписана декларация о создании Союза кавказских государств. В ней, наряду с прочим отмечалось, что отныне Азербайджан, Грузия, Северный Кавказ и Армения будут проводить объединенную внешнюю политику, максимально координируя при этом свои дипломатические усилия. Полный перевод текста декларации от 10 июня см.: Кавказская Конфедерация в официальных декларациях, тайной переписке и секретных документах движения «Прометей». Сборник документов. Сост., пред., пер., прим. Г. Г. Мамулиа. Москва. 2012. с. 41.

В документе сообщалось, что, согласно декларации, подписанной представителями республик Кавказа 10 июня 1921 г., любые сделки, заключенные иностранными государствами или частными лицами с оккупационными властями «будут признаны лишенными какой-либо юридической силы и объявлены недействительными»⁶.

Гораздо более подробно эта позиция кавказских правительств в изгнании была изложена в ноте от 5 января. Основной тезой этого документа была просьба о включении Кавказа в экономическую систему восстанавливаемой Европы.

«В то время, когда великие державы собираются с целью заняться проблемой экономического восстановления Европы, мы, представители кавказских народов, выражаем твердую надежду, что вопрос Кавказа займет подобающее ему место в системе экономического восстановления. [...]

В то же время по богатствам своих недр нефтью, марганцем, медью, углем и другими минералами, своими лесами, производством хлопка, шерсти, шелка, табака и т.д., Кавказ представляет собой один из наиболее важных источников сырья для промышленности Европы»⁷.

Авторы документа сообщали, что, хотя Кавказ и находится под оккупацией большевиков, местное население сделает все возможное для того, чтобы не работать на оккупантов.

«Борьба за независимость, восстания и войны продолжатся нескончаемо и будут способствовать лишь опустошению края»⁸.

Таким образом, делался вполне прозрачный намек, что правительства в изгнании обладают возможностью с помощью недовольного населения воспрепятствовать эксплуатации природных ресурсов Кавказа. Отмечался и тот факт, что подавляющее

⁶ A. Aharonian (président de la délégation de la République Arménie), A. Toptchibacheff (président de la délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan), A. M. Tchermeoff (président de la délégation de la République du Caucase du Nord), A. Tchenkeli (Envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire de la République de Géorgie). Note à A. Briand, président du Conseil, ministre des Affaires étrangères, président du Conseil Suprême. Paris, 4. 1. 1922 // Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine (Nanterre) (далее – BDIC). Microfilms des archives du gouvernement géorgien. Mfm 881. Bobine 118.

⁷ A. Aharonian (président de la délégation de la République Arménie), A. Toptchibacheff (président de la délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan), A. M. Tchermeoff (président de la délégation de la République du Caucase du Nord), A. Tchenkeli (Envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire de la République de Géorgie). Note à A. Briand, président du Conseil, ministre des Affaires étrangères, président du Conseil Suprême. Paris, 5. 1. 1922 // Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères (далее – AMAE). Correspondance politique et commerciale (далее – CPC). 1918-1940. Série Z (Europe). Dossier n° 634 Russie (Caucase) n° 634. Fol. 4-5.

⁸ Ibidem. Fol. 5.

большинство концессий на Кавказе принадлежало иностранному, а не русскому капиталу. Этот факт должен был оказать особое влияние на французов, крайне чувствительных к проблемам русского долга.

«Промышленность Кавказа, существовавшая в объединенном виде, не была русской, так как ее 85%, если не более, с точки зрения капиталов, вложенных в эксплуатацию нефти, меди, угля и марганца, находилось в руках иностранцев. Местный капитал (армянский, азербайджанский, северокавказский, грузинский), не может, естественно, рассматриваться русским»⁹.

В конце документа авторы выдвигали две основные рекомендации:

- «1) Включить республики Кавказа – Армению, Азербайджан, Северный Кавказ, Грузию – в систему экономического восстановления Европы как абсолютно отдельную от России экономическую единицу.
- 2) Принять решение, что в процессе изучения условий и форм участия республик Кавказа в экономическом восстановлении Европы мы будем приглашены и заслушаны как законные представители упомянутых республик»¹⁰.

7 января, когда переговоры о допущении представителей большевиков на будущую конференцию без каких-либо предварительных условий вступили в завершающую стадию, и когда стало ясно, что Бриан в этом вопросе будет вынужден уступить Ллойд Джорджу, на имя французского премьера была отправлена новая нота. В ней специально выехавшие в Канны А. М. Топчибаши, А. Агаронян и Е. Гегечкори подчеркивали: поскольку кавказские государства являются насильственно оккупированными вооруженными силами большевиков, то «с целью умиротворения Кавказа и восстановления справедливых прав этих республик, из которых одни являются признанными де-юре, а вторые де-факто, в качестве предварительного условия вступления в контакт с советской Россией необходимо выставить освобождение территорий этих республик от военной оккупации, объектом которой они являются.

Только такое решение вопроса способно восстановить мир на Кавказе и создать нормальные условия, необходимые для экономического и политического благополучия этого богатого региона», – отмечалось в конце документа¹¹.

⁹ Ibidem. Fol. 7.

¹⁰ Ibidem. Fol. 9.

¹¹ А. Топчичачев (président de la délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan), А. Агаронян (président de la délégation de la République Arménie), Е. Гегечкори (ministre des Affaires étrangères de la Géorgie). Note à Monsieur le président du Conseil Suprême. Cannes, 7. 1. 1921 // Ibidem. Fol. 10.

30 января, после прихода к власти кабинета Р. Пуанкаре, А. М. Топчибаши, А. Чхенкели, А. М. Чермоев и А. Агаронян направили на имя французского премьера меморандум¹², где вкратце излагали как кавказский вопрос в целом, так и историю своих взаимоотношений с правительством А. Бриана, выражая надежду на продолжение сотрудничества. Снова повторив предложение о включении Кавказа в систему экономического восстановления Европы как отдельной от России единицы, а также о том, чтобы во время обсуждения условий экономического восстановления Европы они были заслушаны как законные представители кавказских государств, авторы документа обращались к премьер-министру со следующей просьбой.

Объяснив, что начатые по инициативе Бриана переговоры с французскими финансово-промышленными кругами тормозятся благодаря неопределенному положению, в котором в настоящее время они находятся, кавказцы просили Пуанкаре выступить от имени правительства Франции в качестве гаранта реализации договоров, заключенных французами с правительствами Кавказа в изгнании: «Быть может, французское правительство сообщит в удобной для него форме финансовым предприятиям, с которыми в настоящее время мы ведем переговоры, что как бы ни развивались события в будущем, Франция примет необходимые меры для того, чтобы обеспечить признание прав, обретенных на Кавказе французскими гражданами и компаниями, ведущими переговоры с независимыми правительствами Кавказа»¹³.

Следует отметить, что и после прихода к власти кабинета Пуанкаре правительство Франции продолжало поддерживать контакты с представителями республик Кавказа в изгнании. Будучи в определенной степени более радикально настроенным в отношении большевиков, чем Бриан, Пуанкаре не допускал в этом отношении каких-либо сомнений. Правда, в отличие от Бриана, который в 1921 г., исходя из геополитических причин поддерживал идею объединенного Кавказа, в 1922 г. Пуанкаре сконцентрировался на Грузии, как на стране юридически признанной Верховным советом Антанты де юре, пытаясь посредством этого факта действовать и в пользу остальных республик Кавказа. Основной проблемой для кавказцев оставалась позиция английского правительства

¹² Текст меморандума выработан специальной комиссией под председательством Топчибаши. См.: Procès-verbal de la réunion du Conseil des représentants des quatre Républiques Caucasiennes, tenue le 31 février 1922 à 4 heures 1/2 de l'après-midi, au bureau de la délégation de la République du Caucase du Nord // BDIC. Microfilms des archives du gouvernement géorgien. Mfm 881. Bobine 118.

¹³ A. Aharonian (président de la délégation de la République Arménie), A. Toptchibacheff (président de la délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan), A. M. Tchermoeff (président de la délégation de la République du Caucase du Nord), A. Tchenkeli (Envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire de la République de Géorgie). Note à Son Excellence Monsieur Raymond Poincaré, président du Conseil et ministre des Affaires étrangères. Paris, 30. 1. 1922 // AMAE. CPC. 1918-1940. Série Z. Dossier n° 634 Russie (Caucase) n° 634. Fol. 13.

Ллойд Джорджа, пытавшегося всеми способами подорвать эту политику Парижа¹⁴. Наиболее рельефно англо-французские противоречия выразились в вопросе участия грузинской делегации в работе будущей Генуэзской конференции. Хотя сами французы и поддерживали участие грузин в конференции, Ллойд Джордж сделал все для того, чтобы исключить эту возможность. 16 февраля правительство Англии уведомило Чхенкели, что, поскольку конференция обсуждает европейские проблемы, участие грузин и, следовательно, остальных кавказцев в ней исключается, так как Грузия является азиатской, а не европейской страной¹⁵.

23 февраля Топчибаши, Чхенкели, Чермоев и Агаронян отправили на имя Пуанкаре новую ноту, в которой протестовали против намерения большевиков привлечь к участию в будущей конференции народных комиссаров марионеточных правительств советских республик Кавказа, выдаваемых ими за легитимных представителей своих народов. В документе подчеркивалось, что любые договора, заключенные западными компаниями с Советами в обход легитимных правительств Кавказа, будут считаться лишенными какой-либо юридической силы в соответствии с положениями декларации от 10 июня 1921 г¹⁶.

31 марта, выступая в парламенте Франции, Пуанкаре отметил важное значение Азербайджана для Франции. Заявив, что республики Кавказа, находящиеся в Азии, не могут быть приглашены на конференцию в Геную, где решаются сугубо европейские вопросы, французский премьер подчеркнул, что, тем не менее, и советской России, захватившей Кавказ с помощью вооруженной силы, также не дано право выступать от имени кавказских государств. Пуанкаре также заявил, что намерен продолжать в Азербайджане успешную нефтяную политику («мы не будем признавать любые действия, нарушающие суверенные права азербайджанского правительства»)¹⁷.

Следует отметить, что в самом парламенте Франции имелись влиятельные группы, выступающие за радикальную политику Парижа в отношении большевиков и Кавказа. В

¹⁴ Мамулиа Г. Борьба за свободу и независимость Кавказа (1921-1945). Тбилиси-Париж. 2012. с. 46.

