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Postal address: Foreign Policy Planning and Strategic Studies Department,

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sh.Gurbanov Str. 4, Baku AZ 1009

Tel.: 596-91-03; 596-93-31 e-mail: css@mfa.gov.az

MÜNDƏRİCAT - CONTENTS - СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

RƏSMİ XRONİKA – OFFICIAL CHRONICLE – ОФИЦИАЛЬНАЯ ХРОНИКА

Diplomatic activity of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan,
H.E. Mr. I.Aliyev in first quarter of 2012..... 4-29

Diplomatic activity of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan,
H.E. Mr. E.Mammadyarov in first quarter of 2012..... 30-37

XƏBƏRLƏR – NEWS – НОВОСТИ

Official visit of the President of the Republic of Georgia
to the Republic of Azerbaijan..... 38-42

Official visit of the President of the Republic of Croatia
to the Republic of Azerbaijan..... 43-52

Official visit of the President of the Republic of Kyrgyz
to the Republic of Azerbaijan..... 53-56

NATO International School of Azerbaijan – Winter Session
“Post-Arab Spring Middle East”
30 January – 3 February 2012, Baku 57-58

AZƏRBAYCAN TARİXİNİN QANLI YADDAŞI BLODDY MEMORIES OF THE HISTORY OF AZERBAIJAN КРОВАВАЯ ПАМЯТЬ ИСТОРИИ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА

Black January – 20 January 1990..... 59

Khojaly Massacres – 26 February 1992..... 60-62

31 March – The Day of Genocide of Azerbaijanis..... 63

BURAXILIŞIN MÖVZUSU - THEME OF THE ISSUE - ТЕМА НОМЕРА

Эльман АРАСЛЫ
Арабская весна 64-84

MƏQALƏLƏR - ARTICLES – СТАТЬИ

Kamal MAKILI-ALIYEV
Late 2011 Mediterranean-Gulf Politico-Legal Overview 85-89

Anis BAJREKTAREVIC
Geopolitics of Energy: the Arab McFB 'Spring' 90-96

Рустам МАТОРИН
Топливо-энергетический комплекс - стратегический для экономик
Азербайджана и Туркменистана 97-102

YENİ NƏŞRLƏR – NEW PUBLICATIONS – НОВЫЕ ИЗДАНИЯ

Solmaz RÜSTƏMOVA-TOHİDİ
1918. Azərbaycan qətliaımları foto və sənədlərdə 103



DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN, H.E. Mr. ILHAM ALIYEV IN FIRST QUARTER OF 2012

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

23.01.2012

Working visit to the Russian Federation



On 23 January 2011, President Ilham Aliyev left for the city of Sochi of the Russian Federation for a working visit. Head of Azerbaijani state was welcome by high ranking state and government representatives of Russia in Adler International Airport.

President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, who is in Sochi on a working visit, has come to the House of Receptions of the Grand Polyana Hotel.

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev met President Ilham Aliyev at the House of Receptions.

Saluting the President of Azerbaijan, President Dmitry Medvedev said:

Dear Ilham Heydar oglu, let me salute you from the bottom of my heart.

I am pleased that our tradition of meeting in Sochi in winter is continuing. This is also a good opportunity for exchanging views on the development of Russian-Azerbaijani cooperation, discussing the future and assessing what happened last year. Because we have certain results. I think these are good results. A number of important and serious activities have been held from both economic and humanitarian perspective. Of course, we also need to review the situation in our region. Our countries are closely attached to the Caucasus. Therefore, we cannot remain indifferent to the developments in the Caucasus and other regions around the world that are also close to us.

Of course, our trilateral meeting with the participation of the Armenian president is also very important. There have been quite a lot of such meetings in recent years. We have achieved progress on some issues, while on others serious difficulties still remain.

But I think that this is a useful dialogue. I do hope that such relations will be continued in the future.

Very warm welcome to Sochi in this snowy weather again! I hope that in addition to our communication you will also have some rest here.

Expressing his gratitude for the invitation, President Ilham Aliyev said:

Dmitry Anatolyevich, thank you very much for inviting me to come to Sochi!

This is a very good tradition indeed. It is an opportunity to see and communicate with each other, although our meetings take place quite frequently – in fact, we met in Moscow last month. This is reflected in the nature and spirit of relations between our countries, their dynamism, regular consultations and the potential for a further development of bilateral relations in all directions.

I agree that our bilateral affairs were very successful last year: our political ties have strengthened, new initiatives put forward, our trade growth is measured in double digits and its structure is improving. We are witnessing very positive dynamics in the entire spectrum of bilateral relations. This is very gratifying. We are attaching great importance to cooperation with Russia. Russia is our strategic partner. In 2011, this partnership started to be reinforced with major deeds.

I also want to thank you for your continued effort to resolve the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. There have been many meetings. As you have said, there have been reassuring aspects and those deepening pessimism. But the process is ongoing and the fact that you are continuing your efforts raises optimism. Azerbaijan is interested in resolving this conflict in order to establish peace in the region.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you again for Russia's support of Azerbaijan in its election to the UN Security Council.

Dmitry Medvedev: I congratulate you again.

Ilham Aliyev: Thank you very much. This support has been very effective and sincere, and we – both the leadership and the people of Azerbaijan – are very grateful to you for that. Let me reassure you that we will work in close cooperation with you in the Security Council in the next two years and try to live up to the expectations of all the 155 countries that supported us.

Thank you very much again for this opportunity. I do hope that 2012 will be a successful year for our relations.

Dmitry Medvedev: We sincerely hope so.



Following the meeting, additional agreement number 5 to the contract on purchase and sale of natural gas is signed between the State Oil Company of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Russia's Gazprom Export LLC with the participation of Presidents Ilham Aliyev and Dmitry Medvedev.

The document is signed by Rovnag Abdullayev, SOCAR President and Alexey Miller, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Gazprom Export LLC.

On the same day, the joint meeting took place in the Home of Reception of the Grand Polyana Hotel in Sochi between the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, the President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev and the President of the Republic of Armenia Serzh Sarkisyan.

Issues related to the settlement of Armenian-Azerbaijani, Nagorno-Karabakh conflict have been discussed at the meeting.



The joint declaration was adopted on the outcomes of the meetings. President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of the Republic of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan and President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev have issued a joint statement after the talks on the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

The statement says: "The Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan, of the Republic of Armenia and of the Russian Federation met in Sochi on 23 January 2012 at the invitation of the President of the Russian Federation to discuss progress and prospects for the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement.

The three Presidents pointed to a large amount of work to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict carried out since their meeting on 2 November 2008, when the Moscow Declaration was adopted. The Presidents said that as a result of intense negotiations, they had reached progress in agreeing the basic principles of the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement.

Considering the importance of a transition to the development of a Peace Agreement, the Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan and of the Republic of Armenia expressed their readiness to accelerate the achievement of agreement on basic principles on the basis of the work done thus far.

The two Presidents gave a high assessment to the mediation efforts of the Russian Federation and other OSCE Minsk Group co-chair countries and expressed hope that Russia, France and the USA would continue to play an active role in the settlement until a lasting peace and stability are established in the region.

In furtherance of the joint statement issued in Sochi on 5 March 2011, the Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan, of the Republic of Armenia and of the Russian Federation took into consideration the report by co-chair countries on the mechanism for conducting investigations along the ceasefire line which they had developed together with the personal representative of the OSCE chairman-in-office, and gave the instruction to continue this work.

The Presidents reaffirmed that one of the confidence-building measures in the context of the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement is to develop humanitarian contacts between the parties. In this regard, the Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan and of the Republic of Armenia declared their readiness to further promote dialogue among intellectuals, academic and public circles."

After a joint meeting of President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev and President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan in Sochi, the heads of state visited the Ski Center.

Presidents Ilham Aliyev and Dmitry Medvedev went skiing at the center.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev and President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan had luncheon together in Sochi.

25 – 28.01.2012

Working visit to the Swiss Confederation

On 25 January 2012, President Ilham Aliyev left for a working visit to Switzerland to attend the World Economic Forum in Davos. During his working visit President Aliyev met with several head of states and chairmen of international companies.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with President of the Swiss Confederation Eveline Widmer - Schlumpf in Davos. President of Switzerland Eveline Widmer - Schlumpf met President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the development of bilateral relations between the two countries and pointed to a need for their further expansion.

The Presidents also stressed the importance of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Switzerland in the energy, environmental and other spheres and exchanged views on issues of mutual interest.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with President of Israel Shimon Peres in Davos.

The sides exchanged views on bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Israel and discussed prospects for cooperation in economic, scientific research and other spheres.



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the Chief Executive Officer of Austrian company OMV AG, Gerhard Roiss, in Davos.

The sides exchanged views on the cooperation between the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan and Austrian OMV AG, including the prospects for the Nabucco gas pipeline project.



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the US Assistant Secretary of State for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs, Robert Hormats, in Davos.

Robert Hormats passed greetings from the US President and Secretary of State to the President of Azerbaijan. The Assistant Secretary of State said that the White House was giving a high assessment to the development ongoing in Azerbaijan, in particular the successful economic and industrial reform.

The sides expressed their confidence that the measures taken in Azerbaijan to combat corruption, as well as the investment made in the non-oil sector, would yield fruit. The parties also exchanged views on regional matters.



The meeting also stressed the importance of the forthcoming meeting of the joint US-Azerbaijani intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation from the standpoint of the discussion of specific areas of cooperation.



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the Chairman of the Board of Directors of UBS Global, Kaspar Villiger, in Davos.

During the meeting the sides discussed issues of establishing and developing cooperation between one of the largest banks of Switzerland, UBS, and Azerbaijan. In addition, the sides exchanged views on the relations in the area of financial cooperation with the State Oil Company and the State Oil Fund of Azerbaijan.

Recalling his visits to Azerbaijan and meetings with great leader Heydar Aliyev, Kaspar Villiger said that Azerbaijan was developing rapidly under the leadership of President Ilham Aliyev.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met the European Union Commissioner for Energy, Gunther Oettinger, in Davos.

The sides exchanged views on the development and prospects for the Southern Gas Corridor. The parties pointed to a great need for Azerbaijani gas in Europe and stressed the importance of resolving the issues of transporting gas from Azerbaijan to Europe in the coming years.



The meeting also highlighted the role of the Joint Declaration on the Southern Gas Corridor signed between President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and European Commission Chairman Jose Manuel Barroso in Baku in January 2011 in the development of energy relations.

The sides also pointed to the importance of expanding on the achievements made in the area of energy cooperation between Azerbaijan and the European Union in 2011.



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the founder and executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, Klaus Schwab, in Davos.

The sides pointed to the importance of Azerbaijan's participation and growing activity in the annual World Economic Forum and exchanged views on Azerbaijan's comprehensive economic development.

The founder and executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, Klaus Schwab, indicated that such development was enhancing the interest of a number of leading companies of the world and Europe in Azerbaijan. The sides emphasized the importance of working on new projects in the future.



President Ilham Aliyev met with Prime Minister of Georgia Nika Gilauri, in Davos.

During the meeting, the parties expressed their satisfaction about development of bilateral economic ties among others, and exchanged views on further improvement of relations.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the Executive Director of Deutsche Bank for Central and Eastern Europe, Peter Tils, and board member of the bank Jurgen Figen.

During the meeting, the sides stressed the importance of the rapid economic development taking place in Azerbaijan, the leading country of the region, and stressed the need for establishing cooperation between Azerbaijan and the German Deutsche Bank. The sides also exchanged views on the prospects for cooperation between Azerbaijan and Deutsche Bank.



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Jakob Kellenberger, in Davos.

During the meeting the sides exchanged views on humanitarian cooperation and pointed to the role of the International Committee of the Red Cross in matters relating to the prisoners of war, hostages and missing persons.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych in Davos.

During the meeting the sides stressed that bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Ukraine are developing successfully in the political, economic and other spheres and discussed issues concerning the prospects for energy cooperation.

It was also noted that there was a good potential further a expansion of cooperation between the two countries, as the sides expressed confidence that Azerbaijani-Ukrainian relations would continue to develop.



The Presidents emphasized the importance of mutual visits and high-level meetings for a further enhancement of bilateral relations.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the Chief Executive Officer of RWE, Jurgen Grossmann.

The sides noted during the meeting that the successful cooperation between Azerbaijan and RWE was continuing and exchanged views on prospects for relations.

The parties also pointed to the importance of energy cooperation and discussed issues related to the development of the Shah Deniz gas field.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani in Davos.



Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani congratulated President Ilham Aliyev on Azerbaijan's election non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. The sides expressed their satisfaction with the high level of bilateral relations and stressed the importance of that. It was mentioned that Azerbaijan and Pakistan always support each other both bilaterally and within international organizations, and noted the importance of continuing this support in the future.

During the meeting the sides exchanged views on cooperation between the two countries in the oil and gas sector, infrastructure, agriculture and other fields.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with the Chairman of the Board of Holcim Group, Marcus Ackermann, in Davos.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the activities of Holcim Group in Azerbaijan, its investment in the country and participation in the construction of the Garadagh cement plant.



It was stressed that the new cement plant the foundation of which was laid jointly with Holcim would be commissioned in Azerbaijan this year and contribute a lot to a further expansion of economic ties.



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev has met with the President of Microsoft International and Vice-President of Microsoft Corporation, Jean Courtois, in Davos.

Jean Courtois expressed his satisfaction with the level of cooperation with Azerbaijan and stressed that our country serves as a regional example in the prevention of the illegal software and fight against piracy. He said the company he represents is ready to cooperate with Azerbaijan in the area of information security.

President Ilham Aliyev said Azerbaijan attaches great importance to the development of information and communication technologies and has declared the development of this sector a national priority. The sides revisited the issue of establishing a major Microsoft regional data center and decided to speed up the necessary work.



President Ilham Aliyev met with CEO of “Edison” company, Bruno Lescoeur, in Davos. They discussed natural gas supplies to the Southern European region during the meeting.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev has met with Prince Andrew, Duke of York, in Davos.

The sides indicated that the economic relations between Azerbaijan and the United Kingdom were developing successfully and discussed prospects for cooperation in this sphere.



President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev has met with President of the Republic of Poland Bronisław Komorowski in Davos.



The sides expressed their satisfaction with the high level of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Poland in all areas. It was stressed that the regular meetings of the Presidents of Azerbaijan and Poland at various events contribute to a further development of these relations. The sides exchanged views on further development of relations between Azerbaijan and Poland in a number of areas, including the matters related to energy cooperation.

On 28 January 2012 an Informal Gathering of the World Economic Leaders on the theme of “Defining the Imperatives for 2012” has been held in Davos. A session, titled “Future of Eurasia” was held in Davos. President Ilham Aliyev attended the session.

The 42nd World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, has discussed the expansion of business partnerships to address the political and economic issues of our time, including the major problems caused by global development.

The forum has been attended by over 2500 delegates from over 100 countries, including heads of state and government, representatives of well-known companies, economists, scientists, experts, heads of international organizations and the media. The theme of “Defining the Imperatives for 2012” of the Informal Gathering of the World Economic Leaders was discussed at a panel held during lunch. President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev addressed the meeting.

The head of state spoke about the development path our country has covered and the history of statehood based on democratic traditions, and said that the first democratic Republic of the East was established in Azerbaijan in 1918.

Stressing that our country regained its independence in the late 20th century, President Ilham Aliyev touched upon the work carried out in Azerbaijan over the 20 years in state building and democracy, political and economic spheres, political stability, etc. The President of Azerbaijan indicated that the country had taken important steps in recent years to ensure political stability and democratic development.



Stressing that Azerbaijan has ample energy resources, the President said that the country was actively involved in ensuring the energy security of Europe and had made great strides in this area. He also said that due to its favorable geopolitical location, our country was making an important contribution to regional cooperation.

President Ilham Aliyev pointed to the steady growth of Azerbaijan's international authority and said that the country was paying significant attention to the development of the non-oil sector.

The President spoke about the country's work in the areas of industrialization and development of the ICT and other sectors. President Aliyev said that despite the global financial recession, a lot has been done in Azerbaijan to ensure dynamic development and economic diversification.

President Ilham Aliyev emphasized the attention being paid to the development of education at state level in Azerbaijan.

Noting that Azerbaijan was facing important tasks associated with the development of all the spheres, the President expressed confidence that our country would continue its efforts in this direction and achieve further successes.

Also addressing the meeting were President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich and President of the Russian VTB Bank Andrey Kostin. Then the meeting participants answered questions.

President Ilham Aliyev met with Prime Minister of Jordan Awn Shawkat Al-Khasawneh, in Davos.



At the meeting, where the high level of friendship and cooperation relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Kingdom of Jordan were stressed, the parties also emphasized the importance of mutual support in various fields. The prospects for development of bilateral relations, covering various fields, were discussed during the meeting.

On the same day, an interactive session dedicated to Azerbaijan was held in Davos. President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev participated in the session.

The host of the session, the executive director of the Davos forum, Børge Brende, welcomed the participants of the interactive session on Azerbaijan and said that the country was on a path of sustainable development.

Noting that Azerbaijan was strategically located from a geographical standpoint, Brende stressed the importance of the fact that despite the global economic recession the country's non-oil sector achieved economic growth of 9 per cent. He said that the focus of the session would be Azerbaijan's economic diversification.

Børge Brende noted that along with the oil sector, Azerbaijan is rapidly developing its non-oil economy. The executive director of the Davos forum said that the views of President Ilham Aliyev regarding Azerbaijan's prospects, its role in the region and investments in the country were also of great interest.

Addressing the session, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev said:

- Thank you very much. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to you for organizing such a meeting. I am pleased to come to Davos again. This time we are participating a special event

dedicated to Azerbaijan. I am very pleased that Azerbaijan is represented more broadly in Davos today. We traditionally exhibit our carpets and national cuisine here. Of course, we come from Baku and feel very much at home here.

Our country is developing successfully. Our economic development indicators in the past several years have been truly impressive: our economy has grown by 300 per cent since 2004. Of course, we do realize that most of this growth has occurred in the oil and gas sector. And this is quite natural for a country which has been independent for only 20 years.

All countries, in particular those in transition, should make the best of their resources and natural wealth to build a strong economy. This has been our goal and policy. The attraction of billions in investment to our oil and gas sector has helped us diversify our economy. We have now set a new objective. The new objective is to double the already tripled gross domestic product. But now we want to double the economy by developing the non-oil sector.



As a country producing oil and gas, we always view the gross domestic product from both energy and non-energy standpoints. Last year, for instance, the non-oil industry grew by 11 per cent and the non-oil sector by 9 per cent. Our next objective is to modernize and diversify the country and develop it for the next 10-12 years. Because the first program on the development of our districts was adopted in 2004. Thus, in 2014 we will embark on a new 10-year development period. We benefit a lot from major foreign investments. The total volume of investment made in our economy in the last 15 years is \$110 billion. Last year alone a total of \$20 billion was invested in our economy, of which \$7 billion was foreign. This shows that Azerbaijan is still attractive for foreign countries and this is due not only to the oil and gas sector.

The volume of investment in the oil and gas sector is decreasing because all major projects have been completed. The investment in the manufacturing sector, tourism and services is on the increase. We have channeled the financial resources fetched by the sale of oil and gas into the real sector of the economy – the IT, education.

Several years ago I stated that we must turn the “black gold” into human capital. The experience of developed countries shows that it is possible to become a developed country only through technological and educational progress. For this reason, we are sending our young people to leading universities of the world and seeing the benefits of that.

We are already recognized as a country with a favorable investment environment. The volume of direct foreign investment in Azerbaijan is the highest in the CIS. The competitiveness of our economy is growing. According to the Davos Economic Forum, the Azerbaijani economy is ranked 55th in the world and first in the CIS in terms of competitiveness.

This is a major achievement for us. It proves that our policy of diversification is paying off. Of course, the energy sector will continue to dominate our economy. This is natural because oil production constitutes about 50 million tons. Gas production this year will be close to 30 billion cubic meters. By implementing new projects and attracting investment, we can raise this figure to 50 billion. So no matter how hard we may try to develop the non-oil economy, energy will always dominate our GDP. But this is natural, it opens up new horizons for us. Because Azerbaijan’s economic and energy policy is now transforming into our country’s political clout.

The European Union views us as a country contributing to the Southern Gas Corridor that will deliver Azerbaijani gas to Europe, a country making it possible. We have made several important achievements in the past several months, signed transit agreements and agreements on the construction

of a gas pipeline that will transport large volumes of Azerbaijani gas to Europe. We will benefit from that even more than from the energy projects we started in 1994. Because there were no companies capable of carrying out such large-scale activities then. Now we have large companies engaged in service, energy and non-energy sectors. They will contribute a portion of this investment of \$20 billion in gas fields. Thus this wealth will be spread in a diversified manner.

In general, one of our biggest achievements playing a role in the economy is transparency. Azerbaijan joined the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative eight years ago and is now a full member of it. We have achieved complete transparency in our energy sector.

Now we are changing the system. We are applying this approach to the financial system as a whole. Thus, the prospects for the future are positive, the economy is stable, sustainable, self-sufficient, it receives strong support from the energy sector and creates a completely clear picture of the strategic future of the country.

Our ultimate goal is to turn Azerbaijan into a developed country. All our structures and ministries are working on that. We have the Ministers of Communications and Technology, of Finance, and of the Environment and Natural Resources present here. They will provide more detailed information on the sectors they represent.

Then the host asked the head of state to share his views on the current state of regional and international affairs.

President Ilham Aliyev said:

- Azerbaijan has been an independent state for 20 years. Everyone knows that Azerbaijan has an independent policy and strategy. All our political initiatives, including those related to regional cooperation, have a very positive foundation. Our goal is to establish a partnership through projects and cooperation with a significant number of regional states. From a geographical point of view, Azerbaijan is situated very favorably, on the Silk Road, at a crossroads of Europe and Asia. As I have mentioned, our initiatives cover regional states which also derive benefit from Azerbaijan's development and activities. At the international level we receive tremendous support. We always feel it. Most of our initiatives are supported by the international community. But this support manifested itself particularly well when Azerbaijan was elected a member of the UN Security Council. It was not easy. The important thing was that Azerbaijan was supported by a total of 155 countries in this vote.

Speaking next, Finance Minister Samir Sharifov said:

- In his opening remarks Mr. President spoke about Azerbaijan's economic indicators. Azerbaijan has been experiencing strong economic development for several years now. This development mainly occurs because of a significant expansion of energy production in Azerbaijan. At the same time, the policy of our country is to diversify the economy. From this perspective, we have set the goal of doubling the gross domestic product in the next 10 years.

Samir Sharifov spoke about the work being undertaken in this regard in various fields. The minister noted that despite the global financial crisis, Azerbaijan has achieved socio-economic development and financial stability. The finance minister said that the exchange rate of the national currency remains stable, stability has been ensured in the financial, banking and tax systems, and the development in this area is ongoing. Samir Sharifov indicated that the successes Azerbaijan has made in the financial and banking system are appreciated by international lending agencies. He stressed that at a time when the world is dominated by a financial crisis and the credit ratings of most countries are reduced, the credit rating of Azerbaijan has even been raised.

Speaking next was the Minister of Communication and Information Technologies, Ali Abbasov:

- According to international rating agencies, Azerbaijan is between developing and developed countries for the level of development of information and communication technologies. Thus, one of the priority areas related to the development of the ICT sector in Azerbaijan is the creation of a space industry. This year Azerbaijan plans to launch its first artificial satellite. Another priority is the infrastructure sector. Other priority areas include the creation of the “electronic government” and public information services, including information security. We are also making efforts to further expand Azerbaijan's participation in regional ICT projects.

Ali Abbasov pointed to a favorable business and investment environment for the attraction of foreign investment to our country, as well as cooperation with foreign companies.

Then, the Minister of Environment and Natural Resources, Huseyngulu Bagirov, noted that the economy of Azerbaijan is developing rapidly and important work is done in the area of environmental protection and ecology. Indicating that our country has made great strides in this area in the past 10 years, Huseyngulu Bagirov said:

- Let me bring the following to your kind attention. As you know, the felling of forests has become a global tendency. We have eliminated this trend in Azerbaijan. Thus, our forest cover has increased by 0.5 per cent of the total territory of the country. This work is ongoing. Seven million trees covering an area of 10 hectares were planted in Azerbaijan in 2011 alone.

We have doubled the size of protected areas, from 480,000 to 1 million hectares. This is a very large figure. We are working on projects to increase the number of endangered species.

Then the minister of environment and natural resources provided information on the work being done in the area of environmental protection, prevention of air pollution, etc.

Responding to questions about channeling oil revenue into human capital and training young people in foreign countries, President Ilham Aliyev said:

Yes, this is one of the important issues facing us. We attach great importance to it. Our country's non-oil sector needs skilled workers more than the oil sector.

We have qualified professionals, geologists working in the energy sector, and the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan is investing a lot in education. The company has a specific program in this regard.

In the current circumstances we need managers. Private or public companies, regardless of the sector of the economy they work in, as is the case in developed countries, need managers well-versed in management, qualified professionals in the service sector. Three five-star hotels were opened in Baku last year alone. Three more will be opened this year.

We need to train people to work there. Of course, we can achieve this by means of investment. But this is one side of the issue. The main issue is the use of the international experience and cooperation in this field. We have no problems with financing. Information technology and education are priority areas for us. We must join our efforts and achieve maximum efficiency in these areas.

President Ilham Aliyev also answered questions related to the information and communication technologies in Azerbaijan:

- Employment, innovation, technology, education and business – these are the areas of the future. From this perspective, the sphere of information technology is of top priority for us. We established the Ministry of Communications and Information Technologies only in 2004. Over this period we have achieved a lot in this area. We have created a regional center of information technologies in

Azerbaijan, as is the case in the oil sector. Baku annually hosts the International Conference and Exhibition of Information Technologies, called BakuTel. Our space industry and first telecommunications satellite – it will be the first but not last, the 3G technology, we are already working on a license for 4G. Currently we plan to submit “electronic government” and “electronic signature” projects. Several months ago I signed an executive order in this regard. This order requires all ministries and government agencies to prepare and submit a list of electronic services.

The president and CEO of the Japan’s GGC, a company working in the fields of engineering and construction, petrochemicals and oil refining and dealing with all types of hydrocarbon projects, said that despite the expansion of company activities in other countries, it has been unable to achieve this in Azerbaijan, but has a desire to do so.

President Ilham Aliyev said:

- Currently, the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan (SOCAR) plans to invest several billion dollars in the construction of new refineries and petrochemical plants in Baku. These plants will apply the latest technologies. We welcome all types of investments. But, of course, we can’t tell companies where to invest. Companies are independent in their investment choices. For me as President, the investment made in the development of industrial areas is particularly important. Our country has a program on industrial development. We can finance investment and strategic projects at our own expense. Currently, SOCAR is investing billions of dollars. You can collaborate with our oil company.

03 – 04.02.2012 Working visit to the Federal Republic of Germany

On 3 February 2012, President Ilham Aliyev left for a working visit to the Federal Republic of Germany to attend the 48th Munich Security Conference.

During the visit President Ilham Aliyev met with the former German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.



The sides exchanged views on cooperation between Azerbaijan and the European Union, the role our country plays in the energy security of Europe, Azerbaijani-German bilateral relations, and regional and international affairs.

President Ilham Aliyev has met with Foreign Minister of Australia Kevin Rudd. During the meeting, Foreign Minister of Australia Kevin Rudd said his country was interested in developing ties with Azerbaijan in various fields and expressed satisfaction with Azerbaijan’s election as a member of the UN Security Council.

President Ilham Aliyev said Azerbaijan’s election to the UN Security Council was an example of support for our country by a majority of world countries.

The President expressed his confidence that bilateral relations would continue to grow. The sides also exchanged views on bilateral relations and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh





President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, who is paying a working visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, has met with Serbian Foreign Minister Vuk Jeremic.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the high level of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Serbia, the development of cooperation in political, economic and other spheres, and stressed the importance of mutual support in various fields. The parties also pointed

to the importance of the contract on the participation of Azerbaijani companies in road construction in Serbia, which was signed in Baku recently.

President Ilham Aliyev met with Finnish Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja in Munich.

During the meeting the sides pointed to the development of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Finland and to the existence of a good potential for a further expansion of ties. The sides also exchanged views on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.



President Ilham Aliyev, who is paying a working visit to Germany, has participated in the discussions on the subject of "Energy, Resources and the Environment: New Security Parameters", one of the key events of the 48th Munich Security Conference. Also attending the event was Azerbaijan's First Lady Mehriban Aliyeva.

The host of the event, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden Carl Bildt, thanked President Ilham Aliyev and other guests for attending the conference.

Introducing the President of Azerbaijan as a keynote speaker, Carl Bildt said:

We have distinguished participants here who will make presentations. We have President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev. He has been President since 2003. Also attending the event are the European Union Commissioner for Energy, Gunther Oettinger, the chairman of Allianz, Michael Diekmann, the executive director of Greenpeace International, Kumi Naidoo, and President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich. After a brief introduction, we are giving the floor to President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev. President Ilham Aliyev addressed the conference.

Remarks by President Ilham Aliyev

- Thank you very much. First of all, I would like to thank the organizers of the Munich Security Conference for the invitation. I am very glad to come here and speak on this important issue.

I want to say that Azerbaijan is one of the oldest oil-producing countries. In fact, it was in Azerbaijan that the first oil was produced industrially in the mid-19th century. But a lot has changed since then. After restoring its independence, the Azerbaijani people became masters of their wealth. Over the 20 years, thanks to the rational use of its energy resources, Azerbaijan has become a diversified economy. The energy projects which have been ongoing since the mid-1990s at the initiative of our country have significantly changed the energy map of the Caucasus and Caspian regions and are changing the energy map of Europe.



reserves exceed 2.5 trillion cubic meters. It is clear that these reserves will be enough for us, our partners and consumers.

We are currently working on a broader energy corridor. It will cover not only the oil but also the gas sphere. We are now at a very important and difficult stage in our energy projects, when important decisions are made that will significantly influence the energy security of our region. Of course, Azerbaijan has ensured its own energy security. But without the markets we will not be able to realize our projects fully. We now have a diversified network of pipelines. Azerbaijan does not have direct access to the sea. The diversified network of pipelines enables us to transport our oil and gas in different directions. Therefore, diversification is of great importance for us as producers. We understand that it is also important for consumers. On the issue of energy security, we must find and I think we are finding the right balance between the producer, Azerbaijan, and consumers. Nor can we forget about the interests of transit countries. Therefore, the balance of interests and a prudent approach to the interests of our partners are key to the successful implementation of our projects.

Addressing this conference today, at the beginning of 2012, I am more optimistic about the future of the Southern Gas Corridor. There are several reasons for this optimism. First of all, as I noted earlier, the discovery of new gas fields, the already available transit infrastructure, although there isn't too much of it. Secondly, the growing European demand for our energy resources, as well as a very fruitful cooperation between European institutions and Azerbaijan, which has developed into a true partnership in the past few years. The visit by the European Commission President to Azerbaijan in 2011, the signing of the Declaration on the Southern Gas Corridor and the establishment of a working group co-chaired by distinguished Mr. Oettinger – all these factors create a very positive picture of our future plans.

Another important event of the past year was the signing of a gas transit agreement between Turkey and Azerbaijan, which will actually open up the "big door" for the supplies of Azerbaijani gas to Europe. We are now in a unique situation. We have a need for the European market. Because, first of all, it is a big market. Secondly, this market is governed by law.

Of course, this is a growing market, the market for our partners. The European market needs alternative sources of supplies.

We talk a lot about diversification and energy security. These two issues are inter-related. But when we talk about diversification and energy security for European consumers, I think we need to talk more about diversification of sources, rather than the diversification of routes from one source. But the diversification of routes is also important. Thus, Azerbaijan is a new, large, close and friendly source for European consumers. If we can implement our plans on the construction of the powerful Southern corridor, we will enter a phase of a very fruitful and mutually beneficial energy cooperation in the next decade. Therefore, energy security has become an important national security issue. We, as producers, understand this and want all our partners to treat this issue in the same manner.



No country can build future development plans without energy security and prognostication. We are aware of the changes and approaches to the various sources of energy, especially after the tragedy at the Fukushima nuclear plant. Thus, it is clear that the demand for gas is set to grow.

Azerbaijan is a resource-rich country committed to open policies and having strong links with European institutions.

I would also like to say a few words about our obligations not only as a country rich in energy resources, a producing, transporting and potentially a transit state, but also as a country that treats its natural resources with great care. For many years, decades, for more than a century Azerbaijan's oil reserves were developed without any attention being paid to the environment. The concept of the "environment" was not evaluated in due measure in the past. Today, our obligation is to clean up the "legacy" left over from the decades of oil production off- and onshore and to contribute to the global environmental cause. So even though we have oil, gas and markets, we are now investing in renewable energy. We believe that this is part of our commitment. We are investing in hydropower engineering. Last year we began to invest in solar and wind energy. Not because we desperately need these alternative sources. No. Not because this is an important part of our energy balance. But because we treat this as an obligation to the previous and future generations. So I am very glad that, along with environmental protection matters, we are discussing energy security and energy resources today. Azerbaijan is ready to play a role in the energy security, we are ready for diversification and protection of our nature.

Thank you very much.

Speaking next were European Commissioner for Energy Gunther Oettinger, President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich and others. The exchange of views was then continued and questions asked on the subject.

Question: I feel that we are talking more about the political situation in the countries in which we can invest and about the geographic corridor. So I want to address my question to Mr. Diekmann because the identification of potential business risks and work on them are part of your scope. I would like to ask you: last year we witnessed riots in Egypt and Tunisia.

Have there been any changes in your work over this year on assessing the risks associated with the political situation in energy-rich countries? Using the experience of countries such as Egypt – the President of Azerbaijan is also present here – will you invest in a country such as Azerbaijan, which, in terms of its political structure, is very similar to Egypt prior to the overthrow of Mubarak?

President Ilham Aliyev: I would like to comment on the question which actually represents an attempt to present the situation in Azerbaijan as being similar to that of Egypt. I think the best answer to this strange question has been the reaction from the audience. I want to bring to your attention several indicators that the person who asked this question does not know on the strength of poor awareness. Over the eight years of my presidency, the gross domestic product in Azerbaijan increased three times – by 300 per cent. The poverty rate has dropped from 50 to 7.6 per cent. Inflation is 5.4 per cent. Over the past eight years we have created over 1 million jobs. Our foreign debt constitutes 6 per cent of the gross domestic product. Economic diversification is stable.

Our political situation is stable. We have a multiparty system. More than 10 parties are represented in our parliament. We have a free press. We have freedom of speech. We have freedom of religion. Finally, we have free Internet. I would like to note that not all the countries in our region have free Internet. The number of Internet users in Azerbaijan exceeds 50 per cent of the population, and this figure is growing.

There is a modern and stable society in Azerbaijan. If someone wants to see similarities with events in Egypt in Azerbaijan, I can assure you that regardless of your desire, you will not see that.

On 4 February 2012, President Ilham Aliyev met with US State Secretary Hillary Clinton in Munich.



The sides expressed their satisfaction with the high level of development of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and the United States and expressed their confidence over a further expansion of ties. Azerbaijan's participation in peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan as part of the anti-terror coalition was highly appreciated.

During the meeting the parties held a broad exchange of views on the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

14 – 15.02.2012

Working visit to the Kingdom of Belgium

On 14 February 2012, President Ilham Aliyev left for a working visit to the Kingdom of Belgium. Meeting the President of Azerbaijan at the Brussels airport were senior state and government officials of Belgium.

President Ilham Aliyev met with the President of the European People's Party, Wilfried Martens, in Brussels. During the meeting the parties stressed the importance of expanding cooperation between the European People's Party and the "Yeni Azerbaijan Party" and noted that such ties contribute a lot to Azerbaijan's integration into the European Union.



The sides also emphasized the significance of the "European Union-Azerbaijan: New Partnership Horizons" conference organized by the European People's Party at the European Parliament last week.

The meeting also stressed the importance of strengthening the cooperation within the framework of the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly.



On 15 February 2012, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen in Brussels. The NATO Secretary General warmly welcomed the President of Azerbaijan outside the Alliance's headquarters.

Then President Ilham Aliyev and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen had their picture taken with the flags of Azerbaijan and NATO in the background.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen thanked President Ilham Aliyev for accepting the invitation to visit the NATO headquarters.



Speaking highly of the partnership between Azerbaijan and NATO, the Secretary General congratulated President Ilham Aliyev on Azerbaijan's election to the UN Security Council.

