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Postal address: Analysis and Strategic Studies Department,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sh.Gurbanov Str. 50, Baku AZ 1009  
Tel.: 596-91-03; 596-91-31 e-mail: e\_heydarli@mfa.gov.az

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**DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY OF THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
AZERBAIJAN,  
H.E. Mr. ILHAM ALIYEV  
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 2015**

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

**STATE VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**

14 – 15 January 2015

List of meetings held during the state visit:

- Meeting with President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan
- Meeting with Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey Ahmed Davudoglu
- The 4th session of the Turkish-Azerbaijani High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council

List of documents signed during the state visit:

- Joint Declaration on results of the 4th session of the Turkish-Azerbaijani High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council
- Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation between the Financial Monitoring Service under the Central Bank of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Financial Crimes Investigation Board of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Turkey in exchanging financial information related to the legalization of illegally obtained money or other properties and the financing of terrorism
- Memorandum of Understanding on the establishment of the Joint Committee on Customs Issues between the State Customs Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Customs and Trade of the Republic of Turkey

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

### *Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev*

- Thank you, dear brother, dear Mr. President.

First of all, I would like to thank you for the hospitality extended to me and the delegation. As you have noted, I am paying my first official visit this year to Turkey – to a brotherly country. And this is natural. It has already become a wonderful tradition. At the same time, the visit has allowed us the opportunity to discuss the work in store for us this year and to approve a plan of joint activities.

The joint statement we have signed today reflects the previous period of Turkish-Azerbaijani relations, the ongoing and forthcoming work. The issues discussed at the fourth meeting of the Strategic Cooperation Council today, and the solution of these issues will, of course, raise the Turkish-Azerbaijani brotherly ties to an even higher level.



Our relations are based on historical roots and brotherhood of our peoples, and today these relations are the closest in the world. In today's world there are no other two countries that would be so linked and attached to each other as Turkey and Azerbaijan, and there are many aspects that confirm this unity. One of them, in the words of my dear brother, is Turkey's invitation of Azerbaijan to G20. It is a great honor for us. First of all

because the invitation comes from Turkey, which demonstrates to the peoples of Turkey and Azerbaijan and indeed the world at large how close we are to each other. I thank you personally, dear brother, for this invitation and attention to Azerbaijan, and am sure that the Turkish-Azerbaijani friendship and brotherly relations will continue to successfully develop.

At the same time, on 24 April we will together celebrate the victory at Canakkale, and on my own behalf and on behalf of the Azerbaijani people I am very grateful to you for choosing this date. The choice of this date is very wise. I am confident that our peoples will appreciate it.

As far as today's meeting is concerned, as my dear brother has noted, we have discussed many issues and adopted decisions. The ministers have held a meeting as well, and I am confident that the solution of all of these issues will bring us even closer together.

Our defense cooperation is expanding. We are buying a lot of weapons and ammunition in Turkey. At the same time, we held an exchange of views on joint production of defense industry products in Azerbaijan. We rejoice in the great successes of Turkey. Turkey is a global powerhouse. The stronger Turkey, the stronger Azerbaijan. Our strength, of course, is political, economic and military power. So we have great plans on deepening cooperation in the field of defense. I should note that last year we held joint Turkish-Azerbaijani military exercises for a few days in Azerbaijan. In the future such exercises will be conducted regularly.

We also discussed issues related to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. I thank the President again for the fact that Turkey's position remains unchanged. Turkey supports justice, truth and international law in this issue, it supports its brothers.

As you know, the internationally recognized Azerbaijani lands have been under occupation for many years although the UN Security Council, the world's top structure, has adopted four resolutions demanding a withdrawal of the Armenian occupying forces from these lands. These resolutions are not being executed, and this testifies to the fact that Armenia does not want peace, while the Minsk Group, unfortunately, cannot achieve any result in this matter. Some work is being done, but unfortunately there is no result. Last year some progress was observed in the negotiations. But the provocative steps taken by Armenia, in particular, the large-scale exercises held on the territory of Agdam District in November and attacks on Azerbaijani positions were, of course, adequately met by Azerbaijan and the enemy was pointed to its place. But all this, of course, did not have a positive impact on the negotiations. This conflict can be resolved only within the framework of territorial integrity. Nagorno-Karabakh is native Azerbaijani land. Azerbaijan will restore its sovereignty and territorial integrity. To achieve this, we must become even stronger.

The Turkish-Azerbaijani unity and cooperation today are an important factor on a global scale. This factor is undeniable. Even in the crisis years Turkey and Azerbaijan are developing, the well-being of our peoples is improving, our role on a global scale is enhancing and our international positions are strengthening. This suggests that Turkey and Azerbaijan will develop in the coming years, and we will see even more progress.

We have excellent cooperation in the economic sphere. Today, at a meeting of the Council, some figures were voiced. Billions of dollars have been invested by Azerbaijan in Turkey and by Turkey in Azerbaijan in recent years. By 2020, the volume of Azerbaijani investments in Turkey will reach \$ 20 billion. Turkish companies successfully operate in Azerbaijan. They have implemented projects worth \$10 billion. Of course, the implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor will further deepen our cooperation in the energy sector. We are already starting multilateral cooperation. Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia and other members of the Southern Gas Corridor should work together here. Next month Baku will host the

first meeting of the advisory council for the Southern Gas Corridor. The meeting will issue specific and precise recommendations related to the implementation of the project.

I should also note that the foundation of the Southern Gas Corridor was laid in Istanbul about three years ago. My dear brother and I signed the TANAP project. The TANAP project is actually the cornerstone, the basis of the Southern Gas Corridor. Thus, our decision has turned into a huge project in the world. The Southern Gas Corridor and the development of the “Shah Deniz” field are currently the largest infrastructure projects in Europe. A total of \$45 billion will be invested in these projects.

As for other issues, I should note that the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway and other projects will be implemented in a timely manner. Every issue discussed today is a giant and major project. TANAP, the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway and other projects – all of these are of strategic importance, and Turkey and Azerbaijan are playing a key role. I am convinced that all these projects will be implemented in a timely manner.

This year Turkey will host a number of events – the event in Canakkale, the activities related to the implementation of the TANAP project and others. So, God willing, this year we will be coming to Turkey often and, of course, I want to invite my dear brother to Azerbaijan once again. We meet quite often. These meetings bring our peoples and countries even closer together and multiply the Turkish-Azerbaijani strength.

**WORKING VISIT TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

21 January 2015

List of meetings held during the working visit:

- Meeting with met Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Angela Merkel
- Meeting with Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier
- Meeting with Chairman of the Munich Security Conference Wolfgang Friedrich Ischinger
- Meeting with members of the German-Azerbaijani Forum, Bundestag members from Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) parliamentary group, Social Democratic Party of Germany and The Greens party, and heads and members of Bundestag committees in Berlin

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV DELIVERED A STATEMENT FOR THE PRESS*****Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

- Thank you, Madam Chancellor. First of all, I want to thank you for the invitation to visit Germany. I am very glad to come to your country again. As you noted, the agenda of our bilateral relations is very broad. It covers various fields, and we have discussed these issues in a very open and sincere manner.

Our political relations are developing successfully. I am confident that my visit will give an impetus to the development of our political ties. Political relations have a positive impact on all other areas. Of course, economic cooperation is also on the agenda today. There are numerous German companies in Azerbaijan. We support their activities. I think that in the future German companies, both as contractors and investors, will be able to do even more work in Azerbaijan. If we consider that the Azerbaijani economy is developing dynamically and we are implementing numerous infrastructure projects, of course, the successful activities of German companies in Azerbaijan will be continued.



As noted by Madam Chancellor, we have also touched upon the issues of regional security, first of all, the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh which is our priority. This



conflict is a source of great threat both to Azerbaijan and the region as a whole. As you know, the internationally recognized territory of Azerbaijan has for many years been occupied by the Armenian army. Twenty percent of our land is under occupation. This occupation has affected one million Azerbaijanis who have become refugees and IDPs. International organizations, primarily the UN Security Council, have adopted resolutions on resolving the conflict. The UN Security Council has adopted four resolutions. These resolutions express the requirement for an unconditional withdrawal of Armenian forces from the occupied lands. Unfortunately, Armenia ignores them and tries to maintain the status quo as it is. This conflict must be resolved on the basis of norms and principles of international law and within the framework of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. There must be a common approach, as is the case with all other conflicts.

Of course, energy security today is perhaps the main focus of the talks between Europe and Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is playing a role. The Azerbaijan-proposed projects are changing the energy map of Europe. In the future European energy security will be provided, among others, by Azerbaijan. In 2012, the TANAP project was launched and in 2013 the TAP project was chosen as the main export route. At the end of last year the foundation of the “Southern Gas Corridor” was laid. Azerbaijan is the initiator of all these projects. At the same time, Azerbaijan has assumed a great financial burden over these projects, and I am sure that all work will be done in a timely manner. The TANAP project will come on line in 2018 and TAP a year after that. To achieve this, of course, the European Union and Azerbaijan should cooperate even more closely in this area. I must also inform you that the first meeting of the “Southern Gas Corridor” advisory board will be held in Baku on our initiative next month, and I am sure that it will discuss all these issues.

I want to say again that I appreciate my visit today. German-Azerbaijani relations have great potential. The decisions made today and these discussions will contribute a lot to the development of these relations. Thank you.

#### **Q&A session**

**Question:** *My question is for Mrs. Merkel. Mrs. Merkel, the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been ongoing for over 20 years. As Mr. President has noted, the UN Security Council has adopted four resolutions demanding an unconditional withdrawal of Armenian occupying forces from the occupied Azerbaijani territories. Moreover, other international organizations have adopted relevant decisions as well. However, Armenia ignores these resolutions and decisions and continues its occupation of Azerbaijani lands. Under such circumstances the world introduces sanctions against countries, but no sanctions have been introduced against Armenia. Don't you think that this is a manifestation of double standards?*

**Chancellor Angela Merkel:** We have talked about the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. I have

mentioned that. As you know, we are a member of the Minsk Group. France, Russia and America are its co-chairs, and we support the ongoing negotiations in this context. We see President Aliyev meeting with his Armenian counterpart, holding discussions and negotiations. We believe that there is only one way to resolve this conflict – a peaceful one. The frequent violation of the ceasefire is, of course, a negative fact. I believe that a certain role here is played by Russia. I just wanted to mention that. I think that Russia and Armenia are jointly implementing certain factors associated with this conflict.

**Question:** *Madam Chancellor, you have also mentioned the conflict in Ukraine. A meeting of foreign ministers will be held here today. In your opinion, what can we expect from this meeting at the level of foreign ministers? Can Poroshenko, Hollande and Putin reach an agreement? What do you expect from this meeting? Do you think the territorial integrity of Ukraine will be restored? Madam Chancellor, what can you say in connection with the freedom of the press?*

**Chancellor Angela Merkel:** The political situation, of course, is extremely difficult. I am glad that all four foreign ministers are meeting today. It would be nice if meetings of representatives of the four countries were held in Astana, i.e. the summit was held and the presidents met. Of course, it will be unpleasant if it does not yield any positive results. I cannot talk about anything with certainty, i.e. what results the meeting of foreign ministers will bring. According to our data, the ceasefire is occasionally disrupted. The Minsk agreement is not observed. The Minsk agreement, of course, is the basis for negotiations. It would be nice, of course, if Russia began to follow the rules of the Minsk agreement.

**Question:** *Do you think the territorial integrity of Ukraine may or may not be restored? And the second question: in your opinion, how can the freedom of the press be restored in Azerbaijan, while your rating remains high?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** There is no problem with my rating. According to the surveys commissioned in Azerbaijan, my rating is close to 90 per cent. This is probably due to the reforms ongoing in Azerbaijan in recent years. I can say that in the last 11 years Azerbaijan has been the most dynamically developing country of the world in economic terms. The economy has grown by more than 3 times, unemployment is at the level of 5 per cent and poverty is also at 5 per cent. The Davos World Economic Forum has honored the economy of Azerbaijan with 38th place in the world in terms of competitiveness. Such results, of course, increase the rating of any leader. Therefore, there is no such problem in Azerbaijan.

As to the question relating to freedoms, I can say that all freedoms are guaranteed in Azerbaijan. The freedom of speech is fully guaranteed. There are hundreds of press organs in Azerbaijan. In addition, there are no restrictions on the Internet in Azerbaijan: the Internet is free and there is no censorship. The number of Internet users in Azerbaijan is approaching

75 per cent. So there are no problems. Therefore, freedom of the press is fully guaranteed. The same applies to the freedom of assembly. Rallies of various political groups are regularly and freely conducted in Azerbaijan and no restrictions are introduced. In general, Azerbaijan has achieved great democratic development in recent years. This, of course, is very important for us, as I am absolutely certain that political reforms should be carried out in parallel with economic ones. Only in this case can a country achieve sustainable success.

As far as the issue of territorial integrity is concerned, we recognize the territorial integrity of all countries. Of course, we want all countries to recognize the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan too, because Azerbaijan's territorial integrity has been violated by Armenia for over 20 years. In a vote on the territorial integrity of Ukraine conducted by the UN General Assembly we openly supported the territorial integrity of Ukraine. We believe it is a fundamental principle of international law. Territorial integrity cannot be changed without the consent of countries. If it is violated, then, of course, it must be restored.

**Question:** *My question is for Mrs. Merkel. Azerbaijani-German relations have a rich history. Today our bilateral relations are developing successfully in various fields. Given the central role of Germany in the global economy, as well as the fact that Azerbaijan has the most powerful economy in the South Caucasus, what can you say about the prospects for a further expansion of our relations and how do you assess them in terms of strengthening the regional cooperation?*

**Chancellor Angela Merkel:** I believe that we have the potential for the development and deepening of economic relations. Our trade with Azerbaijan accounts for 2.5 billion euros. At the same time, I think that we can work together in restoring the infrastructure in Azerbaijan. We can also make a contribution to the diversification of the Azerbaijani economy. In addition, German companies, of course, comply with legal security. President Aliyev has met with representatives of the German economy here and talked about that. I think that Azerbaijan has a chance and the potential for further investment.

**Question:** *Madam Chancellor, you mentioned that human rights play an important part in the development of bilateral relations between the two countries. Mr. President, you said that there are no problems in this regard in your country. At the same time, I believe that violations of human rights largely direct cooperation, if I may say so, into a negative direction. At the same time, reports have been circulated about the arrest of a representative of the media.*

**Chancellor Angela Merkel:** We attach great importance to the development of bilateral relations, political and economic relations with Azerbaijan and other countries, and this, of course, forms the basis for the protection of values in a civilized society. Democracy and the rule of law are among the most important factors. We have exchanged views about that too. Of course, there are certain critical points related to the exercise of human rights, and I

think that we are unanimous with the President of Azerbaijan in our intention to intensify our cooperation and further strengthen communication with the German Academic Exchange Service, GTZ, KfW and other organizations. True, there are differences of opinion on certain issues, and that is normal.

With regard to the second question regarding the acquisition of securities of the European Central Bank and banks, I would like to note that the Central Bank is an independent body and discussions in this regard have been held as part of New Year events in Frankfurt. Political reforms in this area are an important factor for European countries. I believe that we will still have a lot of talks with European countries in connection with the Central Bank, as well as reforms.

**Question:** *Mr. President, Madam Chancellor spoke to you on the issue of human rights. I would like to know your opinion on this issue. In other words, are you ready and open to cooperation with representatives of the media criticizing the government?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** Of course! Azerbaijan has been a member of the Council of Europe since 2001 and honors all its obligations to the Council of Europe. Numerous laws have been adopted in Azerbaijan to bring the national legislation closer to European standards. We see that in real life. I want to say once again that all human rights are guaranteed in Azerbaijan. These issues are discussed within the framework of international organizations. I have told Madam Chancellor that no country can claim to be perfect in the field of human rights. Every country has problems, including Azerbaijan. What matters more is how these issues are being resolved and what is the intention of the government. No-one is prosecuted or arrested for a critical opinion in Azerbaijan. I want to say again that freedom of speech in Azerbaijan is provided in full. There are hundreds of media outlets. I would like to reiterate that where there is a free and independent Internet, freedom of speech cannot be stifled. At the same time, I believe that our greatest achievement lies in the fact that Azerbaijan has fully secured the freedom of religion. Azerbaijan protects multicultural values at a very high level, and from this point of view Azerbaijan's experience is studied in other countries. In Azerbaijan, representatives of all religions and ethnic groups live like one family. There are no confrontations and misunderstandings. I want to say again that we have consciously chosen this path. We are committed to universal human values and are protecting them. If we look at the real situation in Azerbaijan, you can see that there is nothing but the truth in my words. Of course, a further discussion of these issues will, I am sure, give an even greater impetus to the work being done in this area. Additional steps will be taken in this direction and reforms will be expanded. I would like to note once again that political reforms are complemented by economic ones. Azerbaijan is building an independent state. We have entered the 24th year of our independence. I think that over these years Azerbaijan has already asserted itself in the international arena as a reliable and highly respected country.

**WORKING VISIT TO THE SWISS CONFEDERATION**

21 – 23 January 2015

List of meetings held during the working visit:

- Meeting with President of the Swiss Confederation Simonetta Sommaruga
- Meeting with Prince of the Principality of Monaco Albert II
- Meeting with Prime Minister of the Republic of Georgia Irakli Garibashvili
- Meeting with Head of Administration of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mohammad Nahavandian
- Meeting with European Commission Vice-President for Energy Union Maroš Šefčovič
- Meeting with Executive Chairman of the World Economic Forum Klaus Schwab
- Meeting with former President of the State of Israel Shimon Peres
- Meeting with BP Group Chief Executive Robert Dudley
- Meeting with founder of the Soros Foundation George Soros
- Meeting with Chief Executive Officer of the Airbus Group International Jean-Pierre Talamon
- Meeting with Chief Executive Officer of Sberbank of Russia Herman Gref
- Meeting with Chief Executive Officer of Gaz de France Suez Jean-Louis Chaussade
- Meeting with Chairman of Global Partnerships at Swiss Re AG Martyn Parker

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV  
ATTENDED “REGIONS IN TRANSFORMATION: EURASIA”  
SESSION OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM IN DAVOS**

22 January 2015

***Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

- Thank you very much. Talking about transformation in the region, as far as Azerbaijan is concerned, we should start from the very beginning when we became independent back in 1991. We took a commitment to build an independent state. At the same time, we had to build modern economy based on market economy principles. So the transformation for us was a transformation of political system because before independence we didn't have any, and transformation from planned economy to market economy. And I think that these 23 years of independence are remarkable from the point of view of what a country can achieve if it has a policy of open doors, attracts investments and addresses main challenges of today.

So, from economic point of view, the private sector accounts for 85 per cent of the Azerbaijani

economy. The policy of diversification of economy is also successfully implemented. We are more and more free from the pressure of the oil prices. So, the biggest part of our economy is generated in non-energy sector. At the same time, a lot has been done in implementing the major infrastructure projects with assistance of international financial institutions, particularly EBRD and others. And now Azerbaijan already became a donor country.

So, we are already financing several projects through IFC and other international financial instruments.



Of course, energy security for us in the beginning was a means to develop because that was mainly energy resources we had. Now our energy resources play a role in the region. And just recently we launched a new major mega project, which is called Southern Gas Corridor to transport gas from Azerbaijan to Europe, which will probably be one of the biggest infrastructure projects of Europe. And Southern Gas Corridor is already a project which is being implemented. Diversification of economy is one of the important elements for every country, especially rich with oil and gas. And here, I think, we also can talk about some success.

But, of course, a lot is to be done in the future, because we are living in the region, which is transforming not only from negative to positive, but, unfortunately, we have some deterioration in the region. We have more and more conflicts, more and more threats, including threats of terrorist attacks. And of course stability inside the country can be fully provided when you have more or less predictable situation beyond your borders. Therefore our energy and transportation projects are aimed at broad international and regional cooperation so that every country can benefit. And I think that the aim of the policy, which our government is pursuing, is that everybody should take advantage of our opportunities - producers, transitors, consumers. So it is kind of a team work which Azerbaijan managed to create. Today the region, where we are situated, is most able than ever before. But beyond our borders of the region situation is changing.

So the new challenges, of course, the drop of the oil price, are challenges for our economy. But I think we always need to find positive moments even if something negative is happening. So it will mobilize us to be more efficient, to spend less and to learn to live with low oil prices. That will be very useful for us when our resources will come to an end.

For us, of course, the main challenge is conflict resolution because we have been suffering

from the occupation by Armenia for more than 20 years. And for more than 20 years the negotiation processes has not led to any result. And I think that all the conflicts in the post-Soviet area and, in general, in the world must be treated from the same angle, the same approach, and the same international law norms must be applied. When one conflict is not resolved or is protracted then it paves the way for other conflicts. A lot has changed since I was here last time. We see new threats, which we could not even imagine that we will have. And these threats are no longer regional ones, they are global threats. We see terrible attacks in Europe, which were generated by destabilization and maybe by the fact that the issues that seem to be local, regional were not addresses in the right time.

Our conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is a regional conflict. But it has an impact on a broader scale from the point of view of geography and from the point of view of methodology. If you do not address this conflict based on international law, then you must be ready to see similar things in other parts of the world. And what is also important is that international law norms should not be interpreted by different countries with respect to their interests. They must be interpreted as they were written. There is a very clear definition in the United Nations charter, in documents of OSCE and other international organizations about priorities of the principles of international law. So all of them must be observed, and then we will avoid double standards and, more importantly, we will avoid, maybe reduce, the risks of new conflicts in our region.

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV  
ATTENDED PRESENTATION OF BAKU-2015  
FIRST EUROPEAN GAMES IN DAVOS**

23 January 2015

***Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

- Dear ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

First of all thank you for being with us this evening. It's a great pleasure to see all of you at our reception and presentation of Baku-2015 European Games.



In less than five months Baku will host the first European Games. These are the Games which have never been held. Unlike other continental Games, European Games have never been held, and we are very grateful to European Olympic family for making a decision to have these Games in Azerbaijan.

The decision was made at the end of 2012, so as you can imagine we have only two and a half years for preparation for the Games, which are much bigger than Winter Olympic Games. We expect to have more than 6,000 athletes who will compete in 20 sports, and 16 of them are Olympic sports. Two and a half years, of course, is a very limited time frame, but with the great support from the European Olympic Committees we established a strong partnership and today a multinational team of representatives of more than 40 countries is working hard to organize Games at the highest possible level.

I think one of the reasons for making a decision to have these Games in Baku is achievements of our athletes. Azerbaijan, during the years of independence, showed itself also as a country with traditions in sport. Our success at the last London Olympic Games was very important for our people. We got 10 medals, two of them were gold. And we were ranked number 30 in the world, and number 15 among the European countries.

So, I think that was one of the reasons. Another reason was rapid development of Azerbaijan. During the years of independence, particularly during the last 10 years, our economy grew more than three times, and in its assessment, Davos World Economic Forum ranks Azerbaijan number 38 with respect to global competitiveness of economy. Economic development and modern infrastructure also played its role in making a decision to have the Games in Baku.



So we are waiting for the guests, for tourists. We are in the final stage of preparation. And, of course, the Games allow us to invest in the projects which anyway will be implemented, but not in a short period of time. So a lot is being done to create the modern sports infrastructure. We are building Baku Sport City just on the shores of the Caspian Sea. We are renewing our transportation infrastructure, which will be may be one of the bests in the region. New hotels are being opened in Baku. And the new promenade area, which has a length of 16 kilometers and goes along the shores of the Caspian, will also be a very nice place for guests, athletes and tourists to enjoy themselves.

We hope that all the countries will send good athletes to the Games because the standards of European Games, to a certain degree, will be formed in Baku. The way how we organize the Games probably will lead the way for other cities, and I hope there will be many competitors to have the next European Games in their countries.

The development of Azerbaijan`s sport infrastructure has been very important for us during the last years. And we are proud that after European Games in Baku in 2015, we will have World Chess Olympiad in 2016. At the same time, for the first time Formula 1 will come to our region. In 2016 we will have Formula 1 and it will be a city circuit. In 2017 we will have Islamic Solidarity Games, which unite the Muslim world. And it is very symbolic: in two years Baku will host European Games and Islamic Games. And this is what Azerbaijan is. It is a multinational, multi-confessional country where representatives of all the religions live in peace, dignity. It is a multicultural society, and recent decision to create an international center for multiculturalism in Azerbaijan has historic background and is also a real reflection of our state policy.

Sport unites people of the world. During Olympic Games all the wars should stop. Representatives of different countries, which are at war with each other, fight with dignity, shake hands and congratulate the winner during the sport competition. This is sport. This is Olympic movement. This is a unique opportunity in the world, which unites all the nations.

So we hope that European Games will be also the Games of friendship, partnership, and that the victory will be celebrated by all of us.

I would like to use this opportunity to invite all of you to be our guests in Baku, and hope to see you in the beginning of June to enjoy together this remarkable achievement.

Once again, dear friends, thank you for being with us. Wish you a pleasant evening.

Thank you.

