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DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN, H.E. Mr. ILHAM ALIYEV IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF 2016

FOREIGN VISITS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN H.E. MR. ILHAM ALIYEV IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF 2016

WORKING VISIT TO THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

8 – 9 July 2016

List of meetings held during the working visit:

- Meeting with the United States Secretary of State John Kerry
- Meeting with OSCE Minsk Group co-chairs James Warlick, Igor Popov and Pierre Andrieu as well as Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office Andrzej Kasprzyk
- Meeting with President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Mohammad Ashraf Ghani
- Meeting with President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda
- Meeting with Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany, Chairman-in-Office of OSCE Frank Walter Steinmeier
- Meeting with President of the French Republic Francois Hollande

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV
ATTENDED A SESSION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT
OF AFGHANISTAN AND ALLIES AND THEIR RESOLUTE SUPPORT
OPERATIONAL PARTNERS AS PART OF THE NATO SUMMIT**

9 July 2016, Warsaw

Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

Mr. Secretary General,
Colleagues,

Security and sustainable development of Afghanistan is vital for the regional and global stability.



Azerbaijan, as a reliable NATO partner and friend of Afghanistan, will continue its significant troop contribution to the Resolute Support Mission and provide a multi-modal transit.

Azerbaijan has already several times made substantial donations to the Afghanistan National Army (ANA) Trust Fund. We will continue to support this Fund financially in line with the pledges we made.

We remain committed to a long-term political partnership and a practical cooperation with Afghanistan. After conclusion of the Resolute Support Mission, we envisage contribution through the enhanced Enduring Partnership.

Azerbaijan's contribution to the stability and development of Afghanistan goes well beyond our involvement in NATO operations. We support Afghanistan bilaterally on its path of reforms towards self-reliant future by providing practical assistance in the areas of military training, education, infrastructure, transportation, investments, and increasing the role of women in society.

Azerbaijan has made substantial financial and technical contribution to the implementation of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway project to be completed in the nearest future. This project will connect European and Asian railroads through Azerbaijan. Afghanistan can also join this vital transportation network. Construction of the biggest international trade seaport in the Caspian region in our country provides new opportunities for cooperation in Eurasia. I am sure Afghanistan will also benefit from this project. Azerbaijan-NATO partnership is based upon the principles of international law and indivisibility of security. Regretfully, there are still violations of these principles. The continued use of force against Azerbaijan by Armenia, whose armed forces occupied almost 20% of Azerbaijan's territories, ethnically cleansed about one million Azerbaijanis, and committed war crimes, not only undermines the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan but also represents a grave threat to regional security.

For more than twenty years, Armenia refuses to implement the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council, which demand immediate, full and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian troops from Azerbaijan. We support the statements of the Co-Chairs of the OSCE Minsk Group as well as the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE saying that "status-quo is not acceptable". Changing the status-quo means beginning of de-occupation of the territories of Azerbaijan. We appreciate the renewed commitment by NATO to support Azerbaijan's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, as reiterated in Warsaw Summit Declaration.

Thank you.

WORKING VISIT TO THE KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

16 September 2016

List of meetings held during the working visit:

- Meeting with Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova Pavel Filip

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN ILHAM ALIYEV
ATTENDED A REGULAR MEETING OF THE CIS COUNCIL
OF HEADS OF STATE**

16 September 2016, Bishkek

Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

We will discuss important issues today that will contribute to the strengthening of our organization, and we support the initiatives related to the optimization of work, so that we could concentrate on the most important issues of common interest.

In the year of the 25th anniversary of the CIS, I would like to express the position of our country as one of the founders of this organization. We attach great importance to membership in the CIS, and I think that over the course of 25 years the organization has covered a long road and stood the test of time. Our organization was created as a result of certain historical events, and I think that the wisdom of our peoples and leaders led to the fact that 25 years on we have an organization that is very important for the region and for the world. The geography of our organization is quite extensive. We are discussing, in a friendly environment, the important issues that concern our countries and our peoples. There are many issues that need to be addressed.

I would like to note the active role Azerbaijan has played in strengthening the cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. We attach great importance to that. I believe that cooperation in the humanitarian sphere forms the basis of our cooperation. Without that, we would probably not have the level of trust and understanding that exists today. Azerbaijan, for its part, both within our

organization and in general, initiates various international events. In a few days, Baku will host the Fifth Baku International Humanitarian Forum under the patronage of the Presidents of Russia and Azerbaijan, which has already become a very important international platform for the discussion of issues related to humanitarian cooperation. These issues are always in the spotlight, especially at a time when we see how issues of humanitarian cooperation are sometimes interpreted in different countries. We are seeing the so-called crisis of migrants. We see that, unfortunately, instead of strengthening mutual understanding between nations and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere, the processes move in the opposite direction. There is division on ethnic and religious grounds. This is worrying because our organization, among other things, is strong for representing peoples of different cultures, religions and traditions. We are united by a common desire to strengthen cooperation.

I must also inform my colleagues that this year in Azerbaijan has been declared a "Year of Multiculturalism", and Azerbaijan is already recognized on a global scale as one of the centers of multiculturalism. This year Baku hosted the Seventh Global Forum of the UN Alliance of Civilizations.

I would also like to stress the importance we attach to cooperation in the economic sphere both in the bilateral format with member countries and in the multilateral format. There are also good prospects here, despite the decline in the level of economic activity in the world. I think that we can maintain the trend for the development of economic cooperation.

Of particular importance in the current environment are issues related to cooperation in the transport sector. Our country has for many years heavily invested in this area, and today the North-South and East-West corridors passing through our country also serve to strengthen cooperation and bring additional economic benefits to our country. Also, together with our neighboring CIS member-states, we are implementing projects that will have a great future for our countries. We invest in the construction of ports, railways, sea transport, the construction of modern international airports. This is an area that brings a steady source of income, an area that goes beyond the scope of the economy and also leads to the strengthening of cooperation.

Enhanced cooperation means the strengthening of security and mutual confidence. We live in a time when threats are growing, so we need to be prepared for them. No country, as has already been demonstrated in recent history, can cope with threats, international terrorism, extremism and radicalism on its own. Our countries are also united by a common understanding of the danger of these trends, as well as a common understanding that the entire international community must join forces in the fight against international terrorism.

In conclusion, I would like to express hope that the CIS will develop actively in the future too. We are on the way of prudent reforms. Reforms should not be implemented for the sake of reforms. They should have a very clear direction in order to strengthen our organization and make it more attractive and viable.

Thank you again for your hospitality, and I wish all of us productive work.

Thank you.

At the limited-format meeting of the CIS Council of Heads of State, which was held in Bishkek on September 16, Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan complained about Azerbaijan, referring to the events that took place on the front line this April. He alleged that Azerbaijan violated a truce regime during these events.

Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko was next in alphabetical order after the Armenian President to take the floor. President Ilham Aliyev asked the Belarusian President for permission to speak. As Alexander Lukashenko did not object President Ilham Aliyev took the floor and gave a compelling and tough response to the Armenian President:

President Ilham Aliyev: I deemed it my duty to comment on the Armenian President's remarks. I did not consider it necessary to talk about the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict resolution here as this problem is addressed by other international organizations. But when I heard another complaint of the Armenian side, I deemed it my duty to comment on this.

Armenia has already bothered all the international organizations with those complaints. Situation is so paradoxical, as you can imagine: Armenia occupied territory of a sovereign state, violated its territorial integrity, expelled local Azerbaijani population from the Nagorno-Karabakh and seven surrounding districts, making more than one million people refugees and IDPs, destroyed everything in the occupied lands, including historical, religious, cultural monuments and all the infrastructure, which was evidenced by the reports of two OSCE missions. Then Armenia has just pretended to engage in the negotiations process for more than 20 years. Moreover Armenia periodically makes different provocations to make this process eternal. One of these provocations took place this April. Over 500 houses of Azerbaijani civilians were shelled from the Armenian artillery, more than 100 houses were destroyed, nearly 10 civilians, including children, were killed, died.