¹⁵ E. Gueguetchkori. Note à L. Facta, le président de la conférence de Gênes. 10. 4. 1922 // BDIC. Microfilms des archives du gouvernement géorgien. Mfm 881. Bobine 118.

¹⁶ A. Aharonian (président de la délégation de la République Arménie), A. Topchibacheff (président de la délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan), A. M. Tchermoëff (président de la délégation de la République du Caucase du Nord), A. Tchenkeli (Envoyé extraordinaire et ministre plénipotentiaire de la République de Géorgie). Note à Son Excellence Monsieur Raymond Poincaré, président du Conseil, ministre des Affaires étrangères. Paris, 23. 2. 1922 // Le Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen (далее – CERCEC). Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (далее – EHESS). (Paris). Archives d'Ali Mardan-bey Topchibachi. Carton n° 2/1.

¹⁷ Гасанлы Д. История дипломатии Азербайджанской Республики. Т. II. с. 567.

частности, перед началом Генуэзской конференции комиссия по внешнеполитическим связям французского Сената требовала выставить предварительным условием установления Парижем экономических связей с Кремлем эвакуацию большевистских войск с Кавказа¹⁸.

На состоявшемся в Париже 3 апреля совещании представителей четырех республик Кавказа были выработаны основные линии, которым должны были следовать руководители дипломатических делегаций Азербайджана, Грузии, Северного Кавказа и Армении в связи с Генуэзской конференцией: 1) В случае если по какой-либо причине кавказский вопрос не стал бы предметом рассмотрения на Генуэзской конференции, кавказские представители не должны были возражать против этого. 2) В случае если этот вопрос все же будет рассмотрен в Генуе, представители республик Кавказа должны быть заслушаны. 3) В случае если под давлением государств Антанты большевики будут вынуждены признать независимость Грузии, необходимо добиваться того, чтобы остальные республики Кавказа также были исключены из пределов России. 4) Предоставить западным компаниям те же экономические преимущества, которые, со своей стороны, предложат большевики, дав при этом иностранному капиталу все необходимые гарантии для работы в желаемых ими условиях¹⁹.



Тем не менее, до второй половины апреля 1922 г. положение азербайджанской дипломатической делегации в Париже, так же, как и представителей других республик Кавказа в изгнании, оставалось неопределенным. Вследствие резких противоречий в стане западных государств по вопросу взаимоотношения с Кремлем не было ясности, смогут ли кавказцы вообще получить визу на въезд в Италию. Еще 7 апреля, за три дня до официального открытия Генуэзской

¹⁸ Les Etats du Caucase et la conférence de Gènes. Paris, 13. 3. 1922 // AMAE. CPC. 1918-1940. Série Z. Dossier n° 634 Russie (Caucase). Fol. 44-45.

Все это, разумеется, не означало, что весь политический истеблишмент Франции стоял на столь принципиальной антибольшевистской позиции. Например, автор вышеупомянутой справки, составленной для руководства французского МИД, указывал, что в случае выставления подобных условий большевикам, последние, несомненно, покинут конференцию, что будет равносильно ее срыву. Единственной возможностью осуществления плана эвакуации большевиками Кавказа является оказание массивной помощи вооружением и финансами грузинским повстанцам, а также прямое вмешательство Франции в дела на Кавказе, на что французское правительство вряд ли согласится пойти. Исходя из этого, если Париж действительно хочет получить доступ к нефти Кавказа, ему все же придется иметь дело с местными большевистскими правительствами // Ibidem.

¹⁹ Procès-verbal de la réunion des représentants des quatre Républiques Caucasiennes. Paris, 3. 4. 1922 // BDIC. Microfilms des archives du gouvernement géorgien. Mfm 881. Bobine 118.

конференции, А. М. Топчибаши, так же, как и М. Я. Мехтиев и М. Магеррамов, обратился через французский МИД в посольство Италии для получения визы для своего дипломатического паспорта²⁰.

Стремление представителей делегации лично прибыть в Геную, хотя они и не были приглашены для участия в самой конференции, объяснялось тем, что в состав возглавляемой Г. Чичериним советской делегации для введения в заблуждение западных политиков были включены также высокопоставленные функционеры марионеточных правительств советских республик Кавказа. С целью эффективного разоблачения лжи Кремля, выдвинувшего кавказских большевиков в качестве представителей «независимых» советских республик, необходимо было присутствие членов делегации на месте, что давало возможность оперативнее реагировать на заявления Чичерина и членов его делегации.

Тем не менее, процедура получения виз от итальянского правительства затянулась на месяц. Первоначально надеясь договориться с большевиками, итальянское правительство (не исключено, что с подачи некоторых других западных держав) не спешило выдавать визы на въезд в Италию представителям антибольшевистских правительств Кавказа.

Свою роль здесь, несомненно, сыграла и демагогия большевиков, с первых же дней своего пребывания в Генуе пытавшихся завлечь в СССР западные нефтяные компании на выгодных для себя условиях. Разумеется, верные себе большевики в полной мере пользовались острой конкуренцией, существующей между этими компаниями. Для того чтобы сделать свою ложь достоверной, 10 апреля Чичерин объявил, что в связи с переходом к новой экономической политике советская Россия готова даже сделать ряд изменений в своем законодательстве, а для расширения экономических связей с западными странами открыть международные транзитные пути. На другой день в интервью итальянским газетам Л. Красин сообщил, что советское правительство намерено четверть нефтяных промыслов Азербайджана оставить за собой, а остальные сдать в концессию Франции, Англии, Америке и бельгийским компаниям²¹.

Со второй половины апреля, однако, отношение западных держав к находящимся в Париже представителям кавказских государств в изгнании изменилось к лучшему.

²⁰ См. выданный 7 января 1919 г. дипломатический паспорт Топчибаши, содержащий соответствующие записи и хранящийся в его личном архиве // CERCEC. EHESS. Archives d'Ali Mardan-bey Topchibachi. Carton n° 3.

²¹ Гасанлы Д. История дипломатии Азербайджанской Республики. Т. II. с. 569.

Заклученный 16 апреля в Рапалло договор между Германией и советской Россией привел к резкому росту напряженности между Кремлем и западными союзниками. Как известно, в силу Рапалльского договора Германия и советская Россия взаимно отказались от старых долгов и установили дипломатические отношения²².

Эта весть вызвала крайне негативную реакцию стран Антанты и в особенности Франции. В Париже подозревали, что таким образом Москва и Берлин желали разорвать санитарный кордон, усилив давление на Польшу, Румынию и другие страны Восточной Европы. Во французской прессе даже циркулировали слухи о новой войне России с Антантой.

Так как в случае военного противостояния с Советами Кавказ, с его нефтяными запасами и стратегическим положением, приобретал для союзников большое значение, Пуанкаре склонялся усилить поддержку представителям кавказских республик в изгнании, увеличив тем самым давление и на большевистскую делегацию в Генуе²³.

18 апреля, два дня спустя после подписания Рапалльского договора, когда новости о заключенном германо-большевистском альянсе проникли в прессу, Топчибаши, стремясь воспользоваться создавшейся благоприятной ситуацией, обратился с нотой к Луиджи Факта, премьер-министру Италии и одновременно председателю Генуэзской конференции. Подчеркнув, что дипломатической делегации Азербайджана необходимо получить визы для въезда в страну с целью опровержения лжи азербайджанских большевиков, явившихся в качестве самозванных представителей этой республики на Генуэзскую конференцию и делающих от ее имени различные экономические предложения представителям западных компаний, Топчибаши категорически писал: «Делегация Азербайджанской Республики заявляет свой наиболее энергичный протест против всех деклараций, всех демаршей и попыток представителей большевиков в связи с концессиями, предложенными ими, а также против всех спекуляций в целом относительно нефти Баку.

²² Duroselle J.-P. Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours. p. 68.

²³ 10 мая состоялась встреча Пуанкаре с Гегечкори, во время которой стороны обсудили положение, сложившееся в оккупированной Грузии. В частности, национально-освободительное повстанческое движение, развивающееся в стране под руководством Объединенного военного центра, – подпольной структуры, выполняющей роль главного руководящего и координирующего центра антибольшевистских повстанческих ячеек и отрядов. Во время встречи Пуанкаре обещал Гегечкори в случае необходимости оказать повстанцам помощь оружием, снаряжением и финансами. См.: Мамулиа Г. Борьба за свободу и независимость Кавказа (1921-1945). с. 52-54.

Ни большевистское правительство Москвы, вторгшееся в Азербайджан с помощью красной армии, ни советская власть, установленная им в стране, не имеют право на обладание нефтью Баку, принадлежащей, как и все другие богатства нашей Родины, азербайджанскому народу и его законному правительству, которое будет восстановлено народом сразу же после ухода красной армии, чьи штыки являются единственной поддержкой власти большевиков»²⁴.

Таким образом, концессии, предоставленные центральными большевистскими властями СССР, либо местным марионеточным правительством Баку иностранным компаниям не будут признаны легальным правительством страны, вне зависимости от того, будут ли они заключены до или во время Генуэзской конференции.

На спешно созванном на следующий день совещании четырех республик Кавказа основной темой обсуждения являлся вопрос получения виз для въезда в Италию. Отсутствовавший Топчибаши передал председательствующему на собрании Чермоеву просьбу как можно тщательнее исследовать сложившуюся ситуацию. По словам председателя азербайджанской делегации, «у всех сложилось впечатление, что в отношении представителей Кавказа осуществляется саботаж»²⁵. В доказательство своих слов Топчибаши ссылаясь на факт, что в то время в Женеве уже находились две украинские (большевистская и правительства независимой Украины) делегации, так же, как и делегация турецких армян. Было решено отправить письмо на имя графа Сфорца, посла Италии в Париже, с просьбой о назначении аудиенции. Наряду с этим отправить телеграмму Чхенкели, единственному кавказскому представителю уже находившемуся в Генуе, с просьбой оказать соответствующее влияние на итальянское правительство²⁶.

27 апреля все еще находившийся в Париже Топчибаши отправляет на имя Факта новый меморандум. В нем он отмечал, что вынужден вновь обратиться к председателю Генуэзской конференции и министру иностранных дел Италии, ибо в силу создавшихся условий возглавляемая им делегация «лишена возможности лично отстаивать интересы своего народа на Генуэзской конференции».