**WORKING VISIT TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

6 – 7 February 2015

List of meetings held during the working visit:

- Meeting with Secretary General of the Council of Europe Thorbjorn Jagland
- Meeting with President of the Republic of Finland Sauli Niinistö
- Meeting with President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Mohammad Ashraf Ghani
- Meeting with President of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Gorge Ivanov
- Meeting with Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia Aleksandar Vucic
- Meeting with Defence Minister of the French Republic Jean-Yves Le Drian

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV  
ATTENDED “DIVERSIFICATION STRATEGIES” ROUNDTABLE  
OF THE MUNICH SECURITY CONFERENCE**

6 February 2015

***Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

- Thank you very much. First of all thank you, Ambassador Ischinger, for invitation. It is a big pleasure for me to be in Munich again. Thank you for having this discussion because, really, the issues of energy security can not be separated from the issues of national security. The issues related to energy policy are strongly linked to national interests and to the global political map of Europe in our region.

Azerbaijan, of course, is playing its role in providing energy security to its neighborhood, and now after signing important agreements on Southern Gas corridor we are becoming an important partner for Europe. We have already managed to diversify our energy supply routes.

Azerbaijan is a landlocked country. Therefore, in order to have major investments in production we needed to have routes of transportation. Therefore, in the very beginning of our energy strategy back in 1994 we managed to attract major investments from the international consortium of oil companies to investing in production of oil and gas. We started to build gas pipelines which connected the Caspian Sea with Black Sea and with Mediterranean for the first time in the history. So we already built those corridors. A decade ago when Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline was commissioned we already made an



important step towards ensuring energy security of Europe. Today oil from Azerbaijan makes some 30-40 percent in the energy balance of some European countries. And now it's time for gas, as we say. Huge Shahdeniz field is the big asset for Azerbaijan. It is one of the biggest gas fields in the world. Since 1996, together with BP and other partners, we have worked to develop this field. We already produce and we already supply Azerbaijani gas to the regional markets. All our neighbors, including Georgia, Turkey, Iran and Russia get Azerbaijani gas. An important decision was made in 2012 when we signed an agreement with Turkey on Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline - TANAP. That was a real breakthrough in the energy security of Europe because without that agreement the Southern Gas corridor would today remain just a good idea.

In 2013, Trans-Adriatic pipeline - TAP was selected as a major supply route. On September 20, 2014 a groundbreaking ceremony of the Southern Gas corridor was held in Baku. So now everything is ready, and we already started to implement the major energy project, major infrastructure project of Europe which will cost, together with Shahdeniz development and pipeline construction, at least 45 billion dollars of investment. What we need now?! We need very efficient coordination between all the members of this team. In previous times we had regional cooperation – Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey. Only the three countries, and we managed to implement Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, South Caucasus Gas Pipeline and also a railroad project which will soon be commissioned. But now when we have members of the European Union in our team we need to have more coordination and more flexibility because sometimes regulations in the European institutions take a lot of time. We face some issues related to bureaucracy and we can not waste time because this project is needed for us as producers, for transistors and for consumers.

It is clear that gas from Azerbaijan is the only new gas source, which European consumers will get in the nearest future. As regards all the other projects, including projects of diversification of the routes, it is just routes, not sources. And our source is new and our source is, if I may say so, fresh. Shahdeniz field has more than one trillion cubic meters of gas. Together with other fields, our proven reserves are at least 2.5 trillion cubic meters. So it is a gas project for decades, for hundreds of years. It will seriously change the energy map of Europe.

We initiated the first meeting of the Consultative Council of the Southern Gas Corridor, which will be held February 12 this year in Baku. We invited all the high-ranking officials from all the countries involved. Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Italy.

So, this is so far the team, plus, at the later stage we will involve our partners in the Balkans. Memorandums of understanding have already been signed with Croatia and Montenegro. So we need coordination and we need strong support from European institutions, at least, we should not waste time for some bureaucratic procedures. I think there should be a special approach to this particular project - maybe to separate it from the general rules and procedures that sometimes take a lot of time.

Flexibility was what we had in the implementation of the first projects, when there were just the three of us - Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey. We need the same level of flexibility and the same level of trust in this case. TANAP, TAP, Shahdeniz 2 are major investments, and not only Azerbaijan, but BP, Turkey are the biggest investment partners. So we need to recover these investments.

Frankly speaking, with the price of oil now something more than 50 dollars for barrel it will be very difficult to make this project commercially viable. This project must also be realized. It is a project of energy security, first of all. It should be treated as a project of national security of the countries involved. At the same time, taking into account our huge gas reserves, we can incorporate countries which are not yet part of this Southern Gas Corridor, but part of Nabucco. We can incorporate them into our system. Bulgaria, for instance, was not a member of TAP in the beginning. But we have Bulgaria in our team. It could be an interconnector between either Greece-Bulgaria or Turkey-Bulgaria. So the contract with Bulgaria has already been signed. This means that one of the members of Nabucco team is already part of TAP. We can go even further through Romania, Hungary and Austria. The amount of gas of Azerbaijan will be enough plus potentially there could be other gas sources from the neighborhood. Then it will be a project of a larger scale.

I would like to say that we are on the right track, we are on the schedule. Construction has already started, pipes have already been ordered, contractors selected. We are committed to implementing the first part - TANAP by 2018, TAP by 2020. But we need coordination, more support and more mutual trust between all the members of the team.

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV  
ATTENDED “BEYOND UKRAINE: UNRESOLVED CONFLICTS IN EUROPE”  
SESSION OF THE MUNICH SECURITY CONFERENCE**

7 February 2015

**Q&A session**

**President Borut Pahor:** *President Aliyev, what do you think? Are you optimistic enough? Maybe huge crisis that we are facing in Ukraine could revoke some good initiatives to settle down frozen conflicts in a way that we sometimes try to forget. What is your comment on this possibility?*



**President Ilham Aliyev:** Of course, this tragic situation in Ukraine attracts attention to other protracted conflicts, which last for many years. In our case, the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan has a history of more than twenty years. It started actually even before the collapse of the Soviet Union. After the collapse of Soviet Union it aggravated and resulted in occupation of internationally recognized territories of Azerbaijan. Twenty percent of the territories are under occupation. Nagorno-Karabakh, which is a historic part of Azerbaijan, is occupied. All the Azerbaijanis have been expelled from Nagorno-Karabakh and seven districts, where 700,000 people lived, are also occupied by Armenia. Everything is destroyed there, and we have been in the process of negotiations for more

than twenty years without any result. OSCE is dealing with that. OSCE has a special group, which is called Minsk Group, co-chaired by three permanent members of the United Nations Security Council – France, Russia and the United States. For more than 22 years now this group has been active, but without any result.

**President Borut Pahor:** *Why? How do you explain it?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** I think that there was not enough international pressure on Armenia. What we see is that sometimes resolutions of the United Nations Security Council are implemented in days, if not hours. In our case, there are four resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations adopted in the beginning of 1990s – but none of them have

been implemented. I think lack of political will on behalf of the mediators to impose adequate pressure on the aggressor is the real result of what we have today. Armenia is a largely dependent country. This country is not self-sufficient. They cannot develop. And even their statehood is under question. Without external support to Armenia they can not function and they get external support mainly from the countries which are co-chairs of the Minsk Group. This is a paradox. We see here double standards, and that's an issue of disappointment. I'd like to say that all the conflicts in the post-Soviet era must be treated from the same angle. Territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is of the same value as the territorial integrity of Ukraine, which everybody is now talking about.

**President Borut Pahor:** *Do you think that this conflict is in the shadow of present Ukrainian issues?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** Actually, it was in the shadow of other important international events. The Ukraine issue, by the way, attracted some attention to this conflict. And I think that the lessons of the Ukrainian issue must be very carefully examined. If the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan was resolved, probably there would have not been the conflict now, which Ukraine faces. Because there is the same scenario, the same violation of territorial integrity, the same result, occupation, separatism. It's like a mirror. Therefore, of course, we expect the same approach from the international community, from the leading countries of the world. In our case, unlike all the other conflicts in the post-Soviet era, we have four resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. The fact that they are not implemented shows that the countries which adopted these resolutions do not respect their own decisions.

**President Borut Pahor:** *Do you, Mr. President, think that the lack of this enlargement possibility of EU also causes problems in the region?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** In our case, in the case of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, I think this is not the major issue because our prospects for any kind of integration with the European Union are very clear.

**President Borut Pahor:** *And NATO?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** I think it will largely depend on the issues of the organization's agenda. In relations between a country like Azerbaijan and big international organizations, initiatives always come from organizations. So far the level of NATO-Azerbaijan, EU-Azerbaijan cooperation is satisfactory to both sides. Neither NATO nor EU has any intention to interfere directly in the negotiation process and the officials of these two institutions have many times stated this fact. Therefore, we are actually relying on our own resources, and when ceasefire was established 21 years ago the main agenda for Azerbaijan was to build the state and strong economy, and rely on ourselves. At that time, we still had some hopes

that the international community will do something in order to restore justice. We had a lot of hopes in the beginning. As I said before the United Nations Security Council resolutions, resolutions of the European Parliament, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and other international institutions all were supportive to our case. But as the time passed we saw that resolutions remained on paper, and that they are just statements, visits, activity, but no result. And then we realized that the fate of our state is in our hands.

**President Borut Pahor:** *What should be the very first step to restore this confidence?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** I think it is very simple. The very first step would be the beginning of de-occupation by Armenia of the part of the occupied territories. Nagorno-Karabakh and seven districts are occupied. So the beginning of de-occupation of some of these districts, taking into account that we will continue the negotiations, will immediately change the picture. Immediately there will be no hostility. There will be a ceasefire regime fully observed. We already made such a proposal that Azerbaijan will open all the communications with Armenia, and Armenia will have access through our railroad to Russia. And also Turkey will immediately open their communications with Armenia so we will eliminate any potential risks of the beginning of hostile operations and we will start to build trust.

But all our proposals face ignorance from the Armenian side because Armenia does not want peace. I think this is one of the most important reasons why conflicts are not resolved. One side wants peace and restoration of its territorial integrity, other side does not want peace. In our case, Armenia wants to keep everything unchanged. The reason is that their lands are not under the occupation. They don't have this enormous problem as we have with million refugees. They are just making kind of steps just to imitate the negotiation process. So what to do? How to make Armenia more responsible? We need to work with international institutions on that, and, first of all, the mediators. There is a very clear signal to the Armenian leadership: stop occupation, start deoccupation. Azerbaijan made these proposals. We even made suggestions that we can have some social programs in Nagorno-Karabakh because people there are living in very poor conditions. We can engage in cooperation in transportation, in energy. We are open. And we proposed a high level of autonomy for Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. All the proposals are rejected.

**President Borut Pahor:** *Does the Russian government have objectives in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and the Georgian crisis?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** Well, the most important thing for us is to find a resolution to this conflict. Of course, we hope that Minsk Group co-chairs will do more in order to facilitate finding a resolution. We believe that it's in the interest of all the parties, all the neighborhood that the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict is resolved and peace is established. Therefore,

of course we are doing a lot in order to enhance regional cooperation. For instance, our bilateral relations with Georgia are a very good example of regional cooperation and how cooperation can be achieved in the South Caucasus. If the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is resolved, then Armenia can join our projects, including those related to energy security, transportation security. We hope that the Russian government has the same interest because every country is to be interested in having peace beyond its borders and having a friendly environment. I think that it is the most important – to find the soonest resolution to the conflict. I don't think that the policy of having this artificial tension is to the benefit of any neighbor. Neighbors should be interested in stability. Stability in the neighborhood means stability in your own country, in your own region. Part of Russia is the Caucasus. And the Caucasus is a big area in which there are three republics, and autonomous republics in Russia. And there are strong cultural ties between Azerbaijan and the republics of the Russian Federation.

**Representative of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Armenia:** *My question goes to President Ilham Aliyev and, of course, it is on Nagorno-Karabakh. A unique case probably where the United States cooperates with Russia as President Aliyev rightly mentioned. Those three mediator countries outlined three main principles of conflict resolution. And those three principles are namely: the right of people to self-determination, non-use of force or threat of force, and territorial integrity. The mediators called on the parties to commit themselves to those three principles. Armenia did on numerous occasions. So my question is to Mr. President. Is Azerbaijan ready to commit itself to those three principles as the basis of conflict resolution?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** Azerbaijan definitely is the most interested side in this conflict because we want our territories back, we want our refugees and IDPs earn the right to return to their homes, although there are no homes and everything is destroyed. By the way, OSCE sent two fact finding and field assessment missions to the occupied territories of Azerbaijan and issued a report, which shows that everything is destroyed – all the buildings, all the cemeteries, all the mosques, everything. So it is a totally empty land. If our refugees return, we will have to engage in huge reconstruction. Therefore, this is first. Our people have the right to return and we are interested in soonest resolution.

The problem is why this conflict is not resolved. Because Armenia does not want resolution. And there are no mechanisms, which could force Armenia agree with the international law norms. Resolution of every conflict must be based on the international law norms. These international law norms are very clearly identified in the United Nations charter and in Helsinki Final Act. Helsinki Final Act provides a very clear definition of the principals of territorial integrity and self-determination. We are not against the principle of self-determination, but this principle should not violate territorial integrity of the countries. Armenians of Nagorno-



Karabakh and Azerbaijanis of Nagorno-Karabakh, who were expelled by the Armenian army, when they return, they will have the right to organize their own life. But this should not violate the territorial integrity of the country. Territorial integrity of any country cannot be changed by force as Armenia tries to do, and plus territorial integrity of any country can not be changed without the consent of this country. This is the basic principle. Again, we are not against the fundamental principles of the international law. But Armenia first must respect the international law and implement four resolutions of the Security Council demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Armenian forces from the occupied territories.

**Deputy Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina:** *This year we are commemorating the 20th anniversary of Srebrenica genocide. What is the role of properly putting and accepting the fact that these atrocities, genocides, crimes happened not in order to change the past, but in order to have a better future?*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** Thank you very much for this question. Thank you for addressing this issue, you are absolutely right. We should have such a situation that the international community does not ignore what happened in order not to have the same tragedy in other parts of the world. Unfortunately, tragedy in Khojaly is not very well known especially for European public opinion. Though now there are more than 10 countries which officially recognized Khojaly as genocide. As a result of this genocide more than 600 innocent people were killed, including 106 women and 63 children. And their only guilt was that they were Azerbaijanis.

So Armenians, unfortunately, have not confessed this war crime. They have not even apologized for that. They want to mislead the international public opinion about what they did in Khojaly. Due to the very active Armenian lobby in Europe, in the United States they manage to distract attention of the international community from this tragedy. And it did not get a lot of publicity. But everything is documented. It is filmed. We have evidences of those who survived that genocide. We have films documenting completely annihilated children and women. Therefore, in order to ensure that these things do not happen again, those who committed this crime first must, at least, apologize and admit that it happened, admit these war crimes. Reconciliation can only happen after that. If that happens, it would be easier to reconcile, but I am strongly convinced that one day it will be possible because we lived together, we lived with Armenians side by side, in peace. There were a lot of mixed marriages and there was no hostility. We still have an Armenian church in the center of Baku, which was repaired. But Azerbaijani mosques in Shusha, in Aghdam are totally destroyed. They must not do this, in the first place. But now they must admit that this was wrong, they must apologize. And then, of course, we will reconcile because sooner or later we will have peace, and then the two nations will live side by side together.

**German Bundestag member:** *My question is about double standards. We spent nearly the whole day discussing the Crimea. If we are talking about the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, is it comparable with the Crimea issue?*

**Representative of Armenia:** *My question is to Mr. Ilham Aliyev. A few days ago the OSCE Minsk Group made an appeal to Azerbaijan to observe its commitment to peaceful resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. And it is not accidental that such a call is made because of the continuous violations of the ceasefire regime by Azerbaijan on the line of contact in Nagorno-Karabakh and on the border with Armenia. Since January the ceasefire regime was violated at least 3,000 times, with several citizens killed from both sides. My question to Mr. Aliyev is: Don't you think that by such acts the Azerbaijani side is escalating the situation, and is not making the peaceful solution of the conflict likely in the near future? The moderator of the panel asked us what is minimum that we should do. My call to Azerbaijan would be: stop firing.*

**President Ilham Aliyev:** First, I'd like to answer the question from the German parliamentarian. Of course, one of the problems which we face on the very beginning of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is the policy of double standards. I said in my introductory comment that all the conflicts in post-Soviet area must be treated from the same position. Territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is of the same value as territorial integrity of Ukraine. Ukrainian territorial integrity is strongly supported and Azerbaijan supports it very strongly, unlike Armenia. In the United Nations General Assembly, we voted for Ukraine's territorial integrity. And Armenia voted against Ukraine's territorial integrity. This comes to the question which previous representative of Armenia asked about how Armenia respects the principle of territorial integrity. They even voted against Ukrainian territorial integrity. Because that's the result of their policy. This country is not independent. They can not decide for themselves and always follow others. But double standards is a reality. Now when we see that sanctions are being imposed, Azerbaijan asks a question: Why is not Armenia sanctioned? They did exactly the same. Why have not sanctions yet been imposed on them? And probably the answer is that there is a very strong Armenian diaspora in the world, which protects Armenia from all potential adequate issues. Therefore, as soon as double standard policy is removed from international agenda, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict will be resolved very soon.

In response to the question which came from the representative of Armenia about the firing. Actually that is a tactic of the Armenian side - always to put the blame on us. They occupied our territories, violated the international law, committed genocide in Khojaly, destroyed our historical and religious monuments, and they are putting the blame on us. And the question is: What are Armenian soldiers doing on the occupied territories? What is an Armenian soldier doing in Aghdam? If he does not want to be killed let him not go to Aghdam. Let

him stay where he is – in Yerevan, in Gumry, in his own country. You have enough space for yourselves. Not many people are left in Armenia. So what are you doing in Aghdam? What are you doing in Fizuli? And as regards the question who aggravates tension, I will give just one illustration from the last year. Last year was remarkable from the point of view of activity of international mediators. President Putin organized a meeting between President Sargsyan and myself in August. In September, during the NATO Summit, US Secretary of State Kerry organized the same meeting between the three of us. In the end of October, President Hollande invited President Sargsyan and myself to Paris and we had, I would say, an excellent meeting, very up to the point, very constructive. And both sides, the Armenian side and the Azerbaijani side, reflected publicly that we consider this meeting as a big success, and we will try to reduce tensions on the line of contact. And what happens after that? Just in less than ten days Armenia organized large-scale military training in the occupied territory, particularly in Aghdam. According to their own information, 47,000 Armenian troops were having this exercise on the occupied territories. They used aviation. They used helicopters. For three days our army was very patient not to react, but then they drove military helicopters “MI-24” on our positions, and attacked our positions. Our army had to shoot down one of the helicopters. And that was a pretext to accuse Azerbaijan. So they make provocation, they provoke us, they show disrespect to the leaders of France, Russia and the United States who put so many efforts to tell us reduce tensions. They ignored this. They think that they can do anything and no one will punish them. So that’s the main reason, and now they put the blame on us and they say don’t fight, don’t shoot. My message to Armenia is stop occupation. As soon as you stop occupation we will have peace, we will have interaction, and we will have reconciliation. The reason why it does not happen is because the Armenian soldier is in Aghdam and Fuzuli.

## OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

4 March 2015

### List of meetings held during the official visit:

- Meeting with President of the Republic of Bulgaria Rosen Plevneliev
- Meeting with Prime Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria Boyko Borisov

### List of documents signed during the official visit:

- Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Bulgaria
- Agreement on Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria in the field of electronic communication, information technologies and electronic governance
- Protocol on the Expansion of Cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Bulgaria in the field of Tourism

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

### *Statement by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev*

- Thank you very much, dear Prime Minister.

First of all, I want to thank you for inviting me to Bulgaria. I am very glad to be visiting your wonderful country.

Today, we sincerely discussed various aspects of Bulgarian-Azerbaijani relations and saw once again that our relations are at the highest level. Our relations are the relations of strategic partnership.

These relations have great prospects. First of all, there are high-level political ties. We meet with you on a regular basis.

Strong political ties, of course, have a positive impact on all other areas. We also successfully cooperate and support each other in international organizations. During our meeting today we also discussed the relationship between the EU and Azerbaijan, as Bulgaria plays a



very important role in the development of these relations.

Of course, the main focus of our talks was on bilateral relations, and we are seeing very positive results in this area. There are great opportunities in the economic field. I know that both Bulgarian and Azerbaijani companies are making great effort to implement joint activities.

Investment opportunities are being studied. Azerbaijani companies are actively preparing to invest in Bulgaria. At the same time, we would like to see Bulgarian companies in Azerbaijan as investors. At the same time, Bulgarian companies can participate in the implementation of infrastructure projects in Azerbaijan.

There are excellent opportunities in the transport sector. We have also exchanged views about that. Azerbaijan plays an active role in the creation of transport corridors in the region. Transport corridors East-West and North-South pass through Azerbaijan. This year, as a result of the commissioning of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway, Azerbaijan will become a country that connects Europe with Asia. Of course, the development of the transport infrastructure and joint efforts will serve our economic interests and link our countries even more closely.

The main topics of our talks today, of course, were energy issues and the implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor.

Azerbaijan is pursuing a consistent policy in this direction. The projects initiated by Azerbaijan over the course of many years now serve the realization of the Southern Gas Corridor. For 20 years now Azerbaijan has been supplying its energy resources to world markets via different routes and has a widely diversified transport infrastructure. With regard to the Southern Gas Corridor, it is the largest infrastructure project being realized in Europe today. This project consists of several components. The segments of the Southern Gas Corridor are, first and foremost, the development of the “Shah Deniz” gas field, the expansion of the South Caucasus Pipeline, which connects Azerbaijan and Georgia, the implementation of the Trans-Anatolian pipeline project (TANAP) and the construction of the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP). Consistent work is under way on all fronts. In September of last year the foundation of the Southern Gas Corridor was laid in Baku, while in February of this year a joint Advisory Council of Ministers representing the countries of the Southern Gas Corridor was held in Baku with the participation of the Bulgarian energy minister.

Azerbaijan's gas resources serve both the well-being of the Azerbaijani people and the energy security of European consumers. Today, Azerbaijan is viewed in the documents of the European Union as a reliable and strategic partner.

Azerbaijani gas is the only new source of gas, which will soon be transported to Europe. Azerbaijan's proven gas reserves constitute 2.6 trillion cubic meters. The widely diversified infrastructure allows us the opportunity to increase gas exports in any direction. The European market is a priority for us.

Azerbaijan-initiated projects in this area are also supported by European institutions.

The first Advisory Council held in Baku last month has actually become a very important step in coordinating this work.

We do hope that Bulgarian-Azerbaijani relations, as well as the work we are carrying out together with other members of the Southern Gas Corridor, will contribute to the timely implementation of the project and large volumes of Azerbaijani gas will be transported to Europe a few years later.

At the same time, I want to note that I am very glad that Bulgaria is a party to the project and a country currently receiving Azerbaijani gas. At the same time, I hope that Bulgaria will contribute and play a role as a transit country in the future, transporting Azerbaijani gas to other countries.

Therefore, our countries are actually entering a period of long-term strategic partnership today. This pleases me a lot.

Bulgaria is a dear friend to us, a very close country to us and we have a great sympathy for the Bulgarian people. I take this opportunity to warmly congratulate you and the whole Bulgarian people on the national holiday marked yesterday. I wish Bulgaria continued success.

Thank you.

**OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE VATICAN CITY STATE**

6 March 2015

List of meetings held during the official visit:

- Meeting with Head of the Catholic Church Pope Francis
- Meeting with the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Pietro Parolin

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva met Head of the Catholic Church Pope Francis in the Vatican.



A welcoming ceremony was held for President Ilham Aliyev and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva.

Azerbaijan-Vatican relations were praised at the meeting. The parties said these relations had good prospects. It was noted that the Vatican praised and attached great importance to its ties with Azerbaijan. The sides stressed that Azerbaijan's placing significance on intercultural and interfaith ties played a profound role in the development of the bilateral cooperation between the two countries. The atmosphere of tolerance in Azerbaijan was hailed as exemplary, and it was emphasized that representatives of all religious confessions were

living in the country in peace and stability.

The importance of culture projects implemented by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation under the leadership of first lady Mehriban Aliyeva in the Vatican in the last few years was underlined at the meeting.

**WORKING VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**

17 March 2015

List of meetings held during the working visit:

- Meeting with President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan
- Meeting with Chief Executive Officer of BP Robert Dudley
- A solemn ceremony in Selim, the Turkish province of Kars, on the occasion of the groundbreaking of the Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP)

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV ATTENDED  
THE OPENING OF ANADOLU TECHNICAL-VOCATIONAL LYCEUM  
NAMED AFTER HEYDAR ALIYEV IN KARS**

***Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

- Dear Mr. President of Turkey, my dear brother Recep Tayyip Erdogan,

Dear Mr. President of Georgia, my dear brother Giorgi Margvelashvili,

Dear brothers and sisters!

First of all, I am very pleased to be visiting fraternal Turkey again and want to express this. In particular, I am very pleased to be visiting the ancient Turkic land of Kars. Kars is a historic place of the ancient Turkic world, and the opening of the school in Kars makes a lot of sense.



This school is named after my father, the founding father of the Azerbaijani state – Heydar Aliyev. After landing at Kars airport today, the first thing I did was to visit a park named after Heydar Aliyev Park and a statue of him. I want to express my deep gratitude for the respect for the memory of national leader of the Azerbaijani people Heydar Aliyev in Turkey, in Kars.