International organizations have a clear understanding of how this problem must be solved. There is a supreme international body – United Nations Security Council. It is the highest international organization. The Security Council adopted four resolutions in early 1990s. These documents demand unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the occupant Armenian forces from Azerbaijan`s territory. These resolutions remain unfulfilled. Armenia disregards them and tries to create a new reality by artificially changing the administrative borders of former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and illegally resettling in that area. It is absolutely illegal. It is a crime, and this crime has continued up to the present time.

We are committed to a peace process. We work constructively. We have a Minsk Group format, but the Armenian side misuses this format just to make the negotiations continue for ever. They do not want peace. They just want to keep our territories under control and to accuse Azerbaijan everywhere of violating something. We are the aggrieved party. We did not occupy anybody`s territory. It is our territory, 20 per cent of Azerbaijan`s internationally-recognized

territory, that has been under occupation. This is the reality. Therefore with reference to the Armenian President's another inappropriate complaint, I deemed it my duty to bring this to the attention of our colleagues once again.

Serzh Sargsyan: It makes no sense to respond to a lie.

Ilham Aliyev: I have already responded to a lie.

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

- 11.07.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Sergei Lavrov
- 15.07.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey Mevlut Cavusoglu
- 15.07.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by head of the Swiss Federal Department of Finance, Federal Councillor Ueli Maurer
- 21.07.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Minister of Education of the Republic of Italy Stefania Giannini
- 02.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of Information and Communications Technology of the Islamic Republic of Iran, co-chairman of Azerbaijan-Iran State Commission on Economic, Trade and Humanitarian Cooperation Mahmoud Vaezi
- 03.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received the credentials of newly-appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China Wei Jinghua
- 03.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received head of the Georgian State Security Service Vakhtang Gomelauri
- 11.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received representative of the U.S. Congress, chairman of the House Small Business Committee Steve Chabot
- 14.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Russia's Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu

- 15.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received credentials of incoming ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany Michael Kindsgrab
- 16.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received credentials of the newly appointed ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium Bert Schoofs
- 30.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan Motome Takisawa
- 30.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Secretary General of the Gas Exporting Countries Forum Seyed Mohammad Hossein Adeli
- 31.08.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Prime Minister of Georgia Giorgi Kvirikashvili
- 05.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by President of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities Herbert Winter
- 07.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Group Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of DP World Sultan Ahmed Bin Sulayem
- 09.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Deputy Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia Oesman Sapta Odang
- 09.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Vice-President of the European Parliament Ryszard Czarnecki
- 13.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by president of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) Ronald Lauder and including Chief Executive Officer and Executive Vice-President of the Congress Robert Singer, WJC Vice-President God Nisanov

- 14.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received credentials of the newly appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Netherlands to Azerbaijan, Onno Kervers
- 20.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation of the EU-Azerbaijan Parliamentary Cooperation Committee
- 20.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by State Secretary of the Security Council of the Republic of Belarus Stanislav Zas
- 20.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister for Civil Defence, Emergencies and Elimination of Consequences of Natural Disasters of the Russian Federation Vladimir Puchkov
- 25.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Federation of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, head of the CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly observation mission Ilyas Umakhanov
- 26.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation of members of the European Parliament, parliamentarians of European countries and employees of several international organizations led by Vice President of the Centrist Democrat International, Vice Chair of the European People's Party Mario David
- 26.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by President of the European Academy for Elections Observation (EAEO), Honorary Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) Goris Emiel Stef. The delegation included Speaker of Maltese Parliament, head of the observation mission of EAEO Angelo Farrugia, as well as MPs from Malta, Serbia, Italy, France, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania, and members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

- 26.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Defense Minister of the Republic of Belarus Andrei Ravkov
- 26.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Minister of Defense Production of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Rana Tanveer Hussain
- 27.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Turkish delegations led by Minister of Defense Fikri Isik and Minister of Culture and Tourism Nabi Avci
- 28.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Vice President of the Republic of Bulgaria Margarita Popova
- 28.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by chairman of the House of Representatives of the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Tajikistan Shukurjon Zuhurov
- 28.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Associate Dean of the US-based Simon Wiesenthal Centre Rabbi Abraham Cooper
- 28.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received chairman of Chile-Azerbaijan Friendship Group at the Senate of the Republic of Chile Ivan Barros Moreira
- 28.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Commissioner for Political Affairs of the African Union Aisha Abdullahi
- 28.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by President of the Chamber of Representatives of the General Assembly of Uruguay Gerardo Amarilla
- 29.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by Deputy Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation Olga Golodets

- 29.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations and Assistant Administrator and Director of the Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Ayse Cihan Sultanoğlu
- 29.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Director General of ISESCO Abdulaziz Othman Altwaijri
- 29.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by second Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies of Argentine National Congress Patricia Gimenez
- 29.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received Rector of Moscow State Institute of International Relations Anatoly Torkunov
- 30.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received President of UEFA Aleksander Ceferin
- 30.09.2016 President Ilham Aliyev received a delegation led by member of the National Assembly of the French Republic, President of the Association of Friends of Azerbaijan in France Jean-Francois Mancel



**ACTIVITY OF THE MINISTER
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE
REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
Mr. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV
IN THE THIRD QUARTER OF 2016**

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

- 12.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Sergei Lavrov, Foreign Minister of Russian Federation
- 15.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Turkey
- 18.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Wei Jinghua, newly appointed Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Republic of Azerbaijan
- 19.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Sayar bin Abdurrahman al Maawdah, Ambassador of the State of Qatar to the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the termination of his diplomatic tenure
- 20.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Daniel Cristian Ciobanu, Ambassador of Romania to the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the termination of his diplomatic tenure
- 20.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Karen Petit, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium to the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the termination of her diplomatic tenure

- 26.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Robert Jan Gabrielsen, Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the termination of his diplomatic tenure
- 28.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation headed by Bob Blackman, Chairman of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Parliament's Friendship Group with Azerbaijan
- 28.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation headed by Ms. Sujata Mehta, Secretary (West) of the Ministry of External Affairs of India
- 29.07.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Saeed Khan Mohmand, newly appointed Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the Republic of Azerbaijan
- 02.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation led by Mahmoud Vaezi, Minister of Communications and Information Technologies of the Islamic Republic of Iran and co-chairman of Azerbaijan-Iran State Commission on economic, trade and humanitarian spheres
- 04.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Michael Kindsgrab, the newly appointed Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Azerbaijan
- 04.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Edward Carwardine, newly appointed representative of UNICEF
- 05.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation headed by Ján Kubiš, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Iraq and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq

- 05.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Bert Schoofs, the newly appointed Ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium to the Republic of Azerbaijan
- 05.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the United Nations Resident Coordinator Ghulam Isaczai in his capacity as newly appointed UNFPA Resident Representative
- 22.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received the Secretary General of the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States Ramil Hasanov
- 29.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Mikheil Janelidze, Foreign Minister of Georgia
- 29.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with David Usupashvili, Chairman of the Parliament of Georgia
- 29.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Giorgi Kvirikashvili, Prime Minister of Georgia
- 30.08.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Motome Takisawa, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan
- 05.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation headed by Herbert Winter, President of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities
- 05.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received newly appointed Ambassador of the Netherlands to Azerbaijan Onno Kervers
- 08.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Harlem Desir, Secretary of State for European Affairs of France