Ссылаясь на 1-й и 6-й пункты Каннской резолюции, являющихся основой для работы Генуэзской конференции и признанной, в том числе и самими большевиками,

²⁴ A. M. Toptchibacheff (président de la délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan). Note à Son Excellence Monsieur Facta, premier ministre d'Italie, président de la conférence de Gènes. Paris, 18. 4. 1922 // CERCEC EHES. Archives d'Ali Mardan-bey Toptchibachi. Carton n° 1/1.

²⁵ Procès-verbal de la réunion du Conseil des représentants des Quatre Républiques du Caucase, tenue le 19 avril 1922, à 4 heures et demie de l'après-midi en l'hôtel du président de la délégation de la République du Caucase du Nord // BDIC. Microfilms des archives du gouvernement géorgien. Mfm 881. Bobine 117.

²⁶ Ibidem. Сам Чхенкели выехал в Геную 13 апреля. За два дня до этого он встречался с Пуанкаре. См.: Мамулиа Г. Борьба за свободу и независимость Кавказа (1921-1945). С. 48-50.

Топчибаши просил руководителей конференции: «1) Предложить в удобной для конференции форме советскому правительству эвакуировать, в соответствии с Каннской резолюцией, свои войска из пределов Азербайджанской Республики, не вмешиваясь ни во внутренние дела последней, ни в формы управления страной. 2) При всех случаях обсуждения на конференции и в ее комиссиях и подкомиссиях заявлений и вопросов, касающихся Азербайджана и, в частности, бакинской нефти, сообразованно пригласить и выслушать делегацию, которая одна обладает правом говорить от имени азербайджанского народа и входить в экономические сношения относительно бакинской нефти и других природных богатств Азербайджана»²⁷.



6 мая, вероятно, вследствие вмешательства французских властей, представители делегации Азербайджана получили желаемые визы²⁸, что позволило самому Топчибаши, а также сопровождающим его Мехтиеву и Магеррамову выехать, наконец, в Геную. При этом Топчибаши получил право представлять также интересы республики Северного Кавказа. Несмотря на то, что к моменту их прибытия в

Геную уже было ясно, что конференция, скорее всего, завершится безрезультатно, представители азербайджанской делегации уделили большое внимание разоблачению пропаганды большевиков, стремящихся воспользоваться конкуренцией западных компаний для завлечения их на Кавказ.

14 мая в газете «Скаффаро» под красноречивым заголовком «Нефть Баку принадлежит Азербайджану, а не России» было напечатано интервью Топчибаши. В нем председатель азербайджанской дипломатической делегации умело использовал против большевиков именно тот аргумент, на основе которого кавказцы не были допущены для участия в конференции. Он, в частности, заявил, что поскольку официально конференция посвящена экономическому восстановлению Европы, большевики не имеют права обсуждать на ней вопросы бакинской нефти, так как, согласно решению в Каннах, представителям Кавказа было отказано в праве участвовать в Генуэзской конференции на основе того, что Кавказ находится в Азии, а не в Европе.

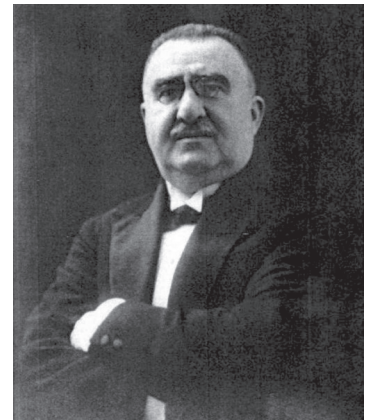
²⁷ А. М. Топчичабаев (président de la délégation de la République d'Azerbaïdjan). Note à Son Excellence Monsieur Facta, président du Conseil des ministres d'Italie, président de la conférence internationale de Gènes. Paris, 27. 4. 1922 // CERCEC. EHESS. Archives d'Ali Mardan-bey Topçibachi. Carton n° 7/2.

²⁸ См. визу, поставленную итальянским посольством в Париже в дипломатическом паспорте Топчибаши // Ibidem. Carton n° 3.

«Кстати, с кем хотят договориться «Ройал Датч Шелл» и другие компании? – патетически вопрошал Топчибаши. – С русскими большевиками, или их чиновниками, выбранными из числа местного населения, которых они привели на конференцию? И те, и другие являются лишь временными властителями, опирающимися на штыки красной армии. Им удалось лишь разрушить нефтяную промышленность Баку, а сейчас они желают использовать то, что они приобрели насильем и стремятся получить больше того, что они могут, зная, что не рискуют ничем, как и то, что азербайджанский народ их ненавидит, проклиная режим, ввергший их богатую страну в нищету».

До тех пор, пока в Азербайджане длится господство большевиков, естественный интерес, проявляемый западными компаниями в отношении нефтяных ресурсов страны, не может завершиться каким-либо положительным результатом, так как большевистский режим исключает частную собственность, свободу работы и экономических отношений, подчеркивал Топчибаши²⁹.

В интервью итальянской газете «Коррьере меркантиле» Топчибаши, с целью остудить алчность некоторых западных нефтяных компаний, стремящихся заполучить концессии в Азербайджане, подчеркивал, что «господство большевиков в Азербайджане, кроме того, что оно противоречит правам азербайджанского народа, абсолютно вредно с точки зрения экономики страны, поскольку большевики, введя в Азербайджане свою социально-экономическую систему, постепенно разрушили ту нефтяную промышленность, которую сейчас они хотят сделать предметом обширной торговли. Было бы неточно говорить о русской нефти в связи с нефтяными источниками Баку. Нефть, которой так жаждут различные группы капиталистов, извлекается на Апшеронском полуострове, т.е. в Азербайджанской Республике, признанной державами Антанты и другими государствами в 1920 г. Мы желаем, чтобы наша нефть способствовала экономическому восстановлению Европы, но лишь после изгнания большевиков из нашей страны». Далее Топчибаши отмечал, что азербайджанский народ «не допустит растраниживания своего богатства в пользу большевистских концессионеров, он скорее будет готов его уничтожить, чем позволит другим спекулировать принадлежащим ему добром. [...]»



Именем морального права, а также в интересах мира и спокойствия и с целью добиться скорейшего общего экономического возрождения державы, собравшиеся в Генуе, должны побудить советское правительство вывести русские войска с

²⁹ Le naphte de Bakou appartient à l'Azerbaïdjan et non à la Russie (déclaration du président Topchibacheff). «Scaffaro». Gènes, 14. 5. 1922 // Ibidem. Carton n° 1/1.

территории Азербайджана и избавить трудолюбивый азербайджанский народ от ужасов большевистского ига», – заканчивал свое интервью Топчибаши³⁰.

Те же тезисы были озвучены Топчибаши и во время пресс-конференции, состоявшейся в зале Ассоциации журналистов Лигурии 18 мая. «Группы иностранцев, пытающиеся сегодня заключить торговые договора с большевиками относительно нефтеносных участков района Баку и всего остального Азербайджана, пребывают в иллюзиях, полагая, что смогут затем их реализовать. Они столкнутся в стране с непреодолимой враждебностью. Жители Баку заявили, что они готовы скорее поджечь все нефтяные колодцы, чем позволить большевикам спекулировать ими в свою пользу»³¹. Последние слова имели в виду пожар, случившийся всего несколько дней назад на бакинских нефтепромыслах. Ссылаясь на этот факт, находящееся в Лондоне Азербайджанское информационное бюро распространило сведения об усилении недовольства местного населения большевизмом, а также о поджогах нефтепромыслов вокруг Баку³².

19 мая Генуэзская конференция завершилась безрезультатно. Советы не только не признали царские долги, но, напротив, под предлогом возмещения убытков за так называемую интервенцию в годы гражданской войны сами потребовали у западных стран 30 миллиардов рублей золотом³³.

Свою роль в подобном исходе конференции сыграла и пропагандистская деятельность кавказских правительств в изгнании.

В течение всего периода работы конференции в горных районах Грузии под координацией Объединенного военного центра, центральной структуры грузинского антибольшевистского вооруженного сопротивления, велись настоящие боевые действия против большевиков. В первой половине 1922 г. большинство горных районов западной части страны находилось в руках повстанцев. С апреля эпицентр боевых действий переместился в горные районы Восточной Грузии, где поднял восстание один из наиболее известных руководителей грузинского сопротивления, полковник Кайхосро (Какуца) Чолокашвили. Пламенем восстания были объаты и некоторые районы соседнего Дагестана. Все эти события оказали определенное влияние на союзников, подтвердив, что деятели национально-освободительного движения народов Кавказа в изгнании обладают рычагами влияния в регионе³⁴.

³⁰ Les aspirations de l'Azerbaïdjan. Notre entrevue avec M. Topchtibacheff. «Corriere Mercantile». Gènes, 18-19. 5. 1922 // Ibidem.

³¹ La situation de l'Azerbaïdjan exposée par le président de son parlement. «Il Secolo XIX». Gènes, 19. 5. 1922 // Ibidem.

³² Гасанлы Д. История дипломатии Азербайджанской Республики. Т. II. с. 570.

³³ Duroselle J.-P. Histoire diplomatique de 1919 à nos jours. P. 67-68.

³⁴ Мамулиа Г. Борьба за свободу и независимость Кавказа (1921-1945). с. 54.

ПУТЬ К НЕЗАВИСИМОСТИ: ОТ КАВКАЗСКОГО ЕДИНСТВА К СУВЕРЕННОМУ ГОСУДАРСТВУ (АПРЕЛЬ-МАЙ 1918 ГОДА)

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Для мировой истории два года – всего лишь краткий миг, но бывают годы, значимость которых нельзя измерить арифметически. За эти годы государство проделывает путь, равный векам, меняется государственный строй, весь многовековой уклад общественно-политической жизни и человеческого мировоззрения. Именно таким временем и стали для истории нашей страны два года с 1918 по 1920 – первые годы независимости.