Heydar Aliyev has made an enormous contribution to the development of Turkish-Azerbaijani relations. He always sought to make Turkish-Azerbaijani unity and brotherhood even stronger. His famous statement is an example for all of us. He said that Turkey and Azerbaijan are one nation in two states. We are committed to this policy, and, together with



my dear brother Recep Tayyip Erdogan, have made great efforts in the last 11 years to strengthen the Turkish-Azerbaijani unity.

Our position overlaps on all matters. We have been able to raise our political relations to the highest level. We always support each other in all international organizations. The growing strength of Turkey strengthens us too. Today, Turkey is the center of power on a global scale, and it has come a long way under the leadership of my dear brother Recep Tayyip Erdogan in recent years. This is confirmed by the work being done in Kars today. The buildings, schools, hospitals and social facilities built here have changed the face of Kars. The development in every part of Turkey is obvious. Today Turkey has become a great powerhouse in the world and has invited the brotherly country Azerbaijan to the G20 meeting. For this, I want to once again express my gratitude to my dear brother, the President of Turkey. This is a truly brotherly approach. We need to strengthen this brotherhood everywhere.

At the same time, we are laying the foundation of the TANAP project in Kars today. TANAP is our joint project. The TANAP project was signed three years ago in Istanbul. Today we are already laying the foundation of this project. The unity of Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the energy sector already represents an entirely new panorama. The joint energy projects we are implementing reinforce us, create new opportunities and new jobs for our peoples, and multiply our economic and political power. Azerbaijan has started to invest in Turkey. SOCAR, the State Oil Company of the Republic of Azerbaijan, has begun to invest \$20 billion in Turkey. Thanks to these investments, all our major energy projects will be implemented. At the same time, SOCAR has started investing in the education sector in Turkey. Five lyceums and schools have been built in Kars, Ankara, Kocaeli, Ceyhan and Aliaga. This is investment in the educational sector. In other words, it is investment in our future. The successful development of each country is determined by the level of education and science. We should try to further develop these spheres in Azerbaijan and Turkey.

Our young people need to be educated and knowledgeable. Knowledge and literacy decide everything in the world. Knowledge and literacy pave the way for technological progress and development. The higher the level of education, the stronger the country will be in the future. Therefore, we are very pleased with the level of attention being paid to this area in Turkey.

The field of education is a priority in Azerbaijan. Over the past 11 years we have built and repaired around 3,000 schools in Azerbaijan. Excellent opportunities have been created for our youth.

Young people will be receiving profession at this lyceum. Its graduates will protect the interests of Turkey and Azerbaijan. It is already a center of Turkish-Azerbaijani friendship

and brotherhood. The opening of such a lyceum sincerely pleases all of us of course. Young people should be educated, literate and, at the same time, patriotic and attached to their homeland. They should know history well, know and promote historical truth.

Unfortunately, a smear campaign is being conducted against Turkey and Azerbaijan today. Some foreign circles continuously lead a campaign against us in order to denigrate our past, slander us and deny our current successful development. We respond to that with our work. It is very difficult to find other countries in the world that would develop like Turkey and Azerbaijan. Despite all the crises, we are still developing. Our development is based on the political will and historical truth. We build our future on historical truth and present history to the young generation as it is. We do not distort history like certain other countries and do not build our future on lies and slander. Unfortunately, the occupying Armenian state, which makes unfounded claims against Azerbaijan and Turkey today, is built on a lie. Their history is false and their claims put forward against us are totally unfounded. There is history, there is truth and there are historical documents. These documents are in the public domain. We are on the right track, our cause is fair. Today, Turkish-Azerbaijani unity is already an undeniable factor on a global scale. Turkey is an important country in the world community. The possibilities of Azerbaijan are also growing. We are strengthening our unity by realizing energy and transport projects. It is no coincidence that it is in Kars that the foundation of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway was laid. The foundation of the TANAP project will also be laid in Kars.

The President of the brotherly state of Georgia is also here with us. I am very grateful to him for being with us today. He has come to Kars to attend the groundbreaking ceremony of the TANAP project. But at the same time, he is also attending the opening of the lyceum named after Heydar Aliyev. Our trilateral cooperation, brotherhood and unity are eternal. Three countries Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey will continue to be together, will build their future together and will always encourage and support each other.

My dear brothers and sisters, I am very pleased to be visiting Kars. I see that Kars is a renewing and developing city, for which I am grateful to you, the government and the President of Turkey. Kars is a dear region and a native city for the entire Turkic world. I am confident that the work being done in Kars, in particular the TANAP project, will open new opportunities for Kars.

Long live Turkish-Azerbaijani unity and brotherhood!

## A SOLEMN CEREMONY IN SELİM, THE TURKISH PROVINCE OF KARS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE GROUNDBREAKING OF THE TRANS-ANATOLIAN NATURAL GAS PIPELINE (TANAP)



A solemn ceremony has been held in Selim, the Turkish province of Kars, on the occasion of the groundbreaking of the Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP). President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan and President of Georgia Giorgi Margvelashvili attended the ceremony.

The ceremony started with demonstration of a film about TANAP. The agreement on the project was signed in Istanbul in 2012.

The project will link the expanded South Caucasus Pipeline, which starts in Azerbaijan, with several pipelines in the European Union. The project will be carried out in several stages, with the first ending in 2018. The planned capacity of the pipeline will be 16 billion cubic metres of natural gas per year by 2020, and will be increased later up to 23 billion cubic metres by 2023 and 31 billion cubic metres by 2026. Ten billion cubic metres of the initial 16 billion cubic metres will be transported to Europe, while 6 billion cubic metres to Turkey.

President of the State Oil Company of the Republic of Azerbaijan Rovnag Abdullayev said TANAP became a reality thanks to efforts of the heads of state of Azerbaijan and Turkey, adding the project would contribute to the development of the countries and prosperity of the people.

Special Envoy and Coordinator for International Energy Affairs at the U.S. Department of State Amos Hochstein said he was honored to represent U.S. President Barack Obama and Secretary of State John Kerry. He said the U.S. considered the Southern Gas Corridor as the completion of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan gas pipeline process that started 20 years ago. He said the U.S. government attached particular importance to TANAP.

Vice-President of the European Commission for Energy Union Maros Sefcovic described the groundbreaking of the Southern Gas Corridor in 2014 and TANAP six months later as a remarkable event. Thanking President Ilham Aliyev for supporting the realization of TANAP,

he said the European Union puts great emphasis on the project and would do it utmost for its realization.

Turkish minister of energy and natural resources Taner Yıldız underlined TANAP's importance in terms of meeting gas demand of the European Union countries.

President of Georgia Giorgi Margvelashvili said his country placed special importance on the Southern Gas Corridor, adding the project would play a key role in the development of the region. The Georgian leader said TANAP played the role of an energy corridor between Asia and Europe, noting it would contribute to trade tourism and other projects, and strongly assist our countries in ensuring their energy security.

President Ilham Aliyev said it was a historical day today, and first and foremost, it is the project of Turkish-Azerbaijani unity.

The head of state said joint initiatives of Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia have always been a success, expressing his confidence that this project would have the same fate too. President Ilham Aliyev emphasized Azerbaijan's important role in meeting Europe's gas demand.

President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan said he believed the project would contribute to peace and prosperity. Then the foundation stone for TANAP was laid.

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV  
ATTENDED THE MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN  
GAS CORRIDOR ADVISORY COUNCIL**

12 February 2015, Baku

***Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev***

-Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends.

First of all, I would like to welcome you all in Azerbaijan. Today we have the first meeting of the Advisory Council of the Southern Gas Corridor. I'd like to use this opportunity and ask you to convey my gratitude to the leadership of your countries for supporting our initiative to have this meeting in Baku. It is really a good time to have this meeting because practical implementation of the project of the Southern Gas Corridor starts this year. This project unites us, and it needs additional coordination and, of course, exchange of views and opinions. I am sure that during today's meeting the exchange of views, discussions will help to contribute to successful implementation of this project.

Azerbaijan is known as a country where the first oil in the world was produced in the middle of the 19th century, and also the first oil from the offshore fields was produced in Azerbaijan in the middle of the 20th century. So, the history of oil industry of Azerbaijan is very rich. Also I would like to say that during the World War II Azerbaijan's oil accounted for more than 80% of the oil produced in the Soviet Union and Azerbaijani oil workers contributed a lot to the victory over fascism. If not for the oil of Azerbaijan, most probably, the outcome of the World War II would have been different.

But by the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union our oil industry was not in good shape. Onshore fields were mostly exhausted and when Azerbaijan became independent in 1991 oil industry was in crisis. Not only oil industry, in general, we faced serious crisis – military, political and economic crisis, civil war, Armenian occupation. We didn't have financial resources, we didn't have technical capabilities to develop our huge oil fields. Only after 1993, when President Heydar Aliyev was elected, situation stabilized, civil war was stopped, we started reforms, and one of the important elements of the reforms was the opening of Azerbaijan to the world. We started to attract foreign investment, we created very good investment climate in Azerbaijan, and due to that fact we now enjoy the situation when Azerbaijan's economy is sustainable, stable. With respect to the per capita direct foreign investment Azerbaijan is in the leading positions in the former Soviet Union area.

1994 was a year of the beginning of the new energy strategy of Azerbaijan. The contract between our government and a consortium of major oil companies of the world was signed in 1994. The contract immediately was named the Contract of the Century because of the scale of the investments and because of the fact that Azeri-Chirag-Gunashli oilfield, which was the resource space for the contract, was one of the biggest oil fields in the world. For more than 20 years the field has been in operation and a major contributor to the oil production of our country. Therefore, 1994 was really the year of the beginning of the energy strategy and for the first time the Caspian Sea was, if I may say so, opened for foreign investment.



But due to the fact that Azerbaijan is a landlocked country we needed to have a pipeline system to transport our oil. And, definitely, the coordinated efforts based on regional cooperation between Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey in the beginning made it possible to have a sophisticated modern pipeline system to transport oil and then gas to international markets.

I would like to remind you some of the important milestones in the implementation of energy policy of Azerbaijan, which actually led to today's situation when we are talking about the Southern Gas Corridor. The Southern Gas Corridor project is based on what has been done here in Azerbaijan together with our partners for the last 20 years. In 1996, the contract on Shahdeniz gas field was signed between Azerbaijan and the consortium of foreign companies led by BP. Shahdeniz gas field is a main resource base for the Southern Gas Corridor. In 1997, first oil from Chirag platform was produced. Probably that was a record in the history of oil industry, when since the signing of the contract to the production of first oil only three years passed. In 1999, the pipeline connecting Caspian and Black seas – Baku-Supsa was built, and thus Azerbaijani oil started to be exported to the Black Sea port of Supsa in Georgia. That was an important element of diversification because for the first time the Caspian and Black seas were connected with a crude oil pipeline. In 2006, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline was commissioned. For the first time Caspian and Mediterranean seas were connected with a pipeline. In 2007, the South Caucasus gas pipeline, which connected Baku, Tbilisi and Erzurum in Turkey with a gas pipeline, was constructed.

So, all these important milestones were crucial for the implementation of energy policy of Azerbaijan and together with our partners in Georgia and Turkey we managed to achieve all the goals and targets which we had in front of us. That also was a very good example of fruitful regional cooperation. The three countries managed to achieve very ambitious

goals through supporting each other and cooperating. But that was only, if I may say so, the beginning of our plans. Huge gas fields of Shahdeniz plus other gas fields dictated the necessity of building the Southern Gas Corridor for transportation of gas from Azerbaijan to international markets. There also were important milestones in the implementation of this project. In 2011, a Joint Declaration on the Southern Gas Corridor was signed by president of the European Commission and myself in Baku, which identified Azerbaijan as one of the main contributors and enablers of the Southern Gas Corridor.

In 2012, the agreement between Turkey and Azerbaijan on the construction of Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline – TANAP was signed. This agreement played a crucial role in the implementation of the project of the Southern Gas Corridor because after many years of discussions about the project, which will be the main project for transportation of Azerbaijani gas, TANAP was introduced by us and immediately got strong support from all our partners. So TANAP has a special place in the implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor and, as you probably know, the practical implementation of TANAP has already started. In 2013, Trans Adriatic Pipeline was selected as a main export route to Europe. And 2014 marked a groundbreaking ceremony of the Southern Gas Corridor here in Baku on September 20th, exactly 20 years after the signing of the Contract of the Century, which was signed on September 20, 1994. So this is a short history of what has been done. Therefore once again I would like to say that without all those important elements, which already were created in Azerbaijan and in the neighborhood, today the Southern Gas Corridor project would have remained a good idea, a good intention. But today this project is a project which is already in the phase of its implementation.

I would like to note that the partnership between SOCAR and BP, our main investor played a very important role in the implementation of our oil and gas projects. This partnership has continued for 20 years, and will continue for many more years to come.

Once again, the resource base for the Southern Gas Corridor is Shahdeniz field, where BP is operator. And, taking into account huge gas reserves beyond Shahdeniz, and according to our estimations, proven gas reserves of Azerbaijan are more than 2.5 trillion cubic meters. The fields like Absheron, Umid and others will definitely contribute to the project of the Southern Gas Corridor and, most probably, we will have more production and more export than we anticipate today.

The important element of our cooperation is, of course, coordination of our efforts. I think today's meeting of Advisory Council will concentrate on that. There will be presentation about what has been done and what is planned to be done. But coordination and efficient communication between all the countries and companies involved in this project will be the main prerequisite for the success. We must work as we did before, when we had a trilateral

cooperation between Georgia, Turkey and Azerbaijan. That trilateral cooperation and the high level of mutual trust and mutual support allowed us to implement the project which I already mentioned. But now it is a more challenging situation because we have many more participants and players. Therefore, we need to have maximum level of mutual trust, and we need to support each other, and all of us need to contribute to the implementation of this project so that we do everything on time.

The Southern Gas Corridor is a project of energy security. It is energy security for us because it will allow Azerbaijan to export huge volumes of our natural gas to international market. It is energy security for consumers and transitors. Today energy security cannot be separated from national security of any country when energy resources become not only the source of prosperity, predictability and stability, but sometimes the source of rivalry and hostility. In our case, our philosophy always was that energy resources should contribute to stability, predictability, cooperation and mutual support. And I am sure that win-win situation for producers, transitors and consumers, balance of interests between the three components of the project will be actually the main reason for successful implementation of our project.

Diversification of energy resources is an issue which is discussed now on the main arenas of international organizations. Azerbaijan is playing its role in diversification. When we are talking about diversification we are talking about diversification of sources, not only diversification of routes. Diversification of routes is important, but when the sources are same it does not change a lot. Diversification of sources is important. Here, the Caspian gas, gas from Azerbaijan is the only new gas source for European consumers in the coming years.

This will, of course, create an absolutely different picture. Today we have a team of countries with strong support from the European Commission. I am very glad to see Mr. Sefcovic today at this meeting, which adds optimism to our plans. I am sure that all what we had in our minds in order to implement this project will be done, the project will be implemented in time, and we will all celebrate the implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor. But in order to do it we need coordination, mutual trust and very active interaction between all the countries involved in this process. Once again I would like to thank you for being together with us today, and wish the Advisory Council success.

Thank you.



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

- 14.01.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by European Union Special Representative for the South Caucasus Herbert Salber
- 19.01.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister of Japan Minoru Kiuchi
- 24.01.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the State of Qatar Sayar bin Abdurrahman al Maawdah
- 24.01.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic India Vinod Kumar as he ends his diplomatic mission in the country
- 28.01.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ali Tayyebnia
- 02.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Executive Director of the American Jewish Committee David Harris
- 05.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of Economic Affairs of the Republic of Turkey Nihat Zeybekci
- 09.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received President of the European Table Tennis Union Ronald Kramer
- 09.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by chairman of the Communist Party faction in the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation Gennady Zyuganov
- 10.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received Deputy Head of the Government of the Russian Federation Arkady Dvorkovich
- 10.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of newly appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kyrgyz Republic Ayzhigit Buranov

- 10.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received Defence Minister of the Kyrgyz Republic Abibilla Kudaiberdiev
- 11.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by member of the Senate of the French Republic Jean-Marie Bockel
- 11.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received Minister of Energy of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria Youcef Yousfi
- 12.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Special Envoy and Coordinator for International Energy Affairs at the US Department of State Amos Hochstein
- 12.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received Minister of Productive Reconstruction, Environment and Energy of the Hellenic Republic Panagiotis Lafazanis
- 16.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mohammad Javad Zarif
- 16.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group Pierre Andrieu (France), Igor Popov (Russia), James Warlick (USA) and Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office Andrzej Kasprzyk
- 17.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs at the United States Department of State Victoria Nuland
- 19.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of newly appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America Robert Cekuta
- 24.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by European Union Special Representative for Human Rights Stavros Lambrinidis
- 25.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey Mevlut Cavusoglu
- 27.02.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Poland Marek Calka

- 02.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received Prime Ministerial Trade Envoy of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland to Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan Charles Hendry
- 02.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by co-rapporteur of the Monitoring Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Pedro Agramunt
- 03.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by President of the National Council of the Republic of Slovenia Mitja Bervar
- 03.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of Industry and Trade of the Czech Republic Jan Mladek
- 03.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received President and Chairman of the Management Board of VTB Bank Andrey Kostin
- 09.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received aide to the President of the Russian Federation, vice-president of the Olympic Committee of the Russian Federation Igor Levitin
- 12.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Robert Walter
- 18.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Foreign Minister of the Republic of the Sudan Ali Ahmed Karti
- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Ireland Brendan Ward
- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Ecuador Humberto Vinuesa Rodriguez
- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Peru Jorge Abarca del Carpio

- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay Aníbal Cabral Segalerba
- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic Peter Priputen
- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Ayalew Gobezie Workneh
- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Montenegro Branko Milic
- 28.03.2015 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of the newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela Amenotheop Zambrano Contreras



**ACTIVITY OF THE MINISTER  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,  
H.E. Mr. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV  
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 2015**

**JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE BY FOREIGN MINISTER ELMAR MAMMADYAROV  
AND MOHAMMAD JAVAD ZARIF, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN**

16 February 2015, Baku

**Elmar Mammadyarov:** Ladies and Gentlemen! I am glad to welcome you at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as you may know, Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mr. Mohammad Javad Zarif has already met with the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, H.E Mr. Ilham Aliyev within a two-day official visit to Baku. Today we continued the negotiations in the framework of both in private and multilateral meetings. Azerbaijan and Iran enjoy the historical, cultural and religious ties. Mr. Minister just informed me that nearly 20 Iranian ministers visited Baku in last two years. We will continue this positive tradition. Next week, Azerbaijani officials will be visiting Iran, and the Ministers from the Islamic Republic of Iran will be paying a visit to Baku. We should strengthen the friendly relations between our nations in such an active way. We talked about certain issues from the different perspectives for assessment of our bilateral relationship. Surely, I informed Mr. Foreign Minister about the current status of negotiations over Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. As you may know, the co-chairs of the Minsk Group is in Baku right now and today we will be having the meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 5 pm. But before that, I may say, there is still no result on negotiations. I believe, we will have a press statement after today's meeting about opinions and proposals are put on the table by the Minsk Group.

Regarding the relations between Azerbaijan and Iran, I may tell, we have cooperation in bilateral and trilateral frameworks - Iran, Azerbaijan and Turkey. As Mr. Minister pointed out, the trilateral meeting (Iran, Azerbaijan and Turkey) will be held in Iran in the coming future. Particularly, we had exchange of views on the restoration of Astara, Rasht-Astara railway on the initiative of Iranian side. It is regrettable that, the railway does not function

in the direction of the occupied areas as a result of Armenian occupation. Restoration of railway and connection of Iranian railway system to Azerbaijan railway system has the same importance for both Iran and Azerbaijan. For long term perspective this system could be connected to Russia and Europe. The line is also economically beneficial.

As you probably know, we are planning to arrange the meeting on delimitation of Caspian Sea of the Foreign Ministries of the littoral states next month. We agreed to discuss the delimitation issue and to have bilateral meeting of Iran and Azerbaijan and to exchange views on how we can achieve positive outcomes on this issue in the framework of that meeting.

We also discussed the connection of power lines, as Iranian side is interested in getting electricity from Azerbaijan. It is being planned to have a meeting between Ministers of Defense and we believe the positive progress could also be achieved. Discussions will continue, in different spheres, particularly the fight against terrorism.

Besides, we talked about cultural centers. It is very important to open Azerbaijani cultural center in Tehran and also to have continuation of functioning of Iranian Cultural Center in Baku. But certain legal aspects are to be discussed yet. We agreed to consider legal aspects while discussing this issue. Once again, I would like to say, welcome to Baku to my esteemed counterpart.

#### **Q&A session**

**Question:** *What would you say about future perspectives of relationship between Azerbaijan and Iran?*

**Elmar Mammadyarov:** I just wanted to add, if I may, that I totally agree with Mr. Minister's opinion. As foreign ministers we discuss every single issue according the instructions by our Presidents. As Mr. Minister stressed, we have had certain instructions and we will do our best to strengthen and deepen cooperation based on these guidelines.

**Question:** *My first question is about co-chairs' visit to the region. According Mr. Warlick's tweet, he said that we expect to start serious talks on resolution of the conflict. Does it mean that, the serious stance on talks was not made clear yet? My second question is about hostages. Is it possible to change Armen Baqdasaryan for Dilgam Asgarov and Shahbaz Guliyev?*

**Elmar Mammadyarov:** Firstly, you already know Azerbaijan's position as we reiterate our clear stance on that. Updated Madrid Principles, the 6 principle plan, have already

unfolded by the Minsk Group. We should already start working over the draft of Peace Agreement. President of France also stressed that it is already time for negotiation over the draft Agreement for Armenia and Azerbaijan, along with co-chairs. Or, to have an everyday statement about violation of cease fire?! Cease fire could be violated every single day, so it is time to give a floor for the serious negotiations for restoration of peace in the region. What do serious talks consist of? Withdrawal of Armenian forces from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. As you may remember, the question addressed to Mr. President by the representative of Armenia in Munich Security Conference. As Mr. President made it clear, why Armenian soldier in Aghdam, as a result of which the violation of cease fire is a matter?! As a matter of fact, if the cease fire is violated it is because of occupation of those regions. Armenian soldiers should be out of Aghdam, Fizuli, Zangilan, Lachin, Kalbajar etc. Co-chairs' call to the serious talks should consider the start of working on the draft Peace Agreement on the updated 6 point Madrid Principles. These 6 principles pave the way for the talks over draft Peace Agreement. There are certain issues, as return of refugees and IDP's, transportation, communication, should involve different experts for discussion. But, first and foremost, Armenia shall withdraw its forces from the occupied regions. Co-chairs' should call withdrawal of Armenian forces from the occupied territories while talking on violation of cease fire. Only then cease fire issue will be out of the agenda, as we will achieve peace.

Regarding the hostages, this issue on every occasion put forward at the meeting with co-chairs and the European Union. As we were informed the issue was brought to the attention of the President of Armenia. Taking hostage or "arrest" of Azerbaijani citizens does not have any legal and logical basis.

Thank you!

**JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE BY FOREIGN MINISTER ELMAR MAMMADYAROV  
AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY MEVLÜT ÇAVUŞOĞLU**

25 February 2015, Baku

**Elmar Mammadyarov:** Ladies and gentlemen! As you may know, Mr. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey is paying the first ever official visit to Azerbaijan. Today in the morning Mr. Chavushoglu has been received by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, H.E Mr. Ilham Aliyev. We discussed the bilateral relations between our countries in the framework of one-on-one format and with the participation of delegations. As our National Leader Heydar Aliyev said, our relationship is based on “one nation, two states” principle.

First of all, I informed Mr. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu about the current status on Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. I also gave information on the visit of OSCE co-chairs to the region. Turkey is one of the members of Minsk Group and fully supports a prompt restoration of peace in the South Caucasus region and liberation of occupied territories of Azerbaijan. We also discussed issues of cooperation on trilateral basis. As you may remember, last month we had a meeting in the level of foreign ministers of Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Turkey in Turkmenistan. We will continue our work in this direction. Last week we agreed with the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran within his visit to Baku on arranging next meeting of foreign ministers in a trilateral format in Iran in the coming future.

Regarding cooperation in economical sphere, we are partners in implementation of large scale projects, as Baku-Tbilisi-Kars. Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey trilateral meeting will be held in Georgia in the months to come. There is a proposal Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway site by the foreign ministers of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey. The project is being expected to be ready for use this year. We believe that, as a strategic project, the realization of Baku-Tbilisi-Kars will open a window of opportunities both in terms of transportation and infrastructure. Practically, we had exchange of views on certain issues, including energy. TANAP is a very significant project. We believe that Azerbaijan and Turkey will deliver the project in 2018-2019.

We highly appreciate Turkey’s invitation for Azerbaijan to the upcoming G-20 Summit. Azerbaijani delegation already attends the meetings relating G-20 Summit. There is a strong contact between Azerbaijan and Turkey about all the subjects which both countries are deeply involved in and we enjoy mutual support on issues of national interests.