Noting the importance of the approval of the Operational Plan on Individual Partnership with NATO for the expansion of cooperation between Azerbaijan and NATO, the Secretary General expressed his gratitude for Azerbaijan's active participation in peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan as part of the antiterrorist coalition.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen expressed his confidence that the relations between Azerbaijan and NATO would continue to grow.

President Ilham Aliyev thanked the Secretary General of NATO for the congratulations on the country's election to the UN Security Council. The President said our country would continue to apply effort towards expanding the partnership between NATO and Azerbaijan.

President Aliyev said Azerbaijan would work to facilitate integration into Euro-Atlantic structures.

The President emphasized that Azerbaijan and NATO were cooperating closely in peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan. President Ilham Aliyev expressed his confidence that the strong partnership between Azerbaijan and NATO would continue to grow.

On the same day, President Ilham Aliyev and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen issued a joint statement to the press.

Statement by Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen

I am very pleased to welcome President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev to the NATO headquarters. NATO appreciates the partnership with Azerbaijan. We are extremely grateful for the contribution Azerbaijan is making in Afghanistan. Many of our political priorities and security interests overlap. We have been establishing this cooperation and dialogue for many years. Our relationship has contributed to the European and Euro-Atlantic security. We intend to develop our ties in the same spirit.

Mr. President, your visit today demonstrates the importance NATO attaches to the consultations with partner countries on the eve of the Chicago summit. We have had a very good and fruitful meeting. We have discussed our cooperation, as well as the issues of regional concern to us and internationally. We have also discussed possible forms of future cooperation. In order to discuss our work together, we will soon hold a collective meeting of all 28 NATO allies and hear the issues of concern. This is a commitment NATO has assumed before its partners. We are very serious about this commitment. In particular, I would like to discuss the operations we are conducting in Afghanistan. Azerbaijan contributes to these operations both with its servicemen and by granting us the right to use its airspace. We appreciate this support.



Our cooperation extends to other areas. In December, we agreed the Operational Plan on Individual Partnership. This new plan will provide a good basis for a further development of our cooperation in the coming two years. In short, we have good cooperation and it is expanding.

Azerbaijan is an important partner in an important region, and I am sincerely interested in continuing the work together with you in the future.

Statement by President Ilham Aliyev

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General. Thank you for your kind words about our country and for the invitation. I am very glad to come to the NATO headquarters to discuss many important issues concerning our bilateral relations. The relations between NATO and Azerbaijan have a very good history. This is a success story. Since the early 1990s Azerbaijan has been very active in the Euro-Atlantic integration. From this perspective we have made significant progress.



We are reforming our armed forces and I am trying to bring them into line with NATO standards. So this part of our cooperation has a good impact on our armed forces. At the same time, participation in NATO operations in various parts of the world has helped our servicemen improve their skills. They have learned a lot from their NATO counterparts.

We have been in Afghanistan since the very beginning. As Mr. Secretary General has indicated, we have provided NATO with the possibility to use our airspace and territory. I am very pleased that the importance of Azerbaijan as a transit country through which goods are transported to Afghanistan is growing. We have discussed our further cooperation in this field. We are ready to discuss new proposals to enhance our cooperation in this field.

At the same time, we are delegating our troops to serve duty in Afghanistan. This is part of our commitment in terms of the international peacekeeping operation in Afghanistan.

Today I also informed Mr. Secretary General that we are seriously considering the possibility of contributing to the trust fund of the national army of Afghanistan. In the future we may consider continuation of this financial contribution. At the same time, we have organized training courses for Afghan diplomats at our Diplomatic Academy and the Academy of Border Troops. We are also working and are ready to expand our cooperation in the issue of demining and other humanitarian matters.

We have also discussed regional security issues, in particular the negotiations on the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. I have informed Mr. Secretary General about the current state of the negotiations, we reiterated the hope that this conflict will be resolved as soon as possible and Azerbaijan's territorial integrity will be restored. There is a good legal basis for that. The UN Security Council has passed four resolutions demanding an unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Armenian troops from occupied Azerbaijani territories. We expect the Armenian side to fulfill these resolutions.

A certain part of our discussion today focused on energy security. This is an extremely important component of the national security of all countries – both producing and consumer states. Azerbaijan is becoming and I am sure will become a country contributing to the energy security of Europe. Our European consumers are also NATO members. This topic is part of our discussions and consultations.

I want to reaffirm my gratitude to Mr. Secretary-General for the invitation. I am pleased that our relations are evolving and changing. I hope that our relations will develop successfully on the basis of mutual interests and shared values. Thank you very much.

Then questions from journalists were answered.

Shaig Mammadov, Azerbaijani TV: I want to ask Mr. Secretary General. Azerbaijan is making an important contribution to NATO operations in Afghanistan in terms of personnel, training and especially as a transit state. Mr. Secretary General, how important and significant do you think Azerbaijan's contribution to the success of the operation is?

NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen: Of course, the contribution Azerbaijan has made to our operation in Afghanistan is very important. It is important in terms of the military personnel, training and, as you have pointed out, transit. We appreciate the work of Azerbaijani servicemen in Afghanistan. Mr. President and I have discussed the possible ways of expanding our cooperation in transit matters. We discussed the prospects for our operation in Afghanistan. As you know, we will gradually transfer primary responsibility for security there to Afghan security forces before the end of 2014. I was very pleased with Mr. President's announcement today that his country would make a financial contribution to the formation of Afghan security forces. It is very important for them because after we leave Afghanistan, we have to be sure that the security forces of this country can take full responsibility. To do this they need the money. We need to finance them. I warmly welcome the statement made today. I also appreciate the contribution the Azerbaijani side has made to humanitarian operations. In short, Azerbaijan plays an important part beyond its borders, in Afghanistan.



As part of a working visit to Belgium, President Ilham Aliyev met with permanent representatives of NATO member states to the North Atlantic Council in Brussels on 15 February.

The President made remarks at the meeting.

Speaking about the development path covered by Azerbaijan in the 20 years since the country regained its independence, the President said the country had successfully completed political, economic, social and other reforms.

President Ilham Aliyev stressed that the successful reforms carried out in Azerbaijan, the restoration of political and economic stability and the strengthening of the political system have led to a rapid economic development and paved the way for major investment. Azerbaijan, a country possessing ample reserves of oil and gas today, is playing an important part in European energy security.

The economic development dynamics shows that we will achieve all our goals, the President of Azerbaijan said. Stressing that underlying the country's achievements was a prudent policy, President Aliyev spoke about Azerbaijan's foreign political successes and pointed to the strengthening international standing.

The President emphasized that Azerbaijan enjoys great confidence in the world today and the country's election to the UN Security Council is highly important from this standpoint.

The President of Azerbaijan pointed to Azerbaijan's successful cooperation with international organizations, including NATO.

Touching upon the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, President Ilham Aliyev reiterated the position of our country. He said the conflict should be resolved within the framework of international law, solely on the basis of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

Speaking next were permanent representatives of NATO member states. They said their countries support the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

Touching upon Azerbaijan's cooperation with NATO, the permanent representatives praised our country's participation in the peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan. They said their respective countries attach great importance to relations with Azerbaijan.

Speaking about the economic development of Azerbaijan, the speakers emphasized the country's important role in European energy security.

Then, President Ilham Aliyev responded to questions from heads of permanent missions about the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan's role in the energy security of Europe, etc.

25 – 27.03.2012

Working visit to the Republic of Korea

On 25 February 2012, President Ilham Aliyev left for a working visit to the Republic of Korea to attend the Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul.



The nuclear security summit is dedicated to the prevention of nuclear terrorism, which poses a serious threat to the international community in the 21st century. The summit, being attended by heads of state and government from more than 50 countries, as well as heads of international organizations, discusses key nuclear security issues, including the fight against nuclear terrorism, protection of nuclear materials and facilities, prevention of the illicit trafficking in nuclear materials and problems relating to nuclear security against the backdrop of the events at the Fukushima nuclear power plant.

The participation of President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, the head of the leading country of the South Caucasus, in the summit is an indication of the importance attached to our country internationally.

As part of the summit, a reception in honor of heads of delegations was hosted on behalf of President of the Republic of Korea Lee Myung-bak on 26 March.

President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev attended the ceremony. The ceremony was followed by a luncheon involving heads of delegations.

At the end of the day, a working dinner was hosted for members of delegations by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Republic of Korea.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev addressed the summit.

- Dear Mr. President,

Dear colleagues,

First of all, I would like to thank the President of the Republic of Korea for hosting such an important event and the kind invitation extended to Azerbaijan to participate at the Summit.

Azerbaijan attaches a big importance to nuclear security and joined the major international treaties such as International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material.

Azerbaijan recognizes an important role of the International Atomic Energy Agency in developing nuclear security regulations and standards. Our country managed to build a successful co-operation with the Agency on various aspects of nuclear security. We intend to deepen further existing fruitful



co-operation via our national Agency on Regulation of Nuclear and Radiological Activities founded in 2008.

Taking into account proliferation challenges and due to our geographic location, Azerbaijan attaches a particular importance to the prevention of use of our territory as a transit route for nuclear trafficking. In close cooperation with international partners, Azerbaijan developed a strong system to control our export on the basis of a solid legislation based on high standards. This system proved itself as a reliable mechanism in preventing nuclear trafficking.

Unfortunately, due to the continued occupation of 20% of our lands by neighboring Armenia, 130 km of our internationally recognized borders in the South and the substantial part of our borders with Armenia remain without any control. As a result of Armenian-Azerbaijani, Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, these territories have already been occupied by Armenia for almost 20 years. Armenia ignores four resolutions of the United Nations Security Council that demand unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all occupying forces from the territories of Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan strongly supports the efforts to strengthen the security and safety of the civilian nuclear facilities in accordance with their geographical features and eventual trans-frontier consequences for environment. Recent worst experience in Fukushima nuclear plant caused by tsunami must be taken very seriously. Azerbaijan is very concerned by the outdated Armenian Metsamor Nuclear Power Plant, which started to operate in 1976. The Metsamor Plant carries potential catastrophic threat to the whole region and the immediate neighborhood. It is located in the highly seismic zone with shortage of water resources to cool its aging reactor. The EU has already classified the Metsamor's reactors as the "oldest and least reliable" category of all the 66 Soviet reactors built in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The report calls Metsamor "a danger to the entire region".

Therefore, we propose to introduce the practice of establishing regional nuclear security and safety regimes that will delegate obligations to the party wishing to build a nuclear facility. It can envisage such procedures as getting approval of its neighbors, exchanging information in a transparent manner on safety and security of these sites, receiving inspections and paying compensation for the risks.

Trying to consolidate further international consensus and cooperation within the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism and its Statement of Principles joined by Azerbaijan, we are planning to hold a high-level debate in the UN Security Council during our Presidency in May. It will provide a suitable occasion for discussions on broader issues of anti-terrorism, including fighting nuclear terrorism.

Thank you.

The second day of the summit was dedicated to an analysis of national measures in the field of nuclear security and international cooperation in the strengthening of nuclear security. The summit saw world leaders exchange views on new efforts towards long-term and effective international cooperation in the prevention of nuclear terrorism. Speakers emphasized that it was important for heads of state to form a structure where it would be possible to share the best practices and facilitate the implemen-



tation of commitments assumed. The summit participants noted that despite the progress made over the past two years, the threat of nuclear terrorism is still there and the world is moving in the right direction to prevent it.

The summit stressed that the Seoul meeting of more than 50 heads of state and government intending to take more serious measures and new commitments to prevent the threat of nuclear terrorism was giving hope that new and more tangible steps would be taken in this field. As a result, the world population will feel safe from nuclear terrorism. The discussions also touched upon the prevention of terrorist threats at nuclear facilities, reducing the use of such raw materials as enriched uranium and plutonium. One of the key issues discussed was prevention of the use of nuclear energy and radioactive materials for commercial purposes.



Then a collective picture was taken. Then a luncheon involving heads of state and government was hosted. President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev attended the luncheon.

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

- 13.01.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received delegation led by the Chairman of the National Assembly of Korea, Park Hee-tae
- 17.01.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Deputy speaker of the Georgian parliament and Chairman of the Georgia-Azerbaijan inter-parliamentary friendship group, Fridon Todua
- 18.01.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Prime Minister of Moldova, Vladimir Filat
- 18.01.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the the Deputy Assistant US Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, Eric Rubin
- 18.01.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Co-chairman of the Turkey-Azerbaijan Inter-parliamentary Friendship Group of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Necdet Unuvar
- 19.01.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Iraqi parliament, Hammam Hammoudi
- 06.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a French parliamentary delegation led by the deputy chairman of the France-Caucasus friendship group, the head of the France-Azerbaijan working group, a member of the Centrists and Republicans Union political group of the Senate, Senator Nathalie Goulet
- 07.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of newly appointed Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to Azerbaijan, Hong Jiuyin
- 07.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of newly appointed Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia to Azerbaijan, Raden Prayono Atiyanto
- 07.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of newly appointed Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Albania to Azerbaijan, Altin Kodra
- 07.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the EU Special Representative for South Caucasus and crisis in Georgia, Philippe Lefort
- 07.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Turkey, Necdet Ozel
- 09.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Prime Minister of Albanian, Sali Berisha
- 10.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Special Representative of the NATO Secretary General for Caucasus and Central Asia, James Appathurai

- 11.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Minister of Tourism of Argentina, Carlos Enrique Meyer
- 13.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received outgoing Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Uzbekistan to Azerbaijan, Ismatulla Ergashev
- 14.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Foreign Minister of United Arab Emirates, Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan
- 18.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the French Minister of Transport, Thierry Mariani, and Advisor to the French President on Diplomatic Affairs, Damien Loras
- 20.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation of the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Relations
- 23.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Turkish Minister of Internal Affairs, Idris Naim Sahin
- 24.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, Edgars Rinkevics
- 27.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Chairman of Olympic Committee of Serbia and the founder of "Foundation Ana and Vlade Divac", Vlade Divac
- 27.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Romanian Presidential Security Advisor, Iulian Fota
- 28.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Deputy Chairman of the Senate of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mir Jan Jamali
- 29.02.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Khalid Shamim Wayne
- 02.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad
- 05.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Tatarstan of the Russian Federation, Ildar Khalikov
- 05.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group Igor Popov (Russia), Robert Bradtke (USA), Jacques Faure (France), as well as the special representative of the OSCE chairman-in-office, Andrzej Kaspzyk
- 05.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Director of the World Bank's strategy and operations, Theodore Ahlers
- 07.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Chairman of bp Carl-Henric Svanberg

- 07.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Minister of Infrastructure and the Environment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Mrs. Melanie Schultz van Haegen-Maas Geesteranus
- 09.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by the Minister of Culture and Communication of France, Frederic Mitterrand
- 15.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Guido Westerwelle
- 15.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received the Serbian Presidential Adviser on Economic Affairs, Biserka Jevtimijević Drinjaković, and the Serbian Minister of Economy and Regional Development, Nebojsa Ciric
- 28.03.2012 President Ilham Aliyev received outgoing Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Bulgaria to Azerbaijan, Vasil Kalinov



DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY OF THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN, H.E. Mr. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV IN FIRST QUARTER OF 2012

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

10 – 12.01.2011 Working Visit to the United States of America

On 10 January 2012, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Elmar Mammadyarov paid a visit to the U.S to attend the United Nations Security Council meetings.

On 11 January 2012, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Elmar Mammadyarov made a statement at the Security Council, Briefing on Somalia.

Remarks by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Azerbaijan Mr. Elmar Mammadyarov

I would like to welcome Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of South Africa Her Excellency Maite Mkoana-Mashabane. I also thank Under Secretary-General Lynn Pascoe, Commissioner for Peace and Security of the African Union Ambassador Lamamra and the representatives of AMISOM Troop Contributing Countries for their briefings.

I would like to express our support to the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia in its efforts to overcome difficulties, to achieve reconciliation and to build a secure, stable, united, democratic and prosperous nation.

Let me also express our full support to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), as well as to commend the efforts of the Somalia security forces and to pay tribute to the Troop Contributing Countries.

I would also like to commend the efforts of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and its Member States in contributing to achieve peace and national reconciliation in Somalia and mobilizing assistance for urgent needs of the peoples affected by humanitarian crisis in this country.

We must continue to approach the complex situation in Somalia with care and sensitivity and on the basis of a comprehensive strategy aimed at addressing the political, humanitarian and security problems in this country through the collaborative efforts of all stakeholders.

As Somalia moves towards the end of the transition in August 2012, special efforts should be made to protect security and political gains of the past few years, as well as to ensure that all steps ultimately contribute to the delivery of the road map.

It is obvious that security gains on the ground cannot be consolidated without adequate assistance from the international community, including for providing AMISOM with all necessary resources to strengthen the Mission's capability and to contribute implement its mandate. As the Secretary-

General made it clear in his recent report on Somalia, the resources available to the United Nations and AMISOM for Somalia are not commensurate with the challenges or the mandates given. We fully support the Secretary-General's view that Somalia needs sustained help in order to implement the road map. The decisions of the Africa Union Peace and Security Council of 5 January 2012 and its call to the Security Council in this regard should also be taken into careful consideration.

We also stress the importance of continued international assistance for the building of Somalia security institutions. We take note of the need for adequate military assets to fight an asymmetric terrorist attacks.

We are gravely concern that the humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate in Somalia. Azerbaijan responded to the appeals of the respective governments and international organizations to provide urgent aid aimed at addressing the humanitarian crisis in the Horn of Africa, including Somalia – the worst-affected country in the region. It is important that the international community continues supporting Somalia, including by contributing to the United Nations Consolidated Appeal for this country. At the same time, all parties must allow unimpeded humanitarian access and refrain from actions which threaten the safety of the local population and those assisting them. There is also a need to redouble efforts to find long-term solutions for refugees and internally displaced people in Somalia. Azerbaijan is ready to continue its support to those in need in Somalia and other countries of the region.

On 12 January 2012, Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met his South African counterpart, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane and Portuguese Secretary of State Luís Brites Pereira. During the meeting they discussed prospects of cooperation in various spheres between Azerbaijan, South Africa and Portugal. In particular, the foreign ministers of Azerbaijan and South Africa which presides over the UN Security Council discussed issues of interest in terms of bilateral cooperation and stressed the importance of mutual visits, which will contribute to the development of relations.

Azerbaijan and Portugal intend to develop cooperation in such areas as energy, infrastructure, telecommunications and tourism, agreed during Mr. Mammadyarov's meeting with the Portuguese Secretary of State. Also discussed was cooperation within the UN and other international organisations.

On the same day, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Elmar Mammadyarov made a statement at the Security Council Debate on Cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations: United Nations-African Union partnership.

***Statement by H.E. Mr. Elmar Mammadyarov,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan***



Mr. President,

At the outset, I would like to thank the South African presidency for convening this debate on the United Nations – African Union partnership. We welcome the presence at this very important meeting of His Excellency Mr. Jacob Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa. We are grateful for the report of the Secretary-General Mr. Ban Ki-moon. I would also like to welcome the delegation of the African Union Commission and chairs of the African sub-regional organizations.

Over the last decade, the role of the African Union and sub-regional organizations has increased significantly. Indeed, not all regional organizations may boast of their ability and political will to understand the root causes of armed conflicts and to contribute effectively to their resolution.

As a country suffering from the occupation of the significant part of its territory and the forcible

displacement of hundreds of thousands of its citizens, Azerbaijan fully realizes the threats and challenges affecting the countries with unresolved conflicts, including those in Africa.

The African Union has made great efforts with regard to promote peace, security and stability on the continent and demonstrated its ability to take the lead. The launch of the African Peace and Security Architecture and the establishment of its constitutive elements, as well as the African Union's peace support operations authorized by the Security Council should be particularly noted.

The challenges that Africa face today and that constitute a considerable part of the Security Council's deliberations can be better addressed through collective political and diplomatic efforts. High interest in today's debate demonstrates the vivid commitment of the international community to support African countries in bringing stability and ensuring sustainable development on the continent.

Over the recent years, we have seen progress that has been achieved in developing the strategic relationship between the United Nations and the African Union in the area of peace and security. At the same time, we have to admit that challenges still remain and more should be done to further strengthen this relationship to effectively address common collective security concerns in Africa.

It is critical that we further strengthen our joint efforts to prevent conflicts before they occur. Greater focus in the area of conflict prevention and mediation acquires additional significance. Development of common guidelines by the United Nations and the African Union as a framework for mediation in Africa would contribute to achieving this objective. It is crucial that all Member States strictly adheres to their obligations as laid down in the United Nations Charter with respect to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States. Important determination in this regard has also been made by the General Assembly in its resolution of 22 June 2011 on strengthening the role of mediation in the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflict prevention and resolution (A/RES/65/283).

We recognize the vital role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction. United Nations and the African Union need to work to ensure that women and gender perspectives are fully integrated into all peace and security efforts undertaken by the two organizations, including by building the necessary capacity.

It is important that the UN Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, as well as the secretariats of both organizations further enhance their relationship, including through annual meetings and more intensified informal communication between them.

As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report, efforts to find a solution to ensure sustainable financing for African Union peace support operations need to be continued. While the steps taken by the AU in developing its own financing mechanisms are commendable, other means and options provided by the United Nations and international community should also be available in this regard, including in the areas of prevention, management and resolution of conflict, as well as peacebuilding.

Mr. President,

Over the recent period, Azerbaijan has significantly developed its cooperation with the African Union and its Member States. The status of observer with the African Union allowed my country to advance mutually beneficial relations and dialogue.

Azerbaijan is actively participating in implementing various assistance programmes for Africa. We responded to the appeals of the respective governments and international organizations to provide urgent aid aimed at addressing the humanitarian crisis in the Horn of Africa and other African countries. Furthermore, we contributed to support the Institution and Capacity Building Program of the African Union Commission and offered scholarships for diplomats from African countries to study

in Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy. Azerbaijan has also joined the work of one of the Peacebuilding Commission's country-specific configurations and looks forward to continue its efforts in this regard. We have started consultations with the relevant stakeholders to apply in Africa our rich experience in the field of demining, provided by Azerbaijan National Agency for Mine Action.

We look forward to advancing our cooperation with the AU Commission and African countries and are planning to host in Azerbaijan, in cooperation with the United Nations and the African Union, a high-level international conference on the issues of Africa's concern.

Mr. President,

In conclusion, I would like to express our full support of South Africa's draft Security Council resolution aimed at developing effective partnership relations and cooperation between the two organizations.

Last but not least, I would also like to take this opportunity and stress the importance for the Council to monitor the implementation of its already adopted resolutions, in particular those related to prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.

Thank you.

10.02.2012 Working visit to the Kingdom of Belgium

On 10 February 2012, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Elmar Mammadyarov paid a visit to the Kingdom of Belgium to attend at a conference "EU-Azerbaijan: new horizons for the partnership" organized by the European People's Party in Brussels.

During the visit Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with his Belgian counterpart Didier Reynders in Brussels. The sides discussed at the meeting strengthening of bilateral political dialogue between Azerbaijan and Belgium, availability of broad opportunities for development of economic relations, leading role of Azerbaijan in implementing international projects in the region, settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, regional and international issues, situation in Afghanistan, introduction of visa-free regime between the two countries for holders of diplomatic and service passports and other issues.



The sides expressed satisfaction over development of bilateral relations and stressed the importance of deepening these relations. Minister Mammadyarov extended an invitation to his Belgian counterpart to visit Azerbaijan at a convenient time. Minister Reynders thanked for this invitation and expressed hope his visit to Azerbaijan would take place in near future.

On the same day, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Elmar Mammadyarov attended at a conference "EU-Azerbaijan: new horizons for the partnership". During the conference Minister Elmar Mammadyarov made a statement, in which he underlined that Azerbaijan urged the EU and the European Parliament to take a position based on the norms and principles of international law and to avoid "double standards" in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

Azerbaijani Foreign Minister appreciated the resolution on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict adopted in the European Parliament in 2010. According to the resolution, the world public was informed about the importance of the Armenian forces' withdrawal from the Azerbaijani occupied territories and thousands of Azerbaijani internally displaced persons' return home.

Minister expressed confidence that this document will not be the last one among similar documents, the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry said.

18 – 20.02.2012

Working visit to the United Mexican States

On 18 February 2012, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Elmar Mammadyarov paid a visit to the United Mexican States to attend at the G20 Informal Ministerial Meeting in Los Cabos.

On 20 February 2012, Minister Elmar Mammadyarov participated as the leading speaker at the second session titled “Addressing current global challenges in an effective manner” during the G20 informal ministerial meeting.



“Azerbaijan faced a lack of mechanisms to execute decisions adopted by the UN Security Council, namely four resolutions on the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. UN Security Council should show respect to its decisions, and it is necessary to create mechanisms for their execution,” Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov said addressing an informal meeting of the G20 foreign ministers in Mexico.

Mr. Mammadyarov during his speech at the second session of the G20 foreign ministers said the UN should have more influential authorities, which is one of the main conditions for ensuring global and regional security.

Azerbaijan was represented at a meeting of G20 foreign ministers for the first time in Los Cabos, Mexico. This year Mexico presides over the G20.

In addition to the G20 member countries, 10 and one organisation the African Union, Algeria, Austria, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Chile, Colombia, Norway, Singapore, Spain and the UAE are all invited to the meeting.

Mr. Mammadyarov in his speech also touched upon the consistent development and poverty eradication, stressing Azerbaijan's achievements in this sphere.

Mexican Foreign Minister called on other countries by the example of Azerbaijan to assist poor countries in Africa.



In Mexico Mr. Mammadyarov also met with U.S. Secretary of State, Foreign Ministers of Colombia, the United Arab Emirates, Australia, Mexico, Turkey, Benin, Chile, South Africa and head of the African Union delegation.

05.03.2012

Working visit to the Czech Republic

On 5 March 2012, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, Elmar Mammadyarov paid a visit to the Czech Republic to attend at the 17th meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM) of GUAM in Prague.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov (chaired the meeting), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia Grigol Vashadze, Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Moldova Julian Leanca, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Konstantin Grishchenko, Secretary General of GUAM Valery Chechelashvili participated at the meeting. Meeting of the Council of GUAM was held during the meeting of heads of foreign ministers of the “Eastern Partnership”.

The Program of the "Chairmanship of the Republic of Azerbaijan" for 2012 was examined by foreign ministers and national coordination Council was instructed to elaborate an action plan at the next meeting of the Council, for the implementation of the Program.

CFM agreed to coordinate the "Plan for the interaction of diplomatic missions of GUAM member states accredited to the UN, OSCE, Council of Europe and other international organizations in Vienna".

CFM welcomed the initiative of the Republic of Azerbaijan regarding the intensification of relations with OSCE, organization of the visit of GUAM Secretary General to Vienna and delivering a speech at the Permanent Council of OSCE. CFM also discussed the cooperation and coordination matters of GUAM member states within international organisations. Foreign Ministers appreciated the initiative of Azerbaijan regarding the organization of CFM.

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

- 18.01.2012 Meeting with the delegation led by Chairman of the Committee of the Iraqi Parliament, Hammam Hamoudi
- 18.01.2012 Meeting with the U.S Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, Eric Rubin
- 18.01.2012 Meeting with Moldovan Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Lurie Leancă
- 18.01.2012 Meeting with Co-chair of the Turkey-Azerbaijan Interparliamentary Friendship Group at the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Necdet Unuvar
- 24.01.2012 Meeting with the newly appointed Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to Azerbaijan, Hong Jiuyin
- 06.02.2012 Meeting with the newly appointed Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia to Azerbaijan, Raden Prayono Atiyanto
- 13.02.2012 Meeting with the outgoing Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Uzbekistan to Azerbaijan, Ismatilla Ergashev
- 14.02.2012 Meeting with the Foreign Minister of United Arab Emirates, Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan
- 24.02.2012 Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, Edgars Rinkevics
- 29.02.2012 Meeting with the Deputy Chairman of the Senate of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mir Jan Jamali
- 01.03.2012 Meeting with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Khalid Shamim Wayne
- 02.03.2012 Meeting with the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Argentina, Hector Timerman
- 05.03.2012 Meeting with the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ukraine, Konstantin Grishenko
- 06.03.2012 Meeting with the with the Deputy Undersecretary of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, Fatih Ceylan

- 06.03.2012 Meeting with the co-chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group Igor Popov (Russia), Robert Bradtke (USA), Jacques Faure (France), as well as the special representative of the OSCE chairman-in-office, Andrzej Kaspzyk
- 07.03.2012 Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Akbar Salehi
- 07.03.2012 Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Ahmet Davutoglu
- 09.03.2012 Meeting with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Croatia, Josko Klisovic
- 09.03.2012 Meeting with the delegation of European Parliament (EP), consisting of Bas Eickhout, Dan Jorgensen, Norbert Neuser, and Alen Destech, member of the Belgian Parliament
- 12.03.2012 Meeting with the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Amankeldy Zhumabayev
- 14.03.2012 Meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Guido Westerwelle

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

6 – 7 March 2012, Baku



On 6 March 2012 the official welcoming ceremony of President of the Republic of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili took place upon his arrival on the official visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

During the meeting, the sides expressed their satisfaction with the successful development of relations between Azerbaijan and Georgia in different spheres and pointed to the importance of mutual high-level visits from the standpoint of a further deepening of cooperation.

The sides also expressed their confidence that bilateral relations would continue to develop and exchanged views on bilateral, regional and international matters.

Following a face-to-face meeting, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili held a meeting in an expanded format with the participation of delegations.



After the meeting in an expanded format, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili attended a signing ceremony of Azerbaijani-Georgian documents. "The Memorandum of Understanding between the State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the legal entity of public law, the National Statistical Service of Georgia, on cooperation in the area of statistics" was signed by the Chairman of the State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Arif Valiyev, and the Executive Director of the National Statistical Department of Georgia, Zaza Chelidze.

"The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of Georgia on cooperation in the area of sport" was signed by the Minister of Youth and Sports of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Azad Rahimov, and the Minister of Youth Affairs of Georgia, Vladimir Vardzelashvili.

The document signing ceremony was followed by a press conference of President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili.

Statement by President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

Dear Mr. President, dear friend!

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Let me warmly welcome you to Azerbaijan, Mr. President. You are paying an official visit to Azerbaijan today. I can say that the visit has been very successful. The talks we conducted today show again that Georgian-Azerbaijani relations are at a high level. Your visit will give a powerful impetus to the development of these ties. The history of our relations is also very rich. Georgian and Azerbaijani peoples have lived in an atmosphere of good neighborliness and brotherhood for centuries, and today we are continuing this wonderful tradition. I am very pleased that Georgia and Azerbaijan, as two independent states, are cooperating successfully.

There are many similarities in our history. The history of our independence is also the same. We have been living as independent states for 20 years and have made great strides over the years. We are very pleased that Georgia has steadily developed under your leadership. The reforms ongoing in Georgia are receiving good feedback and the development of Georgia under your leadership is already a reality. We, as friends and brothers, rejoice in this and believe that the development of Georgia under your leadership will be very successful and all the problems facing the country will be resolved.



With regard to bilateral relations, they are very broad. Today we discussed practically all aspects of our bilateral agenda. We saw again that there are no problems between us. In fact, our joint initiatives are enriching our countries, expanding their capabilities and having a positive impact on other regions.

Georgian-Azerbaijani relations have gone beyond regional boundaries, our joint initiatives have already assumed international importance. Our political relations are at a very high level. Reciprocal visits are regularly carried out. I am very glad that Azerbaijani companies have begun to invest heavily

in the Georgian economy. This investment has a great future. The indicators for the previous year are also very positive. The turnover between us is growing rapidly and I am sure it will continue to grow this year.

Energy issues were discussed again today. These issues have already been resolved. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum and the Baku-Supsa oil and gas pipelines have dramatically changed the geopolitical situation in the region. Today, these projects are serving the development of our countries and contributing to energy security.

With regard to energy security, we will further ensure the energy security of Europe together – both in terms of oil and gas. I am very glad that Azerbaijan has contributed to the energy security of Georgia.

Transport issues were also high on the agenda today. The leaders of our respective agencies made presentations. Transit issues were discussed. Cooperation in the humanitarian sphere is at a very high level. This cooperation has a long history. Currently, the Azerbaijanis living in Georgia and the Georgians living in Azerbaijan are making a positive impact on humanitarian processes and all other areas. Of course, it is our task to create a comfortable life for them in our countries. I am very pleased that the problems of our compatriots are successfully resolved in both Georgia and Azerbaijan. This factor, of course, is always part of our bilateral agenda.

In short, the friendly and brotherly relations between us are a reality. These are not just words but a reality, a requirement of the day. I have no doubt that Georgia and Azerbaijan, as two friendly and brotherly countries, will be together for many years to come. Our future is in unity. Only together can we achieve what we want and meet the goals of our countries.

I want to say a few words about our activities on the international arena. We support each other in all international organizations. This is a very sincere and substantial support. In all international organizations we vote for one another, which further underlines the strategic nature of Georgian-Azerbaijani relations. I can say that Azerbaijan will continue to support Georgia in all international organizations. I am sure we will receive similar support from you in the future. Once again, welcome to our country! You are our dear friend. We are bound by the ties of personal friendship, which also has a positive impact on bilateral relations.

Very warm welcome to Azerbaijan again! I wish you and all the people of Georgia happiness and continued success.

Statement by President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili

Dear Mr. President!

We are always pleased to come to Azerbaijan. This is not only an official visit, but a visit that is very encouraging indeed. It gives us very positive energy. Such visits generate positive energy, feeding the cooperation between our countries. I would also like to note that Azerbaijan has always been a country with very good prospects.

Mr. President, Azerbaijan is not only a rapidly developing country under your leadership, but also a regional leader, a state known at a global level. Azerbaijan proceeds from its own interests in many international organizations. Today, Azerbaijan is a member of the UN Security Council.

Azerbaijan clearly plays a positive role in all matters. We feel Azerbaijan's assistance in any issue. This is the strength of our relationship. In essence, this is the cornerstone of stability and development in the region. This is taking place precisely on the basis of your activities, your strong will, the will of the Azerbaijani people. You are a truly independent country. You can set an example for many countries in the region. Azerbaijan is a good example for us and for others. We shouldn't take this for granted. We have seen different developments in the region and believe that from this point of view Azerbaijan is an exception.



Azerbaijan attaches great importance to these relations. We think we have resolved all the issues and problems that stood before us and achieved tangible results.

I am always happy to meet with my brother Ilham Aliyev. We act on a specific foundation and conduct consultations on many issues. We are implementing a large-scale railway project. As part of this project, Azerbaijan will invest \$320 million. This will be a joint route that will link us with Europe. Both cargo and passengers will be transported. Every year the Baku-

Tbilisi-Kars railway will transport two million people from Azerbaijan to Turkey via Georgia. Thus, they will obtain access to Europe. As a result, Georgia's relations with Europe will become even broader and Azerbaijan will contribute to that. From this standpoint, our relations are an important factor in achieving our development goals.

We cooperate in the energy sector. This is a multi-faceted cooperation, and it is already evident. Georgia is also growing rapidly. The assistance of fraternal Azerbaijan has contributed crucially to this development. This development is taking place because of the assistance we receive from Azerbaijan. So the independence of Azerbaijan also means Georgia's independence.

We intend to set up a power engineering company. It will export electricity to third countries. And this ultimately means that we will build new hydro power stations and Azerbaijan's funds will be invested in many spheres. This will open up many opportunities for us, our citizens living in Georgia. We intend to expand these opportunities – Georgia's energy opportunities.

I also want to note that we have reached agreement on the construction of a plant between Poti and Kulevi. Its construction will start this year. This project shows our mutually beneficial cooperation.

Azerbaijan invests in Georgia, our companies are doing relevant work in our countries. For example, Azerbaijan's biggest company, the State Oil Company, operates in Georgia, it has already invested a lot and will expand its activities. This activity is highly important for the region, for its people. We are very pleased that it goes beyond the region. We are pleased with that.

Thus, Baku is implementing major infrastructure projects in the region. The improving roads – to the Georgian border and from the Georgian borders to other countries – already expand our capabilities. The Baku-Tbilisi trunk road will be an additional important means to the strengthening of our friendship.

We must also cooperate in the field of education. We think we need to simplify border-crossing procedures for passengers. They must be free from any bureaucratic obstacles and cross the border freely.

This is a desire of the peoples of both countries – to create better living conditions.

We talked about friendship here. During the meetings we have seen that our agreements and achievements are measured by figures. For example, in one year our turnover exceeded \$1 billion. As for the trade balance, it is still negative for Georgia. And this is natural. But exports from Georgia to Azerbaijan are growing every year. This shows that our relations are mutually beneficial. All this is based on Heydar Aliyev's strategic outlook. My friend Ilham Aliyev has said that these relations have deep historical roots.