- 09.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Hassan Hami, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the termination of his diplomatic tenure
- 12.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Iyad bin Amin Madani, Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation
- 18.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey
- 18.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Ramtane Lamamra, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
- 18.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Retno Marsudi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia
- 18.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa
- 18.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Riad Al-Maliki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Palestine
- 20.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Manuel Gonzalez Sanz, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religion of the Republic of Costa Rica
- 21.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Tsend Munkh Orgil, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
- 21.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Ibrahim Ghandour, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan

- 21.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Julie Bishop, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia
- 21.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Borge Brende, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway
- 21.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with John Shapiro, President of American Jewish Committee
- 21.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Michael Carpenter, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia
- 22.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Lamberto Zannier, Secretary General of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
- 22.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Gyan Chandra Acharya, Under-Secretary-General and High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States
- 22.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Salahuddin Rabbani, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan
- 22.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met Rashid Meredov, Deputy Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan
- 22.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Miro Kovac, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia

- 22.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairs, Igor Popov of Russian Federation, James Warlick of the United States of America, and Pierre Andrieu of France
- 23.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Sebastian Kurz, Federal Minister for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria
- 23.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
- 24.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Yemane Gedreab, Senior Political Adviser to the President of the State of Eritrea
- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation led by Rana Tanveer Hussain, Federal Minister for Defence Production of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Ambassador Alper Coşkun of the Republic of Turkey upon termination of his diplomatic mission in Azerbaijan
- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation led by Ivan Barros Moreyra, Chair of Interparliamentary Friendship Group with Azerbaijan in Senate of the Republic of Chile
- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation headed by Daira de Jesús Gálvis Méndez, first vice-president of the National Congress of the Republic of Colombia
- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation headed by Aisha Abdullahi, Commissioner for Political Affairs of the African Union

- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with a delegation headed by Ali Hassan Bahdon, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Djibouti
- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Toyli Komekov, the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkmenistan to the Republic of Azerbaijan upon the termination of his diplomatic tenure
- 28.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation led by Gerardo Amarilla, Chairman of the House of Representatives of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay
- 29.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation led by Patricia Gimenez, vice-speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress of the Argentina Republic
- 29.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received a delegation of Italian Parliament led by Mauro Marino, Deputy Chair of Azerbaijan-Italy Interparliamentary Friendship Group
- 30.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Cihan Sultanoğlu, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Director of the Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States of the UNDP
- 30.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Yusif bin Hasan Yusif al-Sai, the newly appointed Ambassador of the State of Qatar to the Republic of Azerbaijan
- 30.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov received Javad Jahangirzade, the newly appointed Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Republic of Azerbaijan

- 30.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Mohamed Orabi, chairman of Foreign Relations Committee of the Parliament of the Arab Republic of Egypt, former Minister of Foreign Affairs
- 30.09.2016 Foreign Minister Elmar Mammadyarov met with Rashid Khalikov, Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

**JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE
OF MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF
AZERBAIJAN, ELMAR MAMMADYAROV AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, SERGEY LAVROV**

12 July 2016, Baku

Elmar Mammadyarov: Good afternoon! As you know, Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Sergey Lavrov is on a working visit to Azerbaijan. After the meeting with the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan H.E Mr. Ilham Aliyev with Sergey Lavrov yesterday, we had a quite intensive discussion with him. We discussed the bilateral cooperation and also the progress achieved on the settlement of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. It is known that Sergey Lavrov was in Yerevan on the 4th of July. Afterwards, he visited Azerbaijan. That was implemented according to the agreement achieved in the meeting of presidents of Russia, Azerbaijan and Armenia in Sankt-Peterburg. In the agreement it was intended that the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation would visit to Yerevan and Baku in order to discuss the progress achieved on the convergence of positions in the settlement of the conflict. I can say that the information which Sergey Lavrov has shared with us is principally quite positive. The Azerbaijani side assesses that we are having an intensive dialogue on the issue at the moment. We can call it even trilogy. H.E Mr. Vladimir Putin, the President of the Russian Federation, the co-chair country of the Minsk Group takes an active part in this process. Mr. Putin had phone talks with both of the Presidents of France and the United States of America on the results of Sankt-Peterburg meeting.

While in Warsaw, we had a possibility of meeting with the President of France and the Secretary of State of the United States of America. Of course, all these meetings and conversations have been conducted to find a solution for the non-agreed texts and concepts on the settlement of the conflict. In principle, there is an agreement which is to solve the problems related to the conflict gradually, step-by-step. Military component pose a main threat to the security not only of our country, but also all the region which is now almost global.

We had discussions on the assessment of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Russia, as well. According to the assessment of Azerbaijani side, the relationship between Azerbaijan and Russia has a level of strategic partnership. The level of political interaction is very high. The sides have a great interest for the development of economic field. We agreed to hold a meeting of the intergovernmental economic commission. We talked about linking the North-South transport corridor which is an interesting project currently. Several months ago, foreign ministers of Russia, Azerbaijan and Iran had gathered in Baku. The sides had decided to hold a meeting of presidents of Russia, Azerbaijan and Iran again in Baku. I think we will come to the final agreement next month. The three sides share the idea of importance of implementing this transport corridor which has great economic perspectives as a whole.

Inter-parliamentary diplomacy between the two parliaments is functioning quite well. That envisages the cooperation in the international arena, within international interparliamentary structures, as well.

We had also discussions on the humanitarian dimensions of our cooperation. It is well known that a number of Russian universities have branches in our country. Today I have got good news that Azerbaijan State Economic University is planning to open its branch in Derbent, Dagestan. We discussed with Sergey Lavrov the fact that with how big enthusiasm the Azerbaijani public welcomed the music festival “Jara”. We would be very happy to hold this festival annually either in Azerbaijan or Russia. The next humanitarian forum under the patronage of Presidents of Azerbaijan and Russia is set to be held in Baku, in September. A large number of foreign guests have been invited to that forum. This forum once again proves that the cooperation between Azerbaijan and Russia in the humanitarian field is quite high. Thank you!

Q&A session

Question: *How the relationship between Azerbaijan and Turkey influences on the normalization of relations between Russia and Turkey?*

Elmar Mammadyarov: I will tell you a little secret. The issue of normalization

of relationship between Turkey and Russia was also a topic of our discussions. Sergey Lavrov with pleasure shared with us the information on the continuation of the normalization of relationship between the two sides. Azerbaijan welcomes it. We are glad for it. You know, the position of Azerbaijan towards good neighborhood policy is one of its foreign policy priorities. The better relationship exists between the big neighbors of Azerbaijan as Russia and Turkey, the more beneficial is for Azerbaijan, from all points of view: foreign, internal, political and economic. Therefore, we only welcome it and remain very pleased to such a development of events.

Question: *Have you defined the venue and date of the next meeting of the presidents? There was a proposal by France. I am talking about the commencement of substantive negotiations on the settlement of the conflict. Which proposals exactly do you have on the table of negotiations at the moment?*

Elmar Mammadyarov: I can add that if journalists conduct an appropriate analysis, they would see what the subject of discussions is. The negotiations are revolving around the same topic. You can understand what we discuss from the analysis of speeches and words. To achieve progress, in earlier times the negotiations were not as intensive as now. The negotiations are being conducted intensively and substantively around the topic. Within such intensive and consistent discussions, the issues unresolved on the table of negotiations can be discussed with optimism in the future.

Talking about the next meeting of the presidents, after the Sankt-Peterburg meeting at the initiative of Vladimir Putin, his phone talks with the Presidents of France and the United States respectively, as well as taking into consideration the results of Sergey Lavrov's visits to Yerevan and Baku, will determine the next steps including the meeting at the presidential level. It does not matter whether this meeting will be held in France or in the other Minsk Group co-chair country. The crucial issue for us is that the negotiations must be substantive and result-oriented; no one should have an illusion of everlasting negotiations.

Thank you!

**ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЕ ЭЛЬМАРА МАМЕДЪЯРОВА, МИНИСТРА
ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ НА
СОВЕЩАНИИ МИНИСТРОВ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ ПРИКАСПИЙСКИХ
ГОСУДАРСТВ**

Астана, 13 июля 2016 г.

Уважаемый господин председатель,
Уважаемые коллеги,
Уважаемые участники совещания,
Дамы и господа,

Прежде всего, позвольте поприветствовать всех участников Совещания и выразить признательность правительству Казахстана за организацию встречи на уровне глав внешнеполитических ведомств прикаспийских государств. Уверен, что данная встреча станет хорошей возможностью для еще большего сближения позиций и достижения необходимых результатов.

В рамках переговорного процесса проделана значительная работа по согласованию положений проекта Конвенции о правовом статусе Каспийского моря. Принятые политические решения и достигнутые договоренности в рамках саммитов глав прикаспийских государств способствовали эффективности дальнейших переговоров по проекту Конвенции в целом.

В этой связи, особо хочу отметить плодотворную работу Специальной рабочей группы на уровне заместителей министров иностранных дел и их усилия для достижения консенсуса по многим основополагающим положениям. Надеемся, что результат многолетней работы создаст всестороннюю правовую основу для взаимодействия и сотрудничества государств на Каспии.

В целях усовершенствования правовой базы для сотрудничества прикаспийских государств были инициированы ряд проектов отраслевых соглашений в торгово-экономической, транспортно-логистической и экологической сферах, а также по вопросам безопасности. Азербайджан активно принимает участие в обсуждении и согласовании этих проектов,

но вместе с тем, считаем преждевременным обсуждение тех проектов документов, положения которых могут предопределить правовой статус Каспийского моря до принятия соответствующей Конвенции. Мы также исходим из того понимания, что обсуждение всех предложенных проектов отраслевых соглашений должно проводиться с участием всех пяти прикаспийских государств.

Уважаемый господин председатель,
Уважаемые участники совещания,

До проведения очередного Саммита глав прикаспийских государств, необходимо достижение договоренностей по всем несогласованным положениям проекта Конвенции. Вместе с тем, необходимо также приложить максимальные усилия для скорейшего согласования тех положений проекта Конвенции, которые составляют важную основу для определения правового статуса Каспийского моря.

Хотел бы выразить надежду, что все вопросы, касающиеся прав внутриконтинентальных прикаспийских государств на свободный доступ из Каспийского моря к другим морям и Мировому океану, права прохода военных кораблей сторон через зоны под национальным суверенитетом других сторон, а также вопросы, связанные с разграничением дна и недр Каспийского моря и прокладкой кабелей и трубопроводов, будут решаться в рамках переговорного процесса в соответствии с нормами международного морского права.

Вместе с тем, нахождение консенсуса по методике установления исходных линий на основе общепризнанной мировой практики, в соответствии с действующими международными принципами и нормами, будет содействовать достижению общих договоренностей.

Мы придаем особое значение соглашениям о разграничении дна Каспийского моря между Азербайджаном, Казахстаном и Россией и выражаем надежду на скорейшее урегулирование вопросов разграничения дна в центральной и южной частях Каспия.

Каспийское море является важной составляющей во многих международных и региональных проектах, направленных на экономическое развитие и благосостояние народов стран Каспийского региона и мировой энергетической безопасности.

Вопросы, связанные с укреплением международного сотрудничества, дальнейшим улучшением инвестиционного климата по освоению и транспортировке энергетических ресурсов на международные рынки, созданием надежных и безопасных коммуникаций, привлечением высокорентабельных и экологически чистых технологий остаются важными приоритетами прибрежных государств.

Азербайджанская сторона уверена, что все вопросы правового статуса Каспийского моря должны решаться в духе уважения суверенных прав прикаспийских государств и взаимовыгодного партнерства, а также путем укрепления доверия между Сторонами, в частности в вопросах региональной стабильности, безопасности, экономической и научно-исследовательской деятельности на Каспии. Меры доверия должны включать, в том числе, обеспечение равных условий безопасности для всех прикаспийских государств. Мы также уверены, что укрепление стабильности на Каспийском море должно основываться на учете интересов всех Сторон и ненадании ущерба безопасности друг друга, уважении суверенитета, территориальной целостности, независимости прикаспийских государств и невмешательства во внутренние дела друг друга.

Уважаемый господин председатель,
Уважаемые участники совещания,

Скорейшее подписание Конвенции по правовому статусу Каспийского моря послужит принятию более действенных мер, направленных на дальнейшее взаимодействие и сотрудничество прикаспийских государств, в различных сферах, в том числе по вопросам сохранения экосистемы Каспия.

Мы разделяем общую обеспокоенность прибрежных государств сегодняшним состоянием окружающей среды Каспия и заинтересованы в расширении сотрудничества для решения экологических проблем Каспийского моря.

В Баку намечено проведение 6-ой Конференции Сторон Рамочной Конвенции по защите морской окружающей среды Каспийского моря, одной из основных целей которой будет открытие постоянного Секретариата Рамочной Конвенции. Азербайджанская сторона подготовила проект Соглашения о размещении Секретариата в городе Баку и представила данный проект на рассмотрение всем прикаспийским странам.

В заключении, позвольте еще раз выразить благодарность казахской стороне за организацию совещания, которая, несомненно, будет способствовать консолидации усилий прикаспийских государств, направленных на решение стоящих перед нами важных задач.

Благодарю за внимание.

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

15 July 2016, Baku

RƏSMİ XRONİKA – OFFICIAL CHRONICLE – ОФИЦИАЛЬНАЯ ХРОНИКА

Elmar Mammadyarov: Ladies and gentlemen! As you know, my dear friend, brother, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu is on a visit to Azerbaijan. Today morning, he was received by H.E. Mr. Ilham Aliyev, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Afterwards, we had a tete-a-tete meeting and a meeting with participation of delegations. We had discussions on the political and security issues. I informed him about the current situation and negotiations process on the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. For the last two months, the negotiations have been carried out intensively. Last week, we had discussions with Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov in Baku. Besides it, Mr. President had discussions with the President of France and Secretary of State of the United States at NATO summit. Before these meetings, there was an important meeting in Sankt-Peterburg. We think that Turkey should be informed about the negotiations as it is a regional state and member of the Minsk Group. I explained Azerbaijan's position on the conflict to Mr. Çavuşoğlu. We believe that such an intensive continuation of negotiations will lead to some progress. The conflict must be solved gradually step by step. Everyone accepts that the troops of Armenia have to be withdrawn from the occupied territories. We are working in this direction. I can say that we are working intensively. The Presidents of both United States and France have been informed about the results of Sankt-Peterburg meeting.

About the bilateral relationship, we touched upon the economic issues. As you may know, on August 8, we will carry out negotiations on the North-South transport corridor project at the level of Presidents of Azerbaijan, Russia and Iran. I informed Mr. Çavuşoğlu about that. We are working closely with Turkish side on the Silk Way project. As soon as Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway project is launched this year, the Silk Way project will be completely operational. And Azerbaijan will play its important role as a transit hub.

Q&A session

Question: *Mr. Mammadyarov, my question is addressed to you. This morning, a provocation was observed from Armenian side on the contact-line. We have a martyr. How would you assess that? I mean could it be assessed as an attempt by Armenian side to undermine the negotiations process? Can the normalization of Russia-Turkey relations contribute to the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict?*

Elmar Mammadyarov: Thank you for your questions! I also extend my condolences on the death of an Azerbaijani soldier. It once again proves that we must intensify the negotiations. I think that some forces in Armenia are not pleased with our intensive talks. They are trying to cause provocation on the contact-line or borders. As you know, prior to that a similar incident had also happened. One of our soldiers had been shot down by sniper. It indicates that some forces don't want the negotiations to be ended with results. To stop this kind of incidents we must intensify the talks. When S.Lavrov was in Baku, he mentioned that we are following the right direction in order to achieve progress soon. The troops of Armenia have to be withdrawn. This is unambiguous. Otherwise, such unpleasant incidents can occur frequently. And this is unacceptable.