**Q&A session**

**Question:** *Victoria Nuland and then co-chairs visited the region. Armenia does not want to release hostages. We would like to get more information on that.*



**Elmar Mammadyarov:** Release of our citizens is always high on the agenda. Victoria Nuland and the co-chairs put the issue forward in Yerevan. Special Representative of the European Union Ambassador Salber also raises this issue. Armenia cannot keep our citizens as hostages and should release and return them to Azerbaijan. I am totally sure that the release of our citizens is just a matter of time and we will achieve it. Regarding the visit of co-chairs, as I stressed prior the visit, co-chairs put the suggestions forward on the table to give a push to the negotiation process. There was a proposal on establishment of working group for realization of activities in different spheres. Issues, such as transportation, restoration of water supply, return of IDPs, are to be discussed in the level of working groups. Prior functioning of working group would be helpful in terms of preparedness and time saving. Azerbaijan on its side is working on it, as we collaborate with the World Bank on preparation tasks. But first of all, Armenia must withdraw its forces from the occupied territories. It is not possible to implement the above mentioned projects while occupation forces are still there. That is why talking about violation of cease fire, the question is why Armenian soldiers are in Aghdam and Fuzuli. During his speech in Munich, Mr. President openly questioned Armenian representative why Armenian soldiers are in Aghdam. We stress at the discussions with co-chairs that the issue is not about violation of cease fire. Armenia should unambiguously withdraw its forces from occupied regions of Azerbaijan. There are 4 resolutions of the UN Security Council. Also there are certain documents of OSCE and other international organizations on the conflict. So, this is a demand of international law. Unfortunately, some resolutions of UN Security Council are implemented immediately; while others remain unfulfilled. But we are confident about the resolution of the conflict and the restoration of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. As I stated at the joint press conference with my Georgian counterpart in Georgia, Armenia is isolating itself from the regional projects due to its occupation policy. If Armenia wants to set beneficial platform and restoration of peace in the region, firstly, should withdraw its forces from the occupied territories. While we talk about trilateral meetings such as Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey, Azerbaijan-Iran-Turkey, Azerbaijan-Turkmenistan-Turkey, we never mention Armenia. Because Armenia is out of all projects due to its occupation policy and will keep being so, unless withdraws its troops from occupied territories of Azerbaijan.

Thank you very much.

**JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE BY FOREIGN MINISTER ELMAR MAMMADYAROV  
AND FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN ALI AHMED KARTI**

18 March 2015, Baku

**Elmar Mammadyarov:** Ladies and gentlemen! First of all, I would like to congratulate you oncoming Novruz holiday.

As you may know, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Sudan, Mr. Ali Ahmed Karti is paying an official visit to Azerbaijan. Sudanese Foreign Minister had several meetings yesterday. Today, he has been received by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, H.E Mr. Ilham Aliyev.

Today at the meeting we discussed the ways of strengthening cooperation between Azerbaijan and Sudan. First of all, I may say that, Azerbaijan and Sudan maintain tight and productive political cooperation within the UN's offices in New York and Geneva, as well as in different international organizations, including the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. Both countries mutually support each other. During its non-permanent membership period to the UN Security Council Azerbaijan supported Sudan on the discussions related to Sudan. In its turn, Sudan supports Azerbaijan's position on discussions about Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno Karabakh in the framework of the UN and other international organizations, as Azerbaijan's stance is fair and based on international law.

It is very important for us to strength bilateral economic relations; Sudan is a rich country with oil, gas and gold resources. During the discussion we decided that Sudan side will present several projects for consideration. Meanwhile, we agreed to summarize for signing Agreements on "Avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to on income and capital" and "Promotion and reciprocal protection of investments". Today we have already signed Protocol on Cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs. We also discussed negative ongoing processes in the region, as well as in Islamic world and we came to a view that Islamic countries should try to solve the problems occurring in the Islamic World by their own, from this point of view Organization of Islamic Cooperation is the most influential platform.

In the end, I may add that it is the second visit of Sudanese Foreign Minister to Azerbaijan. We agreed to sum up the current agreement drafts as soon as possible. Likely, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan will pay an official visit to Khartoum and those documents will be signed. We will make an effort for achieving the increase of trade turnover between Azerbaijan and Sudan.

## Q&A session

**Question:** *Mr. Minister, are there any perspectives of opening of the Embassy of Azerbaijan in Sudan? If so, when it will take place?*

**Elmar Mammadyarov:** First of all, let me note that, Africa is a very important continent for Azerbaijan. As you probably know, our Embassy in Ethiopia has already started functioning. Taking the fact that the residence of the African Union is located in Addis-Ababa into account, opening of our Embassy in Ethiopia is crucial in terms of advancing cooperation with the African Union. In addition, Azerbaijan has Embassies in the Republic of South Africa, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Libya and the Kingdom of Morocco. We do have plans on opening diplomatic representatives in important African countries. Sudan is a significant country both for African region and Azerbaijan. But for establishment of the Embassy, first of all, we endeavor to strengthen economic-trade relations. This will provide an opportunity to establish Azerbaijan representation in the level of Embassy, Charge d'affaires or diplomatic staff. Ultimately, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should have pointed arguments while offering the Government the opening of Embassy. Establishment of diplomatic missions of Azerbaijan in the countries, that Azerbaijan has strong economic cooperation and increased trade turnover is very important. Opening of the diplomatic mission of Azerbaijan in Khartoum is under consideration and Sudan has its Embassy in Azerbaijan.

**Question:** *Mr. Minister, are there any updates on negotiation process on Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict after the visit of co-chairs? Are there plans on holding the meetings between presidents or ministers? My second question is about Azerbaijani hostages. The process is almost stagnant. What are the next steps to move the issue forward?*

**Elmar Mammadyarov:** Regarding the hostages, I may say that, we continue our discussions through diplomatic channels and every time during the visit of diplomatic representatives to Azerbaijan we request and demand to raise the issue within their visit to Armenia and the meeting with the President of Armenia and to resolve this issue as soon as possible, return the hostages to Azerbaijan. Beside the co chairs of OSCE Minsk Group, the deputy assistant of the US Secretary of State, Ms. Victoria Nuland has put the issue on the table during her visit to Yerevan. The issue has also been raised by the representative of the European Union at the meeting with the President of Armenia. We had also have discussions with commissioner of the European Council during the visit to Baku. Member of the British Parliament also promised to touch this issue.

I would to say that I am optimist on negotiations process, but unfortunately the latest speeches by the President and Foreign Minister of Armenia don't allow to be optimistic.

They put the old arguments and issues on the table and have very aggressive rhetoric. Maybe it is addressed to the internal audience. Azerbaijan declares over and again that negotiations on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement should be started immediately and Co-chairs support this position. Co-chairs offered the establishment of working groups on transportation, IDP's and etc. at their last visit to Baku. But, as far as I know, the offer was ignored by Armenia. For sure, the foremost step in resolving the conflict is withdrawal of the military forces of Armenia from occupied regions of Azerbaijan. This is the position of OSCE Co-chairs and Azerbaijan. The sooner military forces of Armenia will be withdrawn from occupied territories of Azerbaijan the sooner peace and stability will be restored in the region.

Despite this, foreign and internal policy of Azerbaijan makes its way towards sustainable development of Azerbaijan. As you may know, groundbreaking of TANAP project was held in Kars yesterday. This project is important for the region, Georgia, Turkey and Azerbaijan as well as for Europe. Transportation of Azerbaijani gas to the European markets is in the interest of Azerbaijan and has a great significance for the development of entire region. Only after Armenia will change its policy, withdraw its forces from occupied regions of Azerbaijan Armenia could join regional and global projects. This is unambiguous. Otherwise, Armenia can not join any projects. Thank you!

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

- 12.01.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Sayar Rahman Al-Mawdah, the newly appointed ambassador of the State of Qatar to the Republic of Azerbaijan
- 14.01.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation led by European Union Special Representative for the South Caucasus Herbert Salber
- 16.01.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Ambassador of the Republic of India to the Republic of Azerbaijan Vinod Kumar as he ends his diplomatic mission in the country
- 19.01.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation headed by Deputy Foreign Minister of Japan Minoru Kiuchi
- 23.01.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chair from France Pierre Andrieu
- 30.01.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the newly appointed Ambassador of Kyrgyz Republic to the Republic of Azerbaijan Aidjigit Buranov
- 10.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Deputy Foreign Minister, the Head of the Center for International Education and Research under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran Hadi Soliemanpour
- 16.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the newly appointed Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Azerbaijan Robert Cekuta
- 16.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairs Igor Popov (Russian Federation), James Warlick (United States of America), Pierre Andrieu (France) and Andrzej Kasprzyk, Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office
- 16.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation led by Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mohammad Javad Zarif

- 17.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received rector of the International University for the Humanities and Development of Turkmenistan Esen Aydogdyev
- 18.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received newly appointed Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to the Republic of Azerbaijan Marek Calke
- 25.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation headed by Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu
- 26.02.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation led by European Union's Special Representative for Human Rights Stavros Lambrinidis
- 03.03.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received with the delegation headed by Mitja Bervar, President of the National Council of the Republic of Slovenia who is on a visit to Azerbaijan
- 03.03.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ibrahim Rahimpour
- 13.03.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation headed by Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Azerbaijan Robert Cekuta
- 13.03.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) Robert Walter
- 19.03.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation led by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan Ali Ahmed Karti
- 19.03.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the Republic of Azerbaijan Zulfikur Rahman upon completion of his diplomatic term
- 31.03.2015 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the delegation of working group of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on inter-parliamentary relations with the Republic of Azerbaijan.

## **THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

*11-12 March 2015, Baku*

### List of documents signed during the official visit:

- Joint Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
- Agreement between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Extradition of Prisoners
- Cooperation Programme (2015-2017) between ADA University of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Foreign Service Academy of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

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

- Dear Mr. President, dear friends, members of delegations,

I would like to once again welcome you, Mr. President, and your delegation. Welcome to Azerbaijan! We attach very big importance to your visit. Your visit will further strengthen the relations between our countries and the people of Pakistan and Azerbaijan. For centuries the people of Pakistan and Azerbaijan have lived in peace, cooperation, friendship, for centuries we have supported each other and lived like brothers. Today the two independent countries create a new format of cooperation based on our historical legacy, our traditions, our religion, at the same time, based on our strategic interests.

Today the document which was signed between Mr. President and myself is the Declaration of Strategic Partnership between our countries. Actually this document covers almost all the areas of our cooperation and is an important milestone in further development of our strategic ties. We are friends, brothers, we are strategic partners and we will continue our cooperation to the benefit of our peoples, our countries and to the benefit of regional security and regional stability.

Political relations between our countries are on a very high level, and the official visit of the President of Pakistan to Azerbaijan, the documents which have been signed just now clearly show that. We support each other in all the international organizations and will continue to do so.

We discussed with Mr. President today a broad range of issues of bilateral, multilateral importance and particularly our cooperation in international institutions. We support each other in the United Nations, we support each other in Islamic Cooperation Organization and other international institutions. We are very grateful to Pakistan for consistent support of Azerbaijan in the resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

As you know, for more than 20 years, internationally recognized lands of Azerbaijan have been under Armenian occupation. Armenia conducted the policy of ethnic cleansing against Azerbaijanis as the result of which more than one million Azerbaijanis became refugees and internally displaced persons. Twenty percent of our territory is now under occupation.



Armenians conducted the Khojaly genocide, killing innocent Azerbaijanis, children, women, elderly people just because of their ethnic identity. And the people of Azerbaijan are very grateful to their brothers in Pakistan. Pakistan was the first country in the world which officially recognized Khojaly genocide as genocide. Now it is more than 10 countries that recognized Khojaly genocide, but the first was Pakistan.

We are grateful to Pakistan that it was one of very few countries, which did not have diplomatic relations with Armenia because of continued occupation of our lands by Armenia. This is an attitude of brothers. This is a real sign of support, and our government and our people are very grateful to your government and your people for this position. United Nations Security Council resolutions demand unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Armenian forces from occupied territories.

Unfortunately, these resolutions are not implemented.

Azerbaijan in its turn always supports Pakistan on the issues of Jammu and Kashmir. Resolution of these issues is based on relevant United Nations documents. In other words, cooperation between our countries has a very strong historical base and today on international arena, we are supporting each other to protect our national interests.

We discussed today also the prospects for cooperation in economic area. I am glad that Mr. President is accompanied by a big group of representatives of the business community of Pakistan. Tomorrow we will together be at the business forum and hopefully this business forum will create additional opportunities for economic cooperation, business-to-business contacts, mutual investments and joint ventures. Today during the meeting of delegations



we discussed this issue and members of delegations will continue their work tomorrow and report to us about the results.

We have active cooperation in the military area and also discussed further plans in cooperation in defense industry. Pakistan has made a very big progress in defense industry and, of course, we are also creating defense industry in Azerbaijan and want to combine our efforts in having access to modern technologies and also to have opportunity to engage in joint activity with respect to research, science, defense technologies in order to modernize our potential.

An important part of our cooperation is cooperation in humanitarian area, area of culture, science, social area. So all this is very important for our people and our countries because this is actually the level of the strategic cooperation and strategic partnership, mutual support in international arena, economic cooperation, cooperation in energy sector. Also, both our countries are very active in the issues related to strengthening the Islamic solidarity. We need more unity in the Muslim world. We need more mutual support. We need to support each other from political, economic points of view, from the point of view of our activity in international organizations. And we contribute a lot to the strengthening of Islamic solidarity.

Azerbaijan and Pakistan will continue to play their important role in this respect. In other words, we cooperate in all the areas, we have very clear intentions to strengthen this cooperation. For us Pakistan is one of our closest friends and allies and today we are very glad to host the President of the brotherly country in Azerbaijan. I hope that the visit will yield very good results and we will have very good memories of the visit.

Once again, Mr. President, welcome to Azerbaijan.

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV  
AND PRESIDENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN MAMNOON HUSSAIN  
ATTENDED THE AZERBAIJANI-PAKISTANI BUSINESS FORUM**

12 March 2015

Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

- Dear Mr. President!

Distinguished guests!

Ladies and gentlemen!

Mr. President, I want to welcome you to Azerbaijan again. Yesterday was a very productive day for our bilateral relations. We talked about the further development of our bilateral ties. I am very pleased with the level of our cooperation. Yesterday we signed important documents which will create ample opportunities for the partnership between our countries. In particular, the Declaration on Strategic Partnership signed between Azerbaijan and Pakistan reflects the essence of our cooperation and our feelings for each other. We enjoy the highest level of cooperation, partnership and brotherhood in the true sense of the word.

For us, Pakistan is one of the closest friends and allies. I am sure that this visit will make a new contribution to the development of our cooperation. We have excellent political relations. We support each other in international organizations. We are real allies. Therefore, of course, we have to make the best use of these excellent relations and turn them into a collaboration between the business communities of our countries.

If we look at the trade between Pakistan and Azerbaijan, of course we can not be pleased with it. For this reason, I am very grateful to Mr. President for coming to Azerbaijan with a large delegation – important representatives of the business community of Pakistan. You have obtained the opportunity to learn more about our country and its opportunities, the projects we plan to implement. At the same time, we want to see good results of the business forum.

In general, the cooperation format such as a business forum, which envisages meetings between representatives of the business community, is very effective and can yield good results. I am certain that you will, first of all, talk about raising the level of bilateral trade and about what can be imported from our countries. I think that government agencies can act as a coordinator. Relevant ministries and the Intergovernmental Economic and Trade Commission can coordinate this issue. Both we and you import many goods. For this reason, we need to

think about what we can import from each other so that to strengthen the economy and increase the total turnover.



We would be happy if Pakistani companies could review investment opportunities in Azerbaijan. In particular, this applies to the import-dependent sectors of our economy, because our market is growing. For this reason, an increase of domestic production is one of the priorities of our government. I think that foreign investors could consider these issues. There is a very favorable investment environment. In the recent years of

independence, about \$200 billion has been invested in Azerbaijan. Originally this applied to the energy sector. And now other sectors of our economy are also included.

We are interested in seeing Pakistani companies as contractors. I am sure that there will be a presentation of infrastructure projects we are implementing, mainly in Baku and the regions. Due to the development of our regions we have opened new opportunities in the countryside and have already successfully implemented two programs. Currently, a third program is under way. Our plans for the next few years are also known quite well. The program on the development of regions has been published. For this reason, the work planned in every district and city is well known to our people and investors.

By adopting the State Investment Programme every year, we pay attention mainly to infrastructure, to the social infrastructure. For this reason, there is a broad agenda for foreign investors in Azerbaijan, and we can accomplish it together. In particular, we can consider establishing joint ventures in important sectors of our economies both in Pakistan and Azerbaijan. We can also appreciate mutual investment programs. I want to say again that we have to make the best use of the excellent political relations to create good business opportunities. This is the first thing. And secondly, just as we support each other in the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and other international institutions, we have to support each other in terms of economic cooperation in the same manner. We must support each other to promote business opportunities.

Mr. President and I spoke about Islamic solidarity yesterday. We in Azerbaijan and you in Pakistan are doing a lot to create a better understanding and cooperation among all Muslim countries. We need to support each other with our deeds, statements and economic opportunities.

The countries with good experience in one sector of the economy should help others to acquire technology, experience and knowledge.

In short, our goals are the same. I am sure that today's business forum will produce very good results, and we will soon get good reports about new areas of cooperation from relevant ministries.

With regard to the economy of Azerbaijan, it is developing very fast. In the early years of independence of Azerbaijan, our economic situation was very difficult. The level of unemployment and poverty in our country was very high. Inflation exceeded 1,000 per cent. Then, in the mid-1990s, we began to implement economic reforms. They continue to this day. At present, our economy is considered competitive. The Davos Economic Forum has put Azerbaijan's economy in 38th place in the world in terms of global competitiveness. This was achieved mainly thanks to economic reforms.

We have managed to reduce poverty and unemployment to 5 per cent. Over the past 10 years, the Azerbaijani economy has been the fastest growing economy in the world. This was mainly due to the increasing production of oil and gas. At the same time, our economic reforms have yielded results too. At the present time, when oil prices are falling, we see that our economy is still developing. A similar situation occurred five to six years ago. Then, the oil industry was faced with some difficulties, Europe experienced a serious financial and economic crisis. Despite this, the Azerbaijani economy developed. The gross domestic product grew and the non-oil sector of our economy developed. This is more important for us because our plans call for even greater diversification. Whereas in previous years we were more dependent on the price of oil and gas, now oil and gas account for about 40 per cent of our GDP.

Nevertheless, it still is the biggest part of our exports. For this reason, we are interested in diversifying the economy, creating new investment opportunities and increasing domestic production. At the same time, in addition to energy, we are interested in exporting other products. Here is an important point. Of course, our products must meet international standards. And we are doing that. The second important point is the market. As you know, to put it mildly, there is a competition, more precisely, struggle for markets now. For this reason, such fraternal countries as ours should create opportunities for each other to access the market. As I mentioned earlier, we import a lot and you import even more. We have to think about what exports we can provide each other with. We must declare our markets open to each other. In this case we will create jobs, develop capital and economic activity.

In short, we are very optimistic about our bilateral economic cooperation. We must not miss this great opportunity and should pay attention to practical projects. Sufficient information about the work planned in Azerbaijan, the regulations, the legal environment, the tax regime, investment opportunities and, finally, about our plans for the future will be provided today.

For this reason, I want to welcome all the representatives of the business community of Pakistan to Azerbaijan. At the same time, I want to once again express my gratitude to Mr. President for the visit to Azerbaijan and for the opportunity to pay attention to the economic sphere.

Thank you very much.

## **STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

*27 February 2015, Baku*

According to the reports circulated by the mass media outlets of the Republic of Armenia, the so-called “elections” to the “parliament” of the puppet separatist regime are planned to be held in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan on 3 May 2015.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan reiterates in this regard that the separatist regime established by the Republic of Armenia in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan is ultimately nothing other than the product of aggression and racial discrimination; it is under Armenia’s direction and control. It is well known that the Republic of Armenia unleashed the war and used force against Azerbaijan, seized almost one fifth of its territory, including the Nagorno-Karabakh region and seven adjacent districts, carried out ethnic cleansing of the seized areas by expelling about one million Azerbaijanis from their homes and committed other serious crimes during the conflict.

The international community has consistently deplored in the strongest terms the use of military force against Azerbaijan and the resulting occupation of its territories. In 1993, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolutions 822 (1993), 853 (1993), 874 (1993) and 884 (1993), condemning the occupation of the territories of Azerbaijan and reaffirming respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the inviolability of its internationally recognized borders. In those resolutions, the Security Council also confirmed that the Nagorno-Karabakh region is part of Azerbaijan, and demanded immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces from all the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. Other international organizations have adopted a similar position.

Against the background of continuing military occupation and ethnic cleansing of the territories of Azerbaijan, the holding of “elections” to the structures of the puppet separatist regime there constitutes a clear violation of the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the norms and principles of international law, and, therefore, shall have no legal effect whatsoever.

Armenia’s policy of annexation of the seized territories of Azerbaijan has no chance of succeeding. The only way to achieve a durable and lasting settlement is to ensure the unconditional and complete withdrawal of the Armenian armed forces from the Nagorno-Karabakh region and other occupied territories of Azerbaijan, the exercise by the forcibly displaced population of its inalienable right to return and the establishment of relations

between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity within their internationally recognized borders.

The Republic of Azerbaijan once again calls on the Armenian side, instead of wasting time and misleading its own people and the international community, to cease its policy of annexation and ethnic cleansing and to engage constructively in the conflict settlement process and comply with its international obligations.



Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin 23 fevral 2015-ci il tarixli 1062 sayılı Sərəncamı ilə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Böyük Britaniya və Şimali İrlandiya Birləşmiş Krallığında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri Tahir Tofiq oğlu Tağızadə iğamətqahı London şəhərində olmaqla, eyni zamanda Azərbaycan Respublikasının Danimarka Krallığında və İslandiya Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri təyin edilmişdir.



Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin 23 fevral 2015-ci il tarixli 1063 sayılı Sərəncamı ilə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Braziliya Federativ Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri Elnur İxtiyar oğlu Sultanov iğamətqahı Braziliya şəhərində olmaqla, eyni zamanda Azərbaycan Respublikasının Trinidad və Tobaqo Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri təyin edilmişdir.



Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin 23 fevral 2015-ci il tarixli 1065 sayılı Sərəncamı ilə Daşqın Məzi oğlu Şikarov Azərbaycan Respublikasının Əfqanıstan İslam Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri vəzifəsindən geri çağırılmışdır.



Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin 23 fevral 2015-ci il tarixli 1066 sayılı Sərəncamı ilə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Türkmənstanda fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri Vəhdət Məmmədəğa oğlu Sultan-zadə iğamətqahı Aşqabat şəhərində olmaqla, eyni zamanda Azərbaycan Respublikasının Əfqanıstan İslam Respublikasında fəvqəladə və səlahiyyətli səfiri təyin edilmişdir.



**Mohsen Pak AEIN**  
**Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran**  
**to the Republic of Azerbaijan**



Born in 1954

Former Ambassador of Iran in Zambia, Uzbekistan and Thailand

Married, with 3 children

Author of several books on international relations

***Distinguished Ambassador, how would you assess the current relations between Tehran and Baku?***

Amicable cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan has been strategically important in the agenda of both countries. In the past months, constructive negotiations have been conducted and fruitful results have been achieved between two countries. The visits of His Excellency President Hassan Rouhani and His Excellency President Ilham Aliyev set milestones in promotion and development of relations between two countries introduced means for settlement of different issues.

***What were the results of H.E. H.Rouhani's visit to Baku?***

H.E. H.Rouhani, as the head of a delegation, traveled to Baku in November 2014, upon an official invitation from his Azerbaijani counterpart, H.E. I.Aliyev. The visit drew regional and international attention to the expansion of Tehran-Baku ties, and outlined the road map for their future bilateral interactions. Over the past two years, Iran's relations with Azerbaijan improved swiftly following efforts to build mutual trust and the Iranian government's policy of boosting ties with neighboring states. Indeed, the H.E. H.Rouhani administration's proper policy of enhancing friendly relations with Iran's neighbors resulted in positive outcomes, and its 'win-win' diplomacy for expanding ties with neighbors, particularly with the Republic of Azerbaijan, was effective.

During H.E. H.Rouhani's visit to Baku, five memorandums of understandings were signed and a joint declaration was issued. The issuance of the joint declaration, which shows the two states completely understand bilateral, regional, and international issues, was a significant and rare triumph that illustrated the proximity of the nations' views.

***What were the achievements in Tehran-Baku relations in 2014?***

Multiple exchanges of visits by the two countries' high-ranking officials in 2014, particularly H.E. I. Aliyev's visit to Iran in early April, the meeting of the two neighbors' 9th Joint Economic Commission in August, and the growth in Tehran-Baku ties were the main reasons for the triumph of the 'win-win' diplomacy, which led to the stabilization of their relations. H.E. H. Rouhani's visit to Baku also clearly showed the two countries' firm determination to boost their cooperation. Indeed, the fact that the two presidents met four times over a period of nine months was a milestone in the history of the two countries' ties. These friendly events showed that Iran and Azerbaijan are two friends and neighbors whose relations are extremely significant, particularly in regard to economic, cultural, political, and humanitarian issues. There is also great potential in the areas of energy, oil, natural gas, trade, the environment, and tourism that need to be adequately addressed.