I will also make a statement in the Milli Mejlis. I want to say that the relationship developing for centuries allows us to see how closely connected our two countries are. From this standpoint, friendly and fraternal relations are important to all of us, and it is felt very well. This is not just an emotional statement. Ilham Aliyev's role is important in any field. Azerbaijan is pursuing this policy. It is thanks to this policy that Georgia has maintained its independence. Azerbaijani investment has also contributed to better working conditions in Georgia. Nevertheless, the geopolitical situation is still complicated.

There are different issues. But friends always hold their hands together at such moments. We are working closely to eliminate all obstacles.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to you for this warm welcome and for all these successful and great results. This is extremely important for our citizens, for our future. Thank you.

On the same day, President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili, has visited the Heydar Aliyev Foundation.

The Georgian President was greeted by Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev.

The distinguished guest was informed of the objectives and activities of the Foundation which has been established in memory of the nationwide leader of the Azerbaijani people. It was indicated that the Foundation was established to study and promote the rich heritage of the nationwide leader by implementing various socioeconomic and humanitarian projects, facilitating the progress of Azerbaijan, developing its culture and studying its history.

President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili reviewed the photos from the great leader's archive which document different periods of his activities, as well as various exhibits.



During familiarization with the Foundation, the Georgian President was informed that the period of the great leader's presidency was one of the most glorious pages in the history of Azerbaijan. The socioeconomic development, which is viewed by the international community as a major achievement of our country, as well as the achievements still being made, are products of the nationwide leader's activities.

The distinguished guest examined numerous documents covering most different aspects of the phenomenal personality's life and creating a broad impression about a whole period in the history of Azerbaijan. The guest also reviewed the presents made to the great leader by renowned politicians of the world, statements by influential scientists, culture figures and artists about the founder of the independent Azerbaijani state. The President of Georgia also reviewed the photos taken during Heydar Aliyev's meetings with leaders of foreign countries.

President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili left a note in the Book of Distinguished Guests. The Georgian President was presented with a gift from the Foundation.

Familiarization with the Heydar Aliyev Foundation produced an indelible impression on President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili.

After familiarization with the Foundation, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev has hosted an official reception in honor of President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili who is paying an official visit to Azerbaijan.



“Our personal and interstate relations have a great history and are based on friendship, brotherhood and mutual support,” President Ilham Aliyev said. He added the future of the relations between the two countries was great.

Touching upon the issues discussed, President Aliyev said the talks focused on the bilateral agenda, regional and international matters.

Noting the presence of full understanding about the future of relations between Georgia and Azerbaijan, the President added, “In addition, the two nations have historically had neighborly relations and the years of independence have further strengthened this relationship.”

“The negotiations have identified future priorities of bilateral relations, and I am sure that in the future there will be even more positive results of cooperation,” President Ilham Aliyev said. He spoke about the projects the two countries are implementing in the fields of transport and energy security. The closer coordination of efforts in this direction, the more successful these projects will be, President of Azerbaijan added.

Stressing that Azerbaijan and Georgia continuously support each other in international organizations, the President said that bilateral relations are of unique nature.

President Ilham Aliyev said he treats Georgia and the Georgian people with great respect. He noted that Georgia is a country with great traditions, diverse culture and ancient history. Indicating that Azerbaijan was pleased with Georgia’s successes, the President said that successful development was possible only through consolidation efforts. “Azerbaijan and Georgia are two friends and brothers. This was, is and always will be the case,” President Aliyev said.

Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili spoke about the relations between the two countries, adding that mutual respect among our peoples has historical roots.

Speaking highly about the merits of nationwide leader Heydar Aliyev, President Mikheil Saakashvili recalled his meetings with him.

Noting that every time he comes to Azerbaijan he witnesses great changes and that the country’s development was very gratifying, the President of Georgia said Azerbaijan was a country with a great future.

The Georgian President said Azerbaijan’s election to the UN Security Council attests to the future progress of the country. He stressed that Azerbaijan’s development was made possible by the successful continuation of Heydar Aliyev’s policies by President Ilham Aliyev.

“Today, it is impossible to imagine such rapid development of Georgia without Azerbaijan’s support,” President Mikheil Saakashvili said. He recalled the assistance Azerbaijan provided Georgia in difficult times, stressing that the Georgian people would never forget that.



“I am sure that Azerbaijan will always be a strong and independent state,” President Saakashvili said. He expressed his confidence that Azerbaijani-Georgian friendship would be passed on to future generations. As part of an official visit to Azerbaijan, President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili reviewed the Jumeirah Bilgah Beach Hotel.

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met the Georgian President.

It was noted that Jumeirah Bilgah Beach Hotel is the first hotel of the Jumeirah Group in the CIS.

The two Presidents toured the hotel complex and reviewed its different floors. Then President Ilham Aliyev and President Mikheil Saakashvili had luncheon together.

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

12 March 2012, Baku



On 12 March 2012 an official welcoming ceremony was held for President of the Republic of Croatia, Ivo Josipović, who was on an official visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Following the official welcoming ceremony, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva held a joint meeting with President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović and his wife Tatjana Josipović.

Then President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović held a face-to-face meeting.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the development of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Croatia in different areas. It was noted that there was a good potential for a further expansion of ties between the two countries.

The parties also pointed to the importance of the official visit of President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović to Azerbaijan from the standpoint of a further strengthening of cooperation between the two countries.

During the meeting the sides exchanged views on bilateral, regional and international issues. After their face-to-face meeting, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović held a meeting in an expanded format with the participation of delegations.



Addressing the meeting, President Ilham Aliyev said:

- Dear Mr. President!

Distinguished guests!

I would like to welcome you to Azerbaijan again. Welcome! I am confident that your visit will play an important part in the development of relations between our countries. We have discussed many issues concerning bilateral cooperation. We have had a very sincere and open discussion. I am sure that the results of your visit will be very successful and our cooperation will expand to cover many areas.

As we have noted today, there is a very active political dialogue between us. Our political relations are at an excellent level. Your visit is a good indicator of that. But I believe that we should pay attention to other aspects of our lives. Today we have discussed economic cooperation and investment opportunities. I think the successful development of our bilateral relations will promote more effective ties between our regions. Azerbaijan plays a crucial role in the Caspian region. You are one of the leading states of our region. In other words, the close ties between our two countries will definitely have a good impact on regional cooperation.

I am confident that the results of your visit will be successful and our countries will get even closer to each other.

We are very grateful to you for accepting our invitation to come to Azerbaijan. We reached this agreement at one of our previous meetings. I hope that you will have an interesting and fruitful visit.

Welcome to our country!

Expressing his gratitude for the warm welcome, President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović said:

- Mr. President, thank you for the warm welcome and hospitality. My delegation and I are very pleased to be here.

Underlying this is not only our political cooperation, but also the presence of good opportunities for cooperation in economic and cultural spheres. In other words, our delegation is ready for a detailed discussion of our future economic cooperation. We are aware of your ambitious plans associated with investments in the region. There are good opportunities for effective cooperation between South-Eastern Europe and the Caucasus region. Our countries have had a difficult history. From a historical point of view, our experiences are similar. Our bilateral relations are based on mutual understanding. Today we will sign three agreements. It is also important and will contribute to our economic cooperation.

Thank you for your hospitality. I am absolutely convinced that not only this meeting but also all the meetings we will have today will be fruitful.

After the meeting of President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović in an expanded format with the participation of delegations, the ceremony of signing of Azerbaijani-Croatian documents was held.

“The Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Republic of Croatia on cooperation in mine action and mine clearance” was signed by the Director of the Azerbaijan National Agency for Mine Action (ANAMA), Nazim Ismayilov, and Deputy Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia Joško Klisović.



“The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Republic of Croatia on exemption from visa requirements for persons holding diplomatic and service passports” was signed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and Deputy Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia Joško Klisović.

“The Agreement between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Croatia on avoidance of double taxation with respect to income and property taxes and on the prevention of tax evasion” was signed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economy of the Republic of Croatia Radimir Čačić.

The document signing ceremony was followed by a press conference of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović.

First the Presidents made statements.

Statement by President Ilham Aliyev

Dear Mr. President!

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen!

Mr. President, first of all, I would like to welcome you to Azerbaijan. I am very glad that you have come to our country with a large delegation and representatives of business circles. We will have a meeting with them today. I am sure that this visit will play an important part in the development of

our relations and in the expansion of our bilateral ties.

The relations between our countries are developing very successfully. As I mentioned in our discussion earlier, Croatia was the first country of your region in which Azerbaijan opened its Embassy. This attests to the fact that the relations between our countries are developing well. I am very pleased with the positive dynamic and potential of our relations. Our political relations are excellent. We cooperate within the framework of international institutions. Azerbaijan takes an active part in the programs being implemented with the participation of NATO and cooperates with the European Union. I would like to congratulate you on the issue of your country's membership in the European Union. I am sure that even as a member of the European Union Croatia will continue supporting Azerbaijan in its integration into European institutions.

We have discussed issues pertaining to our bilateral relations, political and economic ties. I am sure that our delegations will continue their discussions. There is a strong relationship between us. We should also note that economic cooperation between us is not yet at the desired level. The same holds true for our trade. I think it is the energy sector that may contribute to increasing the volume of our trade. I am sure that our business people can help us achieve these goals. From this standpoint, we encourage Azerbaijani companies to invest in Croatia. I do hope that other members of the delegation will also hold consultations in this respect.

We will have a broad economic and political cooperation. This may take place largely after our plans are implemented.

With regard to some traditional areas, we have conducted discussions, the Azerbaijan Caspian Shipping Company intends to buy vessels from Croatia. We are aware that you have such opportunities. And this is yet another measure of our relations. Also, I think we need to continue thinking what other areas we can work together in. Azerbaijan is seeking new investment markets – both public and private investment markets. We would welcome the operation of Croatian companies in Azerbaijan as investors and contractors, as our partners. Azerbaijan's business opportunities will be presented in an event due to be held today. Information will be provided about the implementation of the state investment program.



In other words, all these components will support our common ideas and partnership between our countries. This partnership is important not only for our countries but also for our regions. The Caucasus, Caspian and Balkan regions have good opportunities for a close economic and political cooperation and integration. From this standpoint, Azerbaijan can play a very important part.

We have also discussed regional security issues. I have briefed Mr. President on the talks over the resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijani territories have been under occupation for 20 years now despite four UN Security Council resolutions demanding an immediate withdrawal of Armenian troops from Azerbaijani territory. The Armenians have carried out a policy of ethnic cleansing against the Azerbaijanis. As a result, more than a million of our fellow countrymen have become refugees and IDPs. We have made it clear to the OSCE Minsk Group co-chair countries that this status quo is unacceptable. We hope that an end will be put to the occupation of our lands and the aggressor will be forced to stop the aggression.

We have also discussed our energy cooperation. In essence, it is contributing a lot to our trade. We have also discussed our future gas cooperation. I am sure that members of your delegation will continue these discussions. Because Azerbaijan is diversifying its gas transit routes and European markets are very important to us in this sense.

Mr. President, let me express my gratitude to you and your delegation again. My greetings to all of you and thank you very much for accepting our invitation to come to Azerbaijan. I am sure that your visit will be interesting and productive.

Statement by President Ivo Josipović

Thank you very much, Mr. President!

Dear members of delegations, distinguished guests!

The Croatian side is very grateful to you for this warm welcome. We feel very much at home and among friends here. As indicated earlier, the political relations between our countries are excellent. So our objective now is to develop our economic cooperation. This is why we have come to Azerbaijan with such a broad delegation. Mr. Čačić is a member of our government and First Deputy Prime Minister. He deals specifically with economic affairs. I am also very pleased that we will attend a forum of our investors, contractors and business managers. These people want to cooperate and some of them are already negotiating cooperation opportunities with the government of Azerbaijan and Azerbaijani enterprises.

All the issues you have identified reflect the fruitful nature of our talks and discussions. I want to emphasize that we need to advance our economic cooperation from a regional standpoint. We can cooperate in energy, shipbuilding, agriculture, defense industry, fortification operations and a number of other areas.

You have also touched upon the issue of conflicts in the present-day world. The Nagorno-Karabakh is not the only conflict, there are many others. In Croatia, we also experienced the occupation of our lands during war. I am very pleased that your approach is focused on a negotiated settlement to the conflict. I am well aware that there can be no relationships, trade or economic, in the absence of peace. Our delegations will examine a number of issues, not just those related to economic cooperation but also others.

The three agreements we signed today are highly important for our future cooperation. We hope they will contribute to the strengthening of our relations. We are very interested in cooperating in the tourism sector. We are currently witnessing a tourist inflow not only from Europe, but also from Eastern Europe and the East. We would be happy to see our Azerbaijani friends in Croatia too.

The highly important issues we have discussed relate not only to economic cooperation but also to cultural ties. Mutual understanding in the cultural sphere is important for the development of both political and economic ties.

I was very interested in your statement regarding investment in the region. This is very important for us. Because both our countries have a huge potential in different spheres. I was also interested in your statement concerning social responsibility. This is also very important because Croatia is a socially-oriented state. In essence, we are interested in developing the economy that rests on people's talent.

Thank you very much for your hospitality. I appreciate your efforts to further improve our relations and develop our economic cooperation.

Thank you very much!

Then the Presidents answered questions from journalists.

- *Dragan Nikolić (Croatian TV): Your Excellencies, I have a question for Croatian President Ivo Josipović. Considering Azerbaijan's energy potential as a supplier of gas to the European Union and Croatia, has there been any discussion regarding the purchase of Azerbaijani gas?*

President of Croatia Ivo Josipović: Yes, we have discussed not only this issue but also the entire energy agenda. First Deputy Prime Minister Čačić has also taken part in these discussions. We want to expand these areas of future cooperation. We are aware of the already beginning energy supplies to Europe. We are interested in participating in these projects. Some members of our delegation will have meetings with government officials today. I want to note that First Deputy Prime Minister Čačić will have a meeting with the minister of economic development of Azerbaijan. All this is important for us.

- *Shaig Mammadov (Azerbaijan TV): I have a question for both Presidents. What specific areas in*

Croatia can Azerbaijan invest in?

President Ilham Aliyev: We have discussed this issue with Mr. President. I believe members of our delegations will discuss it more broadly. I have informed Mr. President that Azerbaijan is currently diversifying its financial resources. We already have plans and have practically started to invest outside Azerbaijan. Our countries and enterprises have already earned a good reputation. I have told Mr. President that we always have our investment plans approved by the governments of the countries we are investing in. I have also informed Mr. President that our investment is usually linked to important social projects.

Because in order to have good business opportunities, our potential investors, our companies must enjoy public support. This stems from the fact that Azerbaijani companies have a good reputation. Because they should also consider the social demand of the communities in which they operate. We will certainly coordinate our investment plans and conduct consultations on the sectors to be invested.

We think the energy sector can be interesting. We have experience in this sphere. The investment we have made in the energy sectors of other countries shows that we are highly responsible investors and this investment not only helps our companies to diversify their investment portfolios but also benefits our countries.

Another important sphere is agriculture. Obviously there is the tourism sector as well. We have discussed it, there are plans to be implemented. As regards the Balkans, I mentioned earlier that Croatia was the first country of the region in which we opened our Embassy. We would like to channel our investment in this sector too.

I have identified only the priority areas, of course. But I think these issues will be discussed during the business forum. This event will also provide us with information on other areas – what investment opportunities, what legislative opportunities there are. I am sure this business forum will clarify many areas to serve our mutual interests.

President of Croatia Ivo Josipović: I don't have anything to add. This is what we have discussed.

As I mentioned earlier, there are Croatian companies cooperating with Azerbaijan, especially in shipbuilding. There is one Croatian company working in your country now. I do hope that it will have broader opportunities. I think both Azerbaijani companies in Croatia and Croatian companies in Azerbaijan will enjoy favorable conditions. I think both parties can acknowledge that. Azerbaijan is creating such opportunities for its business partners. Thank you very much.

On the same day, Azerbaijani-Croatian business forum attended by President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović has been held at the Hilton Baku Hotel.

The President of Azerbaijan met President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović. The forum participants warmly welcomed the Presidents.

Addressing the business forum, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev said:

Dear Mr. President!

Distinguished guests and friends!



I am very happy to be here today. I am pleased to welcome the President of Croatia to Azerbaijan. The visit of the President has started off very well. This morning we had a very fruitful discussion. We had very productive talks. Our delegations have also worked hard. In general, I am sure that this visit will strengthen the relations between our countries and help us get to know each other and cooperate more effectively.

We have extensively discussed many issues. We have reviewed regional and international issues. Naturally, some of our discussions focused on economic cooperation. I have told Mr. President – I am very pleased that he is accompanied by many businessmen from Croatia. This business forum will in fact open up many opportunities for doing business together.

I am sure that the session held earlier today included presentations about our economic development. I wouldn't like to take your time describing the current state of the economy. I just want to note that over the 20 years of independence we have increased the share of the private sector in the GDP from practically none to almost 83 per cent. In fact, we have carried out fundamental economic reforms. Thanks to these reforms we have diversified our economy.

I am sure we have many opportunities for collaboration. This applies to the business circles of both countries. Mr. President and I have discussed the issue of investment in Croatia.

We have considered all these issues and determined which areas might be attractive for our investors. Of course, this should be done in cooperation with the Government of Croatia, and we need to define objectives in a timely manner. At the same time, we have said that Croatian companies are also interested in working and investing in Azerbaijan. We have a very good investment climate. Azerbaijan had developed its economy even in the Soviet era, while since it regained its independence it has been ranked as first country in terms of direct foreign investment per capita. Over the past year, Azerbaijan attracted investment of \$20 billion. Of this, \$7 billion was made up of foreign investment. This suggests that Azerbaijan is still an attractive place from an investment standpoint. In recent years, major investment has been made in the oil and gas sector. This has enabled us to accumulate financial resources. Now we plan to invest in the non-oil sector. In short, this diversification work is meant to ensure Azerbaijan's sustainable development.

Of course, our business opportunities are also contributing to the solution of social problems. First, this results in the accumulation of funds and, secondly, in the creation of jobs. Of course, reducing unemployment and poverty is the key goal of our economic policy. We have succeeded in reducing poverty five times to 7.6 per cent. The unemployment rate is currently 5.6 per cent. As for the private sector and businesses, we, of course, allocate loans. All this is aimed at diversifying our economy.

As I mentioned earlier, our main hopes in the first years of independence were pinned on the energy sector, the oil and gas. Azerbaijan, as a producer of oil and gas, has done a lot in this area, which has enabled us to diversify the economy.

Several years ago we chose a new direction in our economic policy – the strategy to transform the "black gold" into human capital. And we are already seeing progress in this area. We are now investing in the development of the IT sector. We are creating a space industry. We hope to launch our first telecommunications satellite by the end of this year.

At the same time, we are interested in investing in agriculture. We have favorable climatic conditions and a good investment environment for that. Foreign and domestic investment is protected, which also attracts investors.

At the beginning of such transformation all this was done because we had to build confidence. We had to work hard to do that. A single wrong step could have brought all our efforts to zero because the level of trust was of great importance. I am completely satisfied to tell you that our foreign partners and investors feel that their investment is protected. The major international contracts signed by our government are ratified by parliament and acquire the force of law. It is also very important for a predictable investment environment. We are such a country. Also, Azerbaijan has started to invest outside its borders. In fact, this is one of the important issues because earlier we were only receiving investment. And now we are investing ourselves.

We have also discussed ways of doing business and working together with Mr. President and his delegation. Our economies are not in competition with each other. I think they can replace and complement each other. Thus, this partnership can be beneficial for our peoples.

We have also discussed the regional situation. Cooperation between the Balkans and our region can take place only through our joint efforts.

Oil and gas still form an important part of our economy, and this will be the case in the coming years. But in comparison with 10 years ago, we are less dependent on this sector now. We are not so tied to the oil price. For the past eight years our economy has developed rapidly, it has more than tripled. Over the next decade, until 2023, we intend to further double the already tripled GDP due to the non-oil sector. Of course, the energy sector has helped us accumulate financial resources and introduce ourselves to the world. Twenty years ago very few knew about our country, people were unaware of our business opportunities and investment climate. Cooperation with major foreign companies has enabled us to demonstrate that we are a reliable partner.

At present our energy policy is entering a new phase. In previous years we fulfilled all our tasks. We have designed and built a modern pipeline infrastructure. In essence, we supply our energy in all directions. Today, the Croatian side has informed us that Azerbaijani oil forms a significant portion of the oil this country receives. Of course, this issue will be the subject of our discussions.

We have managed to establish cooperation in the gas sector. We are currently in talks over new investment programs. Investment worth billions of dollars, more than \$20 billion, is in the offing. This includes the development of gas fields and the construction of pipelines. Thus, after five to six years, we will be able to supply our partners with larger volumes of gas. The present level of gas production and exports is not sufficient for us. We have an immense potential. I want to emphasize that Azerbaijan will be an important gas supplier of the European market for the next one hundred years, at least one hundred years.

Please also note that our gas production is growing. We know that Europe's gas needs are also on the increase. Considering the fact that Croatia will become an EU member in the future, we think it can also be part of this initiative. We know that the European Union is now working on a common energy strategy. This would make our lives even easier. All this inspires us to work more closely with our partners. It would be nice if there was a general strategy.

With this in mind, Azerbaijan will make an important contribution to energy security in the coming years. Energy security is an important factor in the national security of countries. We know that the demand for energy will grow in the future. Taking into consideration the decision of EU countries to shut down nuclear plants, the demand for conventional energy will grow. Of course, our country located in the Caspian region could become a reliable supplier of gas to European consumers.

Last year we signed the Memorandum on the Southern Gas Corridor with the European Union. From this perspective, Azerbaijan could become an important supplier and the start of the Southern Gas Corridor.

We could cooperate with countries of the Black and Mediterranean Sea regions, thus gaining access to European gas markets. This is consistent with our interests. We can begin to talk about it in the near future. Our cooperation in this area can move forward.

We think that all these matters relate to our bilateral agenda. I want to thank Mr. President for attending this business forum. We are very pleased that many of our guests from Croatia are here.

I am sure that the results of our meetings will be successful. I believe that we will witness the implementation of all our plans in the future. Thank you very much.



Expressing his satisfaction with the visit to Azerbaijan, President of Croatia Ivo Josipović said there were good political relations between Azerbaijan and Croatia. Stressing the importance of extending these relations to economic cooperation, the Croatian President expressed his confidence that the strengthening of economic ties would have a positive impact on all areas. Focusing on the signing of three agreements on economic cooperation during the visit, President Josipović said Croatia was always open to Azerbaijani investment. He said:

- Croatia imports large volumes of your energy, more precisely, your oil. I think you can invest from this standpoint. Croatia is actively involved in the service sector in Azerbaijan and elsewhere. Let me note that there are representatives of large companies here. They have achieved great successes not only locally but also internationally.

This morning we discussed the issue of shipbuilding. I want to indicate that a representative from Pula intends to expand cooperation with Azerbaijan in this field. Here is another example. There is a Croatian company known throughout the world – it has achieved good results in the pharmaceutical industry. There are activities in the field of construction and food production. The mine-clearance sphere is also extremely important. Unfortunately, there are still questions arising from our past in this sphere, and they will be addressed. I don't remember all the names, but we have specialists in this area too. They have achieved a lot in their work. I think we can help you. I am not talking only about specialists, but also about how to do it. We have industrial facilities manufacturing the necessary equipment.

We are a country that has access to the Mediterranean Sea. We are a very interesting travel destination. Croatia is popular with tourists not only from Europe but also from Asia and beyond. Why shouldn't more people from Azerbaijan visit our country?

Expressing satisfaction with the visit to Azerbaijan, President of Croatia Ivo Josipović thanked the Azerbaijani side for the hospitality and expressed his confidence that cooperation between the two countries would be developed in all fields.

Summing up the business forum, President Ilham Aliyev said:

- Thank you very much for your kind words about our country. I mentioned during our meeting this morning that we will consider investment opportunities in your country. As you noted, we will make joint initiatives. Our goal is very clear and transparent. It consists not only in establishing business relations, but also in strengthening our friendship. This is done only when the business communities are aware of their social responsibility. This happens when the agreements reached are accepted by all authorities of a country.

Thank you very much for this event. The business community can be assured that we will always support them.

President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović, who is paying an official visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan, and his wife Tatjana Josipović have visited the Heydar Aliyev Foundation.

The Croatian President and his wife were greeted by Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva.

The distinguished guests were informed of the objectives and activities of the Foundation which has been established in memory of the nationwide leader of the Azerbaijani people. It was indicated that the Foundation was established to study and promote the rich heritage of the nationwide leader by implementing various socioeconomic and humanitarian projects, facilitating the progress of Azerbaijan, developing its culture and studying its history.

President Ivo Josipović and his wife reviewed the photos from the great leader's archive which document different periods of his activities, as well as various exhibits.

During familiarization with the Foundation, President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović was informed that the period of the great leader's presidency was one of the most glorious pages in the history of Azerbaijan. The socioeconomic development, which is viewed by the international community as a major achievement of our country, as well as the achievements still being made, are products of the nationwide leader's activities.

The distinguished guests examined numerous documents covering most different aspects of the phenomenal personality's life and creating a broad impression about a whole period in the history of Azerbaijan. The guest also reviewed the presents made to the great leader by renowned politicians of the world, statements by influential scientists, culture figures and artists about the founder of



the independent Azerbaijani state. The President of Croatia also reviewed the photos taken during Heydar Aliyev's meetings with leaders of foreign countries.

President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović and his wife Tatjana Josipović left a note in the Book of Distinguished Guests.

The Croatian President was presented with a gift from the Foundation.

In conclusion, the President of Croatia and his wife watched a film about the activities of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation.

Familiarization with the Heydar Aliyev Foundation produced an indelible impression on the President of Croatia and his wife.

An official reception has been hosted on behalf of President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva in honor of President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović and his wife Tatjana Josipović.

Addressing the reception, President Ilham Aliyev expressed his confidence that the meetings and the talks held during the first visit of President of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović to Azerbaijan, the documents signed and the business forum would play an important part in the deepening of bilateral relations.

The President of Azerbaijan stressed the importance of the mutual opening of diplomatic missions for expanding the relations between the two countries in recent years.

Referring to the future areas of economic cooperation, President Aliyev said:

- Today, there are broad prospects for the development of our cooperation in the fields of energy, transportation of energy, tourism, environment, agriculture, transport, communications, construction of roads and infrastructure facilities, shipbuilding, chemical industry, etc. We are also attaching particular importance to the promotion of mutual investment and expanding trade.



There is a successful experience of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Croatia in the field of shipbuilding. Thus, the numerous ferries built at the Croatian shipyard of Uljanik in Pula that are currently operated by the Azerbaijan State Caspian Shipping Company were delivered to Baku 27 years ago at the direction of nationwide leader Heydar Aliyev. This tradition continues today. In May 2011, the Azerbaijan State Caspian Shipping Company and the Uljanik shipyard signed a contract on the construction of new ferries.

Our two countries also cooperate closely in international and regional organizations. Relations with the European Union and Euro-Atlantic structures are an important component of Azerbaijan's foreign policy. Our cooperation in the UN, OSCE, NATO, the European Union, the Council of Europe is encouraging. From this standpoint, our relations with Croatia, which will become a new member of the European Union, are important both in the bilateral and regional formats. Azerbaijan, already a major economic hub of the region, is a reliable energy partner ready to contribute to the energy security of Europe. We are interested in supplying our energy in all directions and are working on various projects.

Noting that Azerbaijan is a supporter of security in the region and the world, President Ilham Aliyev said that our government is committed to this goal through the measures being taken in this area,

active participation in international institutions, in particular as a member of the UN Security Council. At the same time, the President emphasized that the aggressive policies of Armenia pose a threat to peace and stability in the region. He said:

- As a result of Armenia's military aggression, 20 per cent of Azerbaijani territory has been occupied, including our historical lands of Nagorno-Karabakh and seven adjacent districts. A policy of ethnic cleansing has been carried out in these areas, more than one million people have become refugees and IDPs. There are four resolutions of the UN Security Council in relation to the conflict, decisions of the OSCE, the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, NATO and other international organizations.

President Aliyev said that Azerbaijan's resolute position consists in resolving the conflict within the framework of international law and the territorial integrity of our country.



President of Croatia Ivo Josipović reiterated his gratitude to the President of Azerbaijan and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva for the hospitality and warmth displayed. The President of Croatia noted that this meeting is an excellent opportunity in terms of developing the sympathy and friendship between the two countries, promoting cooperation in social, political and especially economic fields, and transforming it into mutual opportunities. Touching upon Croatia's integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures, Ivo Josipović said Azerbaijan had also made strides in this area. He said:

- Croatia, just like Azerbaijan, has bitter experience associated with temporary loss of control over part of its territory during the country's full integration into Euro-Atlantic area. In this respect, Croatia appreciates the situation Azerbaijan is in. We value the patience you have exhibited and attempts to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict peacefully. I am saying this not because of some abstract beliefs, but based on a similar experience.

Speaking about his country's interest in the rapidly developing Azerbaijan and the mutual benefit of the cooperation the legal framework of which was laid during the visit to Baku, the Croatian President said:

- Today, Azerbaijan is a country that has many reasons to be proud of itself. We are well aware of these reasons. Using our bilateral potential, we aim to further intensify our cooperation and want it to be beneficial for both you and us. All the meetings and talks held today have convinced me that this is our common desire. Today we signed a number of documents creating the legal framework for our desires to become reality. Our First Deputy Prime Minister has also held interesting and promising talks. I believe that these negotiations can serve as a starting point for cooperation in the area of the European energy infrastructure.

The President of Croatia expressed the hope that the mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries would continue to grow.

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

30 March 2012, Baku



On 30 March 2012 an official welcoming ceremony was held for President of the Republic of Kyrgyz, Almazbek Atambayev, who was on an official visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

After their face-to-face meeting, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev held a meeting in an expanded format with the participation of delegations.

Welcoming the President of Kyrgyzstan to Azerbaijan, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

said this visit was a very good indicator of the importance being attached to the development of bilateral relations:

- I am sure that our relations have a bright future. We are already exchanged views on bilateral issues and regional policy matters. I think that we will quickly make up for the time lost in our bilateral relations, because we can see our arrangements transforming into specific action. Your visit is of paramount importance in this respect because it is your first visit. We have major plans on further developing our bilateral relations in the economic, energy and, of course, political spheres. I am very pleased that you are visiting our country. This is another opportunity to get acquainted with Azerbaijan after a long break and, most importantly, identify ways for the development of our bilateral relations which are entering a new and very promising stage. So I would like to welcome you and all members of your delegation to Azerbaijan again and express confidence that the results of the visit will be very successful and bring our two countries and peoples even closer together. Once again, welcome!



President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev stressed that he was looking forward to the positive results of the development of bilateral relations. He expressed hope that the 20 years lost from the standpoint of the development of bilateral relations can be made up for with hard work in the next two years. President Almazbek Atambayev said:

- I remember esteemed Heydar Aliyev visiting Bishkek for the celebrations of the 1,000th anniversary of "Manas". He had said: "Dinimiz bir, dilimiz bir, kokumuz de bir" – we have the same roots, the Turkic language and the faith. So, of course, we must raise our relations to a higher level and I can see that this is what we will actually do.

I am very pleased and proud that Azerbaijan has changed so much. I was here for the first and last time 21 years ago. I have been looking around today – of course, it is a completely different Azerbaijan. Because, unlike us, you are lucky. You are lucky to have had such Presidents. A good foundation was laid in 1993. This work continues. This is perhaps why Azerbaijan is flourishing and developing like this.

The President of Kyrgyzstan stressed that Azerbaijan has earned great international respect.



After the meeting of President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev in an expanded format with the participation of delegations, the ceremony of signing of Azerbaijani-Kyrgyz documents was held.

“The Joint Statement of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan and President of the Kyrgyz Republic” was signed by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev.

“The Agreement on cooperation in combating illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and their precursors between the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the State Service of the Kyrgyz Republic for Drug Control” was signed by Minister of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ramil Usubov and Chairman of the State Service of the Kyrgyz Republic for Drug Control Vitaly Orozaliev.

“The Protocol on the accession of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the World Trade Organization between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Kyrgyz Republic” was signed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan Ruslan Kazakbayev.

“The Agreement on cooperation and mutual assistance in issues of compliance with tax laws between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic” was signed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan Ruslan Kazakbayev.

“The Agreement on cooperation in the area of culture between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic” was signed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan Ruslan Kazakbayev.

“The Agreement on cooperation in the field of civil defense (protection), prevention and elimination of emergency situations between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic” was signed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan Ruslan Kazakbayev.

As part of an official visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan, President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev and his wife Raisa Atambayeva have visited the Heydar Aliyev Foundation.

The Kyrgyz President and his wife were greeted by Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva.

The distinguished guests were informed of the objectives and activities of the Foundation which has been established in memory of the nationwide leader of the Azerbaijani people. It was indicated that the Foundation was established to study and promote the rich heritage of the nationwide leader by implementing various socioeconomic and humanitarian projects, facilitating the progress of Azerbaijan, developing its culture and studying its history.

President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev and his wife reviewed the photos from the great leader’s archive which document different periods of his activities, as well as various exhibits.

During familiarization with the Foundation, President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev and his wife were informed that the period of the great leader’s presidency was one of the most glorious pages in the history of Azerbaijan.

The socioeconomic development, which is viewed by the international community as a major achievement of our country, as well as the achievements still being made, are products of the nationwide leader's activities.

The distinguished guests examined numerous documents covering most different aspects of the phenomenal personality's life and creating a broad impression about a whole period in the history of Azerbaijan. The guest also reviewed the presents made to the great leader by renowned politicians of the world, statements by influential scientists, culture figures and artists about the founder of the independent Azerbaijani state. The President of Kyrgyzstan also reviewed the photos taken during Heydar Aliyev's meetings with leaders of foreign countries.



After familiarization with the Foundation, President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev left a note in the Book of Distinguished Guests.

Then the sides exchanged presents.

In conclusion, the President of Kyrgyzstan and his wife watched a film about the activities of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation.

Familiarization with the Heydar Aliyev Foundation produced an indelible impression on the guests.

On the same day, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and his wife Mehriban Aliyeva have hosted an official reception in honor of President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev and his wife Raisa Atambayeva.



Pointing to the importance of the visit by President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev to Azerbaijan, President Ilham Aliyev said this visit would open a new page in the history of relations between the two countries. Expressing hope for a further expansion of relations between the two countries, the President of Azerbaijan said the development of relations between Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan in recent years was causing optimism about the future of these relations.

President Aliyev also noted that cooperation between the two peoples had a long history. "Our countries share common historical roots," the President of Azerbaijan said and added that the history of independence of the two countries was also similar. The President said Azerbaijan would always support Kyrgyzstan in its development and touched upon the importance of the documents signed during the visit. Pointing to the presence of a political will to eliminate the vacuum that has emerged in recent years, he said:

- We need to be together. Our strength lies in unity, especially since there is a historical background and our mutual political and economic interests. We actively cooperate in international institutions, support each other in the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the ECO and the CIS. In economic terms, there is nothing to be proud of – the turnover is very low. But there are good prospects, including what we discussed today – investment projects, projects related to Azerbaijani investment, including the energy sector, perhaps the banking and tourism sectors. This will help us strengthen our economic relations. Next month we will hold a meeting of the intergovernmental commission. We hope for good results and prompt and efficient solution of all the issues we have agreed on.

"Azerbaijan is a reliable partner and a friendly country for Kyrgyzstan," President Aliyev said and added that investment projects can further strengthen the existing ties. The head of state pointed to

Almazbek Atambayev's contribution to the development of Kyrgyzstan and expressed hope that this country would achieve considerable success in the future.



President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev expressed his satisfaction with the warm reception he has enjoyed as President of a brotherly and friendly country. Noting that Baku was developing rapidly, the President of Kyrgyzstan said he was glad to get acquainted with the activities of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation and praised the multi-faceted activities of the Foundation's President, Mrs. Mehriban Aliyeva. "Today I feel as if I found a brother faithful to his words," Almazbek Atambayev said describing the successful political activities of President Ilham Aliyev. Stressing the importance of further consolidating efforts, he said:

- I think there is a lot for us to learn from. I can say one thing for sure: we will certainly be together, because it is always easier to be together. I think we will do a lot together in the future. I am very grateful for such a warm welcome and brotherly treatment.

In conclusion, President of the Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev wished Azerbaijan further progress and development.