About Turkey-Russia relationship, I had already expressed my mind in the joint press conference with Russian foreign minister. We welcome it. Russia and Turkey are both big countries in the region. I will repeat again. S.Lavrov also mentioned it. The better bilateral relationship exists between Russia and Turkey, the more beneficial is for Azerbaijan, as well as for the whole region. We talked about the projects in the region. For example, Russia can use Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway for cargo transportation, also can send it to South Europe via Azerbaijan. I mean, we welcome the normalization of Russia-Turkey relations. Meanwhile, this relationship can contribute to the settlement of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict.

Thank you!

**ДЕКЛАРАЦИЯ
ПРЕЗИДЕНТОВ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ,
ИСЛАМСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ИРАН И РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ**

8 августа 2016 г., Баку

Азербайджанская Республика, Исламская Республика Иран и Российская Федерация, далее именуемые Сторонами,

принимая во внимание заинтересованность в дальнейшем укреплении взаимовыгодного сотрудничества и поддержании высокого уровня доверия в региональных и международных вопросах,

будучи преисполнены решимости и далее развивать свои межгосударственные отношения на принципах равенства, взаимного уважения и невмешательства во внутренние дела друг друга,

подтверждая свою приверженность Уставу Организации Объединенных Наций и общепризнанным принципам и нормам международного права,

отмечая важность взаимодействия в целях борьбы с вызовами и угрозами региональной стабильности и безопасности,

учитывая неприемлемость практики применения противоправных экономических санкций,

исходя из необходимости стимулирования и развития торгово-экономического сотрудничества,

признавая, что безопасные и надежные транзитные коридоры будут способствовать созданию новых возможностей для развития региона и содействовать благополучию их народов,

подтверждая свою приверженность диверсификации транспортных путей и средств доставки грузов на основе принципов рыночной экономики, свободы конкуренции и взаимной выгоды,

заявляют нижеследующее:

Стороны будут продолжать всестороннее развитие равноправного и взаимовыгодного сотрудничества, а также будут углублять и расширять политический диалог на различных уровнях по всему спектру вопросов, представляющих взаимный интерес;

Стороны будут и далее развивать трехсторонний формат сотрудничества в области культуры, туризма и бизнеса, взаимодействовать по вопросам молодежного обмена, консульским и таможенным вопросам, а также содействовать связям между регионами и провинциями Сторон, и подчеркивают важность дальнейшего облегчения визового режима для граждан Сторон;

Стороны преисполнены решимости всемерно противодействовать терроризму, экстремизму, транснациональной организованной преступности, незаконному обороту оружия, наркотических средств и их прекурсоров, торговле людьми и преступлениям в сфере информационно-коммуникационных технологий. Они призывают мировое сообщество к объединению усилий для эффективной борьбы с этими вызовами и угрозами международной стабильности и безопасности при центральной координирующей роли Организации Объединенных Наций;

Стороны категорически осуждают терроризм во всех его формах и проявлениях. Они отмечают важность и полезность двусторонних и трехсторонних консультаций для обмена мнениями о развитии обстановки и выработки мер эффективного противодействия терроризму. В этом контексте стороны подчеркивают важность соответствующих резолюций Совета Безопасности ООН и Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН, включая резолюцию Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН 68/127, озаглавленную «Мир против насилия и насильственного экстремизма», инициированную Исламской Республикой Иран;

Стороны признают, что неурегулированные конфликты в регионе являются существенным препятствием для регионального сотрудничества, и в связи с этим подчеркивают важность их скорейшего мирного урегулирования

путем переговоров на основе принципов и норм международного права и принятых в соответствии с ними решений и документов;

Стороны, рассматривая Каспийское море как море мира, дружбы, безопасности и сотрудничества, подтверждают важность скорейшего согласования и принятия Конвенции о правовом статусе Каспийского моря;

Стороны будут углублять всестороннее сотрудничество в различных отраслях экономики на основе принципов равноправия и взаимной выгоды;

Стороны подтверждают важность дальнейшего укрепления регионального и международного сотрудничества по вопросам защиты и поощрения инвестиций и подчеркивают необходимость поддержания благоприятных условий, включая укрепление сотрудничества в банковской сфере, способствующих реализации инвестиционных проектов и привлечению новейших технологий;

Стороны будут углублять сотрудничество в энергетической и транспортной сферах путем развития региональных и международных энергетических и транспортных коридоров в целях содействия экономическому росту региона и международной энергетической безопасности;

Стороны поддерживают соединение электроэнергетических систем Азербайджана, Ирана и России в целях обмена электроэнергией и отмечают, что реализуемые ими энергопроекты создают благоприятные условия для поддержания устойчивого развития региона;

Стороны отмечают важный вклад, который Азербайджан, Иран и Россия вносят в устойчивое функционирование региональных и международных рынков природного газа, и выступают за дальнейшее расширение сотрудничества в этой сфере, в том числе путем обмена технологиями в области добычи, транспортировки и поставки природного газа. В этой связи они будут и дальше укреплять сотрудничество и взаимодействие на международных площадках, а также в двусторонних и трехстороннем форматах;

Стороны считают, что широкое применение природного газа в качестве экономически эффективного и экологически чистого вида топлива поможет значительно снизить уровень негативного воздействия на окружающую среду, а также будет способствовать реализации положений Парижского соглашения по сокращению выбросов парниковых газов;

Стороны будут поддерживать усилия по интеграции региональных транспортно-коммуникационных возможностей в целях создания экологически безопасных и экономически выгодных транспортных инфраструктур;

Стороны примут эффективные меры по развитию транспортно-коммуникационных инфраструктур в целях расширения имеющихся возможностей осуществления перевозок пассажиров и грузов по международному транспортному коридору «Север-Юг»;

Стороны будут и далее на взаимовыгодной основе содействовать реализации новых проектов по соединению железных дорог в рамках развития и повышения эффективности международного транспортного коридора «Север-Юг»;

Стороны будут изучать возможности развития сотрудничества на Каспийском море, включая сотрудничество в сфере судоходства и морского туризма;

Стороны приветствуют принятый в Вене 14 июля 2015 года Совместный всеобъемлющий план действий по урегулированию ситуации вокруг иранской ядерной программы и, отмечая важность данной договоренности для развития регионального сотрудничества без препятствий на пути торговли и экономических связей, призывают к его полному и устойчивому выполнению;

Стороны приняли решение создать соответствующие рабочие группы по направлениям сотрудничества, представляющим взаимный интерес.

Подписано в г. Баку 8 августа 2016 года, в трех подлинных экземплярах, каждый на азербайджанском, персидском и русском языках, при этом все тексты являются равноаутентичными.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC
OF AZERBAIJAN, AT THE INFORMAL MEETING OF THE MINISTERS
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE OSCE PARTICIPATING STATES**

1 September 2016, Potsdam

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Colleagues,

Security in the OSCE area is undermined by unresolved armed conflicts, continued military aggressions, growing pressure of terrorism, violent extremism, separatism, cyber-attacks, radicalization and others. Intolerance and discrimination, especially on the ground of ethnicity and religion, such as Islamophobia is also serious challenge. Most of today's international security problems have been caused by deliberate violation and misinterpretation of international law.

It is sometimes thought that for achieving short-term political goals, norms and principles of international law can be disregarded. Some even actively violate them by use of force against the territorial integrity of states. I have bitterly to admit that first in the OSCE this was started by neighbouring Armenia against my country. In full violation of international law and respective UN SC resolutions, Armenia through the more than 2 decades occupies territories of Azerbaijan and conducted notorious ethnic cleansing on these seized lands.