***How do you estimate the perspectives of Rasht-Astara railway project?***

Currently, Gazvin - Astara railway line is a priority for the government of Iran. The railway unites not only Iran, Azerbaijan and Russia, but also paves the way for the CIS countries. Even China is interested in it. The railway authorities of Iran, Russia and Azerbaijan signed a document for the construction of the project as soon as possible. The two countries weighed the significance of the North-South Corridor and vowed to speed up the construction of a railway from Qazvin to Rasht and then to Astara. Azerbaijan and Russia should also work to accelerate the construction of the railway, through which Russia will be connected to the Persian Gulf via Azerbaijan. The completion of the railway will be a positive development and will serve the interests of Iran, Azerbaijan and their neighbors.

***What is the state of bilateral trade between Azerbaijan and Iran?***

I hope that the trade turnover will double in 2015. In my opinion, the growth in the field of energy and oil will be observed in the coming year. Taking into consideration the development of tourism between the two countries, I am looking forward an increase in this sphere, as well. At present, the level of the two countries' trade ties has not reached its potential, but the two presidents vowed to work together to eliminate customs, visa, and tariff barriers and to make optimal use of the potential to boost bilateral economic transactions. About one million Azerbaijani citizens travel to Iran annually, and the number is growing. In Baku, the two presidents discussed optimizing the potential of health tourism, religious tourism, and sight-seeing tourism, providing the necessary facilities, organizing virtual communication, setting up a Mashhad-Baku direct flight, and investing in hotel construction, with the goal of revolutionizing the tourism industry.

***What are the joint efforts of the two countries for the provision of regional security?***

The two countries' security is undoubtedly intertwined. In addition, the international and regional cooperation of the two nations, particularly their common stances on security issues, such as the campaigns against terrorism, extremism, and illicit drug trafficking, will lead to the enhancement of regional peace and security. I believe that the flourishing cooperation and the strong will, existing between Iran and Azerbaijan, shall prepare the ground for resolution of the existing problems in the region and it goes without saying that the active and constructive policy and presence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict shall be promising promotion of peace, justice and stability in our region.

***What is the position of Iran on Nagorno-Karabakh conflict?***

We are not satisfied with the events taking place in the Nagorno-Karabakh region and we regret that these events occurred. The emergence of threats in the region is not the regional countries favor, including Iran. The security must be guaranteed. For this reason, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict should be solved fairly. Some of the OSCE Minsk Group co-chairing countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council. Those countries should ask the provision of safety in the region. If the resolutions of the United Nations are carried out, we believe that the security of the region will be provided. We are eagerly trying to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in a peaceful way. We do not think that the war is the solution of this conflict. If it is necessary, we are ready to mediate in this conflict.

***H.E. H.Rouhani defined resolution of all problems with neighbouring countries as the priority of Iranian foreign policy. What has been done so far in that direction?***

One of the greatest achievements of Iran's foreign policy in 2014 was the establishment of good relations with neighboring countries and resolution of problems. Iran has land and sea borders with 15 states. On the one hand we have borders with the Russia through Caspian Sea and also good relations. Moreover, we have good relations with the other Caspian littoral states including Azerbaijan. We talked about relations with Azerbaijan. Regarding Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan you have noted yourself that the railway line was built in the states, it is also a sign of good relations. We appreciate the meeting of the Caspian littoral states in Astrakhan. Friendly relations with each of these states are significantly improved compared to previous years. We have normal and developing relations with Pakistan. For a long time we have good relations with Afghanistan, especially after the presidential elections in this country we did our best to establish stability in the country. Currently, Iraq is our closest friend. We are helping the Iraqi government to combat terrorism. We also have normal relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf. Even one of the discussions

between Iran and P5 + 1 states was held in Oman. Turkey, however, is our largest economic partner in the region. I think that as H.E. H.Rouhani said, he is committed to politics that ensures normal relations with neighbors. Naturally, there can be problems between the two countries. It is possible that there can be a difference of opinion with any country in the fight against terrorism. Perhaps, ISIS terrorist group took advantage of these disputes and further developed. But still, we are continuing our discussions with neighboring countries and bring our positions closer.

***What are your expectations from negotiations between Iran and P5+1 on the Iranian nuclear issue?***

We want these negotiations to give the result as soon as possible, as well as we would like the elimination of illegal sanctions imposed against Iran. I think that if the parties treat the issue seriously, it will be possible to resolve it. The opposite side, the P5 + 1 countries, concerned that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons with its nuclear program, but we are ready in every possible way to explain to them that it is not like that. One side of the argument is Iran and sanctions imposed against it. We want to remove these unjust sanctions. I think that if the debates reach conclusion the concerns of both sides will be eliminated. The opposite side would understand that Iran has no intention to acquire nuclear weapons. In turn, we will make sure that sanctions against Iran are eliminated. I think that if the opposite side would be serious and does not allow non-logical statements, this debate will come to conclusion.

## GLOBAL ENERGY SECURITY: NEW ERA, NEW BRIDGES

Natig ALIYEV\*

The world we live in constantly faces the necessity for solution of energy problems since energy is the main factor for stability and development of world economy. According to the International Energy Agency World Outlook 2014, 1.3 billion people worldwide continue to live without access to electricity. In developing Asia, the overall trend is upward; hence the largest population without electricity is in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Indonesia. That is why energy security in the 21st century has been propelled to the top of governments' agendas in consuming as well as producing countries.

It is, therefore, only natural that the issue of energy was the dominant topic of discussions at the recent World Economic Forum on East Asia held in Jakarta, Indonesia. Attended by heads of state, governments, ministers, businessmen and representatives of international organizations and financial institutions, it was the first meeting of the Forum under its newly accorded status as an officially recognized International Institution for Public-Private Cooperation. Azerbaijan highly values the existing important relations, established with East Asian countries, based on comprehensive cooperation and mutual respect and I had the honor of representing Azerbaijan on this significant event, as well as at the Roundtable Discussions on "Energy Reforms for Sustained Growth" and "Future of Oil and Gas in East Asia".

### Number of people without access to modern energy services by region, 2012

	Without access to electricity		Traditional use of biomass for cooking	
	Population	Share of population	Population	Share of population
<b>Developing countries</b>	<b>1283</b>	<b>24 %</b>	<b>2679</b>	<b>49 %</b>
Africa	622	57 %	728	67 %
Asia	620	17 %	1875	51 %
India	304	25%	815	66%
Bangladesh	62	40%	138	89%
Indonesia	59	24%	105	42%
Pakistan	56	31%	112	62%
Middle East	18	8%	8	4 %
<b>WORLD</b>	<b>1285</b>	<b>18 %</b>	<b>2679</b>	<b>38 %</b>

*Based on World Health Organization and International Energy Agency databases*

\* Minister of Energy of the Republic of Azerbaijan

One can say for sure that we live in the era of rapid growth of energy generation and consumption, and annual oil and gas production keeps growing up year-by-year.

World energy map is changing dramatically. The new significant players appear on production and consumption of energy resources. Today, diversification of sources of energy and its safe transportation to final customers gain more and more sense. An analysis of geopolitical situation in the world and in individual regions, of which many are 'hot spots', shows a tough fight for energy resources, which result in a great deal of crises and conflicts that sometimes turn into a dangerous confrontation. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has reignited concerns about gas security. Violence and political instability in oil producing OPEC nations such as Iraq, Libya and Nigeria are threatening present production and future output targets with potential severe implications for market stability and the direction of future energy flows. In this respect, one of the top political and economic objectives of the global community is to solve the problem with energy sufficiency and global as well as regional security.

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), world GDP growth is expected to be 3,8% in 2015 and is assumed to grow at an average annual rate of 3,4% over the period of 2015-2040, where only China, India and Southeast Asia's annual growth is projected at 5,1%.

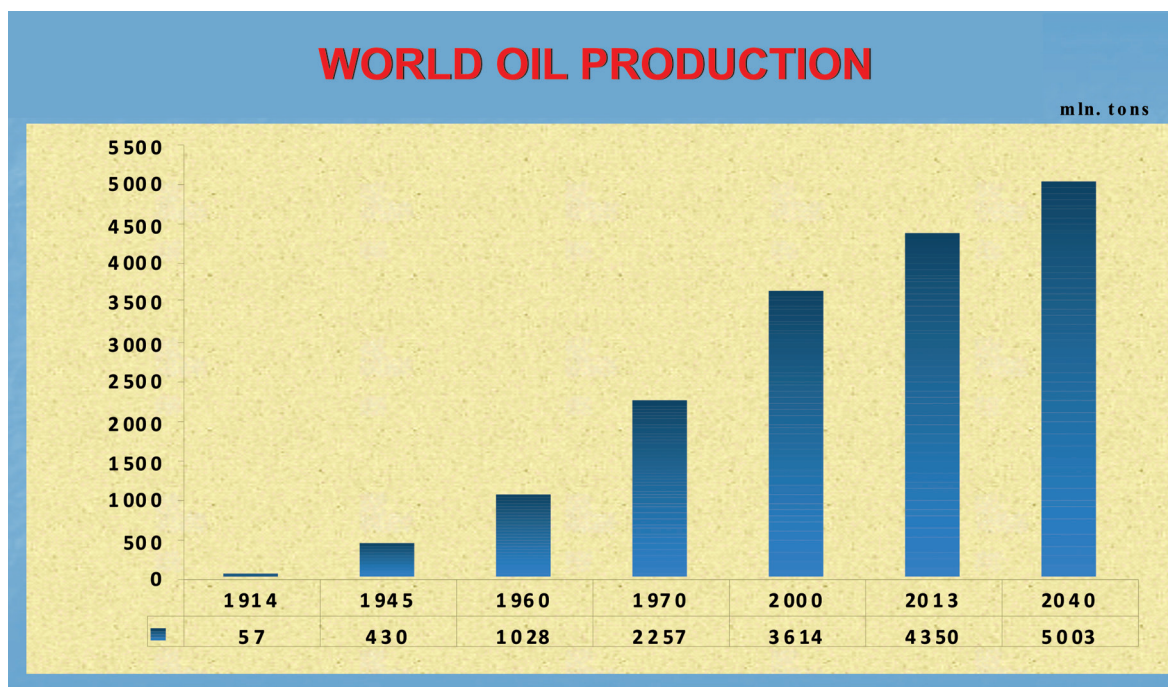
Region	Population m ln.	Population annual growth rate %	GDP growth rate %	Primary energy demand M toe	Oil demand mb/d	Natural gas demand bcm	Electricity demand Twt	Oil production mb/d	Gas production bcm	
<b>ASIA</b>										
year	2012	3678	1.3	7.5	4551	19.7	433	6317	7.9	423
	2040	4382	0.6	5.1	7527	33.5	1240	15255	5.8	841
<b>China</b>										
	2012	1358	0.8	9.9	2909	9.8	148	4370	4.3	107
	2040	1416	0.1	5.0	4185	15.7	603	9560	3.4	368
<b>India</b>										
	2012	1237	1.6	6.5	788	3.7	57	869	0.9	40
	2040	1566	0.8	6.0	1757	9.2	202	2915	0.7	112
<b>Southeast Asia</b>										
	2012	608	1.5	5.1	577	7.6	-	682		77
	2040	760	0.8	4.5	1084	9.5	-	2018		157
<b>WORLD</b>										
	2012	7042	1.3	3.3	13361	90.1	-	19562	90.8	3438
	2040	9004	0.9	3.4	18293	103.9	-	34887		5378

*Based on World Health Organization and International Energy Agency databases*

Global energy demand is set to grow by 37% by 2040, although annual growth is set to slow down from above 2% per year over the last decades to 1% per year after 2025. For most of the projection period, oil remains the energy type with the largest share. Development trends of the energy sector are increasingly turning to the environment friendly sources, in which the natural gas has a significant role.

Analysis shows that the actual world oil reserves have increased by 36 percent over the past two decades and by 12 percent over the past ten years. The remaining resources of natural gas are abundant and can comfortably meet the projections of global demand growth. The proven reserves stood at 216 trillion cubic meters at the end 2013, equal to more than 60 years of production at current rates.

Oil demand rises by 14 mb/d to reach 104 mb/d in 2040. By 2040, nearly 75% of oil consumption will be concentrated in just two sectors, where substitution is the most challenging: transport and petrochemicals. Only 3,3% of worldwide proven reserves and more than 30% of worldwide oil consumption belong to Southeast Asia.



Electricity is the fastest-growing final form of energy, yet the power sector contributes more than any other to reduction in the share of fossil fuels in the global energy mix. In total, some 7200 gigawatts need to be built to keep pace with increasing electricity demand, while also replacing the existing power plants due to expire by 2040 (around 40% of the current fleet).

Countries	Population m ln.	Oil reserves		Oil production		Oil consumption		Export		Processing capacity	
		Total m ln. tons	per capita, tons	Total m ln. tons	per capita, tons	Total m ln. tons	per capita, tons	Total m ln. tons	per capita, tons	Total m ln. tons	per capita, tons
Kuwait	2.2	14000	6363.6	129.6	58.91	14.0	6.36	115.6	52.55	45.25	20.56
United Arab Emirates	2.5	13000	5200	135.9	54.36	22.0	8.80	113.9	45.56	31.0	12.4
Qatar	0.8	3600	4500.0	53.6	67.0	4.1	5.13	49.5	61.8	-	-
Saudi Arabia	24.3	36300	1493.83	493.1	19.88	99.3	4.09	393.8	16.21	105.0	43.21
Libya	5.5	5400	981.82	86.0	15.64	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iraq	24.7	15500	627.5	105.3	4.26	-	-	-	-	33.7	1.36
Venezuela	24.7	12500	520.83	133.9	5.42	26.8	1.08	107.1	4.34	65.55	2.65
Kazakhstan	16.0	5300	331.25	68.7	4.29	10.6	0.66	58.1	3.63	-	-
Oman	2.8	800	285.7	35.5	12.68	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iran	68.3	19000	278.18	212.1	3.11	77.0	1.13	135.1	1.98	42.85	0.62
Azerbaijan	8.5	2200	258.8	42.8	5.04	4.5	0.53	38.3	4.51	20.0	3.12
Norway	4.6	1000	217.4	118.8	25.83	10.1	2.20	108.7	23.63	15.5	3.36
Canada	32.0	4200	131.2	158.9	4.97	102.3	3.20	56.6	1.77	96.0	3.0
Angola	10.8	1200	111.11	84.1	7.79	-	-	-	-	-	-
Russia	144.5	10900	75.43	491.3	3.40	125.9	0.87	365.4	2.53	279.15	1.93

The tendencies in the global economy show that demand for energy resources, mainly hydrocarbons, is shifting towards East Asia, led by China, where an endless thirst for all types of energy will continue to shape the global energy landscape. Nowadays, India's economy is compared with the leaping tiger and China's economy named a pausing dragon. In early 2030's China will become the largest oil-consuming country. By that time India and South-East Asia will take over as the engines of the global energy demand growth. Global political and economic changes at the end of the last and the beginning of this century encouraged the creation of a more interconnected energy market.

Russia, meanwhile, is targeting energy-hungry China as a future market to diversify the demand base for its resources. Russia's agreement with China to supply natural gas for a period of 30 years will help the latter to meet its energy demand, while diversifying its gas import portfolio at the same time.

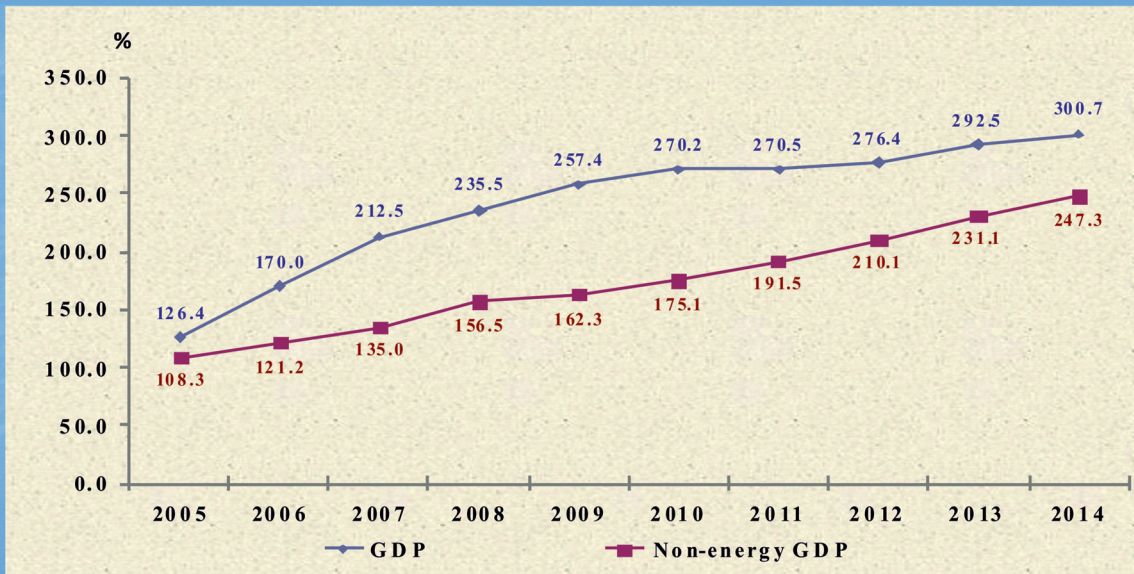
Globally, the supply of renewables is not limited by the availability of resources, but the extent of use of renewables is constrained by geographical and economic factors and currently requires policy support in many regions. The use of renewables will almost double between 2014 and 2040, supported by government policies, technological advances and higher fossil-fuel prices which render renewables more competitive. The share of renewables in primary energy use has remained broadly constant at 13% over the past decade, but it rises sharply to 19% by 2040, driven by the growth in solar and wind energy, which outpaces the growth of all other fuels.

Since 2006, Azerbaijan presents the highest economic growth compared to the other states in region. In 2007, a year after oil exports began, Azerbaijan's GDP grew by a record rate of 35%.



## AZERBAIJAN: GEOECONOMIC AND ENERGY OUTLOOK

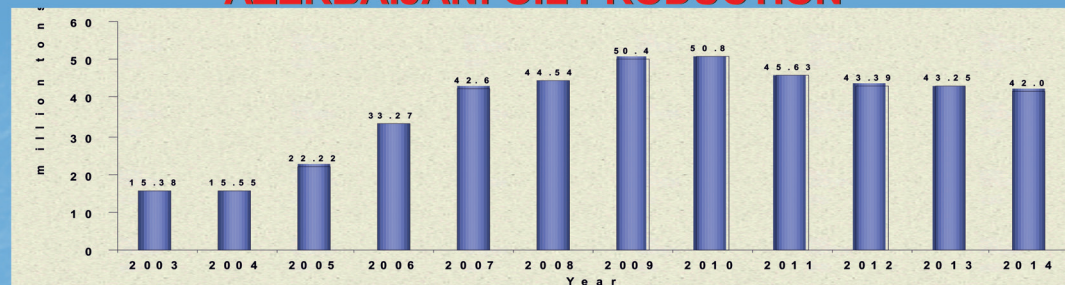
### GDP Growth, %, 2004 = 100%



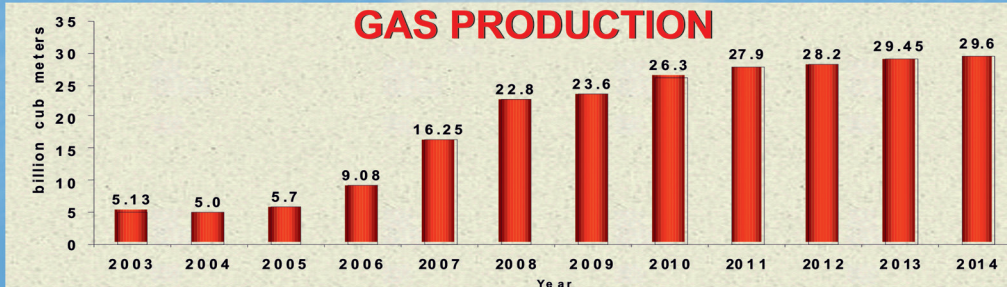
Azerbaijan is one of the very few countries outside OPEC that has increased its conventional oil output since 2000 and was the largest contributor to the non-OPEC supply growth during last seven years.

In our region, Azerbaijan holds the largest crude oil refining capacity with 22 million tons. Among twelve Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) countries, only Azerbaijan and Russia have become net exporters of crude oil, oil products and natural gas. Azerbaijan has 7 bln barrels of proven recoverable reserves of oil and 2,6 trillion cubic meters of natural gas, which are estimated much higher.

## AZERBAIJAN: OIL PRODUCTION



## GAS PRODUCTION



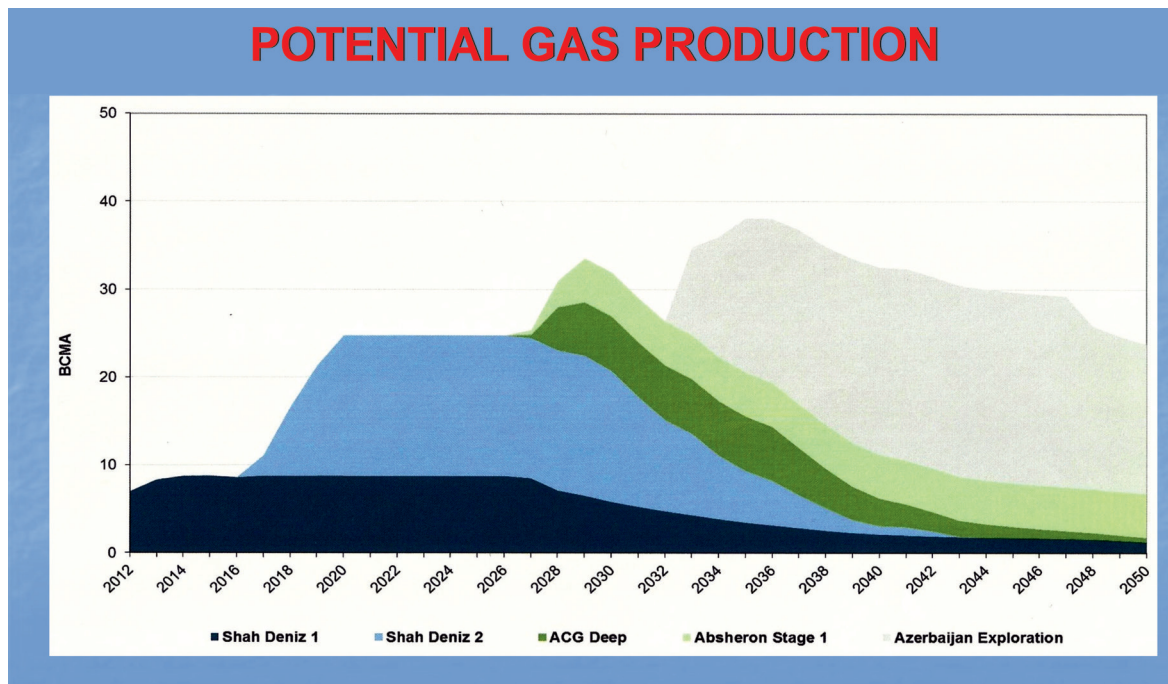
In 2014, 42 mln. tons of crude oil and 29.6 bln cubic meters of natural gas was produced in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan provides 100% of its gross energy consumption through domestic production and does not depend on foreign resources in the energy sector.

Azerbaijan increased its annual oil and gas production owing to the successful implementation of upstream mega projects such as the development of Azeri-Chirag-Gunashli oil block where recoverable reserves reach over 925 mln tons of oil, and Shah Deniz gas condensate field where recoverable reserves reach 1.2 trillion cubic meters of natural gas. Azerbaijan plans to stabilize oil supply at the rate of 1 mln barrels per day. The increase in gas production over the coming years is mainly associated with the stepped-up development of Shah Deniz field, a hike in gas production from the shallow portion of Gunashli, the volumes of associated gas and development of deep-seated free gas reserves from the Azeri-Chirag-Gunashli fields, as well as with development newly discovered Umid and Nakchivan gas fields. Gas export is planned to be increased gradually up to 30-40 bcm per year.



Azerbaijan is involved in a number of mega projects related to the production of natural gas and its delivery to the European market. For the time being, Azerbaijan is connected via gas pipelines with four neighbors – Russia, Georgia, Turkey and Iran, and currently is realizing practicable supply of natural gas to these countries. At the same time, Azerbaijan has potential to supply gas to Greece and Bulgaria and additional volumes to Russia and Iran. There are plans to considerably enlarge the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum gas pipeline, by increasing its carrying capacity up to 50 bcm, as well as to lay a new Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline towards Europe through Turkey.