NATO INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF AZERBAIJAN – WINTER SESSION

“Post-Arab Spring Middle East” 30 January – 3 February, Baku

Statistics:

Date: *30 January – 3 February 2012*

Venue: *Ramada Baku Hotel*

Participants: *40 participants from 18 countries*

Experts: *10 Experts from 6 countries*

NISA Winter Session took place in Ramada Hotel (Baku) from the 29th January to the 03rd of February 2011. NISA Winter Session officially started on the 30th of January. The opening speeches and welcome notes had been presented by Mr. Gaya Mammadov (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan) and by H.E. Mr. Daniel Cristian Ciobanu (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Romania to Azerbaijan). After opening ceremony, with participation of diplomats, officials, experts and media the academic part of the session.

(Panel I) “Arab Spring a year later: analysis of events” started with the lecture of Mr. Bertus Hendriks (Clingendal Institute of International Studies, Dutch Domestic Public Radio). Mr. Hendriks, presented the participants the general view of the region, social, ethnic and economical situation prior to uprisings. Dr. Receb Boztemur (Middle East Technical University, Department of History) continued the lecture discussing the stages of political developments, Dr. Ryan Vance Guffey (Chair of International Studies, Lindewood University, US.) pointed out the preconditions of recent developments and theoretical approaches to its solutions.

Panel II, “Role of Political Islam and partnership with the West” took place on January the 31st. The speakers of the panel Dr. Mitchel Belfer (Metropolitan University Prague, Head of Department of International Relations), Dr. Receb Boztemur (Middle East Technical University, Department of History), Mr. Heydar Mirza (Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan) and Dr. Gumer İsayev (Saint-Petersburg State University, department of Eastern Studies) they generally emphasized the role of Islamic and secular groups in the uprisings, very first days and weeks following the victory and change of regime, the role and authority of the western states and organizations in the region and their involvement in conducting free and democratic elections. Speakers particularly highlighted the role of western educated youth in Egypt and Tunisia, emphasizing their ability to use the new media for spreading information.

Later on that day, participants listened to the “Political developments in Tunisia and Egypt” (Panel III). Mr. Bertus Hendriks (Clingendal Institute of International Studies, Dutch Domestic Public Radio) referring to his long and intensive studies and relationship with Egypt, described the previous uprisings in Egypt which had been continuous during Mubarak’s regime and were less successful. Mr. Hendriks described the situation with current political powers in Egypt, social and economical welfare and possibilities of democratic reforms. Dr. Gumer İsayev (Saint-Petersburg State University, department of Eastern Studies) presented a broad overview of Situation in Tunisia following the revolt and Zine Al Abdin Ben Ali. Dr. İsayev particularly touched the situation with recent elections and raise of religious moods.

Panel IV, “Libya: the long road to uncertainty” took place on February 01st. Speakers Dr. Mitchel Belfer (Metropolitan University Prague, Head of Department of International Relations), Mr. Yevgeniy Soltanov (Baku State University, Department of Middle East Studies) and Mr. Azad Garibli (Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan) had discussed the situation in Libya prior, during and following the collisions. Professors had reviewed the essence of Jamahiria, as a state system in Libya, tribal and social divisions in Libya and future perspectives of democratic

development and involvement of western states.

Panel V. "Civil uprisings and protests in Syria, Yemen, Bahrain and other Arab states" Dr. Theodore Karasik (Institute for Near East and Gulf Military Analysis (INEGMA), UAE, Director of Research and Development) mainly touched the situation in Arab peninsula states following the Arab-Spring. Dr. Paul Rivlin (The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African studies) highlighted the economical and social situation in other Arab states and marked out the economical insolvency as a main reason for state failure. Dr. Mitchel Belfer (Metropolitan University Prague, Head of Department of International Relations) shared the views and position on situation in Syria and analytical predictions on how the crisis will be evolving. Mr. Yevgeniy Soltanov (Baku State University, Department of Middle East Studies) shared his thoughts on cultural and psychological causes of the uprisings and discussed the possible negative and positive effects on Arab world in general.

Panel VI, NATO and its role in crisis management took place on February 2nd. Dr. Theodore Karasik (Institute for Near East and Gulf Military Analysis (INEGMA) Dr. Mitchel Belfer (Metropolitan University Prague, Head of Department of International Relations) have touched the previous NATO operations around the world and had discussed the situation in Libya, UN's, International communities' and particular state's reaction on uprising and confrontation.

Panel VII, Looking to the future. The panel was launched by speech of . Dr. Paul Rivlin (The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African studies) who strongly supported the position of International Community in the region, but generally concentrated on issues of economical welfare and development in the region, bringing an example of Israel. Dr. Theodore Karasik (Institute for Near East and Gulf Military Analysis (INEGMA) and Dr. Mitchel Belfer (Metropolitan University Prague, Head of Department of International Relations) supported the idea of maintenance of the rule of law and nations' sovereignty in the region. Dr. Receb Boztemur (Middle East Technical University, Department of History) emphasized some international judicial issues and strongly supported the preservation of rule of law in the region. Participants took active role in the discussions and challenged the positions of speakers.

Panel IX: Simulation Game. The Simulation Game was conducted on February 3rd. The exercises were aiming at involving of participants in decision making process within international organizations in solving of international and regional disputes, revolts and conflicts. The participants replicated the role of decision makers within the UN in capacity of national officials and international experts. The simulative case of Palmyra conflict attracted attentions of students and had created intense debates, as the scenario of the conflict was pointing out the general features of ethno - territorial conflicts and did not give support to any party.

AZƏRBAYCAN TARİXİNİN QANLI YADDAŞI BLODDY MEMORIES OF THE HISTORY OF AZERBAIJAN КРОВАВАЯ ПАМЯТЬ ИСТОРИИ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА

BLACK JANUARY – 20 JANUARY 1990



22 years elapse since the bloody 20 January events. On this day of the national mourning – the 20th January, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev paid tribute to the memory of martyrs.

The 20th of January 1990 left in the contemporary history of Azerbaijan as one of the most tragic days, but remembered also as the glorious day of our people. Twenty two years ago, during the night from January 19 to January 20, Soviet Army troupes launched wide scale military operations against large masses indignant over actions of the aggressive Armenia and favor of the

former Soviet leadership for Armenians by pouring to the streets and squares of Baku in sign of a strong protest. Holding the freedom of their Motherland and people above all, patriot sons and daughters of Azerbaijan have sacrificed their lives on that awful night by becoming the martyrs of their own land.

In spite of 22 years that pass since bloodbath perpetrated by former Soviet military machine in Azerbaijan, our people remember constantly that appalling night, live with pain of that tragedy and deplores strongly all those that stood behind barbaric actions. Each year, on January 20, thousands of people visit the Alley of Martyrs and pay their tribute to fond memories of Azerbaijan's sons and daughters that sacrificed themselves for the sake of Motherland's freedom and sovereignty.

The tragedy of 20 January is seen as unprecedented aggression and massacre committed by the State against its own people. It was a rude violation of the former USSR and Azerbaijani Soviet Republic's Constitutions and its full disregarding. Having sent the troupes against civilians, USSR government has ignored UN Charter and international law norms and violated several dispositions of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights of 1966. In the aftermath of the tragedy, the then slave minded authorities which lacked courage to join their own people at that time and still followed their Soviet patrons. Differently from them, living in Moscow at that time, our national leader Heydar Aliyev came to the permanent representation of Azerbaijan on the next day since tragedy by putting his life in danger and made statement by deploring strongly those who perpetrated the bloody January massacre and brought the message to the international community about this awful event faced by our people. Thus, our great leader demonstrated once again his courage, bravery and commitment to own people.

However, this bloodshed could not crush will of the Azerbaijani people and subdue its aspirations for freedom. Though it costed the lives, our people have rejoiced its dreams of freedom and independence.

Following the political comeback of national leader of the Azerbaijani people Heydar Aliyev, the political-legal assessment was given to the event of 20 January and the names of perpetrators of this crime were announced to the public.

Each year, the Azerbaijani people pay deep respect to the memories of victims of the 20 January tragedy.

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BLODDY MEMORIES OF THE HISTORY OF AZERBAIJAN
КРОВАВАЯ ПАМЯТЬ ИСТОРИИ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА

KHOJALY MASSACRES – 26 FEBRUARY 1992



The horrible events committed by the Armenians in the town of Khojaly in Nagorno-Karabakh on the night from 25 to 26 February 1992 will be forever inscribed in Azerbaijani history in letters of blood. On that night, armed Armenian units with the help of the heavy equipment and personnel of the 366th motorized rifle regiment of the former Soviet army stationed in Khankandi attacked this ancient Azerbaijani town and unleashed a merciless massacre on local civilians. Khojaly had been weakened by months of siege and the forces of the few defenders of the town and of the heavily armed Armenian militants were far from equal. The bloody statistics of the Khojaly genocide is as follows: of the 3,000

people who were in the town at the time 613 people, including 106 women, 63 children and 70 elderly people, were killed with particular cruelty, 487 people, including 76 children, were seriously injured, 1,275 people were taken hostage and subjected to humiliation and inhuman torture, the fates of 150 of them are still unknown. Eight families were completely annihilated. Even impartial figures are horrifying. These people were ruthlessly killed, subjected to torture and maimed just because of their ethnicity – because they were Azerbaijanis.

The punitive action of the Armenians was carefully planned and carried out with a single purpose – to partly or completely destroy innocent people on a national basis. Under international law, these actions fall under the definition of “genocide” and must be recognized as such by the international community.

As highlighted in President Ilham Aliyev’s address to the people of Azerbaijan on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the tragedy, the Khojaly genocide, which occurred in the late 20th century right before the eyes of the entire world, was distinguished for particular brutality and ruthlessness. It has become the bloodiest page in the aggressive policies of Armenian nationalists. “The political and legal responsibility for this grave crime rests directly on the then and current leaders of Armenia, the breakaway Nagorno-Karabakh regime,” says the address of the President.

The nationwide march, which began in Azadlig Square, was joined by over 60,000 people who had gathered to pay tribute to the victims of the Khojaly tragedy and draw the world’s attention to this crime against humanity committed by Armenian fascists again.



The rally, with President Ilham Aliyev in the front row, proceeded from Azadlig Square to the memorial for the victims of the Khojaly genocide in the Khatai district of Baku. Young people holding the portraits of the innocent victims of the carnage lined up the streets and avenues through which thousands of people rallied. There were pictures of children, women and the elderly killed with particular cruelty, photos documenting the horrific scenes of the events 20 years ago, banners demanding that perpetrators of the tragedy be brought to justice, that an objective political and legal assessment of what has happened be given at the international level, those containing names of the victims of genocide, saying “The world must recognize the Khojaly genocide”, “Justice for Khojaly”, “Do not forget Khojaly”, “No to Armenian fascism!”, etc. Banners and posters of similar content were held in the hands of the procession.



People's faces were full of grief, suggesting that 20 years have not erased the horrors of the Khojaly massacre from memory.

The name of this Azerbaijani town razed to the ground in one night now stands in the same row as Khatyn, Lidice and My Lai.

In general, this nationwide rally can be considered the culmination of extensive work Azerbaijan has carried out to inform the world about Khojaly, to send the message that indifference to the barbarism committed in the late 20th century right before the eyes of

the civilized mankind, the impunity of those responsible for the deaths of hundreds of innocent people could lead to a repetition of such tragedies anywhere in the world. The march was also a demonstration of the close unity of the Azerbaijani people, its respect for the memory of its martyrs, a determination to do everything for the liberation of occupied Azerbaijani lands and the restoration of territorial integrity.

A guard of honor line up at the memorial for the victims of the Khojaly genocide and flowers were laid.

President Ilham Aliyev laid a wreath at the memorial and paid tribute to the victims of the Khojaly genocide

The government of Azerbaijan has been taking all the necessary steps to inform the world about the Khojaly tragedy and have it recognized as an act of genocide against our people. Specific activities in this area were launched after the return of Heydar Aliyev to political power in Azerbaijan. It was at the initiative of the great leader that a political and legal assessment was given to the Khojaly tragedy and 26 February was declared the Day of the Khojaly genocide. Initiated by the Vice President of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation and the Senior Coordinator for Intercultural Dialogue of the Islamic Conference Youth Forum, Leyla Aliyeva, the "Justice for Khojaly" international campaign has further expanded outreach in this area.



Thanks to the work carried out as part of this campaign, the terrible facts of the tragedy of 20 years ago were made available to the world public, millions of people all over the world have discovered the true face of Armenian nationalists who, in an effort to implement their delusions, descend to anything, including the murder of children. The Parliamentary Union of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation has recognized this fact as "a massive crime against humanity" and urged its member-states to give an appropriate political and legal assessment to this tragedy. The parliaments of Pakistan and Mexico have passed resolutions recognizing this massacre as an act of genocide.

This year, with support from the Heydar Aliyev Foundations, actions in memory of the victims of the Khojaly genocide are held in 100 cities around the world. Those participating in them are handed out the Fund's booklets, photo albums and books on the history of Karabakh and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

As part of the campaigns, documentary films revealing Armenian atrocities are demonstrated, exhibitions of children's drawings organized, etc. The activities conducted in fraternal Turkey, Britain and several other European and Muslim countries have aroused a great deal of interest.

“By perpetrating the Khojaly genocide, the enemy had intended to break the will of the Azerbaijani people, to force us to abandon the struggle for our sovereignty and territorial integrity and to forcibly seize our lands. But this horrendous tragedy has made our nation even more persistent, mobilized our heroic sons and daughters for a decisive and organized fight in name of the sacred Motherland and national statehood,” says the address of President Ilham Aliyev to the people of Azerbaijan.

The head of state expressed his confidence that sooner or later those who perpetrated the Khojaly genocide will be brought to book and suffer condign punishment. The blood of our martyrs will be avenged.

AZƏRBAYCAN TARİXİNİN QANLI YADDAŞI
BLODDY MEMORIES OF THE HISTORY OF AZERBAIJAN
КРОВАВАЯ ПАМЯТЬ ИСТОРИИ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА

31 MARCH - THE DAY OF GENOCIDE OF AZERBAIJANIS



On 26 March 1998, in commemoration of all the tragic acts perpetrated against the Azerbaijani people, the late President of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev signed the Decree proclaiming March 31st as the Day of Genocide of Azerbaijanis. Since then, millions of Azerbaijanis around the globe remember the tragedy of their people, oppressed and persecuted throughout the last two centuries.

Azerbaijan's independence made it possible to reveal an objective picture of its people's historical past, and to bring to light the true nature of the facts falsified throughout the years.

The genocide committed against the people of Azerbaijan is one of the unopened pages in history. Singing of the treaties of Gyulistan in 1913 and Turkmanchai in 1828, marked the beginning of the imperialist policy of rapid mass resettlement of Armenians in the ancestral Azerbaijani lands. Genocide became an integral part of the occupation of Azerbaijani lands. In order to justify the attempts to artificially create a state on Azerbaijani land, large-scale programmes were conducted and the idea of establishing "greater Armenia" was propagated. The Armenian nationalists began committing atrocities against Azerbaijanis starting in 1905. Violence of the next two years claimed thousands of Azerbaijani lives in the regions of Irevan, Zangazur, Goycha, Nakhchivan, Garabagh, Ganja and Baku.



Taking advantage of the situation following the end of WWI and the October 1917 revolution in Russia, Armenians began to pursue the implementation of their plans of eliminating Azerbaijanis under the banner of Bolshevism, under the pretext of combating counter-revolutionary elements.

In 1918 violent crimes against Azerbaijanis grew both in scale and number. Over 50,000 people were massacred on March 30 – April 1 in five major cities of Azerbaijan, with tens of thousands driven from their homes. Armenians set fire to homes and burned people alive. They destroyed national architectural treasures, schools, hospitals, mosques and other facilities, and left the greater part of Baku in ruins.



In 1919 and 1920, during its short-lived independence, the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan marked March 31st as the day of sorrow. After the Soviet regime was established, the Communist Government did its best to erase this date from people's memory, while continuing the policy of resettlement and chipping away at Azerbaijan's historic lands. Moscow-orchestrated 1920 transfer of the region of Zangazur to Armenia presents a vivid example. New means came to be used for the further expansion of the policy of deporting Azerbaijanis from these territories. To

this end, the Armenians secured the adoption, on 23 December 1947, of a special decision by the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the resettlement of collective farm workers and other Azerbaijanis from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Araks lowlands in Azerbaijan. Thus, in 1948-1953 150,000 Azerbaijanis living in the Soviet Armenia were deported, by hundreds of thousands, from their homes, to vacate lands for the Armenian newcomers from the Middle East.

All this further encouraged the appetite of the Armenian nationalists. In the late 1980's they put forward new territorial claims to its neighbor, instigating conflict in the Nagorno Karabakh region of Azerbaijan. Under the guise of the confrontation it provoked, Armenia succeeded in driving away over a million Azerbaijanis, including more than 250 thousand from Armenia proper, from their homes.

Yet, the trends of history are unmistakable, more and more countries witness firsthand that it was Armenia who brought policy of armed aggression, ethnic cleansing, and genocide into the new century.

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BURAXILIŞIN MÖVZUSU – THEME OF THE ISSUE – TEMA HOMEPƏ

АРАБСКАЯ ВЕСНА*

Эльман Араслы**

На рубеже 2010-2011 года арабский мир преподнес планете очередной, на этот раз весьма неожиданный сюрприз. Речь идет о масштабных пертурбациях, начавшихся в регионе в прошлом году и продолжающихся на тот момент, когда пишутся данные строки. Эхо этих событий каждый день отражается в заголовках мировых газет и анонсах телевизионных новостей, заполняет всемирную сеть интернета. При этом до сих пор отсутствует единое мнение относительно причинно - следственных обоснований внезапного взрыва на Ближнем Востоке, характера последовавших событий и их потенциальных последствий. Сказанное касается как политиков и государственных деятелей, так и экспертного и медийного сообщества. Разброс мнений широк: от идеалистических до конспирологических.

Свои собственные соображения о сути происходящих процессов я выскажу в заключительной части статьи. А до этого хотел бы рассмотреть, как развивались события в отдельных странах на обширном пространстве от Атлантики до Индийского океана.

Тунис

Отсчет «арабской весны» формально стартовал с Туниса. А события там начались с незначительного конфликта в маленьком, пыльном городке Сиди Бузид на краю Сахары. Мухаммед Буазизи, 26-летний торговец овощами поспорил с сотрудниками полиции по поводу лицензии на свой товар, который был конфискован. Спор перешел в повышенные тона, и один из полицейских, женщина по имени Файда Хамди нанесла ему пощечину. Такого оскорбления Мухаммед, зарабатывавший уличной торговлей с целью накопить средства на обучение в университете, выдержать не смог. Направившись к офису губернатора, он потребовал сначала вернуть товар, а затем и встречу с самим губернатором. Не дождавшись ответа, 17 декабря 2010 года молодой человек облил себя бензином и поджег. Он умер в госпитале через восемнадцать дней.

На этом месте я хотел бы прерваться и совершить краткий исторический экскурс. Тунис всегда считался одной из наиболее продвинутых арабских стран как с точки зрения образованности и культурной развитости, так и веротерпимости и толерантности его населения. Достаточно сказать, что 99% современной тунисской молодежи обучены грамотности, многие имеют высшее образование. На 2010 год в Тунисе было 2 миллиона зарегистрированных пользователей в социальной сети Facebook. Несмотря на активность исламистских структур, последние были вытеснены в эмиграцию. Страну ежегодно посещают сотни тысяч иностранных туристов, в основном европейцев, действуют церкви и синагоги. Тунис являлся излюбленным объектом иностранных инвестиций и проводником умеренной внешней политики, что отличало его от многих арабских соседей.

Но у тунисского феномена была и обратная сторона. С 1987 года бессменным лидером страны являлся Зейн аль-Абидин бен Али. В тот год он, бывший выпускник французской военной школы и действующий министр внутренних дел Туниса, совершил бескровный государственный переворот, отстранив от власти Хабиба Бургибу, патриарха тунисской политики и ветерана борьбы за независимость, бессменно правившего страной в течение 30-ти лет. Его преемник сумел превзойти этот рекорд: правление Бен Али длилось свыше 33 лет. Будучи открытым во внешней политике и приветствуя иностранные финансовые вложения, режим весьма жестко подавлял любое инакомыслие. Клан президента и его приближенные лица контролировали почти все ключевые национальные ресурсы. Притчей в языцах стало имя его супруги Лейлы¹. Бывшая парикмахерша без какого-либо образования, она демонстрировала неодолимую тягу к роскоши и стяжательству, которую не могли заслонить ни филантропическая деятельность, ни должности в межаарабских женских организациях, ни зарубежные

* Данная статья написана на основании открытых источников и отражает личную точку-зрения автора

** Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Азербайджанской Республики в Королевстве Иордания

¹ Лейла ат-Тараблуси стала женой бен Али в 1992 г., через четыре года после развода последнего со своей первой супругой.

награды. От Лейлы не отставали ее десять братьев и сестер, а также шесть детей президента (по три от обоих браков). У каждого из указанных лиц был свой круг доверенных лиц, «крутивших» дела и промышлявших «откатами», положенными за разрешительную подпись под любым проектом.

А тем временем тунисская молодежь, весьма образованная по арабским меркам, как было указано выше, страдала от безработицы. Многие, как злосчастный Буазизи, были вынуждены перебиваться случайными заработками. Если в крупных городах еще можно было найти какие-то возможности, при наличии везения, то провинция, особенно Сахарская зона, оставалась полностью депрессивной. Социальные лифты были заблокированы, и лишь немногие могли прорваться вверх. Эмиграция в Европу была выходом, но пограничные барьеры, возведенные ЕС, не так легко преодолимы. Чувство безнадежности и утраты жизненной перспективы, низкий ежемесячный доход, позволяющий едва сводить концы с концами, и созерцание роскошных особняков элиты и образа жизни клановой «золотой молодежи» наводили «отверженных» на нехорошие мысли и желания. И самое главное – коррупция, вездесущая, всепроникающая и неотвратимая.

Итак, на этом фоне случился эпизод с самосожжением Буазизи. «Из искры возгорелось пламя». Поступок Мухаммеда взорвал Сиди Бузид. Тысячи жителей вышли на демонстрацию протеста, которая сначала носила мирный характер. Однако жесткие действия полиции вызвали в стречное насилие протестующих. Появились первые жертвы. Тем временем социальные медиа (Facebook и Youtube) разносили по стране, региону и миру визуальные сцены с места.

Постепенно народные волнения начали распространяться на другие города и к 27 декабря докатились до столицы. В авангарде уличного протеста, как это всегда бывает, шла студенческая молодежь и учащиеся старших классов. Присоединились и городские низы, хотя эта среда больше сосредоточилась на погромах собственности и грабеже состоятельных соотечественников.

Президент Бен Али пытался погасить пожар посредством стандартного метода – сочетания кнута и пряника. На помощь полиции для разгона демонстрантов была выведена армия. С другой стороны, президент обещал манифестантам все: реформы, выборы, усиление борьбы с коррупцией и другие позитивные перемены. Он даже посетил в госпитале обожженного Буазизи, ставшего к тому времени символом мученического протеста. Но все было тщетно.

И вот, в первые дни наступившего 2011 года произошел критический перелом. Схожий по сути процесс произойдет двумя месяцами позже в Египте: предательство элитой своего лидера, отстранение его клана при нейтралитете силовых структур, и как результат, смена режима, а если точнее, его фасада. В условиях экспонентного нарастания недовольства и протеста, переходящего в бунт, недовольный сегмент правящей элиты увидел реальный шанс отстранить от власти вросший в нее клан Бен Али и перераспределить как ее самую, так и ресурсы, к которым она дает доступ. Армия и силы безопасности, озабоченные признаками надвигающегося хаоса и паралича, поддержали идею смещения президента. Солдаты и офицеры отказывались выполнять приказы стрелять в толпу. Началось дезертирство из правящего Конституционного демократического союза. 14 января, после того, как Бен Али объявил чрезвычайное положение по всей стране и расформировал правительство, командующий армией генерал Рашид Аммар заявил о том, что вооруженные силы «защитят революцию». Несмотря на свой преклонный возраст², Бен Али понял, что это означает. В тот же день он улетел в Саудовскую Аравию. Одновременно с ним покинули Тунис в разных географических направлениях члены его семьи, родственники, приближенные, а также полторы тонны золота из национального банка, многочисленные ювелирные изделия и несколько миллиардов долларов.³

Кризис не стабилизировался сразу после бегства Бен Али и его семьи. Уличные столкновения, грабежи и погромы продолжались, восстали тюрьмы. Одновременно началась интенсивная кулуарная борьба в политической элите по формированию нового временного

² На момент события лидеру Туниса шел 75-й год.

³ В июле 2011 г. бывший президент и его жена заочно были приговорены судом к 35 годам тюремного заключения. Впрочем, вероятность того, что Саудовская Аравия экстрагирует Бен Али новым тунисским властям, весьма низка. Формальным поводом является ухудшающееся здоровье Бен Али.

правительства. Не вдаваясь в ее перипетии, ограничусь констатацией, что кризис был преодолен к середине марта, правительство сформировано, бывшая правящая партия законодательно запрещена.

В целом, к марту 2011 года Тунис начал исчезать из газетных заголовков по причине частичной нормализации обстановки и начала бурных событий у соседей по региону. «Жасминовая революция», как ее назвала падкая на ярлыки пресса, вступила в стадию стабилизации и политической рутины. 23 октября 2011 года тунисцы проголосовали на выборах в Конституционную ассамблею, одной из задач которой будет подготовка новой конституции страны. Мало кого из наблюдателей удивил результат подсчета голосов – 41% был отдан исламистам из ранее запрещенной партии Al-Nahda (Возрождение), чей лидер Рашид аль-Ганнуши вернулся на родину после 22-летнего изгнания в Лондоне. Маятник, повинувшись законам истории, качнулся в другую сторону. Наблюдатели дискутируют о том, каковы будут последствия всех этих перемен. Идеалисты (оптимисты) говорят о выражении воли народа и демократическом выборе, реалисты (пессимисты) – о ползучей исламизации через легальные электоральные процессы. Будущее, несомненно, покажет. Пока ясно одно: потеряв в этих событиях жизни около 200 своих граждан и понеся существенный материальный и финансовый ущерб, Тунис, по меньшей мере, на момент написания этих строк, отделался относительно легко и весьма быстро стабилизировался. Это очевидно в сравнении с другими арабскими «революциями», о которых речь пойдет ниже.

Египет

Кризис в Египте вызревал исподволь. За внешне благополучным фасадом авторитарной модернизации постепенно накапливались противоречия, искавшие выхода. А его не было.

Как и в Тунисе, основная часть населения была лишена самых скромных жизненных перспектив и была вынуждена зарабатывать самый минимум на пропитание и обеспечение иных самых простых жизненных нужд. Естественно, сказанное требует поправки на египетскую специфику и традиции. Повальная неграмотность (до 65% населения), многодетные семьи (десять отпрысков – это в порядке вещей), тяжелый крестьянский труд за гроши на рисовых или хлопковых плантациях, не менее легкая работа городского поденщика за смешную зарплату, умопомрачительная даже по

восточным меркам коррупция, полицейский и чиновничий произвол. Таковы компоненты взрывоопасной смеси, которая сработала в январе 2011 года. Но у нее был и детонатор.

Значительная часть египетской экономической, культурной и интеллектуальной элиты также испытывала чувство недовольства. Кому-то не пришлось по душе клановая монополизация основных бизнес-сегментов, закрывающая возможности аутсайдерам, кому-то – отсутствие свободы слова и самовыражения. Недовольство, как это не раз было доказано историей, сосредоточилось на главе государства, его семье и ближайшем окружении, вне зависимости от того, до какой степени это недовольство и связанные с ним обвинения были справедливы. Ничего не поделаешь, такая персонификация есть неотъемлемое свойство обыденной человеческой психологии, которая находит простые, лежащие на поверхности ответы, не в состоянии понять всей сложности бытия.

82-летний Хусни Мубарак, в прошлом боевой летчик занял пост президента по воле случая, в 1981 году, когда в результате покушения был убит его предшественник Анвар ас-Садат. Три десятилетия правления Мубарака характеризовались многими позитивными тенденциями, в основном, в сфере внешней политики, обеспечения безопасности и укрепления авторитета страны на международной арене. Были и достижения в экономике, в частности, росли иностранные инвестиции, особенно в прибыльную туристическую отрасль. Однако, клановость, коррупция и неэффективный менеджмент «съедали» значительную часть доходов. Распределение средств по остаточному принципу среди 80-миллионного населения не могли способствовать даже частичному решению перечисленных выше базовых проблем, которые постепенно приближали недовольство к критической массе. Основная ненависть, помимо фигуры самого президента, сосредоточилась на его близких: жене Сюзанн, сыновьях Алаа и Гамале, которым молва приписывала все мыслимые и немыслимые коррупционные грехи. Эти обвинения были справедливы, но лишь отчасти. Любая мало-мальски значимая коммерческая и экономическая деятельность в стране, не говоря уже о многомиллионных проектах, имела необходимым условием выплату комиссионных клану, его доверенным и ассоциированным лицам. Речь идет о тысячах и тысячах человек на всех уровнях, а с учетом членов семей и собственных контактов – о многих десятках тысяч. Это

была система, которая формировала базис режима. Но ее фасадом были президент и его семья, на которой сфокусировались вся неприязнь и претензии недовольной части общества. К 2011 году эта часть общества стала подавляющим большинством.

Во второй половине 2000-х годов, в связи со старением Мубарака и ухудшением его здоровья встал вопрос о преемственности с целью сохранения системы. Пока президент поправлял здоровье за границей за счет государства, его сторонниками была разработана схема передачи власти его младшему сыну Гамалю, успешному бизнесмену и плебейю. Выборы ноября 2010 года в нижнюю палату парламента, фактически являвшиеся репетицией передачи власти, предсказуемо завершились победой правящей Национально-демократической партии, генсеком которой стал Мубарак-младший. Осталось закрепить успех на президентских выборах, назначенных на сентябрь 2011 года. Но не случилось.

До сих пор трудно определить, какую роль в резкой гальванизации египетского общества в январе 2011 года сыграли события, разворачивавшиеся тогда в Тунисе. Наверняка, определенная роль была, но скорее всего, лишь как информационного повода, который стронул с места снежный ком внутренних, чисто египетских проблем. 25 января 2011 года, после проведения предварительной мобилизации через социальные сети Интернета (по примеру Туниса), десятки тысяч людей двинулись к центральной площади Каира Ат-Тахрир («Освобождение»). Их встретили полиция, газ и водометы. Но уже через трое суток, 28-го, после пятничной молитвы на улицы вышло на порядок больше людей. И наступил момент истины, показавший степень отторжения режима обществом.

18-миллионный мегаполис вскоре был парализован чередой непрерывных митингов и противостояний. Власти вывели войска и технику на улицы. Город был заполнен сотрудниками полиции и службы безопасности, в форме и штатском, штатными и внештатными провокаторами, стукачами и активистами правящей партии, свезенными из провинций. В дело шли дубинки, слезоточивый газ, пластиковые, а затем и настоящие пули, и даже верблюжья кавалерия. Но все это, как и отключение интернета, сотовой связи, массовые задержания и аресты, комендантский час не способствовали стабилизации. Наоборот,

люди прибывали, волнения не прекращались, градус нетерпимости и радикализма с обеих сторон шел вверх, формируя весьма отчетливый сценарий гражданской войны.

На фоне ставшего уже бессрочным митинга оппозиции на площади ат-Тахрир участились поджоги государственных и частных зданий, грабежи, совершаемые уголовниками, которые воспользовались моментом для массовых побегов из тюрем. Этот факт был расценен как преднамеренная акция властей, призванная дискредитировать оппозицию, переложив на нее ответственность за уличное насилие. Для защиты жизни и собственности, граждане приступили к формированию отрядов самообороны по месту жительства. В их состав вливались представители самых разных слоев – городские люмпены, члены профсоюзов, студенчество, исламисты, интеллигенция. Полиция и армия в целом были инертны, занимая выжидательную позицию и ограничивая использование силы. Тем временем, волнения уже распространялись на другие крупные города (Александрию, Порт-Саид) и провинцию.

В этих условиях правящая элита и ее силовой блок – армия – пошли на дворцовый переворот, приняв решение отстранить от власти правящий клан и ассоциированных с ним лиц. Закулисная сторона вопроса до сих пор остается неясной. Судя по всему, престарелый верховный главнокомандующий не выдержал давления со стороны своих генералов, пугавших его кровопролитием, гражданской войной и, с другой стороны, суливших ему гарантии безопасности в случае добровольного отречения от власти. Обсуждавшийся альтернативный проект передачи власти вице-президенту Омару Сулейману, начальнику разведки и близкому соратнику Мубарака не сработал, видимо из-за этой самой близости. 11 февраля 2011 года Мубарак сдался, объявил об отставке, призвал нацию к примирению и улетел в свою резиденцию в Шарм аш-Шейхе. Вся полнота власти в стране перешла к Высшему совету Вооруженных сил (ВСВС) Египта, возглавляемому министром обороны маршалом Мухаммедом Хусейном ат-Тантави. При этом известии сотни тысяч ликующих египтян вышли на улицы. «Революция 25 января», как ее именуют в падких на ярлыки средствах массовой информации, завершилась. Но на самом деле, все только начиналось. Точнее, это был не конец и даже не начало конца, а конец начала, если вспомнить известную фразу У. Черчилля.

По сути, если рассуждать в практической плоскости, никакой революции в Египте не было. Революция – это радикальное изменение всей социально-политической системы страны и приход к власти нового политического класса. Смена режима не есть революция в строго научных терминах. А смена его фасада, тем более. Именно последнее и произошло в Египте. Военная верхушка, поддерживаемая большей частью финансово-экономической и политической элиты, на фоне массовых выступлений населения, грозивших непредсказуемыми последствиями, в первую очередь, возможным приходом к власти радикальных исламистов, решила пожертвовать ферзем, чтобы сохранить основу системы. И на тот период ей это удалось. Не следует забывать, что с момента антимонархической революции 1952 года (а она была именно революцией в отличие от 2011 года, поскольку сменила систему), ведущим менеджером и гарантом в Египте оставалась армия. Все четыре лидера страны (М. Нагиб, Г.А. Насер, А. Садат и сам Х. Мубарак) были генералами. Система, по сути, произвела собственную реинкарнацию, выйдя из создавшегося положения за счет формирования мягкого варианта военной хунты. Таким образом, она отсрочила смену формации. Но не отменила.

Египет после Мубарака ныне не самое спокойное место на планете. Там развиваются несколько процессов, параллельных, но взаимосвязанных. Формирование новых конституционных основ, модернизация политической системы, проведение честных, справедливых и прозрачных всеобщих выборов законодательной и исполнительной власти, которые курирует и организует ВСВС при содействии гражданских органов власти, а также формирование новых политических партий и другие формы самоорганизации и самовыражения граждан, являющиеся, безусловно, шагом в положительном направлении. Что отнюдь не гарантирует конечных позитивных результатов.

В политическую борьбу включились «тяжеловесы», египетские исламисты. Это крайне неоднородная категория, и я не буду излагать здесь все детали. Ведущей структуризированной силой является фундаменталистская организация «Движение братьев-мусульман» (ДБМ), которая сейчас фактически признана США и другими западными странами, в частности, в качестве умеренной альтернативы радикальному

исламу. Ее вновь сформированный политический фронт «Партия свободы и справедливости», на парламентских выборах сентября 2011 года вышел по результативности на первое место, получив 48,5% голосов избирателей. На втором месте партия Al-Noor (Свет), представляющая интересы гораздо более радикального исламистского крыла – салафитов, вышедших из подполья и легализовавшихся после свержения Мубарака. Несмотря на острые противоречия между двумя вышеупомянутыми группировками, исламисты теперь контролируют не менее двух третей мест в национальном парламенте, отодвинув светские партии на задворки. Весьма неожиданный результат для наивных апологетов «Твиттер-революции» и иллюзии «массового про-демократического движения».

После выборов в парламент, основная политическая активность сосредоточена на президентских выборах, назначенных пока на май 2012 года.⁴ На текущий момент идет выдвижение, регистрация и агитация кандидатов. Характерно, что ДБМ, наиболее влиятельная политическая сила в Египте заявило о своем отказе от участия в выборах главы государства. Заявление «Братьев» было воспринято в общественно-политических кругах страны как часть их долгосрочной и выверенной стратегии, понимающих, что решение основополагающих проблем страны, затрагивающих интересы населения и выведших его на улицы в январе 2011 года, в ближайшее время нереально. Эти проблемы носят слишком глубокий, системный характер и, более того, в ближайшее время будут обостряться далее. В связи с этим было озвучено мнение о том, что ДБМ, судя по всему, займет выжидательную позицию, используя завоеванный плацдарм в законодательной власти для критики власти исполнительной (то есть будущего президента), на котором сосредоточится весь гнев населения, обманутого в своих ожиданиях. То есть, предполагалось, что «Братья» дадут возможность другим потерпеть провал. А вот потом, на следующей фазе избирательного президентского цикла, где-то в 2015 году они смогут сделать реальную заявку на высшую власть. Однако, эти предположения оказались преждевременными. Спустя некоторое время исламисты выдвинули своих кандидатов на пост президента.