Armenian Foreign Minister here talked very controversially. Everyone here recognizes and knows well about Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: Who is aggressor! Who has occupied Azerbaijan's land! Who uses the force against my country! Who violated international and humanitarian law! And when there are almost 1 million refugees and IDPs in Azerbaijan.

Enough is enough. It is exact time to reach a breakthrough on the negotiation table and start withdrawal of Armenian military forces from the occupied lands of Azerbaijan.

Respect to the internationally recognized borders is a must for the world order and the international community. In this context, the inadmissibility of attempts of altering the internationally recognized borders of states by use of forces must be fully provided.

In order to avoid and prevent negative developments, we must ensure strong adherence to the norms of international law, including guiding principles of the Helsinki Final Act, and other OSCE documents and decisions.

Thank you.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE INFORMAL LUNCH OF THE EU MEMBER STATES WITH THE
EASTERN PARTNER COUNTRIES IN THE MARGINS OF GYMNICH**

3 September 2016, Bratislava

Dear Minister Lajčák,
Madam Mogherini,
Distinguished colleagues,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank the Slovak Presidency of the EU for hosting this event so we can reflect once more on status and prospects of bilateral and multilateral tracks of the Eastern Partnership.

Distinguished colleagues,

This year we mark 2 important milestones in the history of EU-Azerbaijan relations: the 20th anniversary of signing the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement in 1996 and the 10th anniversary of signing the MoU on a strategic partnership in the field of energy in 2006. Over the last 2 decades, the EU-Azerbaijan cooperation has tremendously grown and gradually evolved into a large-scale partnership in many areas of shared interest. Both legal documents have greatly contributed to this process.

We have obvious shared interests in a wide variety of areas and there is still much untapped potential in our cooperation. Submission of the draft Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) in the margins of Riga Summit was a clear signal reaffirming the importance that we attach to our bilateral relations. Development of long-term relationship with the EU and its Member States based on principles of equal partnership and mutual benefit is one of the key aspirations of Azerbaijan's foreign policy.

We do believe that the SPA will provide a solid legal foundation for enhancing EU-Azerbaijan engagement in a most comprehensive manner and we look

forward to launching official negotiations once the negotiating mandate is formally approved by the EU's Foreign Affairs Council. Let me, dear colleagues, express our expectation that it will occur soon. We are ready for intensive dialogue on upgrading our legal framework, which should reflect current realities and ambitions, and will promote EU-Azerbaijan bilateral cooperation for years to come.

Discussions held with Federica during her visit to Baku injected a new dynamism into EU-Azerbaijan interaction. The upcoming months seem to be promising ones in our bilateral political agenda, including the parliamentary dimension, and we will spare no efforts to keep that momentum going. The members of Parliamentary Cooperation Committee will pay a goodwill visit to Baku this month with the aim of reviving inter-parliamentary dialogue. We also look forward to the forthcoming visit of COEST mission to Baku as another opportunity to discuss issues of mutual interest with EU Member States.

Distinguished colleagues,

We stated that we were building our relations with the EU based on bilateral track of the Eastern Partnership, however we never excluded the potential and significance of its multilateral cooperation. We have always advocated for its realization through practical implementation of feasible and tangible projects in areas of shared interest, which could deliver concrete results through concrete actions based on concrete commitments. The timely implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor is of a strategic importance in this context. In our firm understanding, transport is another key area which could greatly advance mutually-beneficial cooperation among interested partners within the Eastern Partnership multilateral track.

However, inclusive multilateralism is hindered by protracted conflicts in the region. Territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of Azerbaijan is not less important than other EaP partners. We hail the EU's explicit support to these key principles in its recently adopted Global Strategy. The sooner withdrawal of Armenian armed forces from occupied territories will serve to the EU objectives in fostering regional cooperation in South Caucasus and beyond it.

Thank you.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE 1263RD MEETING OF THE MINISTER'S DEPUTIES
OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE**

7 September 2016, Strasbourg

Madam Chair,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, I would like to thank everyone who organize this meeting and provide us with this opportunity to come together today to display our full solidarity with the People and State of Turkey in the aftermath of an attempted military coup against one of the founding members of the Council of Europe.

I would also like to greet my esteemed colleagues and dear friend Mr. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

From the very beginning, Azerbaijan expressed its serious concern and strongly condemned this crime perpetrated by one group against the Constitution and democracy in brotherly Turkey. By reiterating our solidarity with the People and State of Turkey we expressed our conviction that the situation would fully stabilize through unity of Turkish people and the State. Regretfully, the coup attempt took many lives and by using this opportunity I extend my deep condolences to the families and loved ones of those perished while preventing this crime.

Turkey plays an important role in enhancing and securing peace and sustainability in and beyond our region and therefore its own stability is of utmost importance for the entire region. Azerbaijan enjoys strong strategic partnership with Turkey based on the will of our People and State and our shared values. Therefore, naturally the violent coup attempt against the legitimate government of the brotherly nation caused great anxiety in our society.

We commend the Estonian Chairmanship for clear condemnation of the attempted coup and for visiting Turkey in the aftermath of the tragic events to express support for the leadership of Turkey and demonstrate solidarity with the Turkish people. These acts were not only necessary for supporting the legitimate government in Turkey, but also for defending the common values the Organization stands for.

We believe that this very important political support should be continued by providing Turkey with any assistance it needs in the post-coup period through the valuable mechanisms and tools the Council of Europe has at its disposal. Council of Europe can, without a doubt, play a constructive and important role in this process. Turkey has to enjoy full and unequivocal support of the members of international community. We have an obligation to stand with Turkey against the threat to its democracy.

On behalf of my government I wish to stress that Azerbaijan stands by Turkey and expresses its unequivocal support for the Government of Turkey in all its domestic and international endeavors.

Thank you, Madam Chairperson!

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE XVII SUMMIT OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT
OF THE NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT**

18 September 2016, Isla de Margarita

President Nicolas Maduro,
Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I have the honor to join all previous speakers in their words of full solidarity and high appreciation to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and the Islamic Republic of Iran for their efforts as incoming and outgoing Chairs of the Non-Alignment Movement to advance the just cause and principles of our Movement.

Throughout its history, the Non-Alignment Movement has played a fundamental role in the strengthening international peace and security. During almost 50 years of its existence, the member states of our Movement have upheld the shared principles and values, and have shown ability to find a common ground for action that leads to mutual cooperation.

Our movement has been able to shape the concept of non-alignment as a positive and engaging endeavor. Some of the most important achievements of the twentieth century such as decolonization and the emergence of a global social development agenda are among the Movement's impressive contributions to the world so far.

Yet, there is still a way to go until the long-standing goals of the Movement such as peace, development, economic cooperation and the democratization of international relations are ultimately realized.

We are all well aware that the recent global turbulences and political crises have been hitting mostly the developing world hindering their economic and social progress and thus, lowering human development indexes in these countries.

The Republic of Azerbaijan adheres itself to the spirit and principles of the Non-Alignment Movement. Located on the crossroads of the two major international transportation corridors – from North to South and from East to West, Azerbaijan always promotes development through political independence and economic cooperation, including South-South cooperation.

During the last decade, Azerbaijan has turned into one of the important players on the world market of energy and transport infrastructure development projects. Back in 2015, the leadership of the Republic of Azerbaijan was awarded with the 2015 South-South Award for the improvement of the welfare of the population, diminishing the illiteracy and poverty as well as the actions taken in the successful implementation of the Millennium Development Goals.

Rapid economic development enabled Azerbaijan to evolve into a donor country. Through the Azerbaijan International Development Agency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Heydar Aliyev Foundation, the leading non-governmental charity organization in Azerbaijan, my country supported and implemented numerous social, humanitarian and development projects in a number of NAM countries.