Известно, что решающим фактором, послужившим толчком к образованию независимых государств на Южном Кавказе, стало падение и последующий распад Российской империи в результате двух революций 1917 года. Но восстановление государственности именно в виде демократической республики стало результатом пробуждения национально-освободительного движения в Азербайджане, где сформировалась блестящая плеяда интеллектуалов, получивших образование в лучших учебных заведениях России и Западной Европы и начавших играть существенную роль в общественно-политической жизни всего Кавказа. Среди них были как люди, исповедовавшие либерально-демократические ценности, так и предприниматели и меценаты, оставившие большой след в истории Азербайджана начала XX века. Имена этих людей – Г.б. Зардаби, М.Т.Шахтахтинского, А.М.Топчибашева, М.Э.Расулзаде, А. Агаева, И. Зиятханова, М.Г.Гаджинского, Г.З.Тагиева, Ш.Асадуллаева и др. золотыми буквами вписаны в историю нашей страны. Многие из них еще в начале века явились основоположниками политических организаций, в программах которых отразились идеи автономии, а затем и независимости Азербайджана. Можно с уверенностью утверждать, что если бы в азербайджанском обществе не появились люди, озвучивавшие национальные и демократические идеи, создание республики, базирующейся на демократических ценностях, было бы невозможно.

За 1917-1918-е годы, явившиеся годами больших потрясений, в Азербайджане произошла смена трех правительств: большевистской Бакинской Коммуны, меньшевистско-эсеровского правительства Центрокаспия и, наконец, прихода к власти национального правительства АДР. Последнее приступило к исполнению своих обязанностей в Баку только во второй половине сентября 1918 г., хотя официально было провозглашено в Тифлисе 28 мая, сразу после распада Закавказского Сейма и правительства Закавказской Федерации.

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В данной статье хотелось бы осветить достаточно неоднозначную ситуацию, сложившуюся в Сейме накануне принятия Актов о независимости, роль великих держав и позицию политиков, участвовавших в этом процессе.

Азербайджанская фракция Закавказского Сейма, начавшего свою деятельность в Тифлисе в феврале 1918 г., была представлена 44 депутатами (из общего числа 133 депутатов), 30 из которых входили в партию «Мусават» и примыкающих к ней беспартийных, остальные представляли партию «Иттихад» (Мусульманство в России), мусульманский социалистический блок и социал-демократическую партию «Гуммет» (Взаимопомощь)¹.

Сейм сформировал правительство во главе с Е.П.Гегечгори, которое находилось под сильным влиянием ведущих геополитических игроков того времени, представляющих воюющие блоки в Первой мировой войне – стран Антанты и России с одной стороны, и Турции с Германией – с другой.

Захват турецкой армией в январе 1918 г. после неудачно начавшихся Брест-Литовских переговоров России с Германией Карса, Ардагана и Батума заставил Закавказское правительство пойти на переговоры с Турцией, выдвинув ряд своих условий, в том числе и освобождение занятых земель. Однако к тому времени (3 марта) Брестский мир был уже подписан и вышеперечисленные области вошли в состав Османской империи. Турки потребовали очистить эти области от каких-либо военных формирований. В таких условиях 14 марта 1918 года началась Трабзонские переговоры между Турцией и Заксеймом². Главным требованием Турции на этих переговорах было объявление Закавказья независимым государством, имея в виду прежде всего независимость от большевистской России. Мнения депутатов Сейма разделились. Единодушия не было даже в азербайджанской фракции Сейма, считавшейся союзницей Турции. Например, депутаты Х.Хасмамедов и Ш. Рустамбеков считали, что Батум должен остаться в составе Закавказья, поскольку является конечной точкой Баку-Батумского нефтепровода, жизненно важного для экономической жизни всего края³. Позицию азербайджанской социал-демократической партии «Гуммет» выразил Дж.Ахундов, заявив, что «если придут с севера большевики, то мы против них, и в таком случае за турецкую ориентацию. Но если с севера придет истинная демократия, то мы с ними против турок»⁴. То есть у гумметистов, так же как и у грузинских меньшевиков еще оставалась надежда на победу демократии в России. На это резко отреагировал

¹ Адрес-Календарь Азербайджанской Республики на 1920 г., Баку, 1920, с.3

² Документы и материалы по внешней политике Закавказья и Грузии. Тифлис, 1919 (переиздано в 1990 г.), док. № 54, с.107-108

³ ГААР (Государственный Архив Азербайджанской Республики), ф.970, оп.1, д.7, л.4

⁴ Протоколы заседания мусульманских фракций Закавказского Сейма и азербайджанского Национального Совета. Баку, 2006, с.79

М.Э.Расулзаде (Мусават), заявив, что его партия будет бороться с оружием в руках с какой бы то ни было возвращающейся назад в Закавказье Россией⁵. Таким образом, вопреки общепринятому мнению об однозначной протурецкой направленности внешней политики азербайджанской фракции Заксейма, это было далеко не так.

Между тем, командующий Кавказским фронтом Вехиб-паша недвусмысленно заявлял, что Турция не может оставаться безразличной к судьбе кавказских мусульман, «наша цель, чтобы мусульмане восточного Кавказа имели бы с нами реальную связь»⁶. А для этого необходимо наличие между Россией и Турцией сильного Кавказа со своим правительством, способным управлять и защищать себя.

Позиция азербайджанских делегатов резко изменилась после кровавых мартовских событий 1918 года, когда большевистско-дашнакскими войсками было уничтожено более 10 тыс. жителей Баку и Бакинской губернии, а правительство Заксейма не оказало их соотечественникам никакой помощи. Мусульманская (азербайджанская) фракция сейма потребовала принять турецкий ультиматум, и 22 апреля 1918 года Заксейм принял резолюцию о провозглашении независимой Закавказской Демократической Федеративной Республики⁷. Правительство Гегечкори подало в отставку, новое правительство во главе с А.И. Чхенкели 26 апреля объявило декларацию о независимости и суверенитете Южного Кавказа, выполнив тем самым условие, которое было выдвинуто оттоманской делегацией на Трабзонской конференции.

Однако первая Закавказская федерация просуществовала всего месяц и причиной ее распада явилась прежде всего разная внешнеполитическая ориентация ее участников. Находящийся в это время в Грузии немецкий генерал О.фон Лоссов предлагает грузинскому Национальному совету военную помощь, которую последний с воодушевлением принимает как защиту от турецкого вторжения. 26 мая на заседании Грузинского Национального Совета его председатель Ной Жордания зачитал «Акт о независимости Грузии», а 28 мая Грузия подписала соглашение с Германией, по которому немецкие войска вошли на территорию Грузии⁸.

В азербайджанской делегации накануне объявления независимости шли напряженные переговоры. Социалисты выступали за Кавказское единство, которое позволило бы как покончить с анархией в Баку, так и усилить вес азербайджанского представительства, которое было в большинстве. Не было единства и в партии Мусават, часть которой выступала за полную независимость, а другая – за объединение с Турцией. Однако

⁵ Там же, с.85

⁶ Документы и материалы по внешней политике Закавказья и Грузии. Док. № 83, с. 183-184

⁷ Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика (1918-1920). Баку. Элм, 1998, с.62

⁸ Газ. «Азербайджан», 1918, 28 июня

после получения известия о несогласии Турции объединяться с Азербайджаном, что могло послужить поводом к требованию Болгарии о присоединении Адрианополя⁹, азербайджанская делегация однозначно пришла к общему мнению о безальтернативности провозглашения независимости.



После многочисленных обсуждений о форме государственного устройства будущей республики Азербайджанский Национальный Совет на своем заседании под председательством товарища председателя доктора Гасан-бека Агаева, был объявлен временным органом власти и 28 мая 24-ю голосами «за» и при 2-х воздержавшихся принял Акт о независимости.

В Акте отмечается, что «отныне народ Азербайджана является носителем суверенных прав и Азербайджан, состоящий из Восточного и Южного Закавказья, является полноправным независимым государством».

Во втором пункте Акта о Независимости, фактически выполнявшего функции Конституционного закона, говорилось «Управление независимого государства Азербайджан определяется в виде народной республики». Было провозглашено равенство всех граждан независимо от национальности и вероисповедания перед законом и соблюдение их прав¹⁰.

По воспоминаниям участников, это событие вызвало особое волнение и радость у всех собравшихся как в самом здании, так и на улицах Тифлиса, все плакали и поздравляли друг друга с криками «Да здравствует независимый Азербайджан!» За короткое время своего существования Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика сумела доказать всему миру, что этот народ достоин жить свободно. Признание же ее де-факто на Версальской конференции в начале 1920 года означало появление на европейском пространстве, хоть и ненадолго, нового самостоятельного субъекта международного права, который заново возродился только после крушения советской империи.



⁹ Азербайджанская Демократическая Республика. Документы и материалы, Баку, 1998. с. 14

¹⁰ Там же. с.12

IMPORTANCE OF AZERBAIJAN IN ENERGY SECURITY OF EUROPE

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The Ukraine Crisis in 2013, which escalated into a military conflict in the East of the country in 2014 has turned on the alarm in Europe. For the first time after the wars in the Balkans during the nineties Europe is experiencing an armed conflict which has so far involved Ukraine, and keeps steadily involving the resources and troops from the Russian Federation. With no exaggeration it can be said that this is the biggest and the most perilous crisis in Europe between the West and Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and this crisis will have profound political and economic consequences, with the reshuffle of the energy policy of the European Union at the heart. The war in Ukraine has disclosed the vulnerability of Europe in the face of Russia prone to use its military capacities in order to re-establish itself as a super-power, using its vast mineral resources and Europe's energy dependency in the process.

Russian influence in Europe through gas dependency

Russian influence has been steadily growing in Eastern Europe since these countries are either completely or largely dependent on Russian gas, and countries in the European South East like Bulgaria, Moldova and Serbia and in the Baltic got completely addicted to the Russian gas, thus empowering Russian political influence on the respective governments and strengthening the Russian geostrategic interests in the region that was traditionally largely controlled from Moscow. Relying on only one source of gas supply has proven to have negative economic and political impacts on East European countries, as Russia has been steadily rising the prices of gas which caused big political turmoil in Ukraine which lead to the crisis in this country in 2013, with a substantial part of Ukrainian political elite and public opting for stronger ties with the European Union. Ukrainian decision to join the EU's Association and Stabilization Agreement can be seen as a direct result of high prices of Russian gas which had devastating effect on Ukraine's economy and with Russia using its monopoly on gas supply to establish its geostrategic interest in Ukraine by forcing this country in its sphere of influence. The dispute between Russia and Ukraine dating back to 2009 caused a great damage to other Eastern European economies which were cut off the Russian gas running through Ukraine. Although on a short run this might seem as a shrewd

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strategy¹ to restore the influence in Ukraine that Russia has had until the collapse of the Soviet Union, blackmailing of Ukraine with high prices and monopoly on gas supply proved to be deterring Ukraine away from Russia as the country had decided to take on a European path and diminished its gas dependency by reversing the gas flow enabling Ukraine to get a new gas supply corridor, this time coming from the West rather the Russian East.