Тем временем, на внешне благопристойном

⁴ Этот срок нельзя считать окончательным, поскольку он неоднократно переносился ранее.

фоне египетской внутривнутриполитической динамики и электоральных ожиданий, на которых фокусируются западные политики, в стране нарастают и негативные тенденции. «Революция» негативно отразилась на экономическом положении, в первую очередь потому, что неустойчивость привела к существенному оттоку иностранных инвестиций из национальной экономики. Бизнес любит стабильность и определенность, тут ничего не поделаешь. То же самое относится к туризму – основной отрасли, приносящей Египту значительные валютные поступления. На острой фазе событий поток туристов снизился из-за сцен насилия, заполонивших телеэкраны. Сейчас ситуация поспокойнее, но случаи похищения иностранных туристов и паломников, участвовавшие с осени 2011 года, способствуют не улучшению туристического имиджа Египта, а скорее оттоку клиентуры в направлении более стабильных турецких, греческих и кипрских курортов. И уж конечно, нарастающие призывы исламистов к введению норм шариата, в том числе запрета на алкоголь и соблюдению дресс-кода, не благоприятствуют перспективам отрасли. Пока экономическое положение страны спасают разовые пакеты финансовой помощи от Саудовской Аравии, других государств Залива и США,⁵ но долго так продолжаться не будет.

Падение авторитарного режима и относительная либерализация жизни, как ни парадоксально, негативно отразились на национальной безопасности. Возрос уровень насилия. Часть граждан, бросивших вызов власти на площади, вошла во вкус и теперь решает свои проблемы силой. В мае 2011 года состоялись ожесточенные столкновения между мусульманами и коптами-христианами в Каире, оставив десятки убитых и раненых и повторившись менее значительными рецидивами в последующем. Градус межконфессиональной нетерпимости постепенно растет, исламисты требуют обращения христиан в ислам или их изгнания, а христиане, в зависимости от степени решимости, думают о самообороне или эмиграции. Очередной конфликт между общинами, к сожалению, практически неизбежен. Общую степень ожесточения общества продемонстрировал инцидент в Порт-Саиде, где 1 февраля 2012

года в результате столкновений между болельщиками двух футбольных клубов на стадионе погибло около 80 человек и сотни были ранены.

Тем временем, Синайский полуостров постепенно превращается в неконтролируемую зону, где местные бедуинские племена, уже долго живущие за счет контрабанды (товаров, оружия, наркотиков, нелегальных мигрантов), все более попадают под влияние экстремистских элементов, связанных с движением Al-Qaeda. Этот фактор несет угрозу не только туристической индустрии, основные объекты которой расположены как раз на Синае, но и египетско-израильскому мирному соглашению. Фактически, Синайский полуостров и сектор Газа смыкаются в единую зону военно-политической напряженности. Подтверждением тому служат многочисленные факты подрыва трубопровода, по которому газ поступает из Египта в Израиль (и далее в Иорданию).⁶ В начале апреля 2012 года израильский курортный город Эйлат на Синае подвергся ракетному обстрелу.

Конечно, суммарное действие всех негативных факторов должно набрать критическую массу, для чего требуется время. Однако, еще существуют возможности для положительного перелома тенденции. ВСВС пока контролирует ситуацию, ведя дела к проведению выборов, завершению формирования полноценного, функционирующего гражданского правительства и возвращению военных к выполнению своих прямых профессиональных обязанностей. Пока же для выпуска пара используется остаточный революционный энтузиазм масс и эксплуатируется их ненависть к бывшему режиму, чему в немалой степени способствует суд над Мубараком и членами его окружения, начавшийся 24 мая 2011 года. Впрочем, вид полупарализованного старика, прикованного к каталке и с трудом отвечающего на вопросы судьи, постепенно начинает работать в обратном направлении, по мере того, как все текущие проблемы Египта остаются в том же, если не еще более худшем состоянии. Время – бесстрашный враг нового Египта, чем дальше оно течет, тем меньше остается шансов на благоприятные сценарии.

И последнее наблюдение – опять насчет термина «революция». Египетская социально-

⁵ По некоторым подсчетам, за 2011 и первые месяцы 2012 г. Египет получил от указанных доноров свыше 10 млрд. долларов на нужды экономики (и это без учета военной помощи США).

⁶ Только за период с февраля по ноябрь 2011 г. имело место 8 подрывов, каждый из которых приводил к существенным перебоям в подаче топлива.

политическая система, как и правящий класс, в целом, остались без изменений, несмотря на турбулентные процессы, реформы и политическую борьбу последнего года. Вероятно, что рано или поздно к власти законным путем, через электоральные циклы придут «Братья-мусульмане», которые сформируют новый политический класс, сменят нынешнюю элиту и перестроят систему. Но и это будет уже не революция, а эволюция. А что дальше – покрыто мраком неизвестности.

Ливия

Современная история Ливии берет свой отсчет с 1 сентября 1969 года, когда группа молодых армейских офицеров во главе с Муаммаром Каддафи свергла монархию. Социалистическая Народная Ливийская Арабская Джамахирия⁷ объявила курс на построение специфического местного варианта социализма и «антиимпериалистической» внешней политики. Своеобразие Ливии на мировой арене основывалось на двух факторах.

Первым являлись весьма своеобразные качества и взгляды ее лидера, которые должны оцениваться не только с точки зрения политологии, но и психиатрии. При той системе власти, которая сложилась в Джамахирии, мнение Каддафи, выходца из бедуинского племени, родившегося в шатре и с тех пор не расстававшегося с ним (подобные шатры стояли в его многочисленных дворцах и сопровождали в зарубежных поездках) имело ключевое значение. Взгляды полковника (звание которого он присвоил себе сам, на чем скромно остановился) были радикально антизападными, механизм принятия решений зачастую единоличным и почти всегда импульсивным, а идеи глобальными. В результате, к 80-м годам ливийцы оказались замешаны практически во всех войнах, которые велись на Африканском континенте, в том числе прямой военной интервенции в Чаде, которая, в конечном счете, им дорого обошлась. В более широком плане, оказывалась обширная материальная и финансовая помощь «освободительным» движениям мира, от Тринидада и Тобаго до Филиппин, в том числе откровенно террористическим группам. Каддафи пытался поставить под контроль даже палестинское движение сопротивления, а когда получил совместный отпор арабских государств, отреагировал в своей своеобразной манере,

организовав попытки покушений на негодных ему лидеров. Вся эта деятельность сопровождалась периодическим выдвиганием неясных концепций по объединению то арабского, то мусульманского мира, то стран африканского континента, но непременно под руководством Ливии.

Вторым из двух упомянутых мной факторов ливийского феномена стало его нефтяное богатство. Оно позволяло не только финансировать активную «внешнюю политику», описанную в предыдущем абзаце, но и поддерживать внутреннюю стабильность за счет поддержания неплохого уровня благосостояния населения. Внутриполитический баланс поддерживался особой структурой органов власти («народных комитетов») и неформальным консенсусом среди основных племен и кланов, через верхушку которых вниз по вертикали распределялись материальные ресурсы и средства, системой социальных льгот (таких, как бесплатная медицина) для населения, покупкой дешевой рабочей силы в соседних государствах Магриба и странах третьего мира для выполнения «черной работы». Собственный дом и две – три машины на семью были в порядке вещей. Ежегодно десятки тысяч ливийцев выезжали в Европу тратить динары в лондонских и миланских бутиках. Протягивая своим подданным пряник, полковник также не забывал и про кнут. Его вездесущие спецслужбы не дремали, и любая оппозиция подавлялась силой со всеми мыслимыми и немыслимыми нарушениями прав человека. Впрочем, особой оппозиции, в гражданском понимании этого слова, в Ливии и не было. Недовольным оставался один путь: к исламским экстремистам, и то, за море, в Афганистан, Боснию или Чечню.

В 80-х годах режим Каддафи занял устойчивое место среди государств, поддерживающих терроризм, в связи с чем подвергался не только санкциям, но и периодическим «воспитательным» акциям военного характера со стороны США.⁸ Рубежные геополитические события (распад СССР в 1991 г., теракты 11 сентября в США, вторжение в Ирак 2003 г.) вынуждали полковника лавировать на международной арене и демонстрировать уступки, чтобы не оказаться в первой строке американского «черного листа». Именно из этих соображений Ливия раскрыла свои секретные программы по созданию

⁷ Последнее слово в переводе с арабского означает «народовластие».

⁸ Самым вопиющим примером ливийского терроризма является подрыв американского пассажирского авиалайнера над Шотландией 21 декабря 1988 г., в результате чего погибли 271 человек.

оружия массового поражения и объявила об отказе от их реализации, а также осудила терроризм. Покаяние полковника и сложная международная обстановка заставили Запад закрыть глаза на прошлое, снять режим санкций и даже начать сотрудничать с режимом в ряде областей. На время Ливия исчезла из новостных заголовков. До 15 февраля 2011 года.

В этот день в Бенгази, втором по величине городе страны состоялась демонстрация с требованием ухода полковника. Она быстро переросла в столкновение с силами безопасности. В ход пошли бутылки с бензином и камни. В ответ власть начала аресты. К 17 февраля волнения перешли в восстание, горизонтально распространившееся по всем городам Киренаики, восточного региона Ливии.⁹ На этом этапе противники режима сумели довольно быстро самоорганизоваться и вооружиться. 27 февраля из разнородных оппозиционных деятелей был создан Национальный переходный совет (НПС), объявивший своей целью смену режима, формирование временных органов власти, выработку проекта новой конституции и проведение честных и свободных выборов. Одним из первых декретов НПС стала замена зеленого полотнища флага Джамахирии на триколор с полумесяцем и звездой, бывший флаг монархической Ливии.

Восставшие весьма быстро взяли под контроль восток страны, и двинулись в западном направлении. Однако, к тому времени режим уже пришел в себя, подавил возникшие очаги протеста в тылу (в том числе в столичном городе Триполи, с большим количеством жертв) и начал контратаковать, используя свое преимущество в технике и вооружении, в том числе авиацию.

По заявке руководства оппозиции и под непрерывное сопровождение СМИ, в первую очередь, телеканала Al-Jazeera, 24 часа в сутки передававших материалы о «зверствах» режима против гражданского населения, Совет безопасности ООН оперативно издал резолюцию 1973, которая, помимо прочего, предусматривала введение «зоны, свободной от полетов авиации» над Ливией. В тот же самый день, 19 марта, заблаговременно сосредоточенная группировка американских и европейских военных сил приступила к практическому принуждению, начав действия по планомерному уничтожению военной машины Каддафи. Первые

четверо суток операцией руководили США, затем она перешла к НАТО. Постепенно количество членов международной коалиции возросло до 17 (включавших, помимо США и европейских членов НАТО, также ряд нейтральных государств Европы, а также ОАЭ, Катар и Иорданию). Под прикрытием предоставленного «воздушного зонта», повстанцы начали продвижение вперед. И началась «странная война».

Боевые действия в Ливии в период с апреля по август сложно описать в форме выверенной хронологии. Это было хаотическое движение вперед и назад. Фрагментированные бои за отдельные ключевые пункты, такие, как город Мисрата и нефтяной терминал Марса Брега. Показушные «атаки» повстанцев в джинсах и футболках перед телекамерами палящих с джипов из всех видов оружия по невидимой цели за горизонтом. Не менее показушные митинги сторонников Каддафи, окруживших «любимого лидера» с воплями о желании умереть за него как можно скорее. Еще более показушные сыновья полковника – Сейф аль-Ислам и Хамис, разряженные в военную форму, увешанные оружием и говорящие о скором разгроме повстанцев, а также США и НАТО. Чернокожие наемники из стран Сахеля. Авиация НАТО, методично выбивающая с неба ржавую продукцию советского военно-промышленного комплекса, закупленную полковником в течение последних сорока лет на миллиарды нефтедолларов. Госпитали, забитые ранеными солдатами, боевиками и мирными жителями. Морги, забитые ими же. Города без электричества, воды, еды. Корабли, разгружающие гуманитарную помощь и загружающие толпы перепуганных иностранных гастрабайтеров на эвакуацию. Беженцы, тысячами бегущие в Италию и Грецию морем, на всем, что только может плавать. Журналисты с камерами, волонтеры с гуманитарной помощью. Разведчики под прикрытием легенды журналистов и волонтеров. Зарубежные вояжеры, прибывшие с миссиями доброй воли и не очень, говорящие с экранов о своей поддержке (одобрении, озабоченности, осуждении...). Заявления, бои, трупы...

Начало конца режима или, точнее, конец начала ливийской гражданской войны, а именно так следует называть вещи своими именами, подошло на исходе лета. Именно тогда количество усилий, инвестированных Западом в укрепление военных возможностей оппозиции и ослабления аналогичных

⁹ Эта дата считается теперь официальным днем «ливийской революции».

возможностей режима, перешло в качество. 20 – 23 августа, в результате внезапного штурма с запада и юга силы ПНС взяли столицу, в том числе правительственный компаунд Баб аль-Азизия. Каддафи, заявлявший о том, что будет стоять до конца, исчез в неизвестном направлении. Испарились и его сторонники, каждый день проводившие демонстрации в поддержку лидера на центральной столичной Зеленой площади. Вместо них на площадь высыпали ликующие противники полковника. Как мне кажется, не менее, чем на пятьдесят процентов это были одни и те же лица. Пока одна часть народа радовалась, другая его часть грабила третью. Естественно, не обошлось и без стрельбы и трупов. Но их было не так много, по ливийским меркам. Один за другим основные города Ливии перешли под контроль повстанцев.

К началу сентября остатки сил режима сконцентрировались в трех точках: городах Бени-Валид, Сирт и Себха. Их основу составили выходцы из племен Каддаффа и Варфалла, бывших на привилегированном положении при полковнике и не без оснований опасавшихся мести. Вскоре выяснилось, что и сам Каддафи с частью членов семьи (кроме уже убитых, а также жены и дочери, выехавших в Алжир) находится среди своих. Деваться ему уже было почти некуда: или под международный трибунал в Гаагу, или в одну из африканских стран, диктаторов которой он до недавнего времени спонсировал. Несмотря на жесткое сопротивление, бывшие повстанцы, ставшие теперь правительством, постепенно сжимали кольцо. Наконец, 20 октября осажденные предприняли массовую попытку прорыва из Сирта, кстати, родного города незадачливого полковника. Попав под удар авиации НАТО, колонна Каддафи была рассеяна. Оглушенный и раненный полковник был обнаружен боевиками в дренажной трубе, и до Гааги не доехал, потому что умер после жестоких пыток и издевательств, продолжавшихся несколько часов. Принадлежавший ему золотой пистолет потом демонстрировал по телевизору один из боевиков. Непонятно, почему Каддафи не воспользовался им по назначению и не застрелился при захвате. Видимо, надеялся на «благородство народа».

После убийства труп полковника был перевезен в Мисрату и помещен на всеобщее обозрение того самого народа. И народ валил на «шоу» тысячами несколько дней, с семьями и видеокамерами, пока новые власти не опомнились и не похоронили тело лидера «Зеленой революции» в безымянной могиле в пустыне. Весьма характерные штрихи, надо сказать. В этой истории нет положительных персонажей.

После того, как сенсационные новости вокруг смерти Каддафи сошли на нет, а поставки нефти в Европу были возобновлены в довоенном объеме, Ливия, фактически исчезла из заголовков мировых новостей. Наступили суровые будни. Межфракционная борьба за власть, сопровождающаяся, по ливийскому обычаю, стрельбой, захватом заложников и их пытками. Борьба за власть означает борьба за ресурсы и самый главный из них – нефть. Разгул уголовщины, десятки тысяч единиц оружия с разграбленных военных складов, припрятанные на «черный день» или проданные в страны Африки. Рост влияния радикальных исламистов. Достаточно упомянуть Абдельхакима Бельхаджа, бывшего участника боевых действий против СССР в Афганистане, руководившего Ливийской исламской боевой группой, признанной Госдепом США террористической организацией. Именно он руководил штурмом Триполи в августе 2011 году и сейчас имеет немалый вес в новом ливийском руководстве. Неизвестно, что предпримут сотни и тысячи молодых безработных ливийцев, уже получивших боевой опыт в ходе гражданской войны. Они, несомненно, подходящий вербовочный материал для религиозных экстремистов. Нестабильны племена, жаждущие перераспределения ресурсов. А сами ресурсы под вопросом, после того, как в марте 2012 года региональные власти Киренаики, где сосредоточены основные запасы ливийской нефти, объявили о планах отделения (по меньшей мере, автономии) от остальной территории страны.¹⁰ На что центральная власть ответила угрозой использования военной силы для сохранения национального единства. Тем временем процесс восстановления безопасности и формирования новой политической системы и выборных органов власти затягивается. Каждый прошедший даром день делает шансы Ливии на выход из кризиса гражданской войны меньше, чем вчера.

¹⁰ Ливия состоит из трех географических регионов – Киренаики, Триполитании и Феццана, которые исторически существовали самостоятельно, и были объединены только после 1911 г., когда территория современной Ливии перешла под колониальное управление Италии от Османской империи. В таком виде страна и получила независимость после второй Мировой войны

Йемен

Поздней зимой – ранней весной 2011 года, когда массовые протесты со скоростью лесного пожара распространились по региону, Йемен не остался в стороне. Люди вышли на улицы, протестуя против того же, что укоренилось в Тунисе, Египте, и других арабских странах. То есть, коррупции, произвола, бедности, несменяемости власти. На последней и сосредоточился гнев вышедших на улицы йеменцев. Президент Али Абдалла Салех правил страной уже 32 года. Вряд ли стоит говорить, что при этом он опирался на традиционные инструменты власти – семью, клан, племя,¹¹ контролировавших основные структуры: армию, республиканскую гвардию, спецслужбы, администрацию и правящую партию. Поддерживало режим и исламское духовенство, по крайней мере, официальная его часть.

По другую сторону баррикад находился взрывоопасный контингент. Демографическая статистика показывает, что средний прирост населения страны ежегодно составляет 3%,¹² а его средний возраст – 18 лет. При этом, по уровню доходов на душу населения Йемен занимает 173-е место в мире. И это еще не нижний предел, поскольку экономика страны еще до событий постепенно деградировала, ввиду падения нефтэкспорта с постепенно истощающихся нефтяных месторождений и отсутствия альтернативных источников поступления твердой валюты. Безработная молодежь, не имеющая жизненных перспектив и сознающая этот факт, есть легко-воспламеняемая, опасная субстанция. Не случайно, на протяжении десятилетий, с 80-х годов прошлого века тысячи молодых йеменцев отправлялись за море, примыкая к экстремистским исламистским группировкам, ведущим джихад против «неверных», в том числе в Советском Союзе и Афганистане. К началу 90-х годов эти структуры объединились под эгидой движения Аль-Каида, в котором йеменцы всегда играли существенную роль. Достаточно вспомнить корни происхождения самого Усамы бен Ладена. Но роль религиозных экстремистов на первом этапе событий была незаметной. Верные своей стратегии, они наблюдали за развитием событий, перед тем как включиться в процесс.

Развернувшиеся в январе демонстрации протеста вначале носили мирный характер.

Салех, встревоженный развитием событий у соседей, «скармливал» митингующим обещания реформ, заявил об отказе от выдвижения своей кандидатуры на очередной срок на выборах 2013 года и передаче власти своему старшему сыну. Но митинги продолжались, их участники не расходились, требуя немедленной отставки. Нервы у президента начали сдавать, и он постепенно стал переходить к силовым действиям, наращивая присутствие верных воинских частей в столице и крупных городах. Напряженное противостояние не могло не разрядиться взрывом. Это случилось 18 марта 2011 года, когда войска, по чьему уже теперь не установить, приказу, открыли огонь по протестующим, убив 52 человека и ранив более сотни. Точка невозврата была пройдена.

На фоне возмущения масс кровавой расправой, недовольная часть элиты, увидевшая благоприятные для себя перспективы перераспределения власти и ресурсов, предприняла попытку сместить Салеха. Их мнение озвучил шейх Садек аль-Ахмар, старейшина доминирующего племенного союза Аль-Хашид. Через пару суток против верховного главнокомандующего и своего родственника выступил командующий дивизией республиканской гвардии, бригадир Али Мохсен аль-Ахмар. Выведя технику на улицы Саны, он заявил о вооруженной «защите мирных граждан». Линия раскола прошла не только по элите и армии, но и по родственным узам. Это один из самых верных признаков гражданской войны.

Кровавая карусель этой войны затянулась на месяцы. В ней не было фронтов, зато много участников. Сторонники Салеха, оппозиция из правящей элиты, вооруженные племена, отстаивающие свои территории обитания, шииты-зейдиты на севере, поддерживаемые Ираном, вновь поднявшие голову марксисты на юге, террористы из структур Аль-Каиды и просто бандиты, почуявшие возможность поживиться. И между ними всеми обычные граждане, на которых пала вся тяжесть войны: нехватка хлеба, воды, электричества, постоянная угроза жизни, и отсутствие света в конце туннеля.

Следует признать, что Салех не дрогнул перед фактом предательства части элиты

¹¹ Основу власти А. Салеха составлял племенной союз Аль-Хашид. В этот союз входят «президентские» семейный клан Аль-Ахмар и племя Санхан.

¹² Считается, что к 2030 году численность населения Йемена составит свыше 100 миллионов человек.

и до конца цеплялся за власть. Затяжные переговоры по выходу из кризиса и передаче власти, организованные при посредничестве Совета Сотрудничества арабских государств Залива (ССАГПЗ) и ряда западных стран, не завершились успехом, и к концу мая 2011 года вооруженные отряды племен начали стягиваться к Сане для штурма города. 3 июня во время ракетного удара по президентскому дворцу Салех был тяжело ранен и вскоре эвакуирован в Саудовскую Аравию и далее в США для лечения и реабилитации. И вновь, даже после такого физического и психологического потрясения¹³ президент, придя в себя, продолжал маневрировать в надежде сохранить власть или хотя бы ее часть. В конечном счете, под давлением Эль-Рияда и Вашингтона, 23 ноября Салех согласился на компромиссный план передачи власти, выторговав в пользу своих физических и политических наследников ряд преимуществ. Старший сын уходящего президента, Ахмед Али ас-Салех получил под контроль наиболее боеспособную часть армии, республиканскую гвардию, укомплектованную соплеменниками, а единственным, безальтернативным кандидатом на выборах нового президента был оговорен Абд Раббо Мансур аль-Хади, бывший вице-президентом страны при Салехе-старшем. И все это время, пока велись переговоры и согласовывалась каждая буква документа о передаче власти, в стране продолжала литься кровь.

21 февраля 2012 года в Йемене состоялись выборы нового президента, на которых 65% зарегистрированных избирателей отдали свыше 99% голосов за единственного кандидата – аль-Хади. Быть может, такие вызывающие недоверие цифры высокой поддержки в данном конкретном случае все же близки к истине. Слишком велика усталость обычных граждан от кровопролития и вакуума власти, и они готовы верить в любой шанс, который поможет остановить гражданскую войну. К сожалению, таковой шанс, если и существует, то очень невысок. В течение лета-осени 2011 года, пока стороны решали вопрос передачи власти, из йеменского омота возник новый фактор – фактор Аль-Каиды.¹⁴

25 февраля 2012 года, в день принятия присяги новоизбранным главой государства,

боевики Аль-Каиды взорвали заминированный автомобиль у президентского дворца в городе Мукалла, убив 25 военнослужащих республиканской гвардии и послав ясный сигнал непризнания новому режиму. К этому времени боевики Движения уже контролировали существенные сегменты на юге и юго-востоке страны, постепенно вытесняя с боями деморализованные части правительственной армии из мелких городов и деревень и создавая контролируемую территорию, на которой в конце марта 2012 года был провозглашен «исламский эмират» и верховенство законов шариата. На данный момент и на обозримую перспективу фактор Аль-Каиды остается единственным осязаемым и наиболее опасным аспектом йеменских событий. Его эволюция, если не будет остановлена, способна привести к самым непредсказуемым последствиям: от исполнения давней иллюзорной мечты бен Ладена о создании исламистского государства, откуда начнется «новый Халифат», до вынужденного военного вторжения США и Саудовской Аравии с целью противодействия угрозе. Как будто этого недостаточно, шиитский племенной союз Аль-Хаути на севере страны отказывается признать новую власть и продолжает демонстрировать неповиновение, что заставляет нервничать Эль-Рияд, внимательно следящий за усилением амбиций и агрессивности Ирана.

Так что, одним из основных результатов йеменской «розовой революции» (еще один бессмысленный и вводящий в заблуждение эпитет, изобретенный СМИ), помимо тысяч потерянных жизней, экономического ущерба и частичного распада страны, стало резкое усиление региональной напряженности. Чего пока нет, это демократии, стабильности и решения коренных проблем, из-за которых люди вышли на улицы в январе 2011 года.

Сирия

В январе 2011 года я по служебным делам на несколько дней выехал из Аммана в Дамаск по хорошо известному и многократно опробованному пути. Все было привычно: дорога, пересечение границы и потом шумная и многообразная сирийская столица. Обстановка была спокойной. Правда, по теленовостям передавали сообщения о

¹³ 21 марта 2012 года, как раз в тот день, когда пишутся эти строки, Салеху исполнилось 70 лет

¹⁴ Йеменский компонент движения Аль-Каиды западные источники именуют Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), то есть – «Аль-Каида Аравийского полуострова». Сами же фигуранты предпочитают называть свою структуру Ansar al-Sharia – «Сподвижники шариата».

волнениях в Тунисе, но тогда это не выглядело чем-то необычным. «Призрак» перемен по Дамаску явно не бродил. Но, через два месяца все изменилось.

Сирия испытывала все тот же набор проблем, который вызвал возмущение и выступления в других арабских государствах. Авторитарный, несменяемый режим Коррупция, пронизывающая все уровни государства и общества. Произвол, подавление любого недовольства, инакомыслия, попытки заявить о своих правах. Высокая безработица, особенно среди молодежи. Это был первый уровень проблем.

Второй уровень – этно-религиозный. Правление режима опиралось (на момент написания этих строк, продолжает опираться) на секту алавитов, компактное, сплоченное, активное меньшинство, который узурпировал контроль над ключевыми постами в сфере обороны и безопасности, а также наиболее привлекательные экономические сегменты и существенные финансовые ресурсы. С целью упрочения и продления своего доминирования, алавиты делили управление страной с христианскими, друзскими, курдскими элементами, а также некоторыми союзными суннитскими кланами,¹⁵ тем самым балансируя и сдерживая суннитское большинство.¹⁶ Такая система власти, сложившаяся с 1970 года, т.е. с приходом к ней Асада-старшего после совершенного им государственного переворота, не является чем-то необычным для данного региона. Достаточно вспомнить соседний Ирак, где была зеркальная диспозиция – суннитское меньшинство в альянсе с другими меньшинствами узурпировали основные источники военной, политической и экономической власти в свою пользу, отодвинув на периферию, и в случае необходимости, жестко подавляя шиитское большинство.

Поэтому, не случайно, а скорее неизбежно, что заслуженный и незаслуженный гнев и недовольство чувствующего себя ущемленным большинства сфокусировались на алавитском клановом сегменте, и в первую очередь, его

семье, контролирующей ключевые должности в стране.¹⁷ Горючего материала было вдоволь, к 2011 году он достиг критической массы, и требовалась лишь искра, чтобы разжечь пожар. Такой искрой стали начавшиеся события в Тунисе, Египте и Ливии. Принцип домино сработал и достиг Сирии в марте.

Хотя первые позывы начались еще в конце января. Здесь явно отслеживается попытка копирования протестующими тунисского и египетского опыта: самосожжения, координация через интернет, «дни гнева» после пятничных молитв. Февраль прошел в демонстрациях и начавшейся самоорганизации оппозиции. А к середине марта произошла закономерная эскалация и начала литься кровь. Эпицентром событий стал город Ад-Дираа на юге страны, неподалеку от иорданской границы, где я неоднократно бывал ранее. 25 марта здесь вышли на улицы десятки тысяч человек, при этом более 20 из них были убиты силами безопасности. После чего пошла цепная реакция. Вспыхнули Хомс, Хама, Латакия, Тартус и другие крупные города. Но это еще было не восстание.

В течение месяцев события в Сирии шли по одинаковой схеме: массовые демонстрации протеста, набирающие большое количество участников после пятничных молитв. Рефрен был один: Башар аль-Асад и его режим должны уйти. Демонстранты крушили символы режима – портреты президента и статуи его отца. В ответ летели пули. Постепенно, по мере того, как волнения затягивались и количество участников росло, власти вывели на улицы городов бронетехнику и начали применять снайперов. Использовались, в основном, части, укомплектованные алавитами, в то время как офицеры и солдаты-сунниты оставались в окопах на линии противостояния с Израилем на Голанских высотах. Число жертв начало исчисляться уже не десятками, а сотнями, а городские службы жизнеобеспечения стали выходить из строя. Это положило начало волне беженцев, устремившихся в соседние Иорданию, Ливан и Турцию. Также, постепенно началось дезертирство из правительственной армии. Пытаясь переломить тенденцию,

¹⁵ К таким союзникам алавитского режима относится семейство Аль-Ахрас, из которого происходит жена президента Асама аль-Асад.

¹⁶ По состоянию на 2009 г., из 20 с лишним миллионов человек, сунниты составляли до 74% от общей численности населения страны.

¹⁷ Например, Махер аль-Асад, младший брат главы государства, командует элитными соединениями президентской гвардии и армии, состоящими из алавитов, и предназначенных для защиты режима. Генерал Асиф аш-Шаукат, муж Бушры, сестры президента, является заместителем начальника генштаба вооруженных сил и долгое время возглавлял военную разведку. Большой вес, помимо семьи аль-Асад, имеют кланы аш-Шалиш и аль-Махлуф, выходцы из которых связаны с президентом родственными узами через брак, и занимают важные должности в армии, спецслужбах и бизнесе (который уже давно сросся с двумя предыдущими).

режим организовывал массовые демонстрации в свою поддержку, а также пытался отвлечь внимание от внутренних проблем за счет провоцирования напряженности на линии прекращения огня с Израилем, организовав в мае и июне две попытки ее прорыва при поддержке контролируемых им палестинских групп. Одновременно озвучивались призывы к национальному диалогу и обещания реформ. Все оказалось тщетным. Летом 2011 года волнения переросли в восстание.

По мере того, как столкновения демонстрантов с силами безопасности перешли в настоящие бои, сирийская оппозиция внутри страны и за ее пределами перешла к самоорганизации. 23 августа политические лидеры, представляющие все разрозненные фрагменты оппозиции, провозгласили на встрече в Стамбуле создание Сирийского национального переходного совета, нацеленного на смену режима и политическую реформу страны. Еще ранее, 29 июля было объявлено о создании военного крыла оппозиции, «Свободной сирийской армии», которую возглавил полковник Рияд аль-Асад, бежавший из правительственной армии.¹⁸ Число вооруженных дезертиров росло как снежный ком, и вскоре оппозиционеры начали операции внутри страны. Пока лоялисты «зачищали» прибрежные города и регион Евфрата у иракской границы, вооруженные силы оппозиции взяли под свой контроль участки территории на турецко-сирийской границе и начали постепенно проникать в центральную часть страны. Уже осенью там сложились устойчивые очаги сопротивления, главным из которых стал Хомс (откуда, между прочим, происходят родители «первой леди» страны Асмы аль-Асад). Вокруг и внутри этого города, населенного по преимуществу суннитами в течение двух месяцев шли ожесточенные бои. Наконец, в феврале, после ожесточенного штурма с применением тяжелого вооружения и сотен жертв, включая нескольких иностранных журналистов, правительственные войска взяли оплот повстанцев, суннитский квартал Баб-Амро, расположенный в юго-западной части города. Но тактическая военная победа не положила конец вооруженному противостоянию. Перегруппировавшись, «Свободная сирийская армия» провела несколько дерзких операций уже в самых предместьях столицы, а также во втором по численности населения городе страны – Халебе (Алеппо).

Тем временем, на фоне боев между лоялистами и повстанцами в процесс начала постепенно включаться третья сила, та самая пресловутая Аль-Каида. Боевики ее иракского крыла (в основном, выходцы из Сирии), оценив ситуацию и почувствовав шанс «поймать рыбку в мутной воде», то есть осуществить мечту бен Ладена о «создании исламского государства в отдельно взятой стране», начали проникновение в Сирию и восстановление своей инфраструктуры, ранее разгромленной спецслужбами страны. В декабре 2011 года и январе – марте 2012 года в Дамаске и Алеппо были осуществлены теракты против государственных учреждений, носившие «фирменный почерк» Аль-Каиды: применение автомобилей, оснащенных взрывными зарядами большой мощности и управляемых боевиками-смертниками. А лидер движения Айман аз-Завахири, преемник бен Ладена из своего укрытия где-то на афгано-пакистанской границе выступил с поддержкой восстания и призывами к свержению режима.

Появление «фактора Аль-Каиды» в Сирии стало тревожным сигналом для американцев, влияющим на всю их стратегию в отношении Сирии. Здесь следует остановиться на позиции международного сообщества в отношении сирийского кризиса. Она оказалась расколота из-за разности интересов вовлеченных сторон. США и Европа, будучи заинтересованными в свержении режима и введении политических процессов в русло, соответствующее их идеологии, на момент написания этих строк (конец марта 2012 г.) проявляют относительную сдержанность. Этому способствуют несколько факторов: развертывание кампании по выборам президента США, финансово-экономический кризис и политический паралич ЕС, опасения того, что чрезмерное вмешательство лишь повредит процессу и усилит позиции экстремистских элементов, таких, как вышеупомянутая Аль-Каида. Вопрос даже об ограниченном военном вмешательстве по ливийскому сценарию пока не стоит на повестке дня, хотя уже в практической плоскости рассматриваются варианты оказания материальной помощи повстанцам. И в полную силу используется инструмент санкций против ключевых лиц режима. Так, 23 марта 2012 года Брюссель блокировал

¹⁸ Политическое и военное крыло сирийской оппозиции формально объединились в декабре 2011 г. Степень ее единства и координации действий остается под вопросом.

финансовые счета Асмы аль-Асад, играющей важную роль в пиар-кампании своего мужа, и запретил ей въезд на территорию Евросоюза, за исключением Великобритании, где она родилась и гражданство которой сохранила. Впрочем, сомнительно, что она воспользуется этой возможностью.

К западному лагерю примыкает позиция Турции. У нее свои резоны и расчеты: поддержание заявки на роль ведущей региональной силы, неоднократно озвученной правительством Эрдогана, блокирование потенциального обострения курдской проблемы,¹⁹ предотвращение наплыва беженцев, и купирование влияния Ирана. Анкара неоднократно угрожала применением силы в случае крайней необходимости защиты своих национальных интересов. Ее сирийский кризис затрагивает непосредственно. Достаточно взглянуть на карту и оценить протяженность общей границы.

События в Сирии стали одним из немногочисленных эпизодов в современной истории, когда арабские государства смогли очень быстро выработать согласованную позицию по одной из межарабских проблем. Вердикт, вынесенный ведущими столицами региона и оформленный в соответствующих резолюциях Лиги Арабских Государств, недвусмыслен: режим должен подчиниться народному волеизъявлению и уйти под гарантии личной безопасности клану, открыв путь политической трансформации. Координацию усилий по урегулированию сирийского кризиса взяли на себя Саудовская Аравия и Катар.²⁰ Эль-Рияд, являвшийся главным финансовым спонсором Сирии, и в первую очередь, его военной машины, серьезно настроен на смену режима. Не исключено, что саудовцы рассчитывают, что ему на смену придет религиозно-консервативная группировка. В марте 2012 года Саудовская Аравия, предвительно перекрывшая каналы финансирования, закрыла свое посольство в Дамаске, послав очередной недвусмысленный сигнал Б.Асаду. Ее примеру вскоре последовали другие арабские и европейские государства, а также США и Турция. Все они ведут интенсивные консультации, пытаясь выработать общую

позицию и скоординировать свои действия по бескровной смене режима и последующей политической трансформации Сирии.