We also attach a primary importance to developing intercultural dialogue, tolerance and mutual understanding between the nations. On April 25-27, 2016, Azerbaijan hosted 7th global forum of United Nations Alliance of Civilizations. Moreover, we intend to host the Islamic Solidarity Games in 2017, all of which we believe, will consequently serve the promotion of mutual harmony among cultures and religions within and beyond the borders of NAM.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Unfortunately, violence and conflicts still impede development and prosperity. It has been more than 20 years that Armenia has been persistently and blatantly violating the fundamental norms and principles of international law and using force against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan. It has occupied about 20 per cent of the internationally recognized territories of Azerbaijan and ethnically cleansed almost one million Azerbaijanis, as a result of which no single Azerbaijani is left in Armenia or in the occupied

territories of Azerbaijan. The four UNSC resolutions (822, 853, 874 and 884 of 1993), which condemn Armenia's aggressive policy and demand immediate, unconditional and full withdrawal of Armenian occupation forces from Azerbaijan, have not been fulfilled yet.

The unequivocal position by the international community is essential for removing such grave threats to the international peace. In that respect, Azerbaijan is grateful for the reiteration of the solid support by the NAM member states articulated in the Final Document for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of the internationally recognized borders of Azerbaijan. This is a clear manifestation of the Member States' strong adherence to the Bandung principles and represents their firm stand against notorious practices of aggression, occupation, ethnic cleansing and blunt violation of human rights of the refugees and IDPs.

Excellencies,

Today, I am honored to deliver a speech here on behalf of my President His Excellency Mr. Ilham Aliyev and the state of Azerbaijan who is going to take up the next Chairmanship of the Movement in three years from now. The XVIII summit to be held in Baku in 2019 will be quite symbolic as the European continent will be honored again with the opportunity to host Heads of State and Government of NAM Member States 30 years past the 1989 Belgrade Summit. I avail myself of this opportunity to extend our cordial invitation to all Heads of State and Government of NAM Member States to attend the next summit.

Thank you.

PRESS RELEASE ON THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE 17TH SUMMIT OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT HELD VENEZUELA

The Final Document of the 17th Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Movement held in the Island of Margarita, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela on 13 - 18 September 2016 was adopted. The Final Document also includes the paragraphs related with the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict, hosting the 18th Summit of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement by Azerbaijan in 2019, and the Seventh Global Forum of the UNAOC held on 26-27 April 2016 in Baku.

Extract from the NAM Margarita Final Document:

- The Heads of State or Government expressed their regret that in spite of the United Nations Security Council resolutions (S/RES/822, S/RES/853, S/RES/874,S/RES/884) the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan remains unresolved and continues to endanger international and regional peace and security. They reaffirmed the importance of the principle of non-use of force enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and encouraged the parties to continue to seek a negotiated settlement of the conflict within the territorial integrity, sovereignty and the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Azerbaijan;
- The Heads of State or Government welcomed the offer of the Republic of Azerbaijan to host the XVIII Summit of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement in 2019, as endorsed by the NAM Member States from the European Region, and recommended it for endorsement to the XVII NAM Summit to be held in Margarita Island, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela on 17-18 September 2016;
- The Heads of State or Government... welcomed the Seventh Global Forum of the UNAOC held on 26-27 April 2016 in Baku, Azerbaijan and active participation of UN member states, international organizations and civil society in the Global Forum.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC
COOPERATION (OIC) CONTACT GROUP ON THE AGGRESSION
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA AGAINST
THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

19 September 2016, New York

Mr. Chairman,
Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank the Secretary General, Mr. Iyad Ameen Madani, for having organized and chairing the first meeting of the OIC Contact Group on the aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan. I warmly welcome the members of the Group and express my sincere gratitude to each of them for joining the Contact Group.

Establishment of the OIC Contact Groups has proved itself to be a successful practice in focusing more attention of the OIC Member States to the issues of crucial importance for the Organization. In this regard, I believe that the meetings of this Contact Group will be an opportunity for updating the OIC Member States about the latest status of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan and exchanging views on possible contribution of the OIC to the conflict settlement process.

Distinguished Colleagues,

As you all know, the Republic of Armenia unleashed the war and used force against Azerbaijan, occupied almost one fifth of its territory, including the Nagorno-Karabakh region and seven adjacent districts, carried out ethnic cleansing of the seized areas by expelling about one million Azerbaijanis from their homes and committed other serious crimes during the conflict.

The international community has consistently deplored the use of military force

against Azerbaijan and the resulting occupation of its territories. In 1993, the UN Security Council adopted resolutions 822 (1993), 853 (1993), 874 (1993) and 884 (1993), condemning the use of force against Azerbaijan and occupation of its territories and reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the inviolability of its internationally recognized borders. In those resolutions, the Security Council reaffirmed that the Nagorno-Karabakh region is part of Azerbaijan and demanded the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces from all the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. The UN General Assembly adopted three resolutions on the conflict (48/114 of 20 December 1993, 60/285 of 7 September 2006 and 62/243 of 14 March 2008), and since 2004 the special item entitled “The situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan” has been included in the agenda of the regular sessions of the UN General Assembly.

Since the eruption of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, OIC, on the basis of the relevant UN Security Council resolutions, has explicitly determined the actions of Armenia on the territory of Azerbaijan as aggression and condemned in the strongest possible terms the use of force against Azerbaijan and the occupation of its territories. Taking this opportunity, I would like once again to express my gratitude to the OIC Member States for their solidarity with and support for the just cause of Azerbaijan.

Twenty-four years have past since the beginning of the armed conflict. However, in total disregard of the demands of UN Security Council and UN General Assembly resolutions, decisions of OIC and other international organizations and positions of individual States, and in flagrant violation of the generally accepted norms and principles of international law, Armenia continues to unlawfully occupy the territories of Azerbaijan.

Armenia continues to undertake efforts aimed at further consolidating the current status quo of the occupation, strengthening its military build-up in the seized territories, changing their demographic, cultural and physical character and preventing the hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijani forcibly displaced persons from returning to their homes and properties in those areas.

Moreover, regular ceasefire violations, attacks on the towns and villages in Azerbaijan situated along the line of contact of the armed forces of Armenia

and Azerbaijan and the border between the two States have become more frequent and violent in recent times, resulting in the killing and injuring of many Azerbaijani civilians. Most recently, Armenia conducted large-scale attacks against the civilian population of Azerbaijan in early April of this year.

The April escalation was a vivid reminder to us all that the status quo, which has been acknowledged as unsustainable and unacceptable by the international community, is dangerous and has the potential to re-escalate at any time with unpredictable consequences.

Armenia must realize that relying on the status quo and armed provocations is a grave miscalculation. Azerbaijan expects from Armenia to halt its military build-up in occupied territories, and engage in negotiations with Azerbaijan in good faith so as to find a political solution to the conflict, which is long overdue. The sooner Armenia withdraws its troops from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, the better it is for the regional security.

Mr. Chairman,

The establishment of the OIC Contact Group and its effective functioning is of great importance, considering the urgent need for more concerted efforts to force Armenia to comply with its international obligations and the persistent calls of the OIC to its Member States and the international community to use such effective political and economic measures in order to put an end to the Armenian aggression and occupation of the territories of Azerbaijan. We believe that the deliberations within this Contact Group will contribute to the implementation of the relevant OIC resolutions and will help to harmonize the individual and joint efforts of the OIC Member States to this end.

In conclusion, I would like to wish a successful start and fruitful deliberations to the OIC Contact Group on the aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan and extend once again our appreciation to the OIC Secretary General Mr. Iyad Ameen Madani and his highly dedicated team for their valuable support in the establishment and the realization of the goals and objectives of this Contact Group.