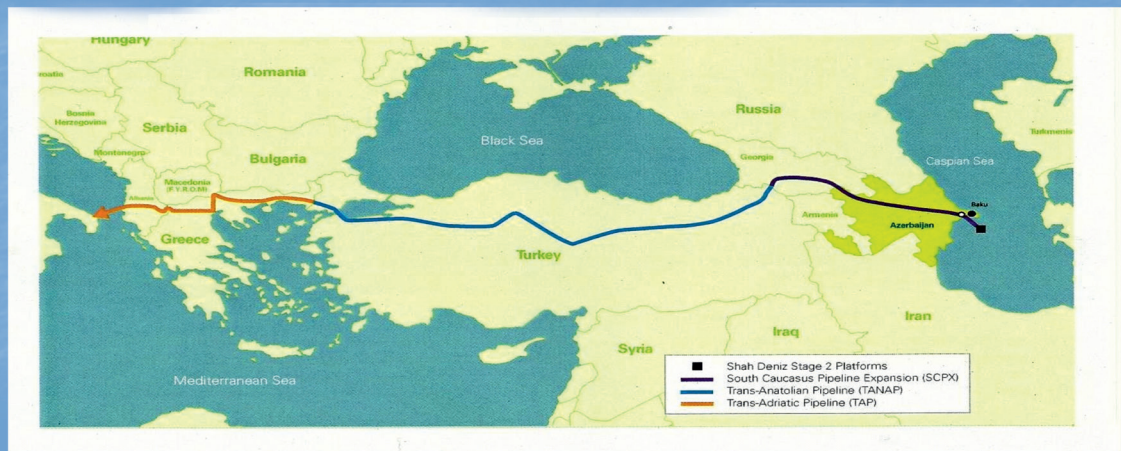
Using the advantages of the geographical location of Azerbaijan at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, its transit capabilities for transportation of energy resources has an exclusive significance. Last year almost 90% of oil, 66% of gas and 42% of solid fuels consumed in the EU were imported, making a daily cost over one billion euros. Russian gas flows through Ukraine were at 82 bcm in 2013 or about half of the Russian imports to Europe and the volumes were sufficiently decreased after beginning of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In this situation, the EU sees the Southern Gas Corridor as key for diminishing the dependency on Russian gas and forging links with Azerbaijan and the Caspian Sea region.



The Southern Gas Corridor with 3500 km in length is a huge project – not only financially, as the cost of this exceeds \$45bn, but also because it is technically a very complex project. The development of Shahdeniz Stage II Project is a keystone of Southern Gas Corridor and will deliver the first sizeable quantities of alternative natural gas to the European market from Caspian region. To this date, only 10% of total 1.2 trillion cubic meters of natural gas reserves of Shahdeniz field have been extracted. Some of the most productive wells in the world are to be drilled, each producing more than 2 bcm per year or 5 mln cubic meters per day.

Azerbaijan is not only implementing the upstream and midstream projects, but also creating infrastructure. The Southern Gas Corridor begins with the South Caucasus Pipeline extension (SCPX), the capacity of which will expand by 25 bcm per year, necessitating the installation of new compressor stations and pipes, as the expansion will be achieved by using the looping system. Then, the new Trans-Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP) will start from the Georgian–Turkish border and continue to the Greek–Turkish border. From there, we will construct the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP).

# TANAP



TANAP project is important not only because it will supply significant volume of gas but also because it is a guarantor of regional and especially the European energy security. The project will contribute to the Georgian and Turkish economies because these are transit countries and will receive revenues. For Turkey it is even more important, not because of the modest transit revenue, but the fact that the additional 6 billion cubic meters of Azerbaijani gas will help to reduce dependence on the Russian gas, which was 58% in 2011. Besides, it is relatively cheaper than Russian and Iranian gas.

The pipeline construction should be complete by 2019, when the first gas will be delivered to Turkey at a rate of 6 bcm per annum. The following year, this will increase to 10 bcm, and gas deliveries to Europe will begin.

The pipeline is designed to have sufficient capacity to carry those resources, but the initial focus will be conveying Azerbaijani gas to the European market. The Southern Gas Corridor will initially deliver up to 25 bcm per annum, but it is designed to carry double that amount.

The world needs to utilize all available energy sources, both fossil fuels and non-fossil fuels, including the nuclear energy and the renewables.

The problem is not with the resources, it is rather about the ways of extracting the resources in an acceptable, ecologically safe and economically effective manner. Indeed, one of the main dimensions to be addressed in oil industry is a huge upward potential in recovery rates as technology improves.

One can conclude that the world is in no need to discover a lot of new resources if we continue to push forward with new technologies and make it possible to economically utilize the resources that already exist.

## THE EU'S ENERGY SUPPLY SECURITY DILEMMA: CAN A SOUTHERN GAS CORRIDOR HELP?

Prof. Dr. Nurşin Ateşoğlu GÜNEY\*

### Abstract

*The new and challenging geo-political changes that are taking place around the EU borders have forced the EU Commission to reassess the Union's current energy supply strategy. At the end of this assessment, it becomes clear that the EU is going to remain one of the largest energy importers in the world, despite the limited resources. According to the International Energy Agency data, the EU's energy dependency is expected to rise to 80% by 2035, from the current 60%. Russian gas and oil currently account for almost 40 percent and 30 percent of the EU needs respectively, while the EU's import bill rose to more than USD551 billion in 2012; according to the EU data, 66 percent of Russian gas imports to the EU is transported via the Ukraine. Especially in the aftermath of the Ukrainian crisis, the EU Commission has already voiced recommendations about how the EU should meet its general energy supply security targets by 2030. Under the current challenging geo-political conditions, there is a real possibility that these targets may be reached by reinvigorating and re-visiting the Southern Gas corridor (SGC) project in conjunction with the introduction of other supplementary means. This paper shall examine the notion of whether the EU may recognize the real benefit of reinvigorating the SGC, which, under current geo-political conditions, represents a great opportunity for the European countries and should be given serious consideration.*

### Introduction

**T**he history of energy in the 20th century was primarily about oil; all efforts were made to find oil, to secure its supply and to bring it to the market at an affordable price. Currently, however, the developed world is using far less oil than previously. Consumption in the OECD, for instance, is in long-term decline; in 2012 the industrialized countries used the same quantities of oil as was consumed in 1995, and European countries have returned to consumption levels last seen in 1967. It is thus possible to say that the decrease in the consumption of oil has become a reality on the ground in terms of the EU's energy quota over the last two or so decades. However, the increasing demand for natural gas and its secure obtainment (at affordable prices) from source countries has become a challenging task, especially given the ongoing turbulence at the heart of the European continent, and, more specifically, the change in the geopolitics in the aftermath of the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation. Today the ongoing crisis between the Ukraine and the Russian Federation has quite clearly had a massive impact on the Euro-Atlantic world's revised security assessments. It is thus of little

\* Head of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey.

surprise that the IR community has already voiced concerns regarding the outbreak of a new Cold War between Russia and the West<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, these very cold relations between Moscow and the West were all but revealed at NATO's Wales Summit Declaration, when the Euro-Atlantic members of NATO decided to suspend all existing civilian and military relations with Moscow. Simultaneously, the EU, along with the US, is currently imposing a fourth round of sanctions against the Russian Federation. Under the impact of the continuing Ukrainian crisis, Brussels has now been obliged to curb its relations with Moscow. What is more striking, in terms of these cool(er) relations with the Russian Federation, the EU, as part of its reaction to the crisis in the Crimea, has halted the South Stream gas pipeline project which would have increased southeastern EU countries' reliance on Russian gas.

The EU today is one of the largest energy importers in the world. "According to data released by the International Energy Agency, the EU's energy dependency is expected to rise to 80 percent by 2035 from the current 60 percent. Russian gas and oil supplies to the EU currently account for almost 40 percent and about 30 percent respectively while the import bill rose to more than USD551 billion in 2012; according to EU data, 66 percent of Russian gas imports to the EU go through the Ukraine"<sup>2</sup>. The EU's relation with Russia in 1990s was one that favored Brussels due to Russia's overwhelming dependence on EU energy demands. However, after the end of the 1990s, the bilateral Brussels-Moscow relationship turned into a form of mutual interdependency, due to Brussels' increasing energy consumption<sup>3</sup>. In the midst of today's tense relations, both Brussels and Moscow are trying to decrease their dependencies on one another in various ways – either through diversification of source countries or of transit routes, and by increasing storage capacities, by the use of LNG etc. However, the fact remains that the EU has yet to overcome its dependency on Russia in meeting its demand for hydrocarbon imports. Russia, on the other hand, has attempted to increase and accelerate its openings in the Asian hydro-carbon market, with, for instance, the recent conclusion of a 400 billion dollar Russian-Chinese gas deal. Russia, nevertheless, continues to be dependent on its EU energy exports, which account for nearly half of its GDP. Hence, the Russian annexation of the Crimea has resulted in cooler relations between Moscow and Brussels and seems to have triggered the need for an urgent European decision on how to secure EU energy supplies and make them more competitive and sustainable, using both long- and short-term measures. The reason behind this decision is surely linked to the current EU energy system that has been introduced in certain areas – namely, the EU energy Security Policy of 2020 – but which still lags behind in certain other areas.

<sup>1</sup> Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney, "Post Wales Summit: Can NATO Cope with Rising Security Problems?", BİLGESAM, <http://www.bilgesam.org/en/incele/1819/-post-wales-summit--can-nato-cope-with-rising-security-problems-/#.VCunYCxrNLO>, last visited on 29 September 2014.

<sup>2</sup> "EU should prioritize Southern Gas Corridor", Anadolu Agency, 11 April 2014, <http://www.aa.com.tr/en/economy/312692--eu-should-prioritize-southern-gas-corridor>, last visited on 12 September 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Tom Casier, "The Rise of Energy to the Top of the EU-Russia Agenda: From Interdependence to Dependence?", *Geopolitics*, Routledge, 5 August 2011, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp.536-552.

The current instability on the two flanks of the Euro-Atlantic world – the continuing crisis in eastern Ukraine together with the conflicts in Syria and Iraq – would suggest that accomplishing the energy targets set by the Commission for 2030 will be a challenging task for the EU. Hence, under the current geo-political conditions, it is imperative that Brussels act in the (politically and economically) most rational way. Thus, under the present conditions, it is worth taking into consideration some energy experts' remarks about EU's current energy supply security. For instance, London-based Chatham House think tank expert Antony Froggatt states that, "the EU should push for the completion of the Southern Gas Corridor projects, one of which, TANAP, passes through Turkey"<sup>4</sup>. According to Froggatt, the main issue that lies ahead for the SGC is to find and secure the necessary financial resources as a precursor to the realization of its related projects<sup>5</sup>. In these turbulent regions, Turkey, along with Azerbaijan, remains to be the area of relative stability that is expected to play a critical role in the transportation of gas from the Caspian basin to European markets. Of course, this effort does not exclude other alternatives that the EU should be exploring in order to achieve the EU Commission's ambitious energy security targets for 2030. This short paper therefore examines where the EU stands today in terms of its imminent energy security challenges, especially given the impact of today's geo-political challenges. Hence, a particular focus in this regard will be given to what Brussels can do in terms of main objective of overcoming in the future its dependency on imported energy.

### European Energy (inter)dependency: Where to?

Having witnessed gas shortages in some member states, it was only natural for the EU to reinvigorate its energy security policy in the 2000s, specifically in the aftermath of the 2006 and later 2009 Ukrainian crises. Especially, in the aftermath of these two gas crises, the mutual interdependency between Moscow and Brussels surely played a crucial role in forcing the EU to take several important initiatives that aimed at preventing any future gas shortages, which is why the EU Commission, with the aim of preventing any likely disruptions to the deliveries of natural gas to Europe from Russia via the Ukraine, published the 2006 Green Paper<sup>6</sup> on energy security. In issuing this Green Paper, the EU Commission in fact acknowledged that a great challenge lay before Europe in the field of energy security. However, the same Commission has also brought two solutions into fore, believing that they may be a remedy to this problem. In accordance with the first proposal, it was suggested European states develop a common energy strategy for Europe. In the second proposal, EU countries were simultaneously advised to invest in new energy forms –such as renewables etc. – so that they could reduce the Union's overall dependence on imported fossil fuels. It is true that, since that date the EU Commission, so as to lessen its dependency on Russian gas, took several more important initiatives, notable amongst which is the November 2009 'Southern Corridor-New

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Robert M. Cutler, "The Role of the Southern Gas Corridor in Prospect for European Security Strategy", Caspian Report, No. 6, Winter 2014, pp. 28-42.

Silk Road' made public at the EU's May 2009 Summit in Prague. The Southern Gas Corridor initiative that was first introduced at the EU Commission's Communication 'Second Strategic Energy Review – An EU Security and Solidarity Action Plan' (COM/2008/781) in fact aimed to bring in a diversified gas supply from either the Caspian or the Middle Eastern regions to Europe<sup>7</sup>. The European Union in this regard has identified a number of partner countries that could represent a new supply source of energy under the rubric of this initiative, many of which are located in the Caspian region and including countries such as Azerbaijan, Turkey, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Iraq, Egypt, the Mashreq countries, Uzbekistan and Iran. The EU with this initiative made certain that the potential gas resource countries in the Middle East (such as Iran and Iraq) or those in the Caspian region (such as Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) could be part of the Southern Gas corridor if and when political conditions prove conducive to such an agreement. As part of the EU's new energy resource diversification strategy, the SGC has decided to launch three new pipelines (the ITGI interconnector, the Nabucco and the White Stream) that are expected to be of great strategic importance in the Union's Trans-European Networks Energy (TEN-E) project. Until now, it was only a part of the ITGI pipeline project (Turkey-Greece Interconnector) that was completed. Whereas, the two other pipelines projects like Nabucco and White Stream have not been accomplished. What is more interesting, however, is that although the Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP) was not initially a part of the EU's TEN-E framework, over time it has taken the place of the Anatolian section of the planned Nabucco pipeline. TANAP has thus finally been able to replace Nabucco's projected role in transporting Azerbaijani gas to Europe. The expectation at the inception of the EU's SGC project was to obtain approximately 100 billion cubic meters per year (bcm/y)<sup>8</sup>. This amount is roughly equal to the little less than 20% of the EU's European countries' current consumption. What is more important in the EU's latest 'Energy Security project for 2035' is the need to diversify amongst resource-rich Middle Eastern and Caspian basin countries such as Azerbaijan, Turkey, Georgia, Turkmenistan; the possibility of having Iran and Iraq join the SGC are also mentioned in this document, again provided the political conditions are suitable. Presently, on the eve of ongoing crises and instability in the Levant and the Middle East, Azerbaijan and its rich gas reserves seem to be best available alternative for TANAP, which will carry Azerbaijani gas via Turkey to TANAP's starting point, namely Greece. In today's challenging Middle East landscape, Turkey stands out as the most reliable transit country connecting the Balkans to the Caspian basin, two regions that are potential areas of stability and peace for now and the foreseeable future. TANAP in this regard represents an important catalyst that may provide and supply a net gain for the countries involved – especially among the countries of the Balkans and the Caspian basin – in that it has the capacity to create a win-win mindset instead of the generally accepted zero-sum mentality.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Over the next 20 years, one of Turkey's objectives is to be in a central role in the transporting of 100 billion cubic meters of gas to Europe. Therefore, Ankara wishes to increase in phases TANAP's capacity from a projected 16 billion cubic meters in 2018 to 31% and 50% respectively. "Türkiye Avrupa'ya yıllık 100 milyar metreküp doğal gaz iletmeyi hedefliyor", Enerji Enstitüsü, 3, 10, 2014, last visited on 31 September 2014.



Currently, the EU, being on the demand side of the energy security equation, has for some time been trying to assure and maintain a secure supply of energy for the well-being of its citizens as well as for its economy as a whole. The main emphasis of the EU is to acquire and maintain energy supplies in an uninterrupted way and at affordable prices, with the added requirement that the acquisition and transference of these supplies be environmentally friendly. It is clear, however, that despite numerous efforts by the EU to overcome its energy dependency, it has not yet managed to realize this aim. According to BP, European states' energy demands are expected to fall by 6% by 2035, but the Union's dependency on imports is expected to remain constant at around 55% of the total. What is more striking is that, again in line with the BP's energy forecasts for 2035, the EU is expected to take over the role of the world's largest energy-importing region from China by 2030, but this will not change the crucial reality that the Union will remain the largest net importer of natural gas by the same year<sup>9</sup>. This reality also does not affect the EU's determination to acquire and implement an energy-security strategy that is competitive, secure and sustainable at the same time. That is why in 2014 the EU launched various ambitious initiatives to meet its most coveted objectives in this regard. One of the main priorities of the EU in launching the European Commission 2014 policy framework for climate was of course related to the Union's desire for a low-carbon economy in the course of its overall efforts to attain an energy-supply security strategy. With this new policy framework scheduled for 2014, the EU wanted to ensure both affordable energy for all European consumers while simultaneously increasing the security of the EU's energy supply; the hope is that this initiative will help reduce the Union's overall dependence on energy imports. Moreover, by introducing this European Commission 2014 policy framework for climate, the EU also aims to create new opportunities for growth and jobs for the European public in general<sup>10</sup>.

Of particular note is the fact that the 2030 policy framework for climate and energy proposed by the European Commission for the benefit of the EU's economy and energy system delineates the same objectives as the 2014 policy framework for climate. In actuality, the targets determined in the 2030 framework were actually based on and inspired by the EU's previous climate and energy targets set for 2020, and still in force<sup>11</sup>. However, the targets that were put forward for 2030 by the EU Commission do seem more ambitious than those set for 2020. Among all, the centerpiece of the framework is focused on achieving a reduction by 2030 in EU domestic greenhouse gas emissions of 40% below 1990 levels<sup>12</sup>. This climate and energy target set for 2030 was launched with the view that renewable energy will play a key role in the EU's overall energy security strategy, especially in making and facilitating the anticipated

<sup>9</sup> "BP Energy Outlook 2035, January 2014", [http://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/Energy-economics/Energy-Outlook/Energy\\_Outlook\\_2035\\_booklet.pdf](http://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/Energy-economics/Energy-Outlook/Energy_Outlook_2035_booklet.pdf), last visited on 13 September 2014.

<sup>10</sup> "2030 Framework for Climate and Energy Policies", [http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/2030/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/2030/index_en.htm), last visited on 15 September 2014.

<sup>11</sup> "The 2020 Climate and Energy Package", [http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/package/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/package/index_en.htm), last visited on 10 September 2014.

<sup>12</sup> By setting this 40% target below the 1990 level by 2030 EU is actually aims to become able to engage actively in the negotiations on a new international climate agreement that should expected to take effect in 2020.

transition towards a competitive, secure and sustainable energy system. In this regard, the European Commission has set a target of increasing the share of renewable energy by at least 27% of energy consumption by 2030. Likewise, the European Commission, with the same determination to have a competitive, secure and sustainable energy policy, has also proposed a target of a 30% reduction-savings - in energy by 2030. This newly proposed efficiency target has, in fact, been built on the achievements of the previously declared targets of 20%<sup>13</sup>. For instance, in most of Europe, the newly constructed buildings are now using half of the amounts used in the 1980s, whilst industry is also using 19% less energy than used in 2001. In line with the EU's new energy policy, the Union's CO2 emissions are expected to drop by more than a quarter as natural gas and renewables will increase their share of European energy consumption. In this context, by 2023, renewables are expected to replace nuclear energy as the dominant source of power generation, making up 37% of the EU's energy production. According to the estimations, this far-reaching shift in energy diversification is expected to demonstrate its true worth by 2035. However, these numbers are not expected to make a radical change in the future of the EU's energy supply security reality on the ground, which is expected to persist for some time. For instance, according to BP forecasts for 2035, the decrease in the EU's energy consumption is set to continue because of the strong growth in renewables but this will not change the reality that Europe's dependency on energy imports will remain at nearly the same levels as today. In this regard, in 2035 fossil fuels are expected to account for about only 67% of the EU's overall European energy consumption, in contrast to a figure of 77% in 2012. According to the EU Commission, "The EU is currently highly energy dependent because it [still] nearly imports 53% of all the energy it consumes at a cost of more than one billion euros per day." Its import dependency is particularly high on for crude oil (more than 80%) and natural gas (66%) as well as to uranium (95%)<sup>14</sup>. These figures are clear evidence that EU is still open and vulnerable to external energy shocks.

Today, especially in the wake of the crisis caused by the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation, a great deal of concern over the Union's energy security has surfaced, especially among some member states. European capitals that have twice experienced the serious negative effects of dependency on gas imports – as in the winters of 2006 and 2009 when gas shortages were experienced – are expected to fare well for the immediate short term because European countries do not overly depend on Russian gas during the summer months. Moreover, the mild winter has also been a boon for European countries trying to boost storage capacities. According to Richard Mallison, EU member states at present have 36 bcm of gas stored, about 15 bcm more than last year<sup>15</sup>. However, with this amount of stored gas, in the event of Russia shutting down gas pipelines that go through the Ukraine, European countries would only be immune for a few weeks, a few months at best. But, in the

<sup>13</sup> "The 2020 Climate and Energy Package"..., *ibid*.

<sup>14</sup> "Energy: Security of Energy Supply", [http://ec.europa.eu/security\\_of\\_supply\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/security_of_supply_en.htm), last visited 20 August 2014.

<sup>15</sup> "BP Energy Outlook 2035, January 2014"..., *ibid*.

case of a prolonged disruption of gas flows from Russia, one that is imposed for months or even years, Europe's vulnerability will reach critical levels, as half of all Russian gas flows to Europe pass through the Ukraine. This is why the European Union, so as to respond to and avert any likely negative effects of the Ukrainian crisis on Europe's energy security system, called on the EU Commission in March 2014 to conduct an in-depth study of the current situation and hence bring up a comprehensive plan on how to reduce EU energy dependence on Russia. Thus, the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation and the ensuing cooling of relations between Moscow and Brussels really seem to have triggered a European decision to secure the EU energy supply and make it more competitive and sustainable, via the use of both short and long term measures. The reason behind this decision is undoubtedly linked to the current EU energy situation (forecast in the EU energy Security Policy of 2020), which is making progress in certain areas whereas in some areas it still lags behind. Currently, a huge discrepancy exists among the 28 members of the Union in areas such as storage, interconnection, diversification and efficiency. Of course, another important issue that remains highly divisive among the member states of the EU is shale gas. All in all, the European states are still vulnerable to external energy shocks and the continuing Ukrainian crisis and the likely disruption of gas supplies from Russia via the Ukraine is actually exacerbating this situation. Moreover, many member states in Europe still heavily depend on a single supplier – in this case, the Russian Federation – for their natural gas supplies. Of the six 28 EU members that rely on Russian natural gas, the figures read thus: Lithuania 100%, Estonia 100%, Latvia 100%, Finland 100%, Bulgaria 89%, Slovakia 83% and Hungary 80%. Worst of all, the three Baltic States of the EU still depend on a single external operator for the operation and balancing of their electricity network. In the aftermath of mild winter, some states in Europe managed to boost their stored gas. For instance, Latvia, among the luckier ones, managed to store at least a year's worth of natural gas, whereas others, such as Macedonia, managed very little in comparison. In reality, faced with the prospect of gas shortages, obtaining gas from source countries is an imminent necessity, although under the current conditions, Europe's pipeline grid is not suited to meet this urgent need, despite the progress made by some EU states in this area. But, even if the present EU states' interconnector problem is solved in time, if the required amounts of gas supplies are not supplied/delivered to feed the interconnectors on the European continent, then the European countries' current vulnerability against any likely gas shortages would remain an urgent issue<sup>16</sup>. That is why, so as to find an answer to any likelihood of disruptions to the energy supply, the European Commission has recently developed a plan of action that involves both emergency plans as well as back-up mechanisms, and includes both short and long term measures that would enable the EU to cope with possible energy security and supply risks<sup>17</sup>. Among the short term objectives are increasing current stocks

<sup>16</sup> "European Energy Security: Concious Uncoupling", Economist, 5 April 2014, <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21600111-reducing-europes-dependence-russian-gas-possible-but-it-will-take-time-money-and-sustained>, last visited on 22 September 2014.

<sup>17</sup> "Energy: Security of Energy Supply", [http://ec.europa.eu/energy/security\\_of\\_supply\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/energy/security_of_supply_en.htm), last visited On 17 September 2014.

of gas stocks, developing emergency infrastructure such as reverse flows and reducing short term energy demand, together with the option of switching to alternative fuels. The EU Commission has also delineated numerous additional areas of action as medium- to long-term objectives, with the express purpose of overcoming possible long-term risks. The first proposal was based on increasing European states' energy efficiency in line with the proposed energy and climate goals for 2030. The first priority in this regard was given to buildings and industry that normally use 40% and 25% of the Union's energy respectively. Moreover, the necessity of informing consumers about the important details of energy consumption was also underlined – for instance, smart energy meters were mentioned as a possible measure that would inform the public. In its second crucial proposal, the EU Commission underlined the necessity of dealing with the security requirements of the Union's overall energy supply<sup>18</sup>. The EU in this regard has emphasized the need to increase indigenous means of energy production via Union – renewables and other means in this case<sup>19</sup> - as well as intensify efforts to increase and diversify the supplier countries and supply routes. In this regard, conducting effective negotiations both with the EU's existing energy partners – Norway, Russia and Saudi Arabia – together with new partners such as those from the Caspian basin were mentioned as unavoidable necessities if the EU is to overcome its current and future energy security dependency. Furthermore, in its third proposal, the EU Commission pointed out the necessity of constructing a common internal energy market<sup>20</sup> among member states as a prerequisite (whilst simultaneously building the infrastructure that is needed for the realization of just such a common market) of guaranteeing the EU's overall energy security objectives in the medium- to long-term period. In this context, the EU Commission has advised EU member states to strengthen their emergency and solidarity mechanisms. In this regard, the EU has drawn attention to the need for coordination between the member states in order to protect critical infrastructure; such coordination can and may include the use of existing storage facilities, the development of reverse flows, the conduct of risk assessments and, last but not least, the implementation of secure supply plans that could be used at both the regional and the supranational level. Lastly, the Commission also touched upon a very important point that had been, for a number of reasons, lacking until then among the member states. It is well known that, until recently, speaking with one voice in the EU about the Union's external energy policy was one of the thorniest issues facing the EU, and one that many times hindered Brussels' attempts at securing and guaranteeing its energy security supply in the most effective manner possible<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Here, the further development of renewables and sustainable production of fossil fuels together with nuclear energy were stated as the means of increasing the Union's own energy production.