Иную позицию заняли Россия, Китай и Иран. Начну с последнего. Тегеран кровно заинтересован в выживании сирийского режима и, следовательно, сохранении статус-кво в регионе Леванта. Этот статус-кво обеспечивает Ирану сообщение с его союзниками, группировками «Хизбалла», «Хамас» и «Исламский джихад» и участие в вооруженной борьбе «за освобождение Иерусалима» против Израиля (или имитации такой борьбы), которая на протяжении всех трех десятилетий существования иранского режима использовалась им для отвлечения внимания собственного населения от внутренних проблем. Ставки Тегерана в Сирии действительно высоки. Под вопросом формирование так называемой «шиитской дуги» от Персидского Залива до Восточного Средиземноморья, шансы на которое существенно возросли после того, как Иран в последние годы сумел заполнить военно-политический вакуум в Ираке. Необходимость обеспечить выживание алавитского режима вынуждает Тегеран, уже сталкивающийся с последствиями усилившихся экономических санкций, тратить существенную часть своих уменьшающихся ресурсов на финансовую и военную поддержку Б.Асада.²¹ Как представляется, иранский фактор в Сирии является одним из стимулов для интенсивного западного и арабского участия в обеспечении смены режима, поскольку такая смена выбьет из-под Ирана важную региональную опору.

Позиция РФ мотивируется иными предпосылками. В ее основе так и не завершившийся до сих пор процесс осмысления места, роли и национальных интересов России в быстро меняющемся мире, а также существенное влияние внутривосточных факторов на внешнюю политику. У Москвы есть интересы и непосредственно в Сирии, и в регионе, в целом. Однако они, при всей их важности, не являются ключевыми с точки зрения коренных национальных интересов, как мне представляется. Так, рассуждения о миллиардных контрактах на закупку

¹⁹ До 10% населения Сирии – этнические курды.

²⁰ Политическая роль Катара в процессах, начавшихся в арабском мире в 2011 г., выходит далеко за рамки этой небольшой страны, учитывая ее финансовый потенциал и медийный фактор (штаб-квартира известного телеканала Al-Jazeera расположена в Дохе). Необходимо также помнить, что Катар принимал участие в военной операции в Ливии и его военнослужащие, по некоторым данным, принимали участие в штурме резиденции Каддафи в Триполе в августе 2011 года.

²¹ С начала 2012 г. Иран, фактически, заменил Саудовскую Аравию в качестве финансового спонсора Сирии. При том, что их потенциалы несопоставимы.

российского оружия Дамаском, которые могут быть потеряны в случае смены власти, не выдерживают серьезной критики. Во-первых, Сирия уже неплатежеспособна, после перекрытия ей саудовского финансирования, так что оружие придется поставлять бесплатно. Во-вторых, режим еще может выстоять какой-то период времени, но исторически обречен, так что возможно, оружие не придется поставлять вовсе. А вот отношения с арабским миром в результате недальновидной и конъюнктурной поддержки Б.Асада могут быть испорчены всерьез и надолго. На такой вывод, в частности, наталкивает анализ комментариев за период конца 2011 года – начала 2012 года, распространенных в арабских СМИ. В них резко негативно оценивается роль России в кризисе, и в частности, факт блокирования резолюции Совбеза ООН по сирийскому урегулированию. Аналогичная критика начинает постепенно звучать и из официальных источников. Вероятно, осознание растущей изоляции и ее последствий заставило Москву скорректировать позицию. У нее еще есть реальные шансы перехватить инициативу в урегулировании и снискать авторитет в том случае, если удастся убедить клан аль-Асада прекратить кровопролитие и отказаться от власти под гарантии личной и финансовой безопасности.

По состоянию на конец марта 2012 года, когда я начал писать эту статью, кризис вокруг Сирии был в самом разгаре, и перспектив его решения не просматривалось. Скорее, наоборот. Режим продолжал отчаянно цепляться за власть, применяя силу для подавления восстания, и одновременно имитируя демократические перемены.²² Кровопролитие в стране продолжалось, и к концу марта число погибших, по данным ООН, превысило 9.000 человек, а беженцев – 130.000 человек. Некоторую надежду вселил план урегулирования, представленный Кофи Аннаном, специальным посланником генсека ООН. Он был, с оговорками, поддержан участниками конфликта и внешними игроками, однако пути его реализации остаются неясны. Тем временем, в тени вооруженного противостояния в Сирии постепенно вызревают экстремистские силы, идейно и организационно связанные с Аль-Каидой, как уже указывалось выше.

²² В рамках этих усилий 26 февраля 2012 г. властями был проведен референдум о новом конституционном устройстве, на котором свыше 89% из числа принявших участие граждан проголосовали «за». И оппозиция, и арабские государства, а также Запад, расценили этот процесс как фарс.

²³ К таким проблемам, как свойственные всему региону коррупция, безработица и социальное неравенство добавляется сугубо местная специфика – высокие цены на продовольствие.

Сирийский узел способен оказать негативное влияние на стабильность сопредельных государств, в первую очередь, на Ливан, где уже имели место межконфессиональные столкновения сект, противостоящих друг другу. И это лишь немногие из потенциальных негативных последствий сирийских событий. Как изменится ситуация, покажет будущее.

Другие арабские государства

События так называемой «арабской весны» в Египте, Тунисе, Сирии, Ливии и Йемене приняли отчетливый характер силового противостояния. Где-то они имели непродолжительный характер, где-то затянулись до сих пор. Но во всех случаях они не привели к окончательным результатам с долгосрочной стабильностью. В лучшем случае, лишь к промежуточным итогам (речь идет о Тунисе и Египте). А как обстоит дело с другими? Мало кто из стран региона оказался незатронутым взрывной волной «арабской весны». Ниже я очень кратко расскажу об остальных ближневосточных государствах, где противостояние народа и элиты не приняло столь острого характера и не привело к смене власти, как в пяти вышеупомянутых.

События в Тунисе и начало противостояния в Египте в январе – феврале 2011 года гальванизировало недовольные массы и организованную оппозицию во многих арабских странах. Там были предприняты попытки копирования тунисского опыта, в форме самоорганизации через сети интернет массовых демонстраций, и демонстративных самосожжений. В частности, так произошло в Алжире, где даже имели место столкновения между демонстрантами и силами безопасности, с некоторым количеством жертв. Но взрыва не случилось. Моя версия причин такова: несмотря на наличие реальных проблем, волнующих население,²³ алжирцы сыты по горло результатами недавней гражданской войны, продолжавшейся полтора десятилетия и унесшей жизни десятков тысяч сограждан. Поэтому, они предпочли мирный, политический путь решения насущных проблем. В Марокко протесты также не получили развития и быстро сошли на нет после того, как король Мухаммед VI гарантировал частичное перераспределение полномочий в пользу законодательной власти. Свое обещание он выполнил. Практически

аналогичная ситуация сложилась в Иордании, которую я мог наблюдать в непосредственной близости. Монарх ведет выверенную линию, идя, в случае необходимости, на уступки оппозиционным силам, и предоставляя дополнительные полномочия законодательной власти. Такие действия позволяют сдерживать социальные протесты, несмотря на непростое экономическое положение страны, еще более осложняемое глобальным кризисом. И в марокканском, и в иорданском случаях расширение парламентских полномочий способствовало усилению влияния религиозно-консервативных фракций. Но это лишь отражает общую региональную тенденцию текущего периода: там, где проводятся по-настоящему свободные выборы, на волне народного волеизъявления избираются исламисты (пока что, в основном, умеренные).

Ливан всегда занимал особое место в арабском мире ввиду разнообразного этнического и конфессионального состава своего населения. Так совпало, что в январе 2011 года, когда разворачивались первые события «арабской весны», продолжительный правительственный кризис в Ливане завершился падением кабинета и формированием нового, в котором доминирующие позиции заняли представители движения «Хизбалла». Несмотря на мрачные ожидания, прогнозы о возобновлении гражданской войны и новом конфликте на ливано-израильской границе за прошедший после указанных событий год пока не сбылись. Наверное, в том числе и потому, что ливанцы, как и алжирцы, хорошо знают вкус насилия, чинимого вооруженными согражданами. Впрочем, уязвимым местом Ливана, помимо взрывоопасного состава его населения, является географическое положение. И он постепенно уже начинает ощущать на себе последствия событий в соседней Сирии.

Теперь о регионе Залива. Его государства и правящие в них консервативные династические монархии объективно являются сторонниками сохранения статус-кво. События зимы – весны 2011 года, со всей очевидностью, обеспокоили их и заставили действовать на упреждение как по линии укрепления внутренней безопасности, так и по выделению дополнительных финансовых пакетов на социальные нужды населения. В частности, Саудовская Аравия вскоре после свержения Мубарака объявила о выделении 45 миллиардов долларов на указанные цели. Аналогичные действия предприняты и

другими государствами Залива. В столицах региона также рассматриваются возможности постепенного, мягкого реформирования политических институтов, в первую очередь законодательных, в направлении расширения представительства, свобод и роли народа в принятии решений. Возможно, эти действия, примат монархического строя, а также традиционный уклад жизни и мышления большинства населения, пока смогли предотвратить социальный взрыв в государствах Залива, хотя определенные предпосылки для этого имелись. Так, начавшиеся было демонстрации в Омане в феврале 2011 года не вылились в массовые выступления и сошли на нет после обещанных султаном реформ.

Но сказанное не означает, что на полуострове все благополучно. Линия разлома пролегла по сектантскому признаку. Часть населения ряда государств Залива составляют шииты, традиционно считающие себя ущемленными суннитским большинством. Через призму сектантского размежевания социальные проблемы выглядят особенно острыми, а степень вины власти, принадлежащей иному направлению ислама, еще выше. В условиях последнего десятилетия, когда Иран перешел к активной, фактически экспансионистской политике в регионе, в том числе подержке шиитских движений, дестабилизирующее значение этого фактора возросло еще более. Поэтому, не удивительно, что силовые проявления так называемой «арабской весны» в регионе Залива пришлись именно на зоны компактного расселения шиитов.

В эпицентре событий оказался Бахрейн. Источником проблемы является структура его населения и власти. Суннитское меньшинство, около 30% от общей численности мусульманского населения является состоятельным организмом, сосредоточившим в своем распоряжении источники благосостояния и власти, и представленным правящей династией аль-Халифа. Шиитское большинство, менее обеспеченное, считающее себя обделенным, и поэтому политически активное. Протесты начались еще в начале февраля 2011 года и набрали силу к середине месяца. Основным требованием вышедших на улицы была отмена монархии, а центром их активности – палаточный лагерь на так называемом «Жемчужном кругу» в центре Манамы, где собрались тысячи оппозиционеров, объявивших бессрочный митинг до удовлетворения их требований. Тем временем, появились признаки того, что Иран активно манипулирует частью политических

лидеров оппозиции. Все эти события включили защитный механизм. 17 февраля 2011 года, после многочисленных призывов разойтись силы безопасности разогнали лагерь, арестовав сотни протестующих²⁴. Тем не менее, столкновения продолжались, вспыхивая то в одном, то другом районе города. В попытке стабилизировать ситуацию, король Хамад аль-Халифа твердо пообещал политические и социальные реформы и помиловал около 400 арестованных и уже осужденных демонстрантов. Когда стало ясно, что это не привело к снижению напряженности, в дело вступил ССАГПЗ, задействовавший механизмы обеспечения коллективной безопасности. 14 марта четыре тысячи саудовских военнослужащих и 500 сотрудников полиции из ОАЭ появились на улицах Манама. Эти и другие меры помогли сдержать наиболее активные, про-иранские элементы протестной волны. Постепенно, к лету обстановка в стране была стабилизирована, но только относительно. Хотя в последующем основные усилия оппозиции сосредоточились в политической сфере, в том числе в парламенте, где действует шиитская депутатская группа Al-Wafaq («Согласие»), хотя возвратные эпизоды насилия имели место. В целом, бахрейнский сюжет далек от завершения и здесь возможны сюрпризы.

Саудовская Аравия, являющаяся основным менеджером безопасности арабских государств Залива, естественным образом, обеспокоена обозначившимися тенденциями²⁵. Тем более, что шиитская проблема существует и на ее собственной территории. Большинство населения Восточной провинции, где добывается 90% саудовской нефти и газа, составляют шииты, и это беспокойный контингент. В начале 2011 года он также пришел в движение. Имели место выступления и столкновения с некоторым количеством жертв. Пока властям удастся держать ситуацию под контролем, используя кнут (жесткий режим безопасности) и пряник (финансовые пакеты). Тем не менее, оценивая общую ситуацию в королевстве, следует иметь в виду очевидный факт: проблема обеспечения преемственности трона становится актуальной, по мере того, как король Абдалла, которому в 2013 году будет уже 90 лет, слабеет физически. Его возможный уход неизбежно приведет к

существенным изменениям в КСА. Наследный принц Наиф бен Абд аль-Азиз, министр внутренних дел КСА является сторонником более активного противодействия ирано-шиитской экспансии, и, по некоторым неподтвержденным данным, рассматривает процессы «арабской весны» как возможность утвердить, в конечном счете, консервативные (фундаменталистские) политические режимы в ключевых арабских странах. Что, помимо прочего, позволит сохранить роль КСА как «духовного лидера» арабского мира. В целом же, говорить определенно о том, какова будет динамика развития ситуации в королевстве, пока более чем преждевременно.

Значительные события, развернувшиеся на Ближнем Востоке с начала 2011 года, в той или иной степени затронули практически все арабские страны. Перед тем, как перейти к более общим проблемам, изложенным в следующем разделе, не могу не упомянуть о нескольких обособленном эпизоде, имевшем место на периферии арабского мира. В 2011 году раскололся Судан. Его южный регион провозгласил независимое государство, и был признан в качестве такового международным сообществом. Впрочем, сообщения, поступающие оттуда, свидетельствуют, что до мира там еще далеко, и проблемный узел, связанный с пограничным размежеванием, этнической напряженностью и разделом нефтяных ресурсов, будет давать знать о себе еще долго.

Геополитика «арабской весны»

Внимательный читатель, постоянно следящий к тому же за развитием событий в регионе, наверное, уже обратил внимание на то, что я в своем изложении происходящих процессов не упомянул две страны – Ирак и Палестинскую автономию. Произошло это по следующей причине: обе страны слишком глубоко интегрированы в две ведущие геополитические тенденции региона – суннитско-шиитское противостояние и арабо-израильский конфликт. Сейчас я восполню этот пробел.

В декабре 2011 года последние американские военнослужащие покинули территорию Ирака, завершив более, чем семилетний период оккупации. Позади осталась полуразрушенная, расколота страна с шатким правительством и населением, различные

²⁴ Это событие получило в местном политическом лексиконе наименование «Кровавого Четверга», а весь процесс – «Революция 14 февраля». Всего за год волнений в Бахрейне погибли, по различным данным, от 35 до 85 человек.

²⁵ Речь идет не только о Бахрейне, но и Кувейте, где также активизировались шиитские группировки (пока правда, без насилия) и в феврале – марте 2011 г. была раскрыта сеть проиранской агентуры.

группы которого ополчились друг против друга или лелеяли надежду уехать куда угодно от хаоса и повседневной угрозы жизни. С уходом американцев гражданская война не только не прекратилась, но и вспыхнула с новой силой. Буквально в считанные дни после вывода вице-президент Тарик аль-Хашеми и некоторые другие представители суннитского блока вышли из правительства и укрылись от преследования на территории Курдского автономного района, являющегося де-факто территорией, не контролируемой центральным правительством. Это событие четко обозначило формирование суннитско-курдского альянса против шиитского доминирования в Ираке. Одновременно с этим в Багдаде и других городах прокатилась возвратная волна террористических атак, направленная против государственных учреждений и объектов сил безопасности, которая унесла жизни десятков людей. Терракты и внутривнутриполитическая напряженность стали отличительной чертой обстановки в Ираке весь последующий период зимы и весны 2012 года.

Иракская ситуация отражает более обширный тренд, который начал формироваться с середины 2000-х годов, когда военно-политическая стратегия США в регионе начала давать сбои. Свержение режима С. Хусейна и оккупация Ирака ликвидировали ключевой объективный фактор сдерживания амбиций Ирана в зоне Залива. По мере роста загруженности глобального потенциала США и прогресса собственной ядерной программы, амбиции Тегерана начали распространяться и на иные регионы арабского мира. Резкий рост влияния в Ираке, существенная часть правительства которого состоит из шиитов и настроена к Тегерану весьма лояльно, позволил Ирану создать предпосылки для превращения этой страны плацдарм для продвижения своих интересов еще до ухода из нее США. Создалась реальная возможность формирования «шиитской дуги», простирающейся от Ирана через Ирак и контролируемую алавитами Сирию до Ливана, где параллельно росло влияние шиитского сегмента и, в первую очередь, движения «Хизбаллах». Ответвлениями этой дуги являлись бы населенные шиитами восточные регионы Саудовской Аравии, северная часть Йемена, а также Кувейт и Бахрейн, где представители указанной конфессии составляют значительную часть населения. В сочетании с тем, что Иран упорно продолжал продвигать свою ядерную программу в направлении создания соответствующего оружия, а также начавшихся в 2011 году

пертурбаций в арабском мире, указанная проблема постепенно вышла за рамки региональной на глобальный уровень. Формат и философия данной статьи делают не совсем уместным обсуждение такого обширного аспекта, поэтому я ограничусь лишь кратким анализом реакции сугубо арабского мира на поползновения Ирана к региональной гегемонии.

Как известно, практически во всех арабских столицах активность Ирана воспринимается не просто как негатив, а в качестве прямой угрозы. Координация, согласованные действия и скорость реакции всегда были слабым местом арабского мира, что не удивительно при таком количестве стран, разности их интересов и зачастую сложных отношениях между их лидерами. Однако, агрессивность иранской риторики и, что более важно, конкретные усилия по расширению и укреплению влияния в Ираке, Леванте и Йемене, а также подрывные действия «пятой колонны» в государствах Залива, вызвали совместные действия. Ядром консолидации стал ССАГПЗ, который постепенно приобретает черты военно-политического блока. В 2011 году заявку на членство в его состав подали государства, расположенные вне региона – Иордания и Марокко. Хотя они пока не являются официальными членами, их сотрудничество с Советом идет полным ходом. Таким образом, ССАГПЗ объединил монархии с разным потенциалом финансовой мощи, политического влияния и авторитета, военных сил, географического положения. Однако, всех их сводит вместе единая стратегическая цель – сохранение сложившегося статус-кво. И в этом они опираются на поддержку США и, отчасти, пока еще объединенной Европы.

Надеясь на лучшее (политический путь решения проблем с Ираном), прагматичные арабские монархи рассчитывают на худшее и наращивают свои военные возможности. Так, только в 2011 году Саудовская Аравия заключила контракты на миллиарды долларов, закупив 84 самых современных боевых самолета в США и 200 не менее современных танков в Германии. Не отстают от Эр-Рияда и Объединенные Эмираты, и другие упомянутые государства, все в меру своих возможностей. Но усилия сдерживания иранской экспансии не ограничиваются только закупкой вооружений и политическими консультациями. События в Ираке, о которых я писал в начале статьи, это отражение тайной войны, уже ведущейся между Тегераном и арабами. Пока она носит форму взаимного обмена ударами, осуществляемые

террористическими группами, за которыми, вероятнее всего, стоят спецслужбы обеих сторон. В эти дни конца марта 2012 года, когда в Багдаде состоялось заседание Лиги Арабских Государств, призванное, помимо обсуждения сирийской проблемы, подчеркнуть сохраняющуюся принадлежность Ирака к арабскому миру, иракскую столицу сотрясло несколько мощных взрывов, унесших жизни очередных десятков мирных граждан.

Вторым фронтом арабо-иранского (пока еще негласного) противостояния становится Сирия. Возможно, в дни, когда пишутся эти строки, она даже выдвигается на первый план. Сирия – наиболее уязвимое звено пресловутой «шиитской дуги». Если алавитский режим Б.Асада падет и ему на смену придет новая власть, сформированная суннитским большинством, из-под иранской схемы будет выбито важнейшее звено, и блокирован доступ Тегерана к ливанскому плацдарму. Поэтому, вряд ли следует удивляться той жесткости, с которой ведущие арабские государства оказывают давление на Дамаск с целью мирной передачи власти, одновременно поддерживая сирийскую оппозицию.²⁶ Ставки как никогда высоки, а вероятность достижения искомого результата вполне реальна. В заключение темы замечу, что противостояние между арабским миром и Ираном, даже без учета внешних факторов способно вылиться, при развитии негативного сценария, в проблему глобального значения.

Заявленные амбиции Ирана, помимо прочих последствий, привели к тому, что арабо-израильский конфликт, центральной осью которого является палестинская проблема, перестал быть единственным центром гравитации усилий арабского мира. Конечно, указанный конфликт ни в коей мере не утратил своего политического и идеологического значения. Скорее, теперь арабам предстоит иметь дело сразу с двумя стратегическими задачами. Израиль, продолжающий оккупацию части палестинских территорий, несмотря на арабское и международное давление, настаивает на твердых гарантиях безопасности в качестве предварительного условия ее прекращения, а также отказывается обсуждать статус Иерусалима.

События «арабской весны» усилили израильские опасения относительно того, что на волне социальных протестов к власти, в конечном счете, придут радикальные исламистские режимы, которые предпримут попытку силовым путем решить палестинскую проблему. Отношения Израиля с Египтом после ухода Мубарака, а в последнее время и с Иорданией, двумя государствами, с которыми был подписан мирный договор, в данный момент характеризуются как «холодный мир», и стороны не исключают сползания к состоянию «холодной войны». Ситуация на границах с Ливаном, Египтом и линии прекращения огня на Голанских высотах остается беспокойной, а в районе Газы так и вообще периодически выливается в открытые военные действия с ракетными обстрелами израильской территории и ответными ударами Израиля по территории Сектора. Картина осложняется внутри-палестинским расколом между движением ХАМАС, контролирующим Газу, и ФАТАХ, опирающимся на Западный берег Иордана, а также непредсказуемыми действиями различных менее значительных, но самостоятельных группировок, от марксистов до исламистов. Завершающим штрихом остаются бесплодные посреднические усилия внешних игроков, в первую очередь, США.

Завершая раздел о геополитических последствиях бурных региональных событий 2011-2012 годов, необходимо кратко оценить роль Турции. В ней происходят свои собственные процессы, связанные с постепенной ревизией идеологии и практики кемализма и возрастающей ролью исламского тренда. Одним из последствий этих процессов является активизация внешней политики Анкары, которая воспринимается не только на Западе, но и в арабском мире (что важно с точки зрения проблем, которые мы рассматриваем), как реанимация амбиций Османской империи.²⁷ Подтверждением активизации Анкары в регионе может служить ее претензии на роль в урегулировании палестинской проблемы, которая как бы оттеняет неспособность арабов к ее решению. Внешним проявлением указанных претензий стало направление пресловутой «флотилии мира» в Газу в мае 2010 года, завершившееся кровавым инцидентом, а также

²⁶ В качестве частного примера, отражающего общую картину арабских усилий, приведу успешный гамбит, предпринятый Саудовской Аравией и Катаром, который позволил отделить движение ХАМАС от политической и финансовой подпитки Тегерана и организационной поддержки Дамаска и замкнуть ее на Египет. В результате ХАМАС не только покинул территорию Сирии, но и занял более прагматичную позицию, воздерживаясь от обстрелов израильской территории из сектора Газа.

²⁷ Видимо поэтому, новые тенденции в политике Турции получили в аналитических материалах СМИ название «нео-османизм».

фактическая заморозка турецко-израильских отношений, которые еще десять лет назад имели характер стратегического союза. В этом же ряду находятся претензии Анкары на особую роль в урегулировании в Ливии (завершившиеся бесплодно) и разрешении иранской ядерной проблемы (которые контрпродуктивны для самой Турции, безопасность которой будет под вопросом в том случае, если Тегеран все же создаст потенциал оружия массового поражения). Особняком стоит Сирия, от развития ситуации в которой зависят ключевые национальные интересы Турции, и здесь ее активное вмешательство вполне рационально. В целом же, Анкара явно пытается позиционировать себя в качестве региональной державы и рассматривает процессы «арабской весны» и как вызов, и как новые возможности для продвижения искомого статуса. Таким образом, в регионе идет формирование «треугольника противоречий»: арабы – Иран – Турция. Что вряд ли может вызывать оптимизм.

Заключительные соображения

Итак, я постарался изложить свое видение событий и тенденций, развернувшихся в арабском мире в 2011 году и продолжающихся и поныне, весной 2012 года, на момент, когда пишутся эти строки. Рассмотренные мной процессы получили, как уже указывалось выше, обобщенное наименование «Арабской весны».²⁸ Этот ярлык был порожден падкими на сенсации и штампы средствами массовой информации, быстро распространился и прочно вошел в политический лексикон: сейчас его используют и высшие государственные деятели, и профессора университетов, и аналитики ведущих исследовательских центров мира, не говоря уже о самих СМИ. По этой причине укоренения оперировать клише «арабской весны» вынужден и я, хотя с известной неохотой. То же самое касается терминов «арабские революции» и «продемократическое движение». Так происходит подмена понятий, преднамеренная или невольная. Та самая подмена, которая ведет к неправильной оценке реальной ситуации, а последняя, в свою очередь, к нереалистической стратегии и неверной политике.

Революция, в ее классическом понимании, – это насильственная смена режима, приводящая к полной смене социально-политического строя

и правящего класса. Если согласиться с этим определением, то пока ни один из процессов в отдельно взятых арабских странах, описанных мною выше, не подпадает под указанные признаки. В Египте и Йемене насилие не привело к замене существующего строя, сменились лишь фасады режимов и часть ассоциированных с ушедшими лидерами элит, но основа правящего класса осталась прежняя. В Египте, например, при всех происходящих политических изменениях, руководящей силой остается армейская верхушка, бывшая национальным менеджером с 1952 года. Даже в том случае, если на определенном этапе в будущем к власти через выборы придет «Движение братьев-мусульман», которое вслед за этим постепенно вытеснит старую элиту, введет нормы шариата и модифицирует государственное устройство и социальную структуру, это уже будет не революция, а эволюция. То же касается и Ливии, где свержение режима после гражданской войны не привело к формированию преемственной системы. Скорее всего, происходит постепенный раскол страны. Ну а с Сирией пока вопрос вообще открыт.

Тем не менее, по истечении более чем года в оценках событий до сих пор превалирует оптимизм и некоторая инфантильность. Это, в общем-то, понятно. В западном политическом сознании понятие «революция» носит однозначно положительную смысловую нагрузку, вытекающую из собственного исторического опыта: Американской революции 1776 года и Французской революции 1789 года. Но опыт иной цивилизации не всегда приживается на другой почве, и зачастую дает ядовитые всходы.²⁹

Здесь следует особо отметить роль СМИ в формировании искаженной картины происходящих событий, которая влияла и продолжает влиять не только на сознание обывателя, но и на политиков. Так была навязана иллюзия «движения за демократию», не имеющая ничего общего с действительностью. Да, определенный слой городской молодежи, получивший образование за рубежом и убедившийся в преимуществах свободного волеизъявления, действительно желает демократических реформ. Но этот слой очень тонок. А масса желает совсем иного. Если 35% населения Египта неграмотно, ему

²⁸ Как представляется, данное наименование имеет свои корни с аналогией «Пражской весны» - развертыванием движения за демократизацию социалистической Чехословакии в 1968 году.

²⁹ Многие реалистически мыслящие люди на Западе осознали это весьма быстро. Например, анализируя западные информационные источники, я сталкивался с ироничным переименованием «арабской весны» в «жаркое арабское лето» (намек на гражданскую войну в Ливии и Сирии) и «холодную арабскую зиму» (возможность прихода к власти в конечном итоге реакционных религиозно-фундаменталистских режимов).

не до демократии, они не только не имеют понятия о том, что это такое, но и будут заведомо против нее. Однако СМИ, от CNN до Al-Jazeera, ведущие трансляцию в режиме онлайн с площади ат-Тахрир, показывая интервью с молодыми, учившимися на Западе, прекрасно говорящими по-английски людьми, рассуждающими о демократии, формировали иллюзию, закрыв привлекательной картинкой мрачную реальность. Среди многочисленных проявлений этой иллюзии – присвоение американским журналом Time звания «человека года» египетскому блоггеру Ваэлю Гнейму, названному в СМИ «лицом египетской революции». Можно понять. Не присваивать же это звание тысячам погромщиков, которые в это самое время грабили дома сограждан и насильствовали журналистов на той же самой площади. Другой пример: уже упомянутый в тунисском разделе Мухаммед Буазизи, чьим именем была названа улица в Париже. Мотив опять понятен, но отражает некий весьма примитивный стереотип сознания. Считать, что «арабские революции» начались после того, как М. Буазизи совершил самоубийство, это все равно, что думать будто Великая Октябрьская социалистическая революция произошла потому, что крейсер «Аврора» произвел выстрел по Зимнему дворцу.

Аналогичным образом искажается значение информационного фактора в развертывании «арабской весны». Конечно, он сыграл свою роль. Так, «разоблачения» портала Wikileaks, опубликовавшего материалы Госдепа США, полученные в результате несанкционированной утечки осенью 2010 года, т.е. самый канун событий, способствовала де-сакрализации, а значит и де-легитимизации многолетних авторитарных режимов в глазах населения, подготовив почву для вспышки недовольства. Чего стоили одни сообщения о тратах супруги президента Туниса на предметы роскоши. Но особое внимание в связи с развернувшимися событиями привлек иной аспект. Речь идет о социальных медиа (Youtube, Twitter, Facebook), распространившихся в сетях интернета на очередном витке информационно-технологической революции. Да, они сыграли свою роль в информировании, пропаганде, политической и организационной мобилизации образованного сегмента протестующих.³⁰ Но опять же доступ в интернет-сеть есть прерогатива относительно немногочисленной, образованной и обеспеченной прослойки

недовольных сложившимся положением граждан. Большинство же не имеет понятия о блогах, твиттере и демократии. Они думают о насущном куске хлеба, и это выводит их на площадь с обрезками арматуры в руках.

И здесь надо в последний раз остановиться на базовых причинах потрясений, охвативших арабский мир. Я уже частично говорил о них выше, но сейчас суммирую. Коррупция, социальное неравенство, отсутствие работы, высокие цены на удовлетворение самых минимальных жизненных потребностей, перенаселенность из-за неконтролируемой и высокой рождаемости, угнетенное положение женщин. В значительной степени, это – отражение исторически сложившихся цивилизационных особенностей. Скажем, коррупция – это не черта присущая лично Бен Али или Мубараку или членам их семей. Это – часть цивилизационной культуры по всей социальной вертикали. И сменой первых лиц проблемы не решишь, это пусть горькая, но реальность. И быть может, самым главным фактором является отсутствие не только возможностей, но и самого образования, в самом глубоком смысле, как познания и критического осмысления реальности, которое является первой ступенью поиска выхода, как отдельной личности, так и всего общества из плена перечисленных проблем. И в этом смысле, на первый план выдвигается роль элиты. Недовольство части элит блокированием их амбиций и возможностей, ставшее важным фактором начала и развертывания идущих сейчас процессов, способно сыграть свою позитивную роль. Но только в том случае, если после смены режимов новые правящие элиты не просто займут их место, а запустят и возглавят процесс модернизации, который в исторической перспективе выведет арабский мир из исторического тупика, в котором он фактически оказался.

Исход этих поистине эпических процессов сегодня не ясен, диапазон возможных сценариев обширен и включает, помимо прочих, не самые оптимистичные варианты. Понятно лишь одно: новая историческая эпоха, начавшаяся в 2011 году, продлится долго. И участвовать в ней, наблюдать и анализировать ее суть будет уже новое поколение арабистов.

Я же ухожу с ближневосточной арены, где провел более полувека, и занимаю свое место

³⁰ В 2011 г., как представляется, произошло возрождение иллюзии конца 80-х – начала 90-х г.г. Тогда, в период кризиса и распада СССР считалось, что демократия придет в качестве выбора граждан, чье сознание откроется в результате появившегося свободного доступа к ранее отсутствовавшим источникам информации – свободной прессе и телевидению. Как мы знаем, этого не произошло. Сегодня история повторяет себя вновь на Ближнем Востоке.

MƏQALƏLƏR – ARTICLES – СТАТЬИ

LATE 2011 MEDITERRANEAN-GULF
POLITICO-LEGAL OVERVIEW

Kamal Makili-Aliyev*

Mediterranean security dilemma:

"Mediterranean Knot" is closely linked to the recent events that have taken place in the North African states of Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. Thus main focus should be on Egyptian and Libyan issues, Italian and Moroccan outlooks and linked with other major players that influence the region such as EU, US, Israel, Turkey and Iran.

In Egyptian case the main reasons for revolution proved to be youth as a driving power, socio-economic factors as motivators and foreign influence as ignition. Though throughout last decade Egypt has demonstrated impressive GDP and economic growth as well as unemployment of only 9%, actual socio-economic situation proved to hold 40% of the total population of Egypt in poverty. At the same time youth, that proved to be the major part of population was dissatisfied with low salaries, monopoly in all the areas of socio-economical life, marginalization, visible and grand scale corruption and constant brutality from the security forces. Those factors led to the mobilization of forces by the youth that used mobile technology factor and social networks to unite. Reduction of socio-security mechanism and common dissatisfaction of people with Egyptian foreign policy only strengthened the resistance. All of these factors have led to the situation on Tahrir square. Current situation in Egypt proves to be largely dependent on military council. Military played one of the key roles in denunciation of Mubarak's rule. Political transition was facilitated by the people's masses, however instigated by the military. A lot of the same power groups are still in the country's political sphere and it seems that military has no intention to transfer the power to civilian structures. From the beginning of the tensions in Egypt military was prepared to stir the process in any direction it needed. Egypt has seen the rise of old and the creation of new political parties. General mood of population proves to be flexible. Masses have not decided what they really want yet. Conservative mood prevails at the moment. Domestic situation is not grave these days, however if identity politics will prevail, the escalation of hostilities might arise. Non-traditional security threats are on the rise and will influence the region, even if they have

not originated exclusively in Egypt. Main goal of the current authorities in Egypt right now is to deal with the root causes of instability. At the same time it is evident that tensions between the religious groups cover the whole political sector in Egypt. Tensions do not escalate to the conflict, thus Islamists are not likely to be antagonists to the democratic processes if they will be represented largely in power which does not include the scenario of radical Islam prevailing in the political sphere.

Turkish foreign policy in Mediterranean proved to be of the average, though direct, involvement and produces a lot of criticism. At the same time Turkey's position shows that it was trying to create favorable environment for the processes to be peaceful in nature. In reality it seems Turkey was trying to fill power vacuums left in the wake of "Arab Spring". Israel-Turkey relations are after-shock of such geopolitical game. Turkish foreign policy it seems was not prepared for "Arab Spring" at first. Turkey had to balance Tunisia and Egypt approach with quite different situations in Libya and Syria. In case of Syria Turkey was very careful not to make fast and rash decisions as did many other regional states. Best bid of Turkey was in prevention of militarization of the issues when at that point Israel was considered by Turkey as a rational actor. For the same reason Turkey argued against any sanctions towards Libya and Syria. Turkey's strength in its position was that it previously concentrated on increasing its economical stability to enlarge political influence of itself. In addition Turkey has adopted the view that the only source of legitimacy is to meet the public demands and concerns. That decision came from realization that the only way for Turkey to compete with Iran in the region is to prove that Turkey can be a role model in liberal democratic manner. Many Turkish authors also agree that Turkey's strive for western international community that would accept Turkey when it meets certain criteria created a balance between regional problems and internal democratic orientation. Thus Turkey was able to adopt the position of the EU and use it to extend its influence in the region. Rise of other key political actors in the region

* Leading Research Fellow, Foreign Policy Analysis Department Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan (SAM)

was also recalculated by Turkey after revolts in Arab world. At the same time rise of Turkish influence provoked corresponding opposition. Turkey's attempts of depolarization of political environment in the Middle East are right now depend on its ability to solve its crisis with Israel. Current Turkish foreign policy sometimes might seem as neo-imperialistic in its nature, however Turkey is trying to play on self-authority rather than hard power. Such position is evident in Turkish attempts of mediation in Syrian crisis. Such mediation was basically based on European values and pressure mechanisms. General lack of success on part of Turkey in such mediation was due to large number of other strong actors involved in the process. Many analysts agree that Turkey is currently trying to adopt EU policy – “if you want good relationship with us – go through the internal transformation to adapt to certain of our values”.