Thank you.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV, MINISTER OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN, AT THE
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE
ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION (ECO) MEMBER STATES**

20 September 2016, New York

Distinguished Ministers and Heads of Delegations,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Colleagues,

I am pleased to express my greetings to all participants of the extraordinary meeting of the Council and express my gratitude to the ECO Secretariat for organization of this event.

Today's meeting is a good opportunity for exchange of views on recent activities within our Organization and outlining its prospects in the rapidly changing environment for the last period of time.

Therefore, we have to use this opportunity for useful and practical discussions and taking decisions which will make our organization really efficient and influential.

Today, when we still experience the impacts of global economic slowdown, energy, transportation and other interrelated components of connectivity are becoming more promising for economic and trade growth of our countries. Therefore, it is important to highlight the development of transport and connectivity issues in general among priority areas, as an essential prerequisite for the regional trade development.

Azerbaijan in collaboration with regional and international partners has contributed to regional cooperation by initiating and implementing energy and transportation projects. We are actively participating in realization of International North-South and East-West Transport Corridors.

Establishment of Trans-Caspian International Route and construction of Baku-

Tbilisi-Kars (BTK) railway project, expected to be operational next year, are among the important projects.

We are convinced that an early completion of the Gazvin-Rasht-Astara (Iran)-Astara (Azerbaijan) railway project which is a part of North-South Transport Corridor, will give new impetus to economic growth, expand transport opportunities for involved countries as well as the whole region.

Another promising sphere of common interest is enhancing synergy in sustainable development, including in the area of sustainable energy resources in line with new “Agenda 2030” and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). We are closely observing the recent trends and developments for establishment of ECO regional electricity market. Azerbaijan also initiated establishment of Data Information Network (DIN) on Renewables in Baku.

Azerbaijan through its practical activities continues to contribute to the goals and objectives of ECO. This year we will host 4th ECO Business Forum that will contribute to enhance intra-regional trade and investment, as well as economic growth and development in ECO region.

Among priority areas of cooperation within ECO is development of regional activities to tackle environmental challenges. As a part of this agenda Azerbaijan has joined to global efforts on combating climate change towards global climate resilience via submission of its Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) and signing of Paris Agreement on Climate Change.

Current fruitful cooperation in science and research increase the capacity of ECO in identification and preparation of ECO projects. In this connection, we believe that the early establishment of the ECO Research Centre in Baku will give its contribution to ECO’s future development via elaborating efficient economic projects, research programs as well as economic patterns for the regional states.

Also we deem it expedient to promote implementation of regionally beneficial projects and closer cooperation with UN specialized agencies and international financial institutions to successfully implement economic projects of regional character.

All in all, instead of spreading activities we should focus on core priorities common for the Member States and whole region, inter alia, transport, alternative energy, trade and investments, agriculture, information technology and tourism.

Dear Colleagues,

At previous Council Meetings we stressed the necessity to find creative ways and means to improve the existing mechanism of cooperation within organization.

The new ECO Vision 2016-2025 which is currently under elaboration needs to reflect the interests of all Member States. This reforming process should aim to enhance efficiency of current institutions and activities within ECO.

Azerbaijan supports the reforming process that through joint efforts can provide a possibility for elaboration of actions for further development of the ECO.

Dear Colleagues,

Without resolution of protracted conflicts and ensuring security and stability in the region, ECO will fail to reap the benefits from comprehensive regional cooperation. Ongoing military occupation of the territories of Azerbaijan by Armenia still remains a major source of instability and impediment to the economic development.

Withdrawal of Armenian military forces from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan and ensuring the return of the refugees and internally displaced persons to their homes will not only contribute to peace and security in the South Caucasus but also enhance full-fledged intra-regional cooperation.

Thank you for your attention.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE 8TH MINISTERIAL MEETING ORGANIZED BY THE FRIENDS
OF THE COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR-TEST-BAN TREATY**

21 September 2016, New York

Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

- Let me start by thanking the Friends of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) for convening this important meeting aimed at facilitation of an early entry into force of the CTBT.
- This year marks the 20th Anniversary since the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty opened for the signatories. Azerbaijan was one of the countries that supported the initiative right from its commencement.
- We regard entry into force of the CTBT as a crucial step for realization of the nuclear-free world as envisaged in the Non-Proliferation Treaty. In addition to its potential contribution to the nuclear disarmament, we also highly value civilian and scientific benefits that derive from the Treaty verification system.
- We commend the efforts by the CTBTO to address nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation issues.
- We welcome the voluntary moratorium exercised by several states on nuclear tests. However, the moratoria by individual states cannot substitute the entry into force of the Treaty, which is essential step for international peace and security. We once again call on all remaining Annex II States that have yet to ratify the Treaty spare no effort to do so.
- Being committed to the vision of the nuclear free world enshrined in the NPT, Azerbaijan actively supports international efforts to that end. I am pleased to inform that Azerbaijan facilitates the implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the nuclear program of Iran, including by enabling transit

the materials within the scope of the agreement through our territory.

- Taking the opportunity, I would like to congratulate Angola for ratifying the Treaty since the last meeting in this format.

- In conclusion, I once again thank the Friends of the CTBT, as well as the Article XIV Coordinators for their tireless efforts in universalization and entry into force of the Treaty.

Thank you.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE ANNUAL COORDINATION MEETING OF THE FOREIGN
MINISTERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION
MEMBER STATES**

22 September 2016, New York

Mr. Chairman,
Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me at the outset, to express our heartfelt condolences to the People and the Government of Uzbekistan over the death of President Islam Karimov. I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the OIC Secretary General for organizing this meeting. I also use this opportunity to express our gratitude to the State of Kuwait for successful hosting of the 42nd session of the Council of Foreign Ministers and for the excellent leadership of the OIC Group in New York.

Today's meeting is happening against the backdrop of increasing tensions and threats to international peace and security directly impacting a number of OIC Member States. Rise of violent extremism conducive to international terrorism, increasing fear and violating human rights, further complicates the task of bringing peace, security and justice to the Muslim Ummah.

Azerbaijan is deeply concerned over wars and armed conflicts in a number of the OIC Member States, which have contributed to greater security challenges, political instability in some regions, large-scale displacement and unprecedented humanitarian crisis.

We are pleased to see the growing international support for the State of Palestine. I would like to reaffirm Azerbaijan's full support to the brotherly people of Palestine in their struggle for achieving peace, stability and sustainable development. Azerbaijan consistently stands for the two-state solution of the

Israeli-Palestinian conflict with East Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Palestine.

We hold regular consultations with Palestine at different levels. I am pleased to inform that a high-level delegation representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan paid an official visit to Ramallah in May 2016, and bilateral agreements were signed aimed at further intensification of practical cooperation.

Among the numerous challenges that our world faces today, the primary spot undoubtedly belongs to terrorism, which continues to undermine the global stability and prosperity. To the deepest regret, during the time elapsed since our last meeting we have been grieved by sorrowful news on terrorist attacks committed in different parts of the world, including in the territories of the OIC member states.

Azerbaijan strongly condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations as one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. All terrorist acts are unjustifiable regardless of their motivation, constitute serious crimes and must be condemned and prosecuted. The cases of shielding and glorification of terrorists should not be tolerated.

We should also spare no effort to prevent the indiscriminate targeting of different religions and stop the unacceptable increase in frequency and notoriety of Islamophobia. Respect and understanding for religious and cultural diversity throughout the world would significantly contribute to strengthening the international fight against terrorism. In this regard, we commend the work done by the OIC to counter instances of defamation and misconceptions pertaining to Islam and to fight the phenomenon of Islamophobia.

On its behalf, Azerbaijan has always tried to make its contribution to the promotion and fostering of multicultural and interfaith dialogue. We have hosted numerous events aimed at creating a better understanding among representatives of various religions, nationalities, civilizations. Creating a society with no discrimination based on cultural and religious differences is possible and Azerbaijan is a vivid example