<sup>20</sup> In 2007, the EU Commission decided upon the creation of a common internal energy market. According to the 3rd Energy Package at the end of 2014, 14 countries in the northwestern region of Europe are expected to complete the integration of their energy markets. Currently, there are six other geographical markets that the EU is expected to operate. However, not all of the markets have recorded the same pace of development as the northwestern regional market. In this regard, the southeastern regional market, for instance, still lags behind.

<sup>21</sup> "European Energy Security: Concious Uncoupling"... , ibid.

## Conclusion

All in all, by issuing the 'European Energy Security Strategy' in 2014, the EU once again highlighted the main problems and deficiencies among its 28 members, issues that may well be a hindrance in achieving a secure, competitive and sustainable energy supply. Under the present conditions, despite the previous and current achievements of the EU's energy and climate policies and strategies, there seems to be a long way to go to before the Union can overcome its dependency on overseas energy sources, especially in the domain of fossil fuels. According to *The Economist*, the EU's newly-stated aim of achieving both short and long term objectives by 2030 can only be accomplished if sufficient political will and courage exists among the 28 members of the Union<sup>22</sup>. It is clear that this new ambitious EU energy strategy for the future cannot be achieved without massive financial expenditure and the procurement of advanced technology. Hence, the jury is still out on the question of whether or not the EU can successfully fulfill its highly ambitious energy projections for the future – with 2030 as the 'deadline'.

In the midst of the Ukrainian crisis, the EU Commission has already expressed its recommendations regarding how the EU should meet its general targets regarding energy security by 2030. Under the current geo-political conditions, and given the EU's scope of operations, there is a possibility that these EU targets could be achieved by reinvigorating and re-visiting the SGC project, in tandem with the introduction of other supplementary means, of course. Hence, the idea of reinvigorating the SGC nowadays represents a great opportunity for the European countries, one that deserves serious consideration.

<sup>22</sup> Energy: Security of Energy Supply"..., ibid.

## THE KHOJALY MASSACRE: AFTER 23 YEARS STILL NEGLECTED

Krševan Antun DUJMOVIĆ\*

### Abstract

*During the bloody ordeal that occurred on February 26, 1992, Armenian forces slaughtered 613 Azerbaijanis, including 106 women, 63 children, and 70 elderly people, with 487 victims suffering severe injuries, 1,275 inhabitants were taken hostage, while the fate of 150 persons is still unknown, 6 families were completely wiped out, placing the Khojaly massacre among the most brutal war crimes on the turn of century. Massacre in Khojaly is a landmark event that symbolizes the ongoing occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh and surrounding areas, integral parts of Azerbaijan. It was followed by the expulsion of more than one million Azerbaijanis and other non-Armenians from this area and nearby Armenia. The perpetrators of this crime are still at large and the crime has been largely neglected by the international community. Some states are reluctant to stir the fragile truce in the South Caucasus and others are hosting big and influential Armenian communities, which are still not ready to accept the fact that some of their countrymen have been involved in war crimes and that Nagorno-Karabakh is a region within internationally recognized borders of Azerbaijan. The ongoing impunity adds to the gravity of the intolerable situation in which over 20% of the Azerbaijani territory is still occupied by the Armenian forces. Nevertheless, the number of states around the globe recognizing and commemorating the Khojaly massacre as genocide is growing.*

### Introduction

The very name of Azerbaijan is mostly associated with words like “oil” and “gas”. The country, squeezed between the two big neighbours Russia and Iran, has indeed a vast reservoir of energy resources, and due to its independence in 1991, the country has been able to fuel its economy on oil revenues. Some people will also remember that Azerbaijan hosted the 57th Eurovision song contest back in 2012, and in June, 2015 the country will be hosting the first European Games which will see more than 6 thousand European sportsmen from 49 countries flock to the Azerbaijani capital Baku. Due to its strategic location on crossroads of different cultures, Azerbaijan is a country open to foreign influences and home to distinct ethno-religious groups, and most recently many Westerners who are scouring the country in oil and gas rush. But the public in the West seems to be unaware of the facts that one fifth of the country’s territory is occupied and many war crimes were committed including the notorious Khojaly massacre in the process of snatching the land from Azerbaijan.

### Prelude to the massacre in Khojaly

Little is known about the break-away region of Nagorno-Karabakh which is located in the western part of Azerbaijan makes up 20% of the country’s territory along with surrounding

\* PhD candidate at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb University.

areas. Nagorno-Karabakh is not far from the Armenian border and the Armenians have been controlling the area for over 20 years now. The region of Nagorno-Karabakh, along with the seven adjacent regions, was for centuries home to various ethno-religious groups, including not just Azerbaijanis, but also Kurds and Meskheti Turks. Virtually all non-Azerbaijani population was ousted by advancing Armenian troops from this corner of Azerbaijan.

During the nineties international community was unable to prevent the war that went on from 1988 to 1994 and thus protect the more than one million Azerbaijanis that have been forced to leave their homes in Nagorno-Karabakh, its surroundings and in Armenia and seek refuge in Baku and other part of Azerbaijan. Twenty years after the ceasefire, which has “frozen”<sup>1</sup> the conflict, an end to the Armenian occupation is not at sight, with skirmishes occurring regularly along the line dividing the Azerbaijanis and Armenians. The international community has not been demonstrating the will to take up concrete measures to broker a peace deal and allow Azerbaijan to reintegrate its territories peacefully. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), scattered around Azerbaijan, have not on the other hand been fully integrated into the Azerbaijani society, as both the government in Baku and IDPs still hope that the latter will be able to go to their homes.

Hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijanis were expelled from their homes, and in the process of ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Armenian forces, a number of Azerbaijanis have not been able to find salvation in the regions stretching eastwards from Nagorno-Karabakh. The advancing Armenian troops storming into Nagorno-Karabakh have committed numerous war crimes to provoke horror among the local civilian population in order to make them flee. The biggest crime committed against the Azerbaijani civilians was the one that occurred in the night connecting 25th to 26th February 1992 when city of Khojaly, the key strategic point of Nagorno-Karabakh was occupied by the Armenians. The crime took place at the early stage of the war between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis, and that event has marked the whole conflict in which this region fell in the hand of Armenians while Azerbaijanis were forced to abandon their own land.

The Caucasus has been home to various ethnic groups since the dawn of civilization and the local population has been living in a relative peace and harmony during most of the time. It is a mountainous range dividing Europe and Asia and the fertile soil in between highest mountain tops in Europe has been a natural safe haven for the local population in the stages of invading empires, like those of Alexander the Great, or the Romans, Persians, Ottomans and in recent history the Russian and Soviets. Things have dramatically changed with the arrival of Russians as the northern neighbours often used their “divide and rule” policy to get hold of this strategic point dividing the Middle East from Europe, and the Caspian from the Black Sea. This became evident in the Soviet era when borders were drawn in a way that was to allow Moscow to more easily control the area, cutting for instance the region of Nakhchivan in the west bordering

<sup>1</sup> Kamer Kasim, “The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Regional Implications and the peace process”, Caucasus International (Ankara, Moda Ofset Basim Yayin), 2012, No:1, Vol.2, p. 94.

Turkey as an exclave divided from the rest of Azerbaijan, which benefited the Armenians who were traditionally protégés of the Muscovites. With the Soviet policies of “glasnost” and “perestroika”<sup>2</sup> yielding no result and the Soviet Union collapsing, the Armenian majority living in Nagorno-Karabakh decided to opt for succession from Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijanis have responded to this Armenian initiative and conflict soon broke out, with the Soviets trying to quell this unrest the way they were trying to do for decades. Finally, in 1991 the USSR collapsed and the new republics emerging from the disintegrating giant decided to take a new direction, out of the Kremlin’s control. The collapse of the USSR had triggered the military campaign of Armenians against Azerbaijan, as the Republic of Armenia incited and supported the Armenian population in Azerbaijan to break away.

### **The fall of Khojaly and the following massacre**

At the beginning of 1992 the military operations had intensified and the Armenians decided to take over Khojaly, a city in Nagorno-Karabakh with a majority of Azerbaijani population. Khojaly was the key strategic point for the Armenians who have been pushing to take control of the whole territory. Khojaly is located on a vital route linking the central parts of the region and its capital Khankandi to the eastern parts of Nagorno-Karabakh bordering central regions of Azerbaijan. Taking Khojaly over would have secured Khankandi, the Armenian stronghold and opened the door for full control over the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The strategic importance of Khojaly was amplified by the fact that the only airport in Nagorno-Karabakh was located near the city. For all these reasons the advancing Armenian forces have decided to seize Khojaly irrespective of its cost and make a clear statement in the process that their goal is to take control of the whole region which would cease to be home for the Azerbaijani population. “The facts prove that the intentional extermination of the Azerbaijanis living in the Khojaly town was directed at their mass extermination only because of their nationality. Khojaly was chosen on purpose as a starting point for further hostilities, invasion and the ethnic cleansing on the Azerbaijani lands”<sup>3</sup>. Further to this, the UN report states that “the purpose of ethnic cleansing is to install terror among civilian population, in order to cause them to flee and never return”<sup>4</sup>.

At the beginning of 1992, the siege of Khojaly was almost completed and the defending Azerbaijani forces along with the civilians have found themselves almost entirely blocked by both the Armenians and the Soviet 366th Regiment<sup>5</sup>. Water supplies were turned off and power

<sup>2</sup> Farhad Mehdiyev, Irada Bagirova, Gulshan Pashayeva & Kamal Makili Aliyev, “Legal status of autonomies in USSR: Case of Nagorno-Karabakh’s Autonomous Oblast”, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Ata Atun, “Principal Actors of Khojaly Genocide”, International Journal of Academic Research, Near East University & SAMTAY Foundation, Nicosia, Vol. 3. No. 4. July, 2011, II Part, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Bassiouni, M.C. International Criminal Law: Sources, Subjects, and Contents. 3rd edn (Leiden:Koninklijke, 2008), p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> “Armenian troops strengthened by 366th Mechanized Infantry Regiment of the Russian Army attacked the town Khojaly on the night of February 25, 1992 and occupied the defenseless town in 36 hours committing one of the most heinous, ruthless and bloody crime in the human history (15). The 2nd battalion of the 366th regiment under the command of Major Oganyan Seyran Mushegovich, now the Defence Minister of the illegal regime in Daghlig Karabakh, the 3rd battalion under the command of Yevgeniy Nabokhin, the staff chief of the 1st Battalion Chitchyan Valeriy and more than 50 officers and ensigns, serving in the regiment took part in the attack.” See in: Ata Atun, “Principal Actors of Khojaly Genocide”, p.2.



lines cut off, as well as food supply. Exhausted by the siege and under constant fire from the advancing Armenian forces, the defenders and the surviving locals remaining from the 6 thousand inhabitants that had been living in Khojaly before the campaign against the city, decided to retreat.

Final assault in Khojaly was launched at the night between 25th and 26th February 1992 during which the Armenian forces stormed into the city from three directions shoving the Azerbaijanis, largely civilians, to withdraw in pitch dark and make their gateway through a narrow corridor leading to a nearby village of Nakhichevanik. Before they had succeeded in reaching the village the Armenian soldiers managed to fringe them and open fire from the hill tops encircling the plain around the village. The sparse Azerbaijani soldiers shielding the civilians were immediately slaughtered. Every one of the fleeing soldiers or civilians was executed in the valley near Nakhichevanik, first by the ricocheting bullets fired from the encircling hill tops, and the rest being massacred ones the Armenians stormed among the surviving civilians. “This resulted in the largest massacre of modern times in the Caucasus and Caspian Basin”<sup>6</sup>. During the bloody ordeal the Armenian forces exterminated 613 Azerbaijanis, including 106 women, 63 children, and 70 elderly people<sup>7</sup>, with 487 victims suffering severe injuries. “The purpose of ethnic cleansing by Armenians was to force them to leave their homelands to prevent the growth of Azerbaijanis in the region. Ethnic cleansing always involves violence because people do not leave their homelands voluntarily. They leave if they are forced out, sometimes in most brutal fashion using hunger, disease, and the pains of displacement. The method of ethnic cleansing includes coerced departure, harassment to induce departure, cultural cleansing, payment for expulsion, etc.”<sup>8</sup> It also needs stressing that the advancing Armenian forces during the annihilation of Khojaly have breached the international law and violated Geneva conventions and the articles 2, 3, 5, 9, and 17 of the Declaration of Human Rights which were adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948<sup>9</sup>. During the offensive in Nagorno-Karabakh and the subsequent crimes committed there “the Armenian elite had held the power to stop the ethnic violence if they wished, and they did not; instead, they emotionally provoked ethnic war in order to create a domestic political context in which ethnicity is the only politically relevant identity”<sup>10</sup>. The role of the Armenian elites was also negative during the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh as “they influenced the course of ethnic relations in several ways. Elites ignited hatred by manipulating information through media, using nationalist myths as a reference, and acting as reminders of past and present victimizations”<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> See Human Rights Watch 2004 Report. Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1993/WR93/Hsw-07.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> “The fall of Khojaly may not number in the thousands, but the victims were as innocent as newborn babies, infants, children, girls and woman, elderly people with no arms or even not knowing in any way to use any kind of a weapon.” See in: Ata Atun, “Principal Actors of Khojaly Genocide”, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Nazila Isgandarova, “Rape as a tool Against Women in War, The Role of Spiritual Caregivers to Support the Survivors of an Ethnic Violence”, Crosscurrents, Association for Religion and Intellectual Life, 2013, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> “Khojaly never forgotten”, European Azerbaijan Society, Brussels, 2013, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Kaufman, S., “Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War”, Cornell University Press, 2001, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Petersen, R., “Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, And Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe”, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 3.

### The international community still largely neglecting the massacre

More than two decades after the ceasefire in Nagorno-Karabakh and the massacre in Khojaly, one is still puzzled by the fact that “despite a flurry of international news coverage immediately following the massacre, western media outlets quickly turned their attention to the other major conflict zones of the era, such as the Balkans and Rwanda,” which as a result has the state where “the vast majority of the world’s population knows nothing about Khojaly or the ongoing Armenian–Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict”<sup>12</sup>. Indeed, it seems that the international community and Europe have felt reluctant in recognizing the crimes committed by the Armenian forces in Nagorno-Karabakh war in early nineties: “One question especially troubles when looking at all the international documents on Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the failure of international law: why international community witnessing international crimes and having in its interest their prosecution and prevention, prefer staying blind and silent to such events in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, but on the other hand immediately reacts to the events in Yugoslavia and Rwanda? How is it possible that such atrocious conflict escaped from the eyes of international community? One can only speculate about that”<sup>13</sup>. Although the human rights organizations have been quite clear in identifying the truth about the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the Khojaly massacre, major political powers in the world have been shifting their sight away from this region and the crimes committed there as genocide: “If “more than 600 people were killed intentionally by one group of people on February 26, 1992 in Khojaly, Azerbaijan, why is it that the dominant member states of the international community - specifically the European Union (EU), the Organization of Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE), and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)-have not recognized that massacre as genocide, while only three states, Mexico, Pakistan and Colombia, have already recognized it as such. Global powers do not recognize the case as genocide, not because the killings were not committed at a level of genocide, but because of two key factors: first, confirmation of the occurrence of the genocide does not benefit their international political and economic interests and second, recognition does not benefit their internal political interests defined by interest groups”<sup>14</sup>. It seems that the protection of human rights and rules of international law did not shape the attitude of the international community toward the Khojaly massacre as the “international recognition” of those who “seek to conceal their crimes” is “difficult”, as diplomats are constrained by “Realpolitik strategies that place a higher value on protecting national security than on” human rights”<sup>15</sup>. “Since most states practice variants of Realpolitik, a policy that values... self-interest through the pursuit of power, individual states may be [unsuitable] agents for genocide identification”.

Further to this, while analyzing the war in Nagorno-Karabakh one has to bear in mind the role

<sup>12</sup> “Khojaly never forgotten”, European Azerbaijan Society, Brussels, 2013, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Kamal Makili-Aliyev, “Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict in International Legal Documents and International Law”, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Jeylan Mammadova, “Reasons for the Neglected Khojaly Genocide in the Neglected Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict”, Uluslararası Suçlar ve Tarih, 2013, Say: 14, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Alex Alvarez, “Governments, Citizens and Genocide: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary Approach”, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001, p. 137.

of the Armenian diaspora in the West, especially in France and the United States “which gives Armenia unfair advantage vis-à-vis Azerbaijan in competing for American favor”<sup>16</sup>. Armenian diaspora organizations outnumber Azerbaijani organizations in many of the key political and economic powers around the globe, and the ratio is predominantly negative for the Azerbaijani organizations”. The difference is the largest for France, where Armenian diaspora organizations outnumber the Azerbaijani organizations by a ratio of 250:3. As for the population, the Armenian diaspora is mostly dominant in France, the U.S., Russia, and Israel. With a stronger Armenian political presence in the mentioned countries, it would be difficult to pass any parliamentary resolutions on the Khojaly massacre. In Pakistan and Mexico, where the Armenian presence is comparatively small in size, stronger political activity regarding the Khojaly massacre is possible without much Armenian protest”<sup>17</sup>.

## Conclusion

After the massacre in Khojaly, the war in Azerbaijan was raging for more than two years with Armenian forces capturing almost entirely the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and the seven adjacent regions. In the process the advancing Armenian forces have wiped out the entire Azerbaijani population within the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Around three quarters of a million of Azerbaijanis were expelled from both Armenia and occupied territories of Azerbaijan so the country still hosts one of the highest IDP population per capita in the world according to the UN Department of Public Information. For over twenty years the international community has been turning its attention away from Nagorno-Karabakh and the fact that hundreds of thousands of refugees and IDPs are not in a position to return their homes. Fourteen years after the ceasefire in Nagorno-Karabakh the world saw the war in Georgia, and recently a bloody conflict was ignited in Ukraine, bringing the war frenzy on the doors of Europe. As conflicts in the post-Soviets republics rage, Europe needs to comprehend for how long it is willing to close its eyes in front of the simmering occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh. The Europeans need to realize that resolving the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh is essential for understanding and preventing similar conflicts in its vicinity. Peace and stability in the Caucasus and its surroundings, even by the initiatives of big regional players like Turkey and Russia, cannot be achieved without the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and unanimous worldwide condemnation of the crimes committed there, including the Khojaly massacre. Twenty years after the ceasefire, the integration of Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan, as the only true solution to the conflict, seems to be an imperative for global peace and security. The massacre in Khojaly proved once that impunity is no guarantee of a diplomatic solution, but on a contrary, a source of future conflicts. Therefore, all the culprits of the Khojaly massacre need to face justice in order to achieve a just and long lasting peace in the Caucasus.

<sup>16</sup> Umut Uzer, “Nagorno-Karabakh in Regional and World Politics: A Case Study for Nationalism, Realism and Ethnic Conflict”, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 2, June 2012, p. 246.

<sup>17</sup> Evgeny Finkel, “In Search of Lost Genocide: Historical Policy and International Politics in Post-1989 Eastern Europe”, *Global Society* 24 (1), pp. 51-70. 2010, doi:10.1080/13600820903432027, p. 58.

## THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AFTER THE INDEPENDENCE. WARS, ALLIANCES AND SECURITY DYNAMICS

Gabriele NATALIZIA\*

### Abstract

*After the independence from USSR, the Caucasus subregion became strategic for its role of diaphragm among Europe, the Post-Soviet Space and the Middle East. This condition did not work as a factor of stability for Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, but contributed to exacerbate the ethnic violence and civil conflicts in the period of 1991-1994. In the post-war period this trend was strengthened by the transformation of the subregion to the theatre of confrontation between the great powers present in the surrounding area. Consequently, the Caucasian States, as their international primary goal, pursued to obtain the support of the United States, Russia, Turkey and Iran. Therefore, their international alliances and security dynamics are still deeply connected with guaranteeing domestic order and defending their claim of sovereignty.*

### Introduction

The domestic and foreign politics of States are strictly connected with the international environment, which constitutes the framework of their choices, preferences and strategies. Nevertheless, the direction and strength of its influence does not work in a homogeneous way, but depends on: a) the size and the international status of the State; b) the degree of its exposure to international forces and the magnitude of those forces; c) whether its sovereignty is recognized or not and if within its boundaries the order is stable; d) whether international conditions pose threats or offer inducements for international cooperation <sup>1</sup>.

However, changing the polarity of the international system, this approach has to be applied to different level of analysis. Within the framework of the bipolar system, the superpowers' competition penetrated all regions and the international position of every country was linked to the comparison among the resources and intentions of their political bloc and those of the opponent block (Western bloc vs. Soviet bloc). The system level, indeed, was the unavoidable point of departure for the analysis of every geopolitical area. Conversely, the contemporary unipolar system presents fewer constraints on powers' behavior, lower competition at the global level and more intense political dynamics at the regional one, but without the latter being able to determine significant alterations of global balances. Perceptions and security practices of the actors, in fact, have returned to be organized

\* Researcher of Political Science at the Link Campus University of Rome and director of the online review of geopolitics, international relations and security strategies [www.geopolitica.info](http://www.geopolitica.info)

<sup>1</sup> Jack Snyder, "International Leverage on Soviet Domestic Change", World Politics vol. 42, № 4, pp. 1-30.

around the idea of geographical proximity and distance, according to the classical formulas “my neighbor is my enemy” and “the neighbor of my neighbor is my friend”.

Many scholars, in different way and with different emphasis, advanced the idea of a “regionalization” of the international system <sup>2</sup>. In this perspective the only global political pole to have survived the end of the Cold war - the United States - would be the element of connection among the different macro-areas, acting in process of securitization in all regions of the international system. The regional systems, into which the international one is divided, appear to be very different, both for the actors and for the degree of stability. Those formed by well-established States, such as Europe and North America, are more “ordered” <sup>3</sup>. On the contrary, those composed of States that have recently become independent or that have faced a regime change, appear to be more “disordered”. The overlapping among the consolidation of sovereignty, the State-building and the process of transition constitutes a condition likely to produce instability and, sometimes, war <sup>4</sup>.

The Post-Soviet Space belongs to the second type of regional system and presents unfavorable elements for the political order. It can in turn be subdivided into several subcomplexes, one of which is the Caucasian one, composed by Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia <sup>5</sup>. This paper aims to show how the international environment exacerbated the instability that distinguished this subregion after the independence, highlighting the pillars of the contemporary systems of alliance in the South Caucasus and the current security dynamics.

### The Caucasian Chessboard

The Southern Caucasus’ actors are not only Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia or Russia, as leading country of the wider regional security complex. Because of the geopolitical position of Caucasus as diaphragm among different regions (Europe, Post-Soviet Space, Greater Middle East) and connection between internal seas (Black Sea and Caspian Sea), also the United States, Turkey and Iran play an active and decisive role in these territories.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, “The Lonely Superpower”, *Foreign Affairs* vol. 78, № 2, pp. 35-49; David A. Lake, Patrick M. Morgan (eds), “Regional Order: Building Security in a New World” (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1997); Randall L. Schweller, “Realism and the Present Great Power System: Growth and Positional Conflict over Scarce Resources”, in Ethan B. Kapstein, Michael Mastanduno (eds), *Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies After the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Alessandro Colombo, *La disunità del mondo: Dopo il secolo globale*, (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Barry Buzan, People, “States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations” (Brighton: Wheatsheaf, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> Edward D. Mansfield, Jack Snyder, “Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War” (Cambridge – Mass: MIT Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, “Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security” (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Consequently, the superpower, one great power and two middle powers exert their pressures on this zone, in order to create a sphere of influence. If the former is an “offshore” power, on account of its military presence in the surrounding area, the others can exploit their position of advantage determined by the geographical proximity to the subregion.

However, how can we define the international status of the three Caucasian States? According to the most important definitions of the International Relations theory (IR) it is possible to put them in the category of “minor powers”. This concept is used to describe States that have means of defending only limited interests, whose small dimensions require the pursuit of a limited number of aims, whose area of interest and intervention is circumscribed to subregional context and whose international action is conditioned by the existence of outstanding territorial disputes with neighboring countries, to which the issue of national security is intimately linked <sup>6</sup>. As regards the size of the force, therefore, a minor power is a State unable to make war with a great power on its own and that, because of this weakness, is constantly influenced by the fear of losing its independence <sup>7</sup>. If provided with significant financial resources or a strategic geographical location, a minor power can increase its diplomatic weight in times of peace. However, even in this case, it is never possible for minor powers to promote “a policy whose aim is to unify continents, or rule the high seas, or control the international market. [...] it may be said that the range of their foreign policy is so contracted that they have no interests except the preservation of their independence” <sup>8</sup>.