Outlook to the processes from Morocco reflects certain interesting geopolitical points and stresses that some of the North African states are stuck in “Cold War”. Disputes still linger between countries. States thus do not evolve politically, rather they concentrate on evolving economically. Border issues are roots of most problems of the North African region. Immigration, terrorism, drug trafficking are one of the main problems. The root of the crisis that struck the southern part of Mediterranean region is seen in the sole concentration on foreign policy and large disregard towards domestic issues. However key to shifting the focus inwards to the domestic problems is seen nowadays largely dependent on solving the external tensions first. Relationship between north and south of Mediterranean are again hampered by border disputes while the attempts of integration of Mediterranean region are failing. Most of the problems arise due to the different political situations of the states of the region. Internal reforms are very important factor for the stability in the troubled states of the region. Morocco for example was very slow on reforms due to the stagnation in “Cold War”, as it was trying to balance the policy between all regional and international key actors. Nowadays priority in Morocco is domestic affairs and reforms. And recent shift in foreign policy of Morocco is evident in that it was selected to the UN Security Council without the participation of African states.

EU foreign policy got struck by the Arab world uprising in most of the countries of Mediterranean region at the same time as EU was hit by economic crisis. Weak leadership and strategic planning of EU Mediterranean policy were reflected in Libyan crisis. Libya crisis

stressed all weaknesses in military and political sphere of EU. Union itself was largely divided when dealing with Libyan crisis which resulted in intervention under NATO banner. Germany and Poland were among the leading states to oppose the intervention. EU foreign security policy suffered from such division gravely. EU generally lacks teeth to successfully enforce its political will due to internal disagreements and conflict of interests. That misbalance led to the NATO participation on one side of civil war. Moreover, Libya might become precedent for future security strategy of EU. Economic crisis in EU still hampers its military policy. Aside from that, the US in its turn is not generally happy with EU inability to act on its own. EU military spending cut threatens its contributions to global security. EU needs better resources management and strategic thinking and planning when it comes to the situations of armed crisis. Libya was in many respects a success story of EU engagement in foreign geopolitical game, at the same time it is large EU faults indicator. EU needs to revolutionize geostrategic vision and strive for leadership in neighboring regions. EU should switch from migration issues and focus more on its foreign policy and partnership programmes. EU can cooperate with Turkey to establish joint foreign policy projects and advance towards Arab world. At first the EU was only actively involved in the Mediterranean region when it came to economical cooperation, not the development of its democratization policy. Hence Arab spring was a surprise for EU. Union was very slow to react on the ignition of the Arab world. Lack of swiftness in actions was due to EU's concentration on a lot of economic and security matters, not on democratization processes. Transformation of balance of power occurred after Arab Spring resulting in the lowering of western influence in the region, thus empowering Iran. Changes in the whole system in Mediterranean region can result in rise of new threats for EU. Union itself is deeply dependant on the oil from countries in the Middle East. EU strategy should be adjusted to answer new situation and assist with democratic transitions for Mediterranean region. Today Union has started to adopt incentives based approach and engage in political modernization of the region. Scenarios for the future transitions from EU perspective can be variable from radical, military, democratization, civil war up to chaos state. Rise of Islamic radicalism is very probable, especially if the economic transitions that are very important for democratization processes and at the same time are very hard and time consuming, will be taken into account.

Italian perspective to the Mediterranean states consumed by the uprising crisis was most

conflicting. Italy has a lot of interests in region as well as its EU concerns. These interests largely overlap. At the same time colonial past obliges Italy with certain degree of responsibility towards, for example Libya. Libya in its turn plays critical role in Italian energy policy. Immigration policies ties Italy to Libya and other countries in Mediterranean region as well. Berlusconi ties with Gaddafi were to such extent that they've been criticized even in Italy. Energy and liberation were two main issues of Italy in Libyan crisis. Oil thus was a serious factor in Gaddafi regime downgrading. Libyan crisis in its turn contributed to Italian fears of geopolitical marginalization. Italy was almost politically forced to support Libyan intervention. Current position of Italy is seemingly that Libya requires national reconciliation process that can be facilitated with help of EU and Italy. Some Italian authors argue that the main challenges for Libya will be reconstruction of its economy as well as domestic political situation while establishing legitimacy.

US imperatives in Mediterranean are quite open. Preservation of Israeli and Egyptian peace is one of the main objectives. At the same time countering Iran that has interest in lowering pressure on Libya through influencing Egypt, is one of the secondary objectives. Israelis on their part have ambitions to become major power substituting Egypt after it fell to the disarray. Military handling of political transition of Egypt is vital in the US strategic planning. The US see Egypt as a security guarantee for the region. Opposition in Egypt right now is much divided and military is overcoming. Many forces would like to use today's moment of uncertainty in Egypt to their respective advantage. Hamas wants to weaken military regime, to then use Egypt against Israel. Egyptian political scene sees Israel-Palestinian card as a bid to use in the process of gaining power. Muslim brotherhood opposes Hamas, preventing it from taking over in crisis. US interested in securing and stabilizing Suez canal region that it will take into account Egyptian military factor. At the same time US do not disregard the influence of Turkey in the region and will use it when balancing the pressure on the region with Israel, though Israeli policy needs to be revised in respect of the current changes.

All in all it seems that Mediterranean security dilemma is still to be untied in the scale of geopolitical events that the future will bring us. However, the situation can be only aggravated with the escalation of violence and destabilization of the region.

Syrian stalemate:

While the tragic events in Syria are still bringing around 100 of civilian deaths every day and the total number of victims is now estimated more than 5000 people, international community is still to decide how to react to the situation. 20.12.2011 is now called a bloodiest day in the whole Syrian crisis.¹ Syria's major opposition group have already condemned government for "brutal massacres" this week and called for the U.N. to protect civilians against "acts of genocide."

Though the situation in itself can't be considered to amount to the crime of genocide, widespread facts of crimes against humanity are quite evident in Syrian crackdown. Such situation in itself produces enough threat to the peace and security in the world for the U.N. Security Council to be concerned with the situation. Anti-government protests rattle Syria since Spring 2011. The opposition demands resignation of the regime and is being backed by the United States and EU countries that have already imposed a number of economic sanctions against Syria. However, these measures were not enough to bring parties to the peace and stop the bloodshed in the country.

U.N. Security Council reacted to the situation with the draft resolution on the condemning President Bashar al-Assad's crackdown on the protesters. That resolution was successfully blocked by the Russia and China both vetoing the document. Recently Russian representatives in U.N. Security Council have circulated a draft resolution calling for an end of violence in Syria among the Council members. The draft openly demands that "all parties in Syria immediately stop any violence irrespective of where it comes from," however it does not impose any sanctions on Syrian government whatsoever. The draft is still being considered by the United States that make it clear that they would like to see the strengthening of the "Russian draft". They specifically express concern that that the draft is as critical of demonstrators as it is of Syrian forces. Meanwhile the monitoring mechanisms deployed by the Arab League and agreed to by the Syrian government evidently lead to nowhere, thus bringing the Syrian case into the legal stalemate.

So why is there no consent on the part of the Security Council in the situation? So far both Russia and the West agree only on that the main role in the negotiating peace in the country

¹ D.Evans, "Activists say 111 killed in Syria's 'bloodiest day'", REUTERS, 21.12.2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/12/21/us-syria-arabs-idUSTRE7B10H520111221>

should belong to the Arab League. The problem is with the fresh memory of Libyan resolution on the table of the Security Council. In Libyan case the interpretation of the strict resolution on the situation, was interpreted by the United States and EU countries so wide as to include the participation on the one side of the civil war, which led to the change of the regime in Libya and ultimately to the brutal death of former dictator M.Gaddafi, that (though an international criminal) should have been brought to justice.

It is only logical that in the situation like this, Russia and China will be more reluctant to vote for any resolution in the Security Council that would have even a slight room for the interpretation that would lead to an enforced change of the Syrian regime. At the same time United States are in the position where they feel that stronger pressure on Syria needed for the mitigation of the atrocities. At least the statements of White House Press Secretary are in accordance: "The United States continues to believe that the only way to bring about the change that the Syrian people deserve is for Bashar al-Assad to leave power... Time and again, the Assad regime has demonstrated that it does not deserve to rule Syria. It's time for this suffering and killing to stop. It's time for the immediate and full implementation of all terms of the Arab League agreement, including the full withdrawal of security forces, the release of political prisoners, and unfettered access by monitors and international media to all parts of Syria..."²

Ultimately, the struggle for the resolution will continue, while the atrocities in Syria are also far from their logical ending. These kinds of legal stalemates that are heavily dependent on political will of the states undermine the sole role of the international law in the situations that threaten international peace and security. On one hand we have the situation where the action of the states needed to prevent the further loss of human life and international crimes; on the other hand, however, we see the reluctance of the states to act due to the questionable actions of the other states when interpreting and implementing international law. It is only left to hope that during the negotiations in the U.N. Security Council its members will be able to come to the consensus and soon, otherwise the international community will once more prove too slow to react to the threats it's faced with. And then, who knows how many more "Syria[s]" there will be.

"Legality" of Iranian Hormuz Threat:

Recent tensions in "Persian" or "Arabian" Gulf are on their escalation due to the threats of Iran to hamper passage of the 20% of world's oil flow by blocking the Strait of Hormuz. Threats were answered by the U.S. that made it quite clear they prepared to take all necessary actions to maintain the oil flow crucial to the global economy.

As the situation heats up and analysts are trying to predict the chances of the clashes in the Persian Gulf, analyzing military, political and geopolitical factors, the legal part of the question somehow escapes wider discussions. At the same time legal status of the Strait of Hormuz plays an important role both in international law and in the approach that should be taken when dealing with situation that can arise from the threats that are on the table right now.

Strait of Hormuz is one of the most important straits for the international trade exchange and security. While traversing that strait, ships have to pass through the territorial waters of Iran and Oman and follow Traffic Separation Scheme throughout the strait to escape the risk of collision. Basically, that Scheme separates inbound and outbound traffic in the Hormuz through the establishment of two 3 km (1.9 mile) lanes and another 3 km (1.9 mile) in between to navigate the ships flow through Hormuz. Total traffic lane is now around 10 km (5.7 mile) wide.

The importance of Hormuz as crucial to the international economy and security predetermined that the rule of the transit passage would apply to such strait. What it actually means is that thought all the ships passing through Hormuz, have to pass through the territorial waters of Iran, they are enjoying the right to free transit. Concept of "transit passage" is a customary navigation rule that was codified in Part III, Section 2 of the United Nations Convention of the Laws of the Sea. Specifically Article 38 of the aforementioned Convention that reads: "1. In straits... all ships and aircraft enjoy the right of transit passage, which shall not be impeded; except that, if the strait is formed by an island of a State bordering the strait and its mainland, transit passage shall not apply if there exists seaward of the island a route through the high seas or through an exclusive economic zone of similar convenience with respect to navigational and hydrographical characteristics; 2. Transit passage means the

² "White House Statement on Syria", White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 21.12.2011, <http://bit.ly/zLIfDO>

exercise in accordance with this Part of the freedom of navigation and overflight solely for the purpose of continuous and expeditious transit of the strait between one part of the high seas or an exclusive economic zone and another part of the high seas or an exclusive economic zone. However, the requirement of continuous and expeditious transit does not preclude passage through the strait for the purpose of entering, leaving or returning from a State bordering the strait, subject to the conditions of entry to that State; 3. Any activity which is not an exercise of the right of transit passage through a strait remains subject to the other applicable provisions of this Convention".³ Thought not all the states have ratified that Convention, its provisions dealing with the transit passage are already the part of the rules customary international law and thus all the states are bound by them and accepted them, including U.S. and Iran. The acceptance of such rules is clear and evident from the practice of these states and general *opinio juris*.

If Iran decides to block the Hormuz it will simply be in breach of customary international law, and thus in breach of Article 44 of the United Nations Convention of the Laws of the Sea, that reads: "States bordering straits shall not hamper transit passage and shall give appropriate publicity to any danger to navigation or overflight within or over the strait of which they have knowledge. There shall be no suspension of transit passage".⁴ In other words Iran does not have any legal rights to block or suspend transit passage of ships through Hormuz. Such actions should be considered not only grave breach of international law, but due to the economic and trade nature of the strait, the threat to the international peace and security.

However, here the approach should also be different on the part of the U.S. Rather than threaten to use force against Iran in case it will hamper the oil flow to Hormuz, U.S. should come forward with decisions based on the international law framework. Namely, refer the case to

international body that specifically deals with the threats to the international peace and security – UN Security Council. Being the permanent member of Security Council it should not be a problem for the U.S. At the same time the decision needed by the U.S. in the Council is pretty much guaranteed as the threat to the world economy is quite real for all the states present in the Security Council permanent membership.

While Iranian bluff may have been real, Tehran has made so many grossly exaggerated claims in the past, that it seems they were designed more to try to deter U.S. military action and/or convince the Iranian public than government is truly being serious of its real world capabilities. Current exchange of threats on the other hand simply deviates from international law and does not make situation any more just.

Conclusion:

Taking into account all that was set above, the regional picture is already painted in dark colors. Tensions brought by so-called "Arab Spring" brought only newer problems and tensions to the Middle-Eastern and Gulf area. Keeping in mind that situation in Syria is a continuing process of bloodshed and chaos it seems that the "Iranian crisis" is only logical to follow. Should the Iran close the Hormuz strait the whole region might follow into the whirlpool of unpleasant events. At the same time dealing with Syrian situation is also important due to the fact that after "Libyan case" there is not much room for the continuation of the violent rebellion suppressions in the region. Especially with Turkey calling on to the military action against Syria for some time already.

All in all the strategic foresight of the analysts dealing with this region varies from very positive to outward negative. That kind of positions only proves that with such a large variety of factors that already on the table it is practically impossible to predict the outcome of the whole scheme. One thing is obvious – there is a large-scale geopolitical game on the table and only the

³ M.H.Nordquist, "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982: a commentary", Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 30.08.1993, p. 321.

⁴ Ibid., p. 384.

GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY: THE ARAB MCFB* 'SPRING'**

Anis Bajrektarevic***

For the disciplinary scholars on geoeconomics and geopolitics chessboard practitioners, the current events in (and around) the Arab countries are particularly instructive.

The difference between a dialectic and cyclical history is (in) a distance between success and fall. Still, we are not yet sure: Since we are lacking a critical time-distance and sufficient information (the region is still in flux, far from being settled and calm), the following lines are a combination of descriptive notes and predictive claims – which certainly pose a risk of inaccuracy. With this proviso, let us start by examining the Gulf countries constellation.

The US has a lasting geoeconomic interest in the Gulf, which is inevitably coupled with its security interests of rather extensive agenda. As is well known, oil is the most traded commodity in the world – roughly 12% of overall world trade. By far the largest portion of internationally traded crude originates from the Gulf. Hence, the US imperatives in the Gulf are very demanding: (i) to support the friendly local regimes (with their present socio-political and ideological setups); (ii) to get, in return, their continued approval for the massive physical US military presence and their affirmative vote in international foras; (iii) to maintain its decisive force in the region, securing unhindered oil flows from the Gulf; (iv) to remain as the principal security guarantor and tranquilizer, preventing any hostile takeover – be it of one crude-exporting state by another or of internal, domestic political and tribe/clan workings; (v) to monitor closely the money flow within the Gulf and to recycle huge petrodollar revenues, usually through lucrative arms sales and other security deals with the GCC regimes¹; (vi) will not enhance, but might permit (a call for) any gradual change of the domestic socio-economic and politico-ideological frames in the particular Gulf state, as long as it does not compromise the US objectives in the region as stated above; from (i) to (v).

The US hegemony in the Gulf, a combination of monetary control (crude is traded exclusively in US dollars, predominantly via the New York-based NYMEX and London-based IPE) and physical control (the US Navy controls all transoceanic oil transports), is the essential confirmation as well as the crucial spring of the overall US global posture². In exchange for the energy inflow security, the US anchors a loyal bandwagoning at many places around the globe. As long as oil remains priced in USD, it will represent the prime foreign reserve currency (globally some 68% of reserves is held in the US\$), as the functional tie between the major currencies' exchange rates and fossil-fuel energy cannot be derailed and delinked. Finally, it is not only the exclusivity of oil currency; it is also about the very policy of pricing.

Throughout most of oil's short history, the price for "black gold" was high enough to yield profits (via the 7-Sisters, mostly for Wall Street – besides the US military, another essential pillar of American might), still not pricing it overly high which would in return encourage sustained and consequential investments in alternative energy sources. Basically, the main problem with Green/Renewable (de-carbonized) energy is not the complexity, expense, or the lengthy time-line for fundamental technological breakthrough; the central issue is a geopolitical breakthrough. Oil and gas are convenient for monopolization (of extraction and intl. flows, of pricing and consumption modes) – it is a physical commodity of specific locality. Any green technology (not necessarily of particular locality or currency) sooner or later will be de-monopolized, available to most if not to all. Therefore, the overall geopolitical imperative for the US remains preservation – not change – of the hydrocarbon status quo³.

Within the OECD/IEA grouping, or closely the G-8 (the states with resources, infrastructure,

* The McDonald's–Facebook: MCFB is a self-coined expression of author, which – since late 2009 – he uses in his university lectures to describe the overly consumerist and instant, disheartened egotistic and cyber–autistic 'modern' way of life. For the first time in a published text, it appeared in his No Asian century without the pan-Asian Institution article of May 2011.

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*** Geopolitics of Energy Editorial Member, Chairperson for Intl. Law & Global Pol. Studies, Vienna, Austria.

¹ Contrary to the typical moral condemnations and usual pacific civil sector outcries, war and similar sorts of insurgencies (inter-state or intra-state) are – in strict Machiavellian or perhaps 'commercial' terms – desirable occurrences. Especially in countries where the manufacturing and supply of arms are detached from the state-owned military complex (situated in the hands of corporations), war-related military spending is usually good news for an economy.

² The US is often criticized for its omnipresence, but frankly speaking, maintaining the security of global fossil-fuels energy flow is silently taken for granted. To imagine any alternative, nobody dares contemplate.

³ Thus, the stubborn American resistance to provisions of the UNFCCC's protocol (Kyoto) is logical, if not justifiable.

tradition of and know-how to advance the fundamental technological breakthroughs), it is only Japan that may seriously consider the Green/Renewable-tech U-turn. Japan's external energy dependencies are stark and long-lasting. After the recent nuclear trauma, Japan will need a few years to (psychologically and economically) absorb the shock – but will learn the lesson. For such a huge economy and considerable demography, situated on a small land-mass which is repeatedly brutalized by devastating natural catastrophes (and yet by another disruption of the external-dependency-maintaining Arab oil), it might be that a decisive tilt towards the green energy is the only way to revive, survive and eventually to emancipate⁴.

Iran is a unique country that bridges the Euro-Med/MENA with the Central and South Asia, Far East, as well as it links the two key Euro-Asian energy plateaus; the Gulf and Caspian. This gives to Iran absolutely a pivotal geopolitical and geo-economic posture over the larger region – an opportunity but also an exposure! No wonder that all throughout its millennia-long glorious history up to the pre-modern times, Persia/Iran was among the most influential and strongest Euro-Asian powers. Logically, the regional hegemonic ambitions were renewed by the Shah regime, and simply continued with the Revolutionary Ayatollah Iran.

Hence, the US physical presence in the Gulf represents a double threat to Iran– geopolitical and geoeconomic. Nearly all US governments since the unexpected 1979 Shah's fall, with the G.W. Bush administration being most vocal, have formally advocated regime change in Teheran. On the international oil market, Iran has no room for maneuver, neither on price nor on quotas. Within OPEC, Iran is frequently silenced by the cordial GCC voting⁵.

Besides an excellent geographic position, formidable conventional armed force (after Turkey, the largest of the region), the firm collective memory of its ancient past, Iran is economically very potent and is also the most populous state in the Persian Gulf. History teaches us that demographically or/and economically mighty player will inevitably press its peripheries to project itself beyond the given limits. Apart from its military support to the state and non-

state actors in the wider Middle Eastern theater, Teheran is keen on its soft projection (politically/ideologically, but culturally too).

However, Iran is an island of Shiite Persians in a sea of predominantly Sunni Arabs (also of the Farsi Pashtuns, Hazara or Turkophonic Sunni Caucasus and Central Asians). Bahrain and Iraq are the Shiite majority countries, but importantly their Shiites (as well as the Lebanese, Syrian and Yemeni ones) are the Arab, not the Persian Shiites. Further on, Iran has no major territorial claim towards any of its neighbors (but has a significant minority of Azerbaijanis and some 30,000 Jews) and is not antagonizing the Anglo-American presence in its neighborhood at all, neither in Iraq nor in Afghanistan. Having more than the 2/3 of population below age of 30, the nation's identification with the 1979 revolution is increasingly difficult. Clearly, the regime in Teheran is just trying (and so far, manages) to survive. Consequently, the nuclear armament program (if any) would serve primarily for deterrence– to defend (in the absence of projectable soft powers), and to stabilize the regime, increasing its chances for long-term survival. It would not necessarily bring the significant hard-power projection to Iran.

The Iranian imperative is to increase the economic and socio-political costs of the US military presence while avoiding any direct military confrontation. Military modernization, its noisy nuclear program and missile tests, as well as the anti-Israeli (holocaust-denial) rhetoric are domestically used as a morale booster, while externally it is only aimed at costs exposure of – not for open military collision with – the US, Israel or any of the GCC states.

That is where Iran's consideration goes along with Russian and Chinese geopolitical agendas. Neither China nor Russia is interested in overt confrontation with the US over the Gulf. But to see the regional US presence suffering from costly overextension would not be bad news for the heavily dependent countries; of oil-gas exporting Russia and of (Africa) oil-hungry, importing China. As in the case of North Korea, neither China nor Russia is enthusiastic to witness the country going nuclear, but they are still far away from wishing for and permitting any regime change. North Korea as well as Iran (and

⁴ An important part of the US–Japan security treaty is the US energy supply lines security guaranty given to Japan. After the recent earthquake-tsunami-radiation armageddon, Japan will inevitably rethink and revisit its energy policy and its primary energy mix composition. That indicates the Far East as a probable place of the Green-tech excellence in the decade to come.

⁵ This is the reason why the second largest OPEC's oil producer has opened its own Oil Bourse in early 2008. The IOB/Kish Bourse was intended for Iranian and regional crude, gas and petrochemicals to be traded freely in other currencies than the USD. Until mid July 2011, the Bourse trades only in oil-derived plastic and pharmaceutical semi-final products using the basket of 'petroeuro' currencies – primarily Euro and Indian rial.

Syria) on the Russian south-west flank is serving a pivotal security buffer purpose⁶.

Nuclear North Korea has paid a huge political price for its security self-assurance: it has alienated the neighbors, isolated itself internationally, and endorses a perfect pretext for keeping a considerable conventional (and non-conventional) the US military contingent on its periphery – all elements present in the Iranian case too. Paradoxically enough, further pressures from Iran (also the recent cooling of Israeli-Turkish relations) and American overextension in the region (including the Afghan and Iraq limbo), puts Arabs and Jewish state closer to the negotiation table, which in return decreases the Iranian appeal across the Middle East to exploit anger for its own ideological and geopolitical ends. Finally, if the two-state solution succeeds one day, it will be only the threat from an increased Iranian military strength that implicitly fuels the American arms sales in the Gulf.

The US induced GCC has, so far, managed to contain the Yemeni turmoil and tribal-clan clashes from spillover deeper into the peninsula. Simultaneously, Bahrain (an absolutistic monarchy of the ruling Arab Sunni minority over the Arab Shiite majority) has been effectively silenced and other revolts within the GCC are not presently lurking on the horizon. Counterbalancing the GCC, the Russia-backed Iran–Syria axes (which influences Lebanon, but also stretches on Cyprus, including the Cypriot Greeks–Turkish Kurds links) is heavily challenged. It's not only Bashar al-Assad's Baath party that has much at stake – any significant change in inflammatory Syria would mean encirclement of Iran, worsening of Russia's anyway modest access to the Mediterranean and

its position towards Turkey on the Caucasus and elsewhere. Finally, it could also lead to a total end of pan-Arabism⁷.

Syrian inner constellations traditionally influence the neighboring Lebanon, the Palestinian territories, and of course Israel. By far and large, the symbolics and meanings are considerably larger than this tiny territory (it is approximately a half size of the Netherlands). Its real strength, power and influence resides outside its state parameters – these features, besides Vatican, make Israel a unique state in today's world.

So far, Israel entitled a separate peace treaty with Egypt, and with Jordan. It also has rather a comfortable and predictable truce with the al-Assads' Syria (as it cohabitated a livable modus with the previous Tunisian and to some extent with Gaddafi's, regime). Finally, it still (formally) holds a close politico-military alliance with Turkey, which is the Israeli bridge to the NATO security block. During the entire 'Arab Spring', Israel remained silent and calm. Beneath, the official Tel Aviv was conducting a discreet but very intensive and extensive diplomatic offensive to hinder the international recognition of Palestine. The 'enigma' of the third Tuesday in September certainly brings additional tension to the whole Middle Eastern theater⁸.

Since its creation 1948, Israel exploited every military opportunity and every diplomatic occasion to outmaneuver its neighbors. By doing so, it has managed to enlarge its territory and to keep a constant influx of settlers (predominantly Ashkenazi from the Central and East Europe and the post-Soviet republics). Presently, nearly half a million of Israeli settlers are living beyond the

⁶ Iran is in constant need of diplomatic cover from Moscow (in return, it refrains from its Islamic projection on and it shields the Caucasus and Central Asia – considered by Russia as its strategic backyard, from the aggressive Wahhabism) as well as the increased trade exchanges with and investments from China (to compensate the Western economic embargo). The exclusivity and endurance of the Soviet–Cuban relations was an ideological wish of Castro, but it was also an embargo-dictated necessity for a regime survival. That is how Americans implicitly enhanced the friendship of these two. Hereby, the supporting argument: in the Nagorno-Karabakh war that lasted from 1988-94, and brought Azerbaijan and Armenia into direct conflict, Turkey tacitly supported the predominantly Azeri Turkophonic Muslims' Azerbaijan, but Iran was on other side. It openly sympathized with the Russia-backed (Orthodox-Christian) Armenia.

⁷ Undeniably, there were ideological complementarities between Soviet communism and the anti-colonial, leftist, egalitarian and republican pan-Arabism. Still, the post-Soviet and post-communist Russia remains on the same position, following its geopolitical rationale. Pan-Arabism is the only Middle Eastern counterbalance, an alternative to the Wahhabism-powered (or newly arriving, neo-Ottoman- powered) Islamism. Muslimhood might have an appeal among the Sunnis in Central Asia, Caucasus and within the Russian Federation, but pan-Arabism does not hold the same allure (which additionally seals-off Turkey and protects the Russian strategic Turkophonic backyard from that side too). On the other hand, the republican pan-Arabism was felt as a direct threat to the US-backed GCC monarchies. Rather unchecked, the Al Qaida cluster has managed to self-prescribe an exclusive monopoly on Islamism (by self-proclaiming an alleged struggle for the Sunni Ummah restoration, it actually corrupted and silenced all important debates within the Arab world, and effectively diverted the Arab attention from their real issues). In fact, the Al Qaida construct is only a radicalized and weaponized ideology of Wahhabism – of a sect that originates from the 19th century Saudi Arabia on its anti-Ottoman emancipation quest, which finally demolished the centuries-long Caliphates-Ottoman Ummah. With religion per se, it has very little to do.

⁸ With or without a blessing of the UN Security Council, the international recognition of Palestine (formalization of the two-state solution) would be a significant breakthrough, a true historic moment. Although hardly digestible for the hardliners on all sides, it would definitely tranquilize the situation. The recognition as such would surely relax the Israeli-Arab tensions, increasing the survival prospects of Jewish state in Middle East on a long-run. Palestinians are pointing at first to the UN Security Council to pass the resolution and define Palestine state as within the 1967 lines. Only if that unilateral initiative fails – which is the most likely outcome – President Abbas would directly approach the UN General Assembly during the 66th Regular session – with the recognition pledge. It is the so-called statehood of the non-state UN member epilogue: still too much for Israel and too little for Palestinians/Arabs, yet far away from the badly needed, lasting regional tranquility.

1967 borders – a ‘Gordian knot’ related to any international recognition of Palestine today. After series of the unsuccessful war campaigns and diplomatic deadlocks, the Arab neighborhood, primarily Palestinians, eventually bitterly accepted a de-facto tradeoff: territories for a lasting peace and the statehood. The Israeli governments of past decades have found every reason to postpone (implementation of agreed) peace accords for a possible win of more settlements – meaning more territories. Admittedly, this was a well-resonating for some Arab regimes which feared that a fully-fledged recognition of Palestine would mean an important international problem off agenda – a possibility less to divert citizens’ attention from the pressing domestic problems⁹.

If the sunny ‘Arab spring’ day is clouded in Tunisia by the incapability of domestic forces to turn the popular revolt into viable and badly needed socio-political reform, and if such a ‘Spring’ in Egypt is shadowed by the military uniforms and old faces with new rhetorics that are effectively running the country (jointly with the USAID and IMF), than the spring skies over Libya are full of pelting rain, across tribal lines. The inability of (coalition of the willing dressed in) the NATO to bring about a fast and decisive result in the Libyan episode puts Russia and China into a very comfortable position – to recapture initiative and lead moral condemnations on the international scene. (In the bold demonstration of solidarity ordered by Beijing, the China’s ambassador accredited to Libya was even walking every morning all the sites bombed in Tripoli in the night raids.) Nevertheless, in practical terms there was no real difference between the affirmative vote on the UN Security Council Resolution 1973 of France, the UK and the US, and the non-blocking abstention of Russia and China – both combined were needed for the adoption of

the resolution and the rapid intervention that came along. (To complete the puzzle, Brazil and India – contrary to their vocal anti-Western moralization – also casted abstentions, not negative votes, on the Resolution.)

The logics of you do not touch Syria (Russia) and you don’t touch Sudan (China), in exchange for a free upper hand in Libya presents itself as a seductive guess to the possible grand bargaining of the P-5 behind closed doors (offering comfort to the question of discrepancy between the loudly declared and factually committed). Still, from this short time distance with a lack of conclusive information, it is a highly speculative hint. Admittedly, up to this writing there has been no Security Council resolution followed by concrete action to stop mass and repeated atrocities in either Sudan or Syria. An additional international legitimacy burden streams now: a slow and weak response on a side of the Libya-intervention eager coalition of the willing to the colossal humanitarian catastrophe in the East/Horn of Africa – an outbreak that was mounting since the early spring of 2010 (not to mention Bahrain and Yemen)¹⁰.

It is not clear whether the popular revolts triggered by the austerity measures and the grave socio-political situation in Tunisia and Egypt have been therefore preempted (or diverted). One thing is certain: both societies have failed to translate the street demands and to broker lasting political reform. Besides the personal shifts in the presidential palaces, additional exposure to the foreign creditors (and implosion of neighboring Libya), pretty much everything remains the same in both countries – they are sinking further into a socio-economic quagmire¹¹. “We are the suckers, the eternally expectant ones, the hopeful ones–

⁹ With or without a blessing of the UN Security Council, the international recognition of Palestine (formalization of the two-state solution) would be a significant breakthrough, a true historic moment. Although hardly digestible for the hardliners on all sides, it would definitely tranquilize the situation. The recognition as such would surely relax the Israeli-Arab tensions, increasing the survival prospects of Jewish state in Middle East on a long-run. Palestinians are pointing at first to the UN Security Council to pass the resolution and define Palestine state as within the 1967 lines. Only if that unilateral initiative fails – which is the most likely outcome – President Abbas would directly approach the UN General Assembly during the 66th Regular session – with the recognition pledge. It is the so-called statehood of the non-state UN member epilogue: still too much for Israel and too little for Palestinians/Arabs, yet far away from the badly needed, lasting regional tranquility.

¹⁰ From January 2011 up to this writing (end August 2011), the UN Security Council has adopted as many as 37 resolutions. Out of this total number, only 12 resolutions were dealing with the non-Africa related issues (just 2 resolutions were dealing with the Middle East, but as many as 7 about Côte d’Ivoire and 6 about Sudan).

¹¹ Is there life after Facebook? Or after the ‘revolution’? Through the pain of sobriety, the Egyptian and Tunisian protesters are learning that neither globalization nor McFB way of life is a shortcut to development; that free trade is not a virtue, but an instrument; that liberalism is not a state of mind but a doctrinated ideology, and finally that the social media networks are only a communication tool, not a replacement for independent critical thinking. (Machines run on the binary-coded algorithms can neither compensate an empathic human touch nor can they replace the wonders of socio-emotional interactions of individuals in a real time-space. Sociableness is neither linear, one-directional à la the Running Sushi, nor is it simplifiable like the three-size portable Starbucks coffee. Relations are lived, not utilized by the mouse click. Human integrity is self-molested and self-reduced into the lame shop-window commodity which is purchasable 24/7 by ‘poking’ on the photo of someone’s personal profile. The social media networks might end up like a smoking of 21st century. In early 20th century, the very smoking was cool, sexy, brave, rebellious, liberating and most of all; social. As such, it was glorified and promoted by that time Western press, film and other entertainment industry. However, as soon as the dependency, submissiveness, physical and mental distortion and heavy-addiction have been credibly verified, the smoking was barred from all public places, children and elderly, schools and hospitals. Opposing at first for some decades, eventually, the tobacco industry was forced to visible and clearly state the warnings about all hazards associated with its products. Today, smoking in the OECD countries is proscribed, ghettoized, and effectively reduced to the specially designated glass-boxes with the powerful ventilations systems and sensitive fire-alarms. The developing world will maybe follow successfully one day. As for the OECD states and media networks; London/UK’s tweet and loot nights of the early August 2011 is an indication enough.)

and the eternally disappointed ones ...”¹²

Young generations of Europeans are taught in schools about a singularity of an entity called the EU. However, as soon as serious security challenges emerge, the compounding parts of the true, historic Europe are resurfacing again¹³. Formerly in Iraq (with the exception of France) and now with Libya; Central Europe is hesitant to act, Atlantic Europe is eager, Scandinavian Europe is absent, Eastern Europe is bandwagoning, and Russophonous Europe is opposing. The 1986 Reagan-led Anglo-American bombing of Libya was a one-time punitive action. This time (19 March 2011), Libya has been given a different attachment: The considerable presence of China in Africa, successful circumventing pipeline deals between Russia and Germany (which will deprive the Eastern Europe from any transit-related bar- gaining premium, and will tacitly pose a joint Russo-German effective pressure on the Baltic states, Poland and Ukraine), and finally the overthrows of the EU friendly, Tunisian and Egyptian regimes –all combined– must have triggered alarm bells across the Atlantic Europe.

The economically prosperous (the most developed African state, and a provider of solid jobs for many in the region, including Egyptians and Tunisians – in total, half a million of their guest-workers), but of socio-politically spent clan-cronyism regime, of a jovial leader who championed pan-African unity, Libya emerged as an easy and appropriate target for the Anglo-French-led coalition: (i) to reassert the

presence in the Arab world (from Libya to damage-control the affairs and the Facebook revolution outcome in the Francophone and Anglophone Maghreb); (ii) to renew the presence in Africa and to slow China there; (iii) to send a bold message of prestige (glory of colonial past) and strength elsewhere in the world, in particular to the Central and Russophonous Europe – to essentially disagree that Russian oil, (geo) politically and socio-economically, is the most affordable for (all in) the EU.

The Gaddafi's government was a totalitarian, but the post-Gaddafi government will be dysfunctional (like in other countries where NATO brokered a change in last 15 years). The post-Gaddafi Libya will be – unfortunately – a territory¹⁴. It will be a mere space of the grave political, territorial, economic and social problems, energized by a growing and nearly self-perpetuated sectarian violence¹⁵.

If all the above represents a little bit more of the same (the old geopolitical story of history surrounding the Middle East), there is still one novelty in the current events. It is Turkey¹⁶.

A growing economic and demographic power house, of pivotal geography, and of omnipotent secular army, Turkey has lately recaptured self-confidence by its foreign policy shift, usually coined as neo-Ottomanism. Inaugurating its harmonious inter-ethnic Ottoman past, Turkey is airing a bold and appealing soft-power offensive all across the Euro-Mediterranean theatre that is paralyzed by growing nationalism¹⁷. The

¹² The full quotation sentence states the following: "The world is one great object for our appetite, a big apple, a big bottle, a big breast; we are the suckers, the eternally expectant ones, the hopeful ones - and the eternally disappointed ones..." (Erich Fromm: The Art of Loving, 1956, page: 80)

¹³ The EU is a powerful economic block, even larger superpower than the US itself. However, in the politico-military sense the EU doesn't behave as a big global player at all. The universally (omni-)present power does not hesitate to coerce friends and foes, and even to fight a war for its interest. The superpower inevitably sees and patrols the whole globe as its sphere of interest. In today's world, the US is practically the only power that conducts wars all over the globe. Frankly, neither the EU nor anybody else can afford it economically, politically and militarily! Past 30 years, the only military involvement of the EU is when the US already deploys its troops and the Atlantic Europe sporadically bandwagons to it.

¹⁴ The nomadic tribes that got its first nationhood in 1951, and were effectively united only under Gaddafi, have finally managed to overthrow the only governing structure they have ever experienced. It has been done after nearly six months of armed struggle and the help of over 4,000 NATO air-raids deployed against their own country and the properties built for generations. Deliberately or not, the current momentum of Libya – with infrastructure devastated, police force dismantled, properties plundered, and the streets full of civilians (of minor and other ages, but some with the previous criminal prison dossiers, sporadic racist killers or looters) of many nationalities, armed with the long guns (including the air-defence mobile rockets) without any visible command – does not create a context for any political debate or any promising future, but only for the limbo and a lasting, bloody interregnum.

¹⁵ To conclude with the Huntingtonian Clash of Civilizations wisdom: When the predominantly Christian air-force is bombing a predominantly Muslim country for 4 consecutive months and keeps doing so all throughout the 'Muslim Christmas' – a holy fasting month of Ramadan and Eid-ul-Fitr, it surely neither will help to maintain secularism and introduce democratization locally, nor will it assist the war against Islamist radicals regionally.

¹⁶ Although largely ignored or understated in contemporary literature, Turkish secularism (nearly century old) is stronger than the secular traditions of some EU states. Turkey has a young population (2nd most populous European nation after Russia), vibrant trade and tech-led growth (16th largest world economy and member of the G-20). It represents a well-working democracy in an exceptionally hard, unstable surrounding environment. The Army (half a million strong force, after the US, the largest of the NATO), which traditionally enjoyed the special constitutional position and societal role as the designated guardian of the Kemalist Ideology, has been put under strict civilian/governmental control in August 2011 – for the first time since the Ataturk republic exists. Turkey is either the founding or focal member of the Council of Europe, OECD, NATO and OSCE. Still, it was not qualifying enough for the Turkish admission into the family of European nations.

¹⁷ One of the chief architects and promoters of this Ottoman revivalism, Foreign Minister Davutoglu, in his famous Sarajevo speech claimed that the Balkans, Caucasus and the Middle East were all better off under Ottoman rule; peace and progress prevailed ... and that the region has been in subsequent divisions, frictions and war ever since the Ottoman control ended and European powers came along. He concluded his Sarajevo speech by returning the usual EU rhetorics back to the European front-yard: "...I have to say that my country is disappointed that an important religious symbol, that of a minaret, has been subjected to a referendum in Switzerland. It is a mistake to put a fundamental religious right to a popular vote and I hope that this mistake will be rectified. The spread of human rights and fundamental freedoms may not have been possible, had countries chosen to put specific freedoms to referenda. It might be useful to recall that the Franciscan Catholic Monastery in Fojnica, some 35 miles from here, holds the original copy of an edict issued by the Ottoman Sultan on 28 May 1463. This edict protects the religious rights of Bosnian Christians and the sanctity of their churches. It is one of the oldest documents on religious freedom." (BiH MVP Archives, 14 DEC 2009)

Turkish EU accession is no longer a waiting-room captivity trauma for Ankara, but a drifting problem of the EU perceptions. In fact, Brussels failed to understand previous messages from and to analyze current actions of Ankara, that it is both false and dangerous to simplify the strategic choices of Turkey; either islamization or westernization (joining the EU). Whether right or wrong, the official Ankara concluded that the EU accession process was more of an exercise in humiliating hindrance of Turkey rather than a sincere admission of a reasonable prospect.

Traditionally very cordial, the relations with Israel have also deteriorated lately. It is a same sort of message like that one sent to the EU – no more exclusive relations; we are now open for all. Thus, Turkey has in return gained, through intense and skillful diplomatic maneuvers, an equidistant foothold deeper in the Middle East – by talking to Arabs, Iranians and Russians (its NATO partners, the EU and Israelis too). This multi-vector foreign policy (the so-called zero problem neighborhood policy vs. the selective EU's European neighborhood policy) uplifts Turkey from the confrontational/deterring peripheries right into the center of intl. political arena. It increases Turkish leverage and the number of its strategic opportunities.

The “sick man of Europe” is not on Bosphorus anymore: As the last European country that maintains both solid economic and demographic growth, Turkey seems to continue its self-emancipated and awarding, independent foreign policy dynamics. If so, this could mean that the EU has missed its historic chance (to keep

its decisive say in the country of indispensable geography for the energy corridors and socio-cultural exchanges), as Turkey might seek a grand accommodation with one (e.g. Russia) or a combination of players in its quest for (revived) regional hegemony¹⁸.

Nevertheless, Ankara's current gambit is not without risks. The serious constitutional (and secularist equilibrium) interference has occurred. If Turkey does not manage to successfully project itself onto the region soon, it might implode under its own government's massive weight.

“No one governs innocently” – noted de Beauvoir in her 1947's *The Ethics of Ambiguity*... After a lot of hot air, the disillusioning epilogue of the popular McFB revolt is more firearms and less confidence residing in the region, and a higher (moral, economic and political) carbon energy price everywhere else¹⁹. As if the confrontational nostalgia, perpetuated by the intense competition over finite resources, in lieu of a real, far-reaching policy-making has prevailed again. Besides maybe (the Russian oil exporters and government in) Ankara, nobody has anything to celebrate for. Caught in middle between its indigenous incapability and the global blind obedience to the fossil-carbon addictions, and yet enveloped in just another trauma, the Arab world and the wider Middle East theatre remains a hostage of mega geopolitical and geoeconomic chess-board drama. One thing is certain, if anything springs from the Arab soil, it is the oil. Everything else is (still) up in the (roaring) air.

What is the overall international impact? The

¹⁸ The Ankara's neo-Ottoman, lately also 'Islamized' rhetoric, is more of a need for the external projection than it is aimed at or permissible for the domestic Turkish consumption. It is not something that just happened, as witnessed with the current rise of escapist anti-politics (politics in retreat) dressed up in the Western European wing-parties, by which – with all their Right – Europe losses its own right. This pre-meditated and fine-calibrated policy of galvanization steers Turkey (not to the nationalistic, emotionally-charged and retreating, anti-secular right, but) right into the centre of grand bargaining for both Russia and for the US. To this emerging triangular constellation, Turkey wishes to appoint its own rhythm. Past the 'Arab Spring', neither will Russia effectively sustain its presence in the Middle East on a strict pan-Arabic secular, republican and anti-Islamic idea nor will the US manage to politically and morally justify its backing of the absolutistic monarchies energized by the backward, rigid and oppressive Wahhabism. Turkey tries to sublime effectively both; enough of a secular republican modernity and of a traditional, tolerant and emancipating Islam, and to broadcast it as an attractive future model across the Middle East. Simply, Turkey wakes itself up as an empiric proof that the Islam and modernity goes together. Indeed, by large and by far, Turkey is the world's most successful Muslim state that was never resting its development on oil or other primary-commodity exports, but on a vibrant socio-economic sector and solid democratic institutions. This is heavily contesting, not only for Russia, but primarily for the insecure House of Saud regime which rules by the direct royal decree over a country of recent past, oil-export dependent and fizzing presence and improbable future. No wonder that on ideological battlefield, the two belligerent parties will be dominating the Middle East, which is currently in self-questioning past yet another round of hardships. The outcome will be significant far beyond the Arab world, and will reverberate all across the Sunni Muslim world. Ankara is attempting to justify that the Saudi-promoted Islam is actually an aggressive, separatist/sectarian Wahhabistic ideology that self-constrains Muslims and hinders their socio-economic and political development by keeping them at the same time on a permanent collision course with the rest of world, while the Turkey-promoted Islam is not a weaponized ideology, but a *Modus Vivendi*, which permits progress and is acceptable for all (including the non-Muslims), with the centuries-long history of success.

¹⁹ Misled by a quick triumphalism of the social-media cheerleaders and corporate media nomads, the international news agencies have definitely confused the two: revolt and revolution (as they later missed to co-relate a massive bail-outing and the UK loot-outing). The very precursor of the 'Spring' was the winter of the (still unsettled) global financial crisis with its severe impact felt or misused locally. Consequently, the Arab unrests started as a (social, not political) public revolt over high unemployment and soaring costs of living (Tunisia and Egypt), over the inter-tribal inequalities (Libya, Bahrain), or over a combination of all factors (Yemen and Syria). Besides publicly 'crucifying' couple of escape goats, it has than failed to bring about structural change (r/evolution), and is paradoxically ending up with more debts, ever higher living costs and more unemployment than before the real or fabricated austerity measures were imposed in a response to the mounting global financial crisis. The difference between a dialectic and cyclical history is in a distance between success and fall: The Arab Oil Embargo of 1973 (that interestingly enough also included the non-petrol exporting republics of Egypt, Syria and Tunisia) was an attempt at political emancipation. In the aftermath of the Oil Shock the Embargo subsequently triggered, the Arab states have found themselves within ever stronger external financial and politico-military dependences.

regional unrest does not ease the ongoing OECD/IEA debates, yet it may catalyze and accelerate them, primarily between the EU, Japan and the US (the largest economic and consumer blocks). The issues discussed are fundamental: energy security and efficiency (including the diversification of the origin and composition of the PEM – primary energy mix); dependences-reduction, protection capacitation and diversification of the transport routs, and related mega (pipelined or LNG) gas and oil projects for/through the EU, Euromed, Russophonnic Asia/Arctic and the East-Far East; de-carbonization and anti-nuclearization. Finally, the way out of the deadlock on the Kyoto II negotiations, as well as the related roadmap for the comprehensive universal consensus on global climate change. Both for its own ends, clearly surfacing challengers of status quo are at least the two: Japan and Turkey.

Post Scriptum

How can we observe and interpret (a distance between) success and fall from the historical perspective? This question remains a difficult one to (satisfy all with the single) answer... The immediate force behind the rapid and successful European overseas projection was the two elements combined: Europe's technological (economic) and demographic expansion (from

early 16th century on). However, the West/Europe was not – frankly speaking – winning over the rest of this planet by the superiority of its views and ideas, by purity of its virtues or by clarity of its religious thoughts and practices. For a small and rather insecure civilization, it was just the superiority and efficiency in applying the rationalized violence and organized (legitimized) coercion that Europe successfully projected. The 21st century Europeans often forget this 'inconvenient truth', the non-Europeans usually never do. The large, self-maintainable, self-assured and secure civilizations (e.g. situated on the Asian landmass) were traditionally less militant and confrontation (and a nation-state 'demarcational'), but more esoteric and generous, inclusive attentive and flexible. The smaller, insecure civilizations (e.g. situated on a modest, geographically remote and peripheral, natural resources scarce, and climatically exposed continent of Europe) were more focused, obsessively organized and a "result oriented" (including the invention of virtue out of necessity – a nation-state). No wonder that European civilization has never ever generated a single religion (although it admittedly doctrinated, 'clergified' and headquartered the Middle East-revelled religion of Christianity). On the other hand, no other civilization but the European has ever created a significant, even a relevant political ideology.

ТОПЛИВНО-ЭНЕРГЕТИЧЕСКИЙ КОМПЛЕКС - СТРАТЕГИЧЕСКИЙ ДЛЯ ЭКОНОМИК АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА И ТУРКМЕНИСТАНА

Рустам Маторин*

С каждым днем приумножается интерес к расширению делового партнёрства с Туркменистаном, обладающим огромными природными богатствами и стремительно растущим производственно-экономическим потенциалом не только со стороны стран СНГ, но и таких ведущих стран., как Китай, Турция, США, ОАЭ, Италия, Германия, Япония, Швейцария, Франция, Иран и др.

Уникальные сырьевые предпосылки обусловили формирование в Туркменистане топливно-энергетического комплекса, который является приоритетным сектором промышленности страны. В настоящее время на его долю приходится половина объема производства средних и крупных промышленных предприятий.

В состав топливно-энергетического комплекса (ТЭК) входят электроэнергетика, газодобывающая, нефтедобывающая и нефтеперерабатывающая отрасли, которые в настоящее время полностью модернизируются. Располагая большими запасами природного газа и нефти, Туркменистан является одним из важных экспортёров топливных ресурсов. В результате значительного расширения объемов поставок углеродов на мировой рынок вышел в этом направлении в число лидирующих стран. Этот сектор экономики формирует 70 процентов валового национального продукта. По запасам газа Туркменистан занимает четвертое место в мире после России, США и Канады. Основную часть добываемого газа Туркменистан экспортирует за рубеж.

Ежегодно в Туркменистане добывается 10 млн. тонн нефти. Основной район нефтедобычи – западный регион страны, однако полностью запасы нефти еще не оценены, особенно в акватории Каспийского моря. В стране действуют два нефтеперерабатывающих завода – Туркменбашинский и Сейдинский.

Благодаря большим инвестиционным вложениям в Туркменбашинский комплекс нефтеперерабатывающих заводов (ТКНПЗ) – флагман отечественной индустрии,

суперсовременный промышленный гигант полностью модернизирован и выпускает десятки видов нефтехимической продукции среди которых бензин, керосин, дизельное топливо, полипропилен, пластмассы, машинное масло, преимущественно реализуемой на внешнем рынке.

Современные технологические производства оснащенные передовыми ресурсосберегающими экологичными технологиями и оборудованием, сооружены на комплексе с участием ведущих компаний Японии, Германии, США, Франции, Турции, Ирана, Израиля и Ирландии. За короткий промежуток времени был введен в эксплуатацию ряд новых установок: по гидроочистке и каталитическому риформингу с непрерывной регенерацией катализатора, миллисекундного жидкого каталитического крекинга; по производству высокооктановых неэтиловых бензинов, смазочных дизельных и универсальных масел: по гидроочистке дизельного топлива; по очистке авиакеросина.

Высокая рентабельность этого сектора, связанная в том числе с мировой рыночной конъюнктурой и ценами на его продукцию, а также благоприятная макроэкономическая ситуация, сделали Туркменистан привлекательным для иностранных инвесторов. В перспективе нефтепереработка может стать одним из приоритетных направлений инвестиционной активности.

Основными приоритетными направлениями развития нефтегазового комплекса Туркменистана являются:

- освоение, лицензирование блоков для разведки и добычи нефти и газа на суше;
- освоение месторождений углеводородных ресурсов туркменского сектора Каспийского моря;
- развития инфраструктуры нефтегазового комплекса в области трубопроводного транспорта, сооружений и коммуникаций;
- развитие сервисных услуг в нефтегазовом комплексе Туркменистана.

В Туркменистане планируется расширить

* Внештатный сотрудник Посольства Азербайджанской Республики в Туркменистане.

привлечение инвестиций в строительство заводов по переработке природного газа в сжиженный, а также в разработку значительных запасов нефти и газа на туркменском шельфе Каспийского моря. Пример работающих в этом регионе зарубежных партнеров свидетельствует об очень быстрой окупаемости вложенных инвестиций.

В год двадцатилетия независимости Туркменистана предприятия (ТЭК) демонстрируют уверенные темпы развития, успешно решая задачи, поставленные Президентом Гурбангулы Бердымухамедовым перед нефтегазовой отраслью. По итогам первого полугодия, за отчетный период в добыче нефти и газового конденсата темп роста составил 106,3 процента к аналогичному уровню 2010 года. Добыча природного и попутного газа за этот период выросла на 40,2 процента, а экспорт природного газа увеличился на 77,4 процента.

По итогам первого полугодия достигнут положительный темп роста и в нефтеперерабатывающей промышленности 100,5 процента.

В частности, за отчетный период отмечено наращивание объемов производства бензина, дизельного топлива, полипропилена по сравнению с аналогичным периодом прошлого года.

Занимая одно из ведущих мест в мире по запасам природного газа, Туркменистан активно реализует энергетическую стратегию, направленную на наращиванию объемов экспорта «голубого топлива» и диверсификацию маршрутов его поставок на крупнейшие мировые рынки, где наблюдается устойчивая тенденция роста спроса на энергоносители.

Туркменское «голубое топливо» транспортируется по введенному в эксплуатацию в декабре 2009 года газопроводу Туркменистан-Китай, по которому уже прокачено более 10 млрд. кубометров газа. Наращиваются поставки туркменского газа в Иран, чему способствует запущенный в январе 2010 года второй трубопровод в соседнюю страну – Довлетабад-Серахс-Хангеран. Таким образом, Туркменское государство в настоящее время уверенно выходит в лидеры на энергетическом рынке Евразийского континента.

Все большую актуальность приобретает проект строительства газопровода (ТАПИ), о чем свидетельствует активная работа над его

реализаций специалистов всех участвующих в нем стран, а также представителей Азиатского банка развития. Мощный импульс для ускорения темпов подготовки проекта придал состоявшийся в декабре 2010г, в Ашхабаде саммит глав государств – участников ТАПИ. Как известно, по его итогам были подписаны Рамочное соглашение о газопроводе и межправительственное соглашение о реализации проекта газопровода ТАПИ.

В первой половине нынешнего года были сделаны новые шаги по развитию еще одного перспективного направления экспорта туркменского газа, которое предусматривает организацию поставок энергоносителей в страны Европы. В этом аспекте ведется активное обсуждение проекта строительства Транскаспийского газопровода.

На состоявшейся в январе 2011 года в Ашхабаде встрече с Президентом Гурбангулы Бердымухамедовым председатель Европейской комиссии Жозе Мануэль Баррозу заявил о высокой заинтересованности Европы в налаживании прямого энергетического партнерства с Туркменистаном. Отметив готовность ряда европейских стран приобрести туркменский газ, глава Еврокомиссии выразил поддержку позиции Туркменистана по вопросу строительства Транскаспийского газопровода.

Широкую поддержку этого проекта со стороны международного сообщества продемонстрировала состоявшаяся в конце февраля в Ашхабаде международная научная конференция «Экологические аспекты Транскаспийских трубопроводов». На форуме, собравшем около 300 ученых-экологов и специалистов нефтегазовой отрасли из 20 стран мира, прозвучали компетентные мнения экспертов о том, что с учетом выполнения самых требовательных мер по охране окружающей среды, современных технологий и накопленного ведущими мировыми компаниями практического опыта строительство и безопасная эксплуатация морского газопровода возможна даже в таком уникальном водоеме, каким является Каспийское море.

Для привлечения зарубежных инвестиций и технологий в Туркменистане созданы благоприятный инвестиционный климат и все другие необходимые условия для успешного ведения бизнеса. Желание иностранных компаний США, Европы и стран Азиатского региона наладить взаимовыгодное партнерства с Туркменистаном

продемонстрировали состоявшаяся в марте в Сингапуре Международная научная конференция «Нефть и газ Туркменистана-2011», а также проведенный в мае в НТЗ «Аваза» второй газовый конгресс Туркменистана.

Так, конференция в Сингапуре собрала более 200 руководителей, ученых и экспертов 105 ведущих нефтегазовых компаний из 26 стран мира. А на второй газовый конгресс в Авазу прибыли свыше 500 участников из более чем трех десятков стран.

В частности, сенсационной новостью на газовом конгрессе стало сообщение о том, что месторождение Южный Ёлотен-Осман по своим запасам уже сейчас можно считать вторым в мире. И тем более ценно, что эта оценка прозвучала из уст независимого аудитора – британской компании «Gaffnty, Cline & Associates». В ускоренную разработку и ввод в эксплуатацию этого гигантского месторождения Туркменское государство вкладывает около 10 миллиардов долларов США. Запасы газа на месторождении Южный Ёлотен составляет 26 трилл. 200 млрд. кубометров.

Одной из приоритетных и высокоперспективных сфер привлечения зарубежных инвестиций является разработка морских месторождений в Туркменском секторе Каспийского моря. Об этом в частности, свидетельствует успешный опыт в данной сфере таких ведущих иностранных компаний, как Dragon Oil (ОАЭ-Великобритания), Petronas (Малайзия), RWE (Германия) «Итера» и ряда других, динамично реализующие крупные инвестиционные проекты на морских блоках Туркменистана.

Ярким примером эффективного международного сотрудничества в освоении нефтегазовых месторождений туркменского сектора Каспия является деятельность уже упомянутой выше Малайзийской компаний Petronas, которая уже 15 лет является надежным партнером Туркменистана. На разрабатываемом компаниям морском «Блоке1» выявлены крупные запасы нефти, конденсата и природного газа, что в очередной раз подтвердило высокую перспективность туркменского сектора Каспийского моря.

Как известно, в середине июля 2011 года вблизи посёлка Кыянылы был торжественно введен в эксплуатацию построенный Petronas современный производственный комплекс, включающий в себя крупный

газоперерабатывающий завод и наземный газовый терминал, который впервые стал принимать природный газ добываемый с морских месторождений Туркменистана.

Следует также отметить и успешные шаги туркменских нефтяников в самостоятельном освоении углеводородных ресурсов Каспия. Специалисты Государственного концерна «Туркменнебит» результативно ведут динамичное освоение месторождения Северный Готурдепе, часть которого расположена на мелководье Каспийского моря.

Большой успех достиг здесь в июне этого года бурения скважины № 147, работы на которой осуществлялись с использованием новейшего оборудования и современных технологий. В результате освоения скважины были вскрыты новые высокопродуктивные глубоко залегающие нефтяные пласты, с которых получен мощный фонтан «черного золота». По предварительным оценкам специалистов концерна продуктивность скважины превышает 800 тонн нефти в сутки. Это в два раза превышает суточный дебит других нефтяных скважин, находящихся в эксплуатации, что свидетельствует о высокой перспективности мелководной части участка Северного Готурдепе. В настоящее время здесь активно ведутся поисково-разведочные работы и бурение новых скважин. Количество новых компаний в Туркменистане существенно увеличилось после начала разведки добычи углеводородного сырья не шельфе Каспия такими компаниями, как «Драгон оил», «Петронас Чаригали». Пришла на туркменский рынок старейшая строительная нидерландская компания «Van Oord». Начало работы этой компании у берега Каспийского моря, привлекло внимание и поразило воображение жителей посёлка Кыянылы. Появлением здесь плавающих механизмов – огромных землечерпалок-экскаваторов, земснарядов больших размеров и мощностей, а также фонтанов возникающих в море вокруг этой техники. Позже эту необычную морскую технику могли видеть жители Хазара. Здесь по заказу нефтедобывающей компании на шельфе Каспия специалисты «Van Oord» прокладывали по дну моря километровый и трехкилометровый каналы для нефтегазопроводов, в том числе один из них от платформ до нефтесборочного комплекса на берегу. Работы выполнены точно в назначенный срок. Сегодня воплощается в жизнь инновационная программа «Van Oord», в которую вложен 1 миллиард евро. Только в этом году в состав флота компании

войдут новый сверхмощный землесос с гибкой спускной трубой, землеройные суда с обратными ковшами гигантских экскаваторов, два судна для выполнения работ по гидроразмыву и другая техника. Часть её компания переведет на Каспий. Ведь только в туркменском секторе Каспия намечается проводить работы по капитальной реконструкции морского порта Туркменбаши, дальнейшее освоение месторождения нефти и газа на шельфе, а также обустройство береговой линии, в том числе в НТЗ «Аваза».

Об успехе буровиков Готурдепинского управления буровых работ концерна было сказано выше. В тесном сотрудничестве с такими компаниями, как «Шлюмберже», «Верзерфорд», «MISWAKO» а также при активном участии местных специалистов буровики и промысловики впервые освоили четыре горизонта двумя «лифтами» в одной колонне. Подобная технология, а также применение наклонно-направленного бурения на мелководье – все это сделано впервые. Теперь здесь же на Северном Готурдепе готовится к пуску ещё одна скважина № 37, от которой нефтяники ждут ещё большей отдачи.

Успешно начал второе полугодие коллектив управления «Газыгайтаданишлиш» Государственного концерна «Туркменгаз». В июле производство сжиженного газа составило 13.2 тысячи тонн, что на 2 тысячи 300 тонн больше задания. На одну тысячу тонн больше выпущено газового конденсата. В основном сжиженный газ в большегрузных автоцистернах отгружается на экспорт. Газовый конденсат поставляется из Наипа и Багаджи соответственно по железной дороге и трубопроводу на Сейдинский нефтеперерабатывающий завод. И там из этого углеводородного сырья получают пользующиеся повышенным спросом за рубежом светлые нефтепродукты. Наипский промышленный узел состоит из из четырех установок по получению сжиженного газа. Но уже в ближайшее время заметно возрастает отдача Багаджинского строящегося комплекса. Там рядом с действующей установкой, возводится такое же по мощности производство, способное перерабатывать 1 миллиард кубометров «голубого топлива» в год. Специалисты канадской помпани «Термо Дизайн инжиниринг» ведут на объекте монтажные работы. На этом месторождении пробурены новые эксплуатационные скважины.

В июле текущего года на нефтеперерабаты-

вающем комплексе в городе Туркменбаши при темпе роста объемов производства в 102 процента выпущено 55 тысяч тонн экологически чистого высокооктанового бензина марки А-95. Бензина марки А-80 произведено 80 тысяч тонн. Также на ТКНПЗ выработано более 35 тысяч тонн авиационного топлива ТС-1 и 165 тысяч тонн дизельного топлива всех марок. При этом выпуск элитного гидроочищенного дизельного топлива составил 120 тысяч тонн.

В тесном сотрудничестве с учеными института «Небитгазылмытаслама» буровики Небитдагского УБР и ремонтниками Барсагельмеского управления капитального ремонта скважин, треста «Капремонтнефтегаз», заметим что все эти предприятия входя в состав ГК «Туркменнефть», бурили новые и восстанавливали старые скважины, применяли новые методики добычи нефти. Внедрили германские винтовые насосы а теперь и финские эжекторные, и эффект превзошел все ожидания. И сегодня старый промысел Небитдаг работает успешно, наравне с другими промыслами НГДУ «Небитдагнефть».

В середине сентября 2011 года в г.Хазаре введена в строй газокомпрессорная станция, предназначенная для сбора попутного нефтяного газа с месторождений туркменского шельфа и прибрежной зоны Каспия и его подачи в газотранспортную систему страны. Оснащенная современным оборудованием станция «Хазар» общей мощностью 2 миллиарда кубических метров газа в год. На станции смонтированы три турбокомпрессорных агрегата – два рабочих и один резервный, которые «сжимают» газ поднимая его давления с 2,5 до 25 атмосфер. Этот крупный инвестиционный проект реализован Государственным концерном «Туркменнефть» совместно с украинскими партнерами – специалистами Сумского машиностроительного научно-производственного объединения имени Фрунзе.

Нарастивая экспортный потенциал для поставок энергоносителей на мировые рынки, Туркменистан осуществляет ряд других крупных проектов, нацеленных на развитие нефтегазотранспортной системы, а также на ускоренный ввод новых месторождений в эксплуатацию.

Одним из таких широкомасштабных инфраструктурных проектов в газовой отрасли является строительство крупнейшего в Туркменистане газопровода Восток-Запад,

протяженность которого составит около 1000 км. Будущая газотранспортная магистраль позволит соединить с Каспийским регионом крупнейшие газовые месторождения, расположенные в восточной части страны и в случае необходимости осуществлять переброску больших объемов газа как в восточном, так и в западном направлении.

Избрание Туркменского государства на пост вице-председателя Бюро Комитета по устойчивой энергетике ЕЭК ООН стало наглядным подтверждением поддержки мировым сообществом внешнеэкономического курса Президента Туркменистана Гурбангулы Бердымухамедова.

В эпоху нового Возрождения и великих преобразований энергетическая отрасль вышла на качественно новый уровень. Об этом свидетельствуют такие цифры и факты. В 2007 году состоялся ввод в строй Дашогузской газотурбинной электростанции мощностью 254 МВт. В феврале 2010 года в Ахалском велаяте недалеко от Ашхабада начала работать газотурбинная электростанция «Ахал» мощностью 254 МВт. В апреле 2010 года в Национальной туристической зоне на побережье Каспия была введена в строй современная электростанция «Аваза» мощностью 3254 мегаватта. Тогда же состоялось открытие новых энергоблоков Балканабатской государственной электростанции. На Балканабатской ГЭС, располагавшей ранее тремя газовыми турбинами, построены еще две силовые установки по 127,1 мегаватта каждая. В результате мощность электростанции возросла втрое и теперь составляет 380,2 мегаватта. Сегодня установленная мощность всех электростанций энергосистемы Туркменистана уже составляет 4151,7 мегаватта, в том числе 1793 мегаватта, или 43,2 процента составляют современные газотурбинные установки.

Выбор в пользу газотурбинных генераторов был сделан далеко не случайно. Они отличаются высокой надежностью, востребованы в регионах с небольшой обеспеченностью водными ресурсами. В октябре 2010 года в туркменской столице были введены в эксплуатацию новые объекты энергосистемы стремительно формирующегося по Арчабилскому проспекту делового центра Ашхабада, где в наши дни развернулось масштабное строительство. В соответствии с разработанной стратегией развития отрасли к 2030 году уровень производства электроэнергии в Туркменистане планируется

довести до 35,5 млрд. кВт/час. Для реализации этой цели за указанный период намечено возвести четыре газотурбинные электростанции комбинированного цикла суммарной мощностью 1496 МВт.

Тот факт, что (ТЕК) – является стратегическим для экономики и Азербайджана и Туркменистана, располагающих огромным углеводородным потенциалом, свидетельствует о схожести подходов в деле промышленной добычи нефти и газа на шельфе Каспийского моря и его экспортных поставок на Европейский рынок, огромное значение не только для национальных экономик, но и для обеспечения глобальной энергетической безопасности и широкого международного сотрудничества, отвечающего интересам всех стран и народов.

Особую актуальность в настоящее время приобрели вопросы, связанные с разработкой проекта строительства Транскаспийского трубопровода. Как известно, трубопроводные поставки энергетических ресурсов – это один из тех видов крупного международного бизнеса, где спрос всегда стабильно высок и, как правило, превышает предложение. На мировом энергетическом пространстве идут сложные геополитические процессы, формируются новые схемы и конфигурации поставок энергоносителей, напрямую влияющие на развитие и благополучие отдельных государств, регионов и целых континентов. Объяснение этому простое – глобальная экономика, несмотря на сложившуюся финансово-экономическую ситуацию, будет нуждаться во всё больших объемах энергетического сырья, прежде всего углеводородов, остающихся в обозримой перспективе основным «топливом» мировой индустрии. В этих условиях вполне обоснованным является стремление крупных производителей углеводородного сырья, какими являются Азербайджан и Туркменистан, к наращиванию своего экспортного потенциала, созданию разветвленной современной и эффективно работающей инфраструктуры транзита и доставки энергоносителей потребителю. В зависимости от имеющей ресурсной базы, особенностей своего географического расположения страны – производители ведут активный поиск новых рынков сбыта и соответственно кратчайших и удобных маршрутов к ним. Это нормальная и абсолютно оправданная со всех точек зрения позиция для любого государства – производителя энергетического продукта желающего укреплять свою экономическую и

энергетическую безопасность и ответственно относящегося к отстаиванию своих национальных интересов Азербайджан и Туркменистан относятся именно к такому разряду государств, и за всю свою новейшую независимую историю никогда и никому не давали повода усомниться в этом.

Энергетическая безопасность была и остается краеугольным камнем внешнеэкономической стратегии Азербайджана и Туркменистана определяющих их смысл, содержание и направленность. Это неоднократно подчеркивалось на президентских уровнях. Именно в данном ключе Азербайджан и Туркменистан развивают своё сотрудничество с партнерами, в том числе с европейскими. При этом следует отметить, что Азербайджан уже построил свой нефтепровод и успешно экспортирует нефть на Европейский рынок в то время как проект строительства Транскаспийского трубопровода, находится на переговорной стадии. Логическим результатом данного переговорного процесса стало утверждение 12 сентября нынешнего года Европейским Союзом мандата Еврокомиссии на ведение переговоров о строительстве Транскаспийского газопровода. Этим событием по сути, дан старт переговорному процессу с участием заинтересованных сторон по выработке документа, в котором будут четко определены принципиальные положения, связанные с поставками природного газа из Каспийского региона в Европу. Идет нормальный цивилизованный процесс сотрудничества между суверенными и равноправными субъектами энергетического рынка. Это, однако, вызывает неадекватную реакцию со стороны некоторых официальных лиц и ряда средств массовой информации России.

Так, в частности, заявляется о якобы имеющихся экологических рисках при строительстве и будущем функционировании трубопровода по дну Каспийского моря. Аргумент избитый, из разряда «дежурных» и используемых до оскомины часто – к месту и не к месту. Всем известно, что гарантия экологической безопасности в современном мире является неременным и основополагающим условием любого инфраструктурного проекта, в том числе трубопроводного – будь то по дну Каспийского, Балтийского, Черного или какого-то другого моря. Сегодня ни один серьезный инвестор попросту не станет участвовать в проекте, не обеспеченном необходимыми гарантиями с точки зрения экологии. И Туркменистан

неоднократно, в первую очередь на самом высоком уровне, заявлял о том, что при строительстве Транскаспийского трубопровода будут соблюдены все соответствующие международные стандарты. То же самое подчеркивают и европейские партнеры.

Еще один «аргумент», признанный посеять сомнения в законности строительства Транскаспийского трубопровода, – неурегулированность правового статуса Каспийского моря. Здесь нужно отметить, что правовой статус водоема обсуждается уже почти два десятилетия. Что не мешает прибрежным государствам в течение всего этого времени самостоятельно осуществлять различные виды деятельности на Каспии – судоходство, рыболовство, добычу полезных ископаемых и т.д. Одновременно прикаспийские государства выстраивают схемы двустороннего и многостороннего взаимодействия в тех или иных сферах, заключают соответствующие договоры и соглашения. До настоящего времени никто не считал и не пытался ограничивать их по причине отсутствия документа о правовом статусе Каспия. В этой связи возникает вопрос: почему же Туркменистан, будучи суверенным государством, не может вместе со своим партнером – таким же суверенным прикаспийским государством – приступить к реализации взаимовыгодного трубопроводного проекта? Строительство Транскаспийского трубопровода – это суверенное право государств, по участкам дна которых он будет проходить, и потому этот проект может осуществляться только с согласия этих государств и не нуждается в получении каких-либо дополнительных «разрешений».

Имея большой накопленный опыт в ведении переговорных процессов и строительства трубопроводов, Азербайджан всегда готов поделиться имеющим опытом со своими партнерами в том числе с Туркменистаном. Ведь реализация этого масштабного, грандиозного проекта, каким является строительство Транскаспийского трубопровода обеспечит всестороннее развитие топливно-энергетического потенциала обеих стран, что послужит дальнейшему повышению благосостояния народов Азербайджана и Туркменистана, укреплений отношений и доверия между Баку и Ашхабадом, а также обеспечению глобальной энергетической безопасности.

YENİ NƏŞRLƏR – NEW PUBLICATIONS – НОВЫЕ ИЗДАНИЯ

“1918. AZƏRBAYCAN QƏTLİAMLARI FOTO VƏ SƏNƏDLƏRDƏ”

Solmaz Rüstəmovə –Tohidi



Nəşr Azərbaycan Hökuməti tərəfindən 1918-ci ilin iyul ayında yaradılmış Fövqəladə İstintaq Komissiyasının Birinci Dünya Müharibəsinin başlanmasından sonrakı dövr ərzində Cənubi Qafqazın müsəlman əhalisi və onların əmlaklarına qarşı həyata keçirilən zorakılıq, soyğunçuluq və talama faktlarının təhqiqatı məqsədilə əldə etdiyi materiallardan ibarət növbəti topludur. Hazırkı topluda Fövqəladə İstintaq Komissiyası tərəfindən 1918-ci ilin mart-iyul aylarında Bakı və Şamaxı şəhərlərində, o cümlədən Şamaxı və Göyçayın yaşayış

məntəqələrində on minlərlə dinc sakinin qətlə yetirilməsi eyni zamanda, müsəlman əhaliyə məxsus müxtəlif təyinatlı əmlakın talan və dağıntılardan sonrakı vəziyyətini əks etdirən nadir foto materiallar və aidiyyəti sənəd nümunələri təqdim edilir.

Kitabdakı fotolar Azərbaycan nümayəndə heyəti tərəfindən 1919-cu ildə Paris Sülh Konfransı iştirakçlarına, o cümlədən bir çox əcnəbi ölkələrin dövlət başçalarına təqdim edib. 90 ildən artıq müddətdə aqibəti geniş ictimaiyyətə məlum olmayan bu foto sənədlərdən 102 ədədi xarici ölkə arxivlərində müəyyən edilmişdir. Nəşr türk, ingilis və rus dillərində tərtib olunmuşdur.

YENİ NƏŞRLƏR – NEW PUBLICATIONS – НОВЫЕ ИЗДАНИЯ