During the past decade Russia's strategy was to increase its export to Europe in order to increase its revenues and to increase its political influence in Europe, trying to restore the influence it used to have. Nevertheless, Russian gas exports to Europe have decreased from around 75% in 1990 to just around 34% in 2012². Although many Eastern European countries are almost totally dependent on gas import from Russia, Europe has been steadily trying to find the way out of the Russian grip and imports of both natural gas and LNG from Northern Africa and the Middle East have been surging. Still, Gazprom which has the monopoly among other Russian companies of exporting gas through pipelines has ambitious plan to deepen the grip and Russian influence in process, with a plan to increase its exports from around 160bcm in 2013 to 250 bcm per year in 2020³. For that reason, Russia will try to oppose any plan that would halt the construction of the South Stream and decrease the dependence of Europe on its gas by opening new sources of supply like the one in Azerbaijan. The situation is even more politically sensitive because of the fact that Azerbaijan was governed from Moscow throughout most of the 20th century and that its natural resources were under control of Russia. In this geostrategic game Russia seeks to preserve its position of being a top dog in the regions of the Caspian Sea and Central Asia, but the Ukrainian war surely cements Europe's determination to diversify its supply of gas and intention of building strong partnership with Azerbaijan and other countries in the region, regardless of the Russian disapproval. Still, it is expected that the Russian government will use its political influence to maintain the monopoly of Gazprom in Eastern Europe.

It is yet to be seen how Russia will react to intentions of Azerbaijan and Europe to build a stronger partnership as the TANAP project from the Georgian via Turkey to Europe is still to be initialized. The whole project relies on the South Caucasus Pipeline going through Georgia. Russia could strengthen its grip on this country lying on its southern borders - just as it did by the military campaign in Abkhazia and South Ossetia in August of 2008 – thus blocking the whole project of bringing the Azerbaijan gas to Europe in its initial stage.

¹ Putin's Power Play. New Yorker, 0028792X, 3/24/2014, Volume. 90, Number 5, p. 1

² Michael Ratner (ed.), "Europe's Energy Security: Options and Challenges to Natural Gas Supply Diversification", in CRS Report for Congress, No. R42405 (20 August 2013), p. 5

³ Gazprom, Gazprom Export, <http://www.gazprom.com/about/subsidiaries/list-items/gazpromexport>

Further to this, it can also be expected that Russia will not allow the construction of Trans-Caspian Pipeline which would enable the transportation of gas from Central Asia through Azerbaijan further to the West. Trans-Caspian Pipeline would enable Azerbaijan to be not only the producing county, but also an important transport country, and subsequently a European entry point to the region of Central Asia. Russia is on the contrary seizing all the gas from Central Asian countries like the gas from the natural resources rich Turkmenistan in order to prevent this gas bypass Russia and go directly through Azerbaijan and the Caucasus to Europe⁴. To achieve this goal, Gazprom is using its pipelines in Central Asia to collect all the gas not purchased by China and to sell this Central Asian gas to Europe. Although the route from Central Asia to Europe crossing Russia is much longer and not financially viable, Russia is using its monopoly in Eastern Europe to sell the Central Asian gas at a higher price to countries in the East of Europe.

Even though Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan could make a decision to go on with the construction of Trans Caspian Pipeline, it is not likely that these countries would give Russia a cause to intervene to cut the gas flow over the Caspian Sea. Russian military intervention in Georgia in 2008 and its ever growing involvement into the armed conflict in Ukraine give a clear signal to Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan that Russia is willing or using its military force to preserve its control over the pipelines in Central Asia and its domination over this region and strong influence over the East European countries through monopoly on gas exports. Blocking the direct link between the Central Asian countries and Europe thus preserves the Russian monopoly of the major gas supplier and its geostrategic interests in both Europe and Central Asian countries.

The new EU Energy Security Strategy

For this reason the European Union is seeking to develop a new energy strategy which will diminish its dependency on Russian oil and gas, by strengthening its ties in the energy field, among which Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea region will steadily have a growing importance. Necessity to get out of the Russian grip in terms of energy dependency and forging stronger ties with the new players in the Caspian Sea region and Central Asia has been recognized in the EU energy security strategy published on May 28th 2014.

Past decades have seen a rapid increase of energy consumption in the European Union, biggest trading block in the world in which energy demand will grow by 27% by 2030. This growing demand has created the current situation in which the European Union needs to import over 50% of its energy needs, which in exact figures means that in 2012 almost 90%

⁴ Faik Medzhid, "Shaban: The Trans Caspian Gas Pipeline Project Presents a Threat to Russia's Energy Interests", Caucasian Knot, 18 June 2012, <http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru/articles/208324>.

of oil, 66% of gas and 42% of solid fuels consumed in the EU were imported, making a daily cost of over one billion euros daily⁵. Imports of gas consumed are expected to remain stable to 2020 and then increase slightly to reach about 340-350 bcm by 2025-2030. The total capacity of pipelines directed to the EU from supplier countries is 397 bcm/year, with the major entry points of the pipelines on the Eastern borders of the European Union and in the North.

To diminish this heavy energy dependence and to strengthen the geopolitical position in the global stage the European Commission has come out on 28th May 2014 with a new European Energy Security Strategy with the aim of completing the internal energy market of the EU, save energy, upgrade energy infrastructure and, also quite importantly, to diversify external energy dependence. It could be said that this diversification is the key drive for the new European strategy. Europe has seen over the past years disrupted gas supplies in winter time which had negative effects on European economies, and for that reason the EU has to have a unified and strong voice while negotiating terms with its external partners, and in that respect the EU realizes the importance of coordination of energy policies of EU member states⁶.

The “wake up” call came for the first time in winters of 2006 and 2009 when gas transmission over Ukraine was halted due to the paying disputes with Russia bringing the temporary disruptions of gas supplies to the European Union, especially the member states in the East of Europe. Upon these negative experiences the European Union wants to create the strategy for energy security which would ensure resilience in situations as those mentioned in Ukraine, to reduce energy dependency especially in particular fuels, and to open up its market to new suppliers of energy and new routes for this energy⁷.

Due to the armed conflict in the East of Ukraine, the European Union envisages scenario of interruption of transit of Russian gas to Europe via Ukraine, to replace Russian gas flows through Ukraine, since this interruption could greatly threaten the energy security of Europe; Russian gas flows through Ukraine were at 82 bcm in 2013, or about half of Russian imports to Europe, and to avoid the impacts of this threatening scenario the European Union needs additional and/or alternative supplies, including additional volumes from Norway, additional LNG, North Africa, Azerbaijan, Iran and the Middle East⁸.

The European Commission states that the “disruption of Russian supplies across season June 2014 to March 2015 could result in shortages in states in the East of Europe. Bulgaria

⁵ Energy security: Commission puts forward comprehensive strategy to strengthen security of supply, European Commission, IP/14/606, 28 May 2014, p. 3

⁶ Ibid., page 5

⁷ European Energy Security Strategy, Brussels, 28.5.2014, COM(2014) 330 final, p. 2

⁸ In-depth study of European Energy Security Accompanying the document, p. 114

and Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) might face a disruption of 60-80% of demand from September to March, Poland 20-40% and Lithuania 40-60%. Latvia and Estonia might face difficulties from October to March with more than 80% of demand not covered; Finland would face similar disruption from January to March. A 20-40% disruption might also occur in Romania, Croatia, Serbia and Greece for the late 2014/early 2015. Cross seasonal disruption to supplies transiting Ukraine would also create shortages in South East Europe, with Bulgaria and FYROM affected from September onwards. The 90% level of storages would not be reached in number of states: Bulgaria, Latvia and Poland (0%), Hungary and Serbia (17%), Austria (59%), Germany, Czech Republic and Slovakia (84%) and Croatia (88%).

Low storage levels at the end of September will have consequences for the resilience of the system in winter 2014/2015. In case of average demand, with disruptions of supply from Russia occurring during the June 2014 to March 2015 period, 20-40% disruption might also occur in Romania, Croatia, Serbia and Greece for the late 2014/early 2015⁹.

The importance of connecting Europe to the Caspian Sea

The European Union sees the TANAP (Trans Anatolian Pipeline) and the following TAP (Trans Adriatic Pipeline) and IAP (Ionian Adriatic Pipeline) as the key for diminishing the dependency on Russian gas and forging stronger links with Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea basin. Through these projects Europe will further diversify its supply channels and connect itself with countries like Azerbaijan which are far less inclined to use its gas supply as means of political pressure on European countries like Russia which has geopolitical interest in Easter Europe. Unlike Russia, Azerbaijan has proved as a pragmatic and loyal partner of the European Union. TANAP has a vital role into turning Turkey into the key supply route for Europe, as it will not only be connected to the South Caucasus Pipeline which is already operating, but it can also be used as supply route for gas coming from Northern Iraq to Turkey and European markets further to the West. Further to this, gas from offshore Cyprus and Israel could be also transported to Europe through TANAP. As it has been stated by the President of the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR) Rovnag Abdullayev on Septmeber 2014, the earthwork for TANAP construction is to start in 2015¹⁰, and TAP construction is to follow in 2015 too, and by 2019 both TANAP and TAP should be operational¹¹. Both TANAP and TAP projects have a high strategic importance for Azerbaijan as a nation which wants to create direct economic and political relations with Europe with no need for Russian intermediary, thus creating a more independent foreign

⁹ Ibid., p. 117

¹⁰ http://www.azernews.az/oil_and_gas/70485.html

¹¹ TAP, Project Schedule, updated 27 January 2014, <http://www.trans-adriatic-pipeline.com/taproject/project-plan>

policy of Azerbaijan, and allowing this country to shape its energy policies independent of its northern neighbor. On the other hand, Europe is to significantly profit from TANAP and TAP projects as they will decrease the domination of Russia on the gas market of Europe. A country rich with mineral resources like Azerbaijan will be able to ship its gas directly to Europe which will strengthen the partnership between the two sides in the future.

The Southern Corridor versus the South Stream in the light of new EU Energy Strategy

This projection of disruption of Russian supplies clearly indicates the vulnerability of the European Union, especially Eastern Europe due to the high dependence on imports of gas from Russia, 50% of it going through the war stricken Ukraine. For this reason, the European Commission wants to step up the diversification of gas supply in Europe and boost new gas supply projects, including the TANAP, TAP and IAP as a tie-in to TAP through the Southern Corridor to connect Europe to the Caspian Sea basin and strengthen its energy security.

To avoid any future supply disruptions the EU aims to direct energy flows as and where needed but to achieve that the completion of the internal energy market and construction of still missing infrastructure links is needed. For that reason the European Commission has proposed in its strategy to reach the target of installed electricity capacity to 15% by 2030. Further to this the European Commission has identified the key 33 infrastructure projects to achieve the energy security of the European Union¹².

In aim to achieve its energy security, the European Commission realizes Europe needs diversified supplier countries and routes; as over 34% of gas came to EU from the Russian Federation, this route of supply has proved to be quite sensitive and have great geopolitical implications. Apart from Russia, in 2013 33% of gas came from Norway and 22% came from North African countries Algeria and Libya. Other sources are small and represent about 4% and LNG imports from these and other countries (e.g. Qatar, Nigeria) increased and peaked at about 20% but have since dropped to around 15% due to higher prices in Asia¹³.

The EU does not want to halt gas imports from this countries, including Russia, but in order to strengthen its energy security by creating new routs of supply the EU wants to strengthen its energy relations with new partner countries in the Caspian Sea region, mainly Azerbaijan, which makes the importance of Southern Gas Corridor, and for this reason the EU seeks to develop the Mediterranean Gas Hub. Further to this LNG supplies are too be increased¹⁴. Europe is not in a position to stop imports of gas from Russia

¹² Energy security: Commission puts forward comprehensive strategy to strengthen security of supply, European Commission, IP/14/606, 28 May 2014

¹³ European Energy Security Strategy, Brussels, 28.5.2014, COM(2014) 330 final, p. 15

over night – the process of decreasing the Russian monopoly on gas market of Europe will take years; still, after the first thread of the Nord Stream was launched in 2011, thus linking Russia directly to the biggest markets in Europe, Germany and France, the South Stream project was definitively brought to a halt in 2014 as Europe does not want to entice Gazprom's influence in South East Europe, especially in countries where this company has already a huge influence, as in Serbia where Gazprom took over the national oil and gas company NIS. Although the South Stream project was launched in 2012¹⁵ in order to bring the Russian gas directly through the Black Sea to the Balkans, it is very hard to believe that the project will see its continuation in perceivable future as it was brought to a halt by the European Commission this year.

The South Stream project is questionable in both economic and geopolitical aspect; it is very hard to believe that the projected capacity of 63 bcm annually could be reached as even the Nord Stream works at half its capacity; from the geostrategic point, the realization of this project would strengthen Russia's domination in the region, especially in countries like Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and even Austria. For this reason, Europe will surely use its regulation which includes large number of authorizations which need to be obtained in order to construct a project the size of South Stream to block it for an uncertain period¹⁶.

On the other hand, the establishment of the Southern Corridor has a key role in the new EU Energy Strategy, while preserving relationship with existing suppliers, and the identified projects of common interest, to enable the supply from the Caspian region and beyond. In this respect it is crucial to ensure market access, but also the financial viability which is to be achieved on access to sufficient export volumes.

The Southern Gas Corridor with the currently envisaged infrastructure in Turkey could transport up to 25 bcm annually to the European part of the Mediterranean. In 2020 10 bcm of natural gas produced in Azerbaijan could annually reach the EU market through the southern Gas Corridor. It has to be noted though that the robust growth of domestic demand in Turkey might constrain the volumes transited. But the pipeline in Turkey is also vital not just to connect Europe to Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea basin but also to the Middle East, meaning that countries such as Turkmenistan, Iraq and Iran, if conditions are met to lift the sanctions regime, could also supply the Southern Gas Corridor for the European Union. In negotiations with these countries Europe must have a united negotiation platform, including

¹⁴ Energy security: Commission puts forward comprehensive strategy to strengthen security of supply, European Commission, IP/14/606, 28 May 2014

¹⁵ Gazprom, South Stream, <http://www.gazprom.com/about/production/projects/pipelines/southstream>

¹⁶ "Future of South Stream pipeline 'gloomy' - Eni CEO", in Reuters, 20 March 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/20/ukraine-crisis-eni-southstream-idUSL6N0MH4M120140320>

also the counties of Northern Africa and Eastern Mediterranean, so that the Mediterranean gas hub can be created¹⁷.

To create the diversification of supply possibilities and to support solidarity in the most vulnerable parts of Europe in terms of energy supply, the European Commission has suggested in its strategy 27 projects in gas and 6 in electricity. These projects should be achieved in short and medium terms, and more than 50% of these projects should be finished by 2017, while other has a deadline until 2020. The estimated value of these projects is approximately 17 billion euros, and these projects are to be mainly concluded in Eastern Europe which has proven to be vulnerable to heavy gas dependency from Russia and also in South Western Europe to end the energy isolation of Spain and Portugal¹⁸.

In its conclusions the EU energy strategy says Europe needs to be prepared for disruptions to energy supplies for the coming winter, and also to develop new solidarity mechanisms for natural gas and the use of gas storage facilities.

Although Europe is willing to move on relatively quickly with new supply projects, it does not want to do it at any costs and in this respect the EU puts its energy security at the core of its actions. The new strategy claims that the "New infrastructure investments promoted by dominant suppliers must adhere to all internal market and competition rules. In particular, the South Stream project should be suspended until full compliance with EU legislation is ensured and re-evaluated in light of the EU's energy security priorities"¹⁹.

Referring to the South Stream project and ties with Russia the EU strategy says that the Union should work closely with its neighbors and partners within the Energy Community, notably Ukraine and Moldova to improve energy security, and it that respect the EU supports the reverse flows between the Slovak Republic and Ukraine so that the Eastern member states do not remain dependent only on one source of supply, Russia.

In the conclusions of its new strategy the European Commission wants reinforcing partnership with Norway, the acceleration of the Southern Gas Corridor and the promotion of a new gas hub in Southern Europe. Further to this, the EU wants to continue its transition to a low carbon economy.

EU is also willing to implement EU financial instruments in the period 2014-2020, in particular using the European Regional Development Fund, the Connecting Europe Facility, Horizon 2020 and the European Neighborhood Policy Instrument, and further to these the EU wants

¹⁷ European Energy Security Strategy, Brussels, 28.5.2014, COM(2014) 330 final, p. 16

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 10

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 20

to strengthen interventions of the EU external action instruments such as the neighborhood investment facility and the Western Balkans Investment facility (WBIF), as well as the European Investment Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development²⁰.

Conclusion

At this moment, it seems that the European Union will dismiss the South Stream project because the main operator of this project the Russian company Gazprom does not comply to the rules of energy market in the EU, and because this project could further strengthen the domination of Russia in Eastern Europe and European dependency on Russian gas; on the other hand the Southern Gas Corridor will have a vital role in ensuring Europe's energy security and the European Union is willing to support this project both politically and financially. The realization of TANAP-TAP-IAP projects and the importance of Southern Gas Corridor will therefore largely contribute to the importance of Azerbaijan on the energy security map of Europe.

The list set of key gas supply security projects set by the EU Energy Strategy indicates that the EU has put the TANAP and TAP-IAP project among priorities projects to supply Central European countries through the Southern Gas Corridor with gas from Azerbaijan, and the project should be facilitated with the Hungary – Croatia revers flow interconnection which will allow the flow of gas from Croatia, including gas from the Caspian Sea to Hungary and other Central European countries. Further to this, two interconnectors, Poland – Czech Republic and Poland - Slovakia will enable flows between the Baltic and Adriatic, but also gas from DE-NL-NO could thus be transported increasing significantly security of supply situation in whole (South)-Eastern Europe²¹.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 21

²¹ Ibid, p. 23

EU ENLARGEMENT AND SERBIA'S FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES

Ljubica Vasic*

In the years of economic crisis and political instability, we have learned a lot about our countries and their relations. Facing with a new political and economic world map, European countries found themselves in a situation that clearly requires redefining of the mechanisms by which we build stability and security, and ensure economic growth and prosperity of our fellow citizens. Since World War II, the nations of Europe have not been aware of the interdependence of their economies and their overall interrelations. In times to come, there is no doubt that we will be exposed to many challenges that influence the further development of the existing international order and its institutions (along with the building of new ones) in order to fill the newly formed system void caused by the rapid changes on the global level. Events in the area of finances conditioned by different shocks, economic crisis, massive endangering of the environment, terrorism and violent extremism, intercontinental migration of the population, international organized crime and spreading of weapons of mass destruction (especially nuclear ones), are just some of the problems that the modern world faces, hence the task for us all, especially for the world's most powerful countries, is to join our forces in the struggle against these occurrences.

The effects of the global economic crisis affected the member countries of the European Union. This crisis did not just affect individual countries, but it also left mark on the entire European Union and the whole Europe for that matter. The deep debt crisis that hit Greece and some other EU countries, primarily Spain and Portugal, led to the almost complete collapse of the economic system of the Union. It led the European currency to face the biggest challenge since it was introduced in 1999. The situation became so complicated that it represented some kind of a test for the European solidarity and reflected on the institutional disadvantages and weakness of the contractual obligations. Key member states of the European Union, such as Germany, were more than restrained when the decision on the aid package was introduced. The economic and financial situation was so difficult that it led to the endangering of the relationship between the member states to that extent that the survival of the Euro zone was in question, if not the survival of the whole European Union¹. However, there were no lasting consequences, but it is now clear that the desired degree of economic convergence within the European Union has not yet been reached, and there are daily polemics inside the European Union that testify to this.

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¹ Branislav Milinkovic, "Relation of Serbia towards Euro Atlantic integration" in: Elements of strategy of foreign policy of Serbia, editors: Dr Edita Stojic Karanovic and Slobodan Jankovic, Institute for international politics and trade, Belgrade 2008, p. 23

The new problem which has unquestionably misled these processes is the economic crisis that has deeply affected the countries in the Balkans. There was a significant deceleration of the initiated reforms and due to the drop of the foreign direct investments and the decrease of the economic growth, there has been a deepening of the budget and the payment-balanced deficit. New loans from the IMF were introduced (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina). The countries of the Western Balkans, faced with the problems of the crisis, were neglecting the systematic reforms, necessary for the complying with the European Union criteria. At the same time, a significant deterioration in living standards became more noticeable, which enhanced the negative perception of the EU among the citizens. Despite these side effects, all the governments in the region have clearly determined that in the coming years they would continue with the implementation of reforms. Fulfilling the proclaimed attitudes, the conditions for visa liberalization were made, and there was a significant progress in the field of regional cooperation (mainly between Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina) with a successful fight against corruption in Croatia and against organized crime in Serbia. However, high inefficiency of the judicial system, weak state institutions, inadequate administrative potential, necessary for the immediate preparation and implementation of the reforms, as well as the political instability, these are still the main obstacles of the Balkan countries on their way towards the European Union. The severity of the economic and financial crisis in the EU, as well as social transformation, consequences of which are visible in a number of EU member states, definitely continue to affect the further set of EU priorities on a long term basis. The overall priorities of every member state are clearly aimed at overcoming the negative effects of the crisis, economic recovery, with adaptation to the conditions at the global level, in line with the vision of its development and operation by 2020.

The European Union is certainly the most important peace project in the history of Europe. Ideas that have set the ground for the development of policy of the EU have never been more relevant, and on the other hand, in some way, most of them are somewhat forgotten. Crisis in the world, the security crisis and the crisis in the economic sphere remind us that these values must be promoted in a new light. One should draw a special attention to an issue that causes a lot of political, economic polemics in the domain of security controversy in many countries of the European Union - the policy of enlargement of the European Union and the alleged "enlargement fatigue". Western Balkan countries (of which two thirds of economic exchange is being conducted with countries of the European Union) believe that it is absolutely necessary to continue with the implementation of the policy of EU enlargement towards the Western Balkans. In many European countries, the enlargement of the EU is to be blamed for the political, economic and security problems, on the other hand some facts show otherwise. Economic indicators, in the so-called "old member states" are in favor of the enlargement. Europe today, after the bloc divisions and redefined relationships within it, is not the same area as it was at the inception of the EU. It still does not diminish the value and importance of basic political, economic and social postulates on which it was

created. Today, more than ever, we need solidarity, unity, pragmatism, constructiveness and self-awareness. Everyone in this globalized world who thinks that closing the narrow frames makes the world stage more competitive and assertive, simply does not comprehend the reality or is prone to political and economic patterns that have been overcome over the years².

Western Balkan countries have a large impact on peace, security and prosperity on the European continent, therefore enlargement is an important component of a successful EU security policy in eliminating future risks and instability, but it is also the best mechanism for the process of reconciliation, cooperation and stability in areas prone to conflicts. It is a known fact that the foreign policy priority of the Western Balkans is the membership in the European Union. On the other hand, the region is aware of many problems that the EU is currently facing with and are not looking for new rules or conditions, but only what is known and recognized as a criterion for membership. Therefore the process of European integration of Serbia is of great importance for the integration of the entire region³.

Serbia expresses its awareness of the importance of the Stabilization and association agreement for the process of building the structure of a peaceful, prosperous and stable Europe, with the EU as one of its cornerstones, along with the conviction that the full implementation of the Stabilization and association agreement will be followed by further progress toward the market economy in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the approach of the economic system of Serbia. The Stabilization and association agreement is supposed to create new conditions for better economic relations between the EU and Serbia, and in particular for the development of trading and investments, and of those instruments that are irreplaceable in economic restructuring and technological modernization. Having in mind the existence of economic and social disparities between the European Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, i.e. Serbia, as well as confirming that the aims of association should be achieved through appropriate provisions of this Agreement, emphasizes in particular the will of the European Court of Justice to create instruments for cooperation and for economic, technical and financial general and multiyear support⁴. The main objective of this agreement is determined as the provision of an appropriate framework for the political dialogue between the European Union and the contracting party, i.e. Serbia, to increase the economic, social, financial and cultural cooperation across Europe, to give greater support to the efforts of the Central and Eastern European countries

² Ibid, p. 23

³ Milica Delevic, "Serbia and European Union" in: Elements of strategy of foreign policy of Serbia, editors: Dr Edita Stojic Karanovic and Slobodan Jankovic, Institute for international politics and trade, Belgrade 2008, p. 52

⁴ Mile Jovic, "Components of modern strategy of international positioning of Serbia" in: Elements of strategy of foreign policy of Serbia, editors: Dr Edita Stojic Karanovic and Slobodan Jankovic, Institute for international politics and trade, Belgrade 2008, p. 30

in developing market economy and political pluralism⁵, bearing in mind the firm intention of the associated states to require full integration in the political, economic and safety regulation of the new Europe. The integration of the countries of the Western Balkan seems slower in comparison to the integration of the countries of Central Europe and the Baltic primarily due to the lack of strong political support for potential members. Subsequently, the countries of the Western Balkans are in constant tension with each other, which is caused by a conflict social structure and lack of political agreement on important national issues. Therefore, the EU should first ensure stability in the region and then continue the process of further integration. Given that we are in a time of global economic crisis, the European Union does not see the modest capacity of the economy of the Western Balkans as an inviting place for its investments⁶.

Serbia is in a particularly vulnerable situation, because the process of integration depends on finding the acceptable solution related to the status of Kosovo, and any attempt to find an alternative solution to this issue can refer to escaping from the concrete and the biggest problem. The previous and current government showed the readiness to continue the dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina. Moreover, the dialogue was raised on a higher political level, including high ranking representatives of the government. It was also planned for all political subjects in Serbia to take participation in the consultations prior to the presentation of the platform for Kosovo and Metohija. So far the negotiations were positively marked by the European commission. However, it is necessary to continue the process of normalization. Consequently, Serbian government did not prevent Kosovo from taking participation in regional cooperation, but only in the capacity defined by the agreement, fully protecting the territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia.

The geopolitical position of Serbia is such that it does not need to seek for an alternative, due to the growing trend of creating economic and political regions, partly because of the lack of resources that can improve the accumulation of capital. Serbia's entry into the European Union is an important national strategic goal, but the EU should not be our only partner. Diversification of partners is necessary⁷, and in the era of globalization it is perfectly normal and common ingredient of successful foreign policy decision making process. Membership in the European Union provides opportunities for economic development and offers instruments for creating a legal state, but nothing happens without the efforts of the government of Serbia to turn these benefits into practice. The state itself is both regulator and stimulant.

⁵ Ibid, p. 31

⁶ Security and defense aspects of Serbia's accession to European Union, editor: Katarina Strbac, Institute for strategic research, Belgrade, 2010, p. 76

⁷ Serbia and the world, Collection of papers, European Movement in Serbia, Belgrade, 2010, p. 134

In recent period, Serbia has made important strategic steps to ensure its European future, and thus contributed to the construction of the overall stability of the SEE region and Europe as whole. Also, it has accepted the dialogue with Pristina at a high political level, with the mediation of the High representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton and with great effort and a huge political risk in mid-April of the last year it reached an agreement with Pristina on solving the issue of the position of the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija. In this way, Serbia did not recognize the independence of "Kosovo", but represented the awareness of the reality on the ground and the necessity of ensuring normal living conditions of both Serbs and Albanians in an acceptable manner. Hence, Serbia has made a historic step forward in resolving the issue of Kosovo and Metohija and the position of the Serbs in this area. In accordance with the international legislation, the agreement on the creation of the Association of Serbian municipalities was signed, with the special attention paid to the European Charter on Minority Rights and Local Self-Government, the conditions important for resolving the status of Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija. According to the adoption of the Action Plan for the implementation of the Agreement, the Government of Serbia has shown that it is determined to fulfill obligations and thus remove every single obstacle to a positive decision at the European summit⁸.

We saw that in the time of crisis, there was a need for designing a new architecture of European relations in order to create a unique new Europe ready to face the completely new security challenges, and consequently the imperative of response caused a collaborative effort to create a new and different security and defense policy⁹. Different geostrategic concerns have highlighted the need to develop different means of promotion of the EU as a global factor with distinctive policy and military resources for civilian crisis management and the maintenance of international peace and security. New image in international relations implies the necessity of developing and implementing a wide range of tools and resources (political, diplomatic, economic to financial, civilian and military) in the context of strengthening the concept of "Permanent structured cooperation".

In 2011, Serbia signed two important agreements with the EU in the field of security and defense policy: Agreement establishing a framework for the participation of the Republic of Serbia in EU operations and crisis management, and the Agreement on security procedures for exchanging and protecting classified information. The aim was to establish a mutual trust and create a foundation for participation of Serbia in EU operations, which is crucial to building a partnership with the EU in the field of defense and security. Such a relationship has already been positively evaluated in the light of the process of gaining full membership

⁸ Serbia's accession to European Union, Tanja Miscevic, ESPI Institute, Belgrade, 2005, p. 78

⁹ Security and defense aspects of Serbia's accession to European Union, editor: Katarina Strbac, Institute for strategic research, Belgrade, 2010, p. 87

in the EU. Therefore, Serbia is committed to strengthening cooperation with the EU in this field, in order to make its contribution to peace and security, through equal cooperation with the EU Member States whose membership itself difficult¹⁰. We should also stress the need for the EU to shape a new architecture of European relations, which must reflect the interests of all its member states, along with defined and clear answers to all current security threats and challenges, whether they relate to its members or the EU as a whole.

Every now and then, we should remind ourselves that the enlargement policy is proved to be an important instrument of stability and security in Europe, and that as such it should be preserved, regardless of the current economic and financial difficulties. These are the key values of the European idea of peace and stability, and EU is the environment in which they can be more sober and can find a way out of the crisis is different, and not the other way around.

National and cultural identity of Serbia and other countries in the region, is part of the cultural pattern of the European Union, united in diversity. At the same time, the common European heritage values embodied in the fundamental democratic principles. Meeting the requirements for membership in the European Union will contribute to the construction of functional, sustainable and efficient system for the EU, and the process gives strong encouragement to political and economic reforms in Serbia and the region as a whole. Serbia's application for accession to the EU was an important step that confirms the strong commitment of the Government of the Republic of Serbia to EU integrations, as it was of historic significance. The general support for this step among all the political parties, and the public as well, was unquestionable.

Serbia has continued to work hard on a series of reforms, with special emphasis on the adoption of laws and regulations, the introduction of table of compliance with all regulations, as well as on the implementation of the adopted rules and regulations. The fight against organized crime and corruption, the introduction of the rule of law, protection of human and minority rights, regionalization and decentralization, free and independent media and cooperation with the civil society have been and will continue to be the focus of our efforts. Not just because it is fraught with the reform agenda of the EU, but because of the awareness that our society places upon these changes and improvements, necessary for the further development of the country. The next step was to inevitably start negotiations with the EU.

¹⁰ Accession of Serbia to European Union, Branko Budimir and Vladimir Medjak, ISAC Fund, Belgrade, 2010, p. 26

Huge progress has been made in the field of regional, bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Serbia has proved itself as constructive partner in all regional and bilateral meetings with the countries in the region. We are confident that this is a political and moral imperative, a sure way of strengthening regional ties, confidence-building, economic development and recommendations, for the region to become a network of key areas of mutual interest and welfare, compatible to those that already exist in the European Union. In a relatively short period of time since the last circle of enlargement of the EU, it has become clearer than ever that it was essential to ensure that the potential candidates and candidate countries have a dual obligation – based on the agenda of the EU and to their national and regional problems. In political terms, as well as in those of social and even psychological, past and present have been marked by ups and downs, with the latest crisis that shook the Balkans as a whole. The impact of the economic and financial crisis was felt at the time when the region was just near the peak of its post-conflict recovery¹¹.

There is no doubt that the global and European processes constitute the framework in which our politics of EU accession takes place, as well as the reforms that are implemented, and that any review of the EU attracts our attention. However, the history of the EU provides a great number of evidence to suggest that this community is focused on finding solutions to the results, that it develops itself beyond its institutional crisis, outperforming them by creating new mechanisms for decision-making and new policies. We need to focus our energy towards Serbia, to get ourselves prepared for becoming more flexible in adapting to new processes, so that we can make our own strategy. We have to continue the reforms that lead us towards Europe. We should not slow them down regardless to the prevailing conditions or tendencies of the EU towards the future enlargement. We believe that the EU is a foreign policy priority.

In accordance with the previously said, the long-term goal of Serbia should include a realistic GDP growth and the competitiveness of the economy while preserving macroeconomic stability and fiscal discipline¹². Uncertainties related to the legal and economic aspects of accession of Serbia and to the institutional reform are an important factor in the process of convergence, and in this regard, special attention should be paid to central and local administration, the judiciary, academia, business association, and most importantly, citizens should take participation in the process of getting Serbia closer to the EU by employing their own ideas.

¹¹ Dragan Zivojinovic, "Why it is important to be "in"? or: Paper on international organizations, good sides of their membership, and why Serbia should not be alone" in: Serbia and international organizations, editors: Dragan Djukanovic and Ivona Ladjevac, Institute for international politics and trade, Belgrade, 2011, p. 56

¹² Joakim Baker, "Monetary regimes, financial fragility and external vulnerability and South Eastern Europe" in: Elements of strategy of foreign policy of Serbia, editors: Dr Edita Stojic Karanovic and Slobodan Jankovic, Institute for international politics and trade, Belgrade 2008, p. 77

Despite all the difficulties, the Balkan countries have continued with their reform programs, although to varying degrees. This was the general conclusion in the Commission's recent communication on enlargement, along with the liberalization of the visa regime for all the countries in the region in order to further strengthen their membership perspective. It is all the more important to see the progress in the region, with no particular gap or fallout. This is necessary for the reasons of stability and regional cooperation, as well as strategically vital goals. Now, the Europe must make a huge effort to continue the process of enlargement.

Political leaders in Serbia, as well as those in the region, clearly recognized their responsibility to deal with the remaining issues. We try to maintain the pace of reforms and to fulfill all the necessary objectives. Some solutions to the crisis (and its consequences for the region), in addition to internal constraints of rationality, can be found in associated resources of the regional and the multilateral platform of large projects, which will certainly accelerate our mutual economic development and prospects, with the participation of the EU and its member states.

Regarding the Lisbon Treaty, the European Union's efforts to play a global role will certainly depend on its success in achieving long-lasting and stable architecture in the Balkans. Countries in the region, in this regard, have a clear responsibility to ensure their status of an integral part of Europe, and thus become part of the solution to all the obstacles.

There is a clear recognition by the leaders of the Western Balkan countries of the importance of internal reforms. Thus, representatives of the EU stress the need to see a steady progress of the region towards resolving border disputes and questions of inherited conflicts, including the problems of refugees and confidence building. Instead of rushing to greet EU accession of Western Balkan countries, the EU would prefer to accept the new members that have succeeded in resolving most of their historical disputes¹³. Effective legal regime is a prerequisite for reconstruction and development. However, much more is needed to be done in order to achieve economic expansion and renovation. Billion is needed to be invested in energy, together with transport and communication infrastructure. Customs and non-tariff barriers still represent the obstacles for business in the region, and should be over. And, investing in education and innovation is essential to improve the volume of trade and contribute to the expansion of employment and prosperity.

The Western Balkan countries have made significant progress since the adoption of the Thessaloniki agenda, and some are moving toward a long-awaited membership in the EU

¹³ Mile Jovic, "Components of modern strategy of international positioning of Serbia" in: Elements of strategy of foreign policy of Serbia, editors: Dr Edita Stojic Karanovic and Slobodan Jankovic, Institute for international politics and trade, Belgrade 2008, p. 31

in accelerated manner. This trend, however, should not be interrupted until all the countries of the region become EU members. Perhaps it is not the best time to talk about the acceleration of the EU, but we should not, despite all the economic and financial difficulties that currently preoccupy EU, neglect or simply indefinitely put aside European perspective of the countries of the Western Balkans. All the more so, this is important because the expansion is no longer an idea, but it is a concept, design, strategy for a secure, stable and prosperous Europe, which should continue to foster and promote the inspirational values such as freedom and democracy.

YENİ NƏŞRLƏR – NEW PUBLICATIONS - НОВЫЕ ИЗДАНИЯ

«НАГОРНЫЙ КАРАБАХ: ИСТОРИЯ,
ПРОЧИТАННАЯ ПО ИСТОЧНИКАМ»

Рамиз Мехтиев

Книга действительного члена Национальной Академии наук Азербайджанской Республики Рамиза Мехтиева «Нагорный Карабах: История, прочитанная по источникам», посвященная историческим корням армяно-азербайджанского, нагорно-карабахского конфликта, издана в Москве.

В книге нашли отражение разные исторические источники от античного периода до истории наших дней, отражающие причины зарождения конфликта, а также четко указывающие территориальную принадлежность Нагорного Карабаха существовавшим азербайджанским государствам.

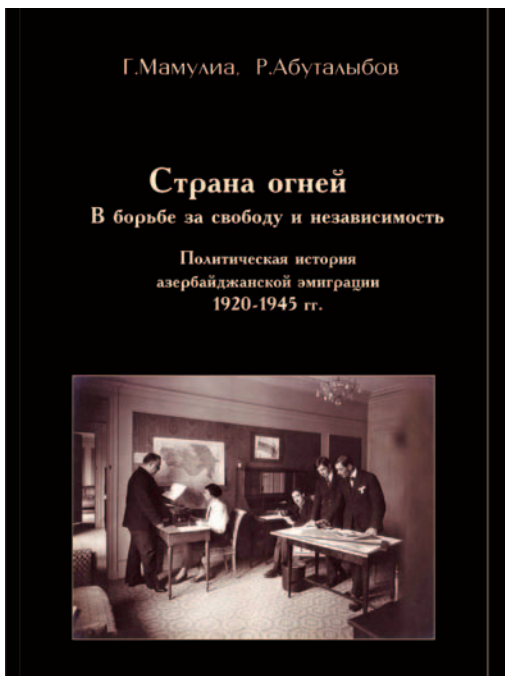
Исследование охватывает исторический период с момента создания на Южном Кавказе первых государственных образований и повествует об истории региона вплоть до современности.

В книге «Нагорный Карабах: История, прочитанная по источникам» на основании исторических документов подробно рассматривается, как Армения при участии диаспоры спровоцировала конфликт вокруг Нагорного Карабаха, поставив во главу угла реинкарнацию легенды о воссоздании «Великой Армении» и угодила в геополитическую ловушку. Отдельные главы книги посвящены правовой базе конфликта, где демонстрируется безосновательность и незаконность отделения территорий Нагорного Карабаха. Рассмотрен также переговорный процесс под эгидой Минской группы ОБСЕ.



**«СТРАНА ОГНЕЙ. В БОРЬБЕ ЗА СВОБОДУ И НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ
(ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ИСТОРИЯ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ
ЭМИГРАЦИИ 1920-1945 гг.)»**

Георгий Мамулиа, Рамиз Абуталыбов



Настоящая книга посвящена политической истории азербайджанской эмиграции в 1920-1945 гг. и борьбе ее представителей за восстановление независимости Азербайджана и Кавказа в целом. Особое внимание уделено взаимоотношениям руководителей азербайджанских политических партий и организаций в изгнании с официальными и не официальными представителями европейских государств, проявляющих интерес к восстановлению независимости Азербайджана и Кавказа в 20-40-х годов XX века. На основе уникальных архивных материалов, большинство из которых впервые вводится авторами в научный оборот, в книге дается развернутая картина истории азербайджанской политической эмиграции

упомянутого периода. Показано, каким образом, несмотря на крайне неблагоприятные условия эмиграции, представителям политических партий и организаций Азербайджана в тесной связи и взаимодействии с представителями других народов Кавказа удалось создать организационные структуры и разработать интеграционные проекты, многие из которых до сих пор не утратили своей актуальности.

“THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL 2012/2013”

Compiled and edited by Agshin Mehdiyev and Tofiq Musayev

The book entitled “The Republic of Azerbaijan in the United Nations Security Council 2012/2013” provides a comprehensive information about the work of the Republic of Azerbaijan over the two years of its non-permanent membership of the Security Council, including the overview of its activities contained in the «Introduction» part of the book, the statements by the President, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Permanent Representative and other officials of Azerbaijan, as well as the reports and concept papers on specific issues under the agenda of the Security Council.

During its membership of the Security Council, the Republic of Azerbaijan has spared no effort to contribute to discharging by the Council of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, developing the conceptual and normative basis for the Council's activities in that area, strengthening cooperation between the United Nations and regional and sub-regional organizations and enhancing the transparency, effectiveness and interactivity of the Security Council.