Within this framework the main political aims of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia have been the shaping of formal and informal alliances and the obtaining of international support in relation to the conflicts that mined the full consolidation of their sovereignty after 1991. In the first two cases we can include the Nagorno-Karabakh war and in the third the wars in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

### **The Caucasus throughout the geopolitical doctrines of great powers**

It is possible to explain the degree of the exposure of Caucasus to international forces and their magnitude by presenting the strategic doctrine of the most important exogenous player of the subregion and its importance within their geopolitical doctrines <sup>9</sup>.

The relaunch of Russia on the international chessboard is summarized by the political formula of “near abroad”. This concept, coined by former Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev,

<sup>6</sup> Maurizio Bazzoli, “Il piccolo Stato nell’età moderna: Studi su un concetto della politica internazionale tra XVI e XVIII secolo”, (Milano: Jaca Book, 1990); Michael I. Handel, *Weak states in the international system*, (London: Frank Cass, 1990).

<sup>7</sup> Amry Vandenbosch, “The Small States in International Politics and Organization”, *The Journal of Politics* vol. 26, № 2, 1964, pp. 293-312.

<sup>8</sup> Martin Wight, “Power Politics” (London: Continuum, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> Gabriele Natalizia, “La seconda indipendenza e il contesto internazionale (1991-2012)”, Gabriele Natalizia, Daniel Pommier Vincelli (eds), “Azerbaijan: Una lunga storia” (Firenze: Passigli, 2012), pp. 91-134.

marked the temporary renunciation to a global projection of the country, but reaffirming the Kremlin's will to restore its influence in the territories of the fourteen Soviet Socialist Republics that had become independent after the collapse of USSR <sup>10</sup>. The project took different forms. From the attempt of Moscow to assume functions of peacekeeping and maintaining political stability in these territories to the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), from the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) to the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU). Without giving up the sphere of hard power, from energy policy to resort to arms (Georgia 2008, Ukraine 2014-2015), Moscow places the three Republics of the Southern Caucasus within a homogeneous security and economic system which includes also the regions of the North Caucasus, still under the authority of Moscow, and on which every external "attention" is regarded as a violation of the principle of non-interference. In addition, the Caucasus, more than other areas, is perceived by Russia as a test ground of its renewed international status of great power and, as such, of its ability to defend the national interest of the country <sup>11</sup>.

For the US, the subregion of the Caucasus had both an "intrinsic" value and an "extrinsic" one. The intrinsic value was linked to the continuation, in the American foreign policy, of the so called "russian prism". The containment of Moscow's renewed power politics, almost since the 2000s, has forced the United States to strengthen its ties with the countries of the new Russian "rimland", formed by the independent Republics that once belonged to the Soviet periphery <sup>12</sup>. On the Russian southern border the progressive consolidation of relations with Azerbaijan and Georgia was functional to challenge Kremlin's project to restore its sphere of influence. Therefore, the US opposed to the concept of "near abroad" the existence of a "shared abroad", whose States could opt for a Western turn instead of a backsliding to the political past. The relations among this group of States have been institutionalized with the foundation of the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (GUUAM) in 2001. Its aim was to coordinate the democratization and security policies of the pro-Western countries in the Post-Soviet Space: Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova <sup>13</sup>. The extrinsic value of the Caucasus, instead, must be connected to the disorder that affects the surrounding territories, transforming it into a bridge-area for the United States. In official documents of the US government, in particular during the George W. Bush's presidency, there was talk of the existence of a macro-region called "Greater Middle East" (or the "New Middle East"), which formed a new "arc of crisis" for Washington. This image served to encompass, within a single political space, the Middle East, the Maghreb, the Republics of the Caucasus,

<sup>10</sup> Carlo M. Santoro (ed), "Nazionalismo e sviluppo politico nell'ex-Urss" (Milano: SPAI, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Marlene Laruelle, "Russian Eurasianism. An Ideology of Empire" (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas J. Spykman, "America's Strategy in World Politics. The United States and the Balance of Power" (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1942).

<sup>13</sup> The organization was renamed GUAM after Uzbekistan de facto left the organization in 2002 and officially in 2005.

Turkey and Iran, the Horn of Africa and the Central Asian States. The use of it highlighted the fact that Washington considered as deeply interconnected the political events of a large group of States not only territorially contiguous, but linked by homogeneous dynamics of power and prestige <sup>14</sup>.

The Caucasus, however, is not only one of the theaters where the renewed confrontation between the United States and Russia takes shape. In fact, it has historically been the confrontation frame between the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire and, with the end of the Cold War, it is once again a geopolitical space important for Turkish foreign policy and for that of Iran. Azerbaijan, particularly, draws the attention of the two States because of the ethno-linguistic ties with the first and the sharing of Shiite confession with the second.

In Turkey, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rebalanced the attitude strictly western oriented foreign policy of Ankara, at least as it was established during the transition from the Empire to Republic <sup>15</sup>. The governments of Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Ahmet Davutoglu gave new importance to the relations with the countries of the Turkic speaking area, because of the arrest of the integration process in the European Union (EU), the disagreements with the United States regarding the use of Turkish bases for the mission in Iraq and the tensions with Israel caused by its relations with the Republic of Cyprus and the incident of the Mavi Marmara. The long-term goal of the AKP government is the creation of a political, economic and cultural center of Turkic speaking people of which Ankara has the leadership. This strategy, which in the West was improperly defined “neo-Ottoman”, follows three separate but complementary “corridors” of strategic depth: a) Syria-Lebanon-Jordan-Egypt; b) Iraq-Persian Gulf countries; c) Azerbaijan-Central Asia. The common element to the three corridors is that Ankara pursues the principle of “zero problems” on the former Ottoman territories and borderlands in the Caucasus, the Middle East and the Balkans. The main distinction, however, is that in the first two it makes use of a review of the “Pan-Islamism”, considering the Muslim religion one of the main aspects combining the culture of these peoples with the Turkish one. In the third, conversely, it makes use of the political formula of the “Pan-Turkism”, supporting the common origin of the Turkic speaking peoples as a vehicle for political unity <sup>16</sup>. In this perspective, Azerbaijan is considered an essential element for the birth of this political-cultural space, forming a bridge between Turkey and the Turkic-speaking countries situated on the opposite shore of the Caspian Sea <sup>17</sup>. The project has been institutionalized with the creation of the Cooperation Council of Turkic-Speaking

<sup>14</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, “The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives” (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

<sup>15</sup> Antonello F. Biagini, “Storia della Turchia contemporanea” (Milano: Bompiani, 2002)

<sup>16</sup> Ahmet Davutoglu, “Alternative Paradigms. The Impact of Islamic and Western Weltanschauungs on Political Theory” (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993).

<sup>17</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu, “Stratejik derinlik. Türkiye'nin uluslararası konumu” (Instabul: Kure Yayınları, 2001)



States (CCTS), which was signed by Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and that wants to imitate the model of the Arab League encompassed among Anatolia, the Caucasus and Central Asia <sup>18</sup>.

Azerbaijan, despite itself, is also included in Iran's "Shiite crescent". With this image, that had much success in the studies of IR, Jordan's King Abdullah II intended to denounce the danger of the Iranian aggressive policies in the Middle East <sup>19</sup>. After 1991, the gap created by the absence of a global superpower rival to American power in this region and in the contiguous areas, opened new spaces to Iran's regional ambitions. The latter tried to legitimize its international action in the name of Islam and the natural opposition of the Islamic peoples to the secular West. However, the double fracture dividing it from most of the peoples of the region, the sectarian one between Sunnis and Shiites and the ethnic one between Arabs and Persians, usually confined Teheran's soft power only to the faithful of the Shia, who are included in a small region resembling a Shiite crescent embracing the eastern Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the center and south of Iraq, southern Lebanon, some strategic cities of Syria, Yemen and northwestern Azerbaijan. By virtue of this lowest common denominator, Teheran supports states led by leaders linked to the Shiite Galaxy (Syria, Iraq), the parties representing this religious component in countries characterized by multi-confessional political freedom (Lebanon) and the communities engaged in an extra-institutional confrontation with established power (Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Yemen) <sup>20</sup>. The final design is the creation of a Shiite political bloc that can take power in the States where it is present, creating an international alliance in the name of religious identity. This should balance American hegemony in the Middle East, countering Israeli military supremacy and stemming the political champions of Sunni Islam, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Azerbaijan is part of the Shiite crescent defined by Tehran. When it regained its independence in 1991, due to the 67% of its about 9 million inhabitants belonging to Shiism, became the world's second shiite-led state after the Islamic Republic of Iran (in terms of relation between religious affiliation and overall population). Nevertheless the laicity is well-rooted among Azerbaijani political parties and society (especially in the urban contexts) and the State respects separation of mosque and public sphere. Beyond sponsoring political proxies, agitators, and activist clergy, the Islamic Republic also employs charities to further its influence on Azerbaijan. At the same time, Tehran maintains clandestine ties to a number of Islamic ethnic groups in the Caucasus that could use as levers of influence over the whole subregion <sup>21</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander Murinson, "The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy", Middle Eastern Studies vol. 42, № 6, pp. 945-964.

<sup>19</sup> Vali Nasr, "La rivincita sciita. Iran, Iraq, Libano: La nuova mezzaluna" (Milano: EGEEA-Università Bocconi Editore, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Graham E. Fuller, Rend R. Francke, "The Arab Shi'a. The Forgotten Muslims" (New York: St. Martin's, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Michael Rubin, "Azerbaijan's Iran problem", in American Enterprise Institute, January 24th 2014, www.aei.org

### Challenged sovereignties and wars: 1991-1994

The confrontation among the geopolitical doctrines of great powers inserted in a context that had already been troubled by violence before the collapse of the USSR and that degenerated with the achievement of independence.

In 1991, Armenia already controlled a portion of Nagorno-Karabakh, which was de jure an integral part of Azerbaijan. The government of Yerevan, however, to avoid the accusation of violating sovereignty, supported the declaration of independence of Stepanakert and the referendum of December 10th, but did not proceed to its international recognition. If in 1991 the fighting remained at a low intensity level, between 1992 and 1994 they developed into an internationalized civil war with Armenia that flanked the troops of the newly self-proclaimed Republic against those of Azerbaijan <sup>22</sup>.

The process of State-building in Azerbaijan was strongly influenced by the evolution of the war, particularly by the loss of territories in its first eighteen months. If President Mutalibov left the scene after the first military reverses, the massacre of Khojaly and the revolt of the Popular Front, the experience of president Elchibey would have had a short life as well. Its managing difficulties in military operations and the growing drama of refugees, in fact, caused the revolt of the army led by General Surat Husseyinov. The former Deputy Prime Minister of the USSR Heydar Aliyev, due to his political legitimacy, was called to mediate between the government and the rebels. After becoming president in 1993 and having restored order, definitively got the loyalty of the army and achieved some military goals, Aliyev reached a ceasefire in Bishkek in 1994. The legacy of the war was heavy. Azerbaijan lost 1/6 of the territory and faced the exodus of a number of refugees from the occupied territories and Armenia that fluctuates, depending on the estimates, from 700,000 to nearly one million <sup>23</sup>. Moreover, in Nagorno-Karabakh the political tension has periodically turned into violence <sup>24</sup>.

On the side of Armenia, however, the substantial military success produced a boomerang effect on its internal order after the end of hostilities. On the one hand, the impossibility to proceed to the annexation of the region exacerbated the national question and strengthened the political and military elite of Nagorno-Karabakh. On the other, the end of the “rally ‘round the flag” effect <sup>25</sup> and the economic crisis caused the de-legitimization of its leadership that found its most dramatic expression in the attack to the National Assembly of 1999 <sup>26</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Andrea Carteny, “Questioni e minoranze nazionali in Azerbaijan: Il Nagorno Karabakh”, in Gabriele Natalizia, Daniel Pommier Vincelli (eds), Azerbaijan: Una lunga storia (Firenze: Passigli, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Aldo Ferrari, “Breve storia del Caucaso” (Roma: Carocci, 2008); Thomas De Waal, “Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War” (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

<sup>24</sup> As in 2005, 2012 and 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Angelo Panebianco, “Guerrieri democratici” (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> Gabriele Natalizia, “XXXX”, Il Politico vol., № 3, 2014.

At the same time, Georgia fought a civil war on several fronts. The first was triggered by the declaration of the state of emergency by President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, after the coup of August 1991 in the USSR, which determined the union of forces that before were his allies with those of his opponents. The confrontation would turn into violence leading to the deposition of the president in 1992. However, the low intensity war that would have resulted dragged on until 1993. The other war fronts in Georgia were those of the secessionist republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. During the presidency of Eduard Shevardnadze, the tensions of 1989-1991 developed into war, whose protagonists were the Georgian army, the troops of the separatist Republics, the warlords' militias and the Russian army (tab. 3). The main legacies of the conflicts, which ended with the defeat of Tbilisi, were the de facto independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the escape of 250,000 refugees from the breakaway territories, the partial destabilization of Adjara <sup>27</sup> and the cyclical upsurge of the conflicts <sup>28</sup>.

### **The geopolitical role of external actors**

Russia and the United States are the actors that had the greatest impact on the domestic order of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. Nonetheless, also Turkey and Iran played an important role in the Caucasian balance of power.

The success of Russian influence in the “near abroad” is linked - in this subregional context, as in others - to the presence of political instability. The most durable relation in the area has been the de facto alliance between Russia and Armenia, legitimated by the traditional role of Moscow as protector of Christians against Muslim populations. Nevertheless, Moscow has never broken its relations with Azerbaijan. Taking advantage of the stalling relations between Baku and Yerevan caused by the “frozen conflict” in Nagorno-Karabakh, Russia sought to establish itself in the role of peace-enforcer and mediator, with the aim of maintaining a contingent in the South Caucasus and increasing its political weight <sup>29</sup>. Concerning the South Ossetia and Abkhazia's crisis, the Kremlin supported the independence of the Republics, ensuring the basis for its military and intelligence penetration in the Georgian territory. Moscow's intervention on behalf of potential secessionist groups was not exclusively motivated by common ethnic identification, but also by pragmatic policy calculations, including where Russia could act and where it could gain some strategical profits, as in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh. Its political approach to the issues of the subregion, therefore, could be summarized by the formula of “no war, no peace”. This slowed down the process of State consolidation in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia and

<sup>27</sup> Thomas De Waal, “The Caucasus: An Introduction” (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>28</sup> In South Ossetia serious violence erupted in 2004 and 2008.

<sup>29</sup> In the Armenian territory, Russia kept its military base in Gyumri, while Azerbaijan rejected the Moscow's proposal.

strengthened Russia's influence in the Caucasus because of its geographical proximity and its political, economic and cultural legacy<sup>30</sup>.

Toward the Post-Soviet Space, the US did not adopt the "conditionality" policies as in Eastern Europe after 1989<sup>31</sup>, connecting the possibility of NATO membership to their adjustment to democratic practices and to free market<sup>32</sup>. Towards the Post-Soviet countries, however, it was made use of a number of forms of "socialization" such as economic assistance and integration into regional alliances. The goal was, in the medium term, the internalization of democratic institutions in the new republics, the intensification of their relationship with the West and, in the long term, their entrance in the area of American influence. From 1992, with the Freedom Support Act, the United States allocated funds for promoting democracy in the post-Soviet space. The Congress, because of the influence of the Armenian-American lobby, with the "section 907" of the Act, banned any direct aid to Baku until the resolution of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. Between 1992 and 2003, Armenia has received 1,406 million of USD and Georgia 1,304 million, while 435 million were destined for internally displaced people in Azerbaijan<sup>33</sup>. At this stage, therefore, Washington established preferential relationships with Yerevan and Tbilisi. Azerbaijan thus faced a substantial international isolation, supported only by Turkey and by the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The US policy has undergone a change of course in the Nineties and Noughties, due to the consolidation of the informal alliance among Russia, Armenia and Iran, to the oil price rally and to the start of the "global war on terrorism". If Yerevan moved away from American projects, Tbilisi continued to be the center of it and Baku was gradually reintegrated. Azerbaijan and Georgia offered logistical support to the NATO mission in Afghanistan took part to the multi-national force in Iraq after 2003 and created a pro-Western connecting territory between the Caspian and the Black seas.

The relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan are extremely close, although the formula "one nation, two States" points out more ethno-linguistic links than the coesion of their policies. However Ankara has been the most important ally of Baku and, in reaction to Armenian military advances in Azerbaijan during the war of 1992-1994, it was the only State that counterbalanced an international environment favourable to Armenia closing its borders since April 1993. Similarly, Ankara has had to tread carefully in its relationship with Tbilisi, which after the Rose revolution of 2003 became the most westward State of Caucasus. The most important outcome of this political triangle was the project of the Baku-

<sup>30</sup> Grigory Ioffe, "Global Studies: Russia and the Near Abroad" (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010).

<sup>31</sup> With the exception of the Baltics. Giovanna MOTTA (ed), *Il Baltico: Un mare interno nella storia di lungo periodo* (Roma: Nuova Cultura, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> Amichai Magen, Leonardo Morlino (eds), "Anchoring Democracy: External Influence on Domestic Rule of Law Development" (London-New York: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Aytan Gahramanova, "Internal and External Factors in the Democratization of Azerbaijan", *Democratization* vol. 16, № 4, 2009; Susan Stewart, *Democracy Promotion and the Colour Revolutions* (London-New York: Routledge, 2012).

Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, realized with the support of the United States and Great Britain, which carries oil from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean Sea bypassing Russia and Armenia<sup>34</sup>. During the 2000s, the partial deterioration of the relations among Turkey led by AKP, the United States and EU fostered a shift from the explicit Western orientation of orthodox Kemalism and the strong containment against Russia, to the more activist “zero-problems”. This framework includes also diplomatic efforts to normalize relations with Armenia, whose most important – but ephemeral – step was the Zurich agreement of 2009. Therefore Erdogan advanced the proposal of Caucasus Peace and Stability Platform “without the participation of extra-regional powers”. The regional peace, the cooperation and the economic development would be possible by an agreement among the three South Caucasian States, Turkey and Russia and excluding Western powers and Iran<sup>35</sup>.

In contrast to its Islamic-based rhetoric, Iran’s policies toward the Caucasus have been inspired by pragmatic interests, in particular to prevent destabilization in the northwest provinces of the country, inhabited by an Azerbaijani population between 15 and 20 million people. In spite of the shared Shiite confession, Tehran declined to support Baku in the war of Nagorno-Karabakh and later continued to support Yerevan for three main reasons. First of all, because it interpreted its embroilment in the conflict as a tool to neutralize Azerbaijan as source of attraction for Iranian Azerbaijanis. Secondly, in order to counterbalance the great improvement of ties between Baku and Washington. Lastly, with the purpose to weaken Azerbaijan on other diplomatic theaters, as the Caspian one where an important dispute for the exploitation of offshore natural resources is in progress<sup>36</sup>. In the same way, the relations with Georgia went progressively wrong in order to reinforce the international synergy with Russia and to hinder the Tbilisi’s close cooperation with the United States and Israel. Conversely, Iran maintains extensive trade and its most intensive security relations with Armenia. This long-term cooperation has been institutionalized in 2007 with the launch of a gas pipeline from Tabriz to the Armenian border<sup>37</sup>.

## Conclusion

The unresolved conflicts of sovereignty and the cyclical intensification of tensions within the South Caucasus were not only an endogenous issue of the subregion. To the contrary, due to their condition of minor powers, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia were deeply influenced by the interests and the policies of the external actors. With the renewed international activism of Russia in the 2000s, the alliances strictly followed the rules of the main confrontation

<sup>34</sup> Matteo Verda, “Politica a tutto gas: Sicurezza energetica europea e relazioni internazionali” (Milano: Egea, 2011).

<sup>35</sup> Burcu G. Punsmann, “Implications of Turkish-Azerbaijani Relations for Regional Security and Development”, in IAI Working Papers, № 13, pp. 1-12.

<sup>36</sup> Marco Valigi (ed), “Il Caspio: Sicurezza, conflitti e risorse energetiche” (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2014); Marco Valigi, “La competizione navale nel Caspio: Eredità imperiali, sfide alla sicurezza e interessi strategici”, *Il Politico* vol. 237, № 3, 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Brenda Shaffer, “The Geopolitics of the Caucasus”, in *Brown Journal of World Affairs* vol. 15, № 12, pp. 131-142.

between the strategic concepts of “near abroad” and “shared abroad”, to which even those of “strategic depth” and “Shiite crescent” were partially reconnected. Despite the political contingencies, it is possible to affirm the presence of two general outcomes. Firstly, the arising of a substantial division among westward (Azerbaijan and Georgia) and eastward (Armenia) States. Secondly, the security dynamics followed the principle of “my neighbour is my enemy”, resembling the arrangement of the squares of a chessboard. Indeed, the unformal alliance among Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey, with the US as offshore partner, is counterbalanced by the likewise unformal alliance among Armenia, Russia and Iran.

## «ИСТОРИЯ АРМЯНСКОГО ТРАНСНАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО ТЕРРОРИЗМА В XX СТОЛЕТИИ»

Олег КУЗНЕЦОВ



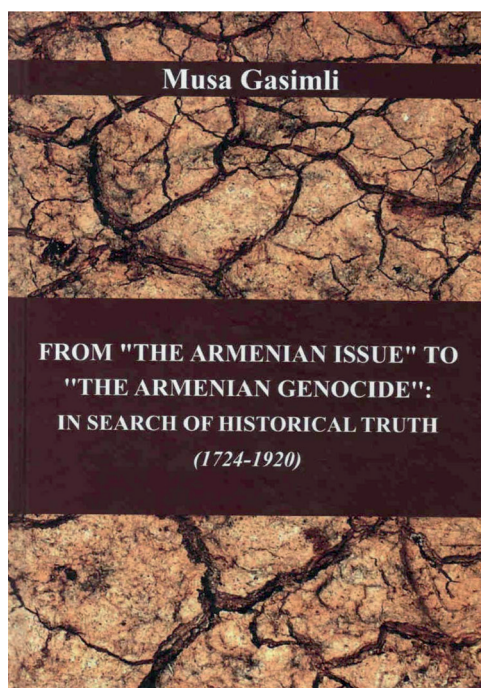
Монография, написанной российским ученым, политологом Олегом Кузнецовым посвящена рассмотрению актуального для современности вопроса истории такого уникального криминологического явления XX столетия, как транснациональный армянский терроризм, который рассматривается автором в историческом, юридическом, политологическом и культурологическом аспекте.

Монография включает в себя предисловие, введение, семь глав основной части, заключение послесловие, библиографию и документальные приложения. Табуированность темы истории армянского терроризма была свойственна всей совокупности обществоведческих наук в России не только в новейшее – постсоветское, – но и в советское время. В советское время, несмотря на официально декларируемую в СССР идеологию «пролетарского интернационализма», тема армянского национализма и армяно-тюркского противостояния продолжала волновать армянских и азербайджанских ученых. Они, объективно не имея возможности вступить между собой в открытую и честную полемику и публично высказать свои взгляды, были вынуждены искать оригинальные способы для выражения своей антипатии, антагонизма и даже конфронтации. Не имея законных способов обнародовать публично взгляды на тот или иной вопрос посредством издания монографий или опубликования статей в периодических научных изданиях, обществоведы республик советского Закавказья были вынуждены выражать взаимные претензии на страницах диссертационных исследований по гуманитарным наукам, доступ к которым был открыт только узкому кругу избранных читателей. Поэтому многие факты из истории ранних периодов истории или даже предыстории армянского терроризма, ранее являвшиеся достоянием «избранных», широкому кругу исследователей стали известны только в последние годы, благодаря массовой информатизации научной и общественной жизни.

В работе обобщены сведения более чем 50 исследований российских, западных, турецких, азербайджанских и даже армянских ученых по данной проблематике. Кроме того, впервые вводятся в научный оборот ранее засекреченные архивные источники из архивов спецслужб СССР и США

**FROM “THE ARMENIAN ISSUE”  
TO “THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE”:  
IN SEARCH OF HISTORICAL TRUTH (1724 – 1920)**

*Musa GASIMLI*



The monograph investigates fictitious “Armenian issue”, as well as the steps taken in this regard, the outcomes, the attitude of great powers to the problem and other issues, referring to the archive materials kept in Georgia, Azerbaijan, the USA, Great Britain, and Turkey, including documentary sources and literature published in various languages. Most of these reliable sources have been released for circulation for the first time.

The monograph is aimed at investigating the methods employed by Tsarism in order to implement the strategy of access to warm seas since Peter I’s decree of 1724, the resettlement of Armenians in the lands of Azerbaijan, the development of “the Armenian issue” on the territories of the Ottoman Empire in the 70s of the XIX century, 8 the establishment and activities of Armenian politically motivated terrorist organizations, the terror acts they committed on the territories of the Ottoman Empire in the late XIX century, the slaughter of Turks and other nations in the South Caucasus during 1905-1906, the efforts of Armenians to disrupt the relations between Russians and Turks, their attempts to benefit from the Italian-Ottoman and Balkan wars, the training of Armenian armed groups during the World War I and massacres of Muslim civilians in Anatolia in the years 1914-1917, the genocide against Turkish and other Muslim population in Southern Azerbaijan and the South Caucasus, including Dashnak Armenia in the years 1918-1920, their deportation, the policy to appropriate the territories of Azerbaijan, propaganda of Armenians against the Turks in European countries and the USA and many other issues as well.

The book is particularly meant for historians, politicians and diplomats as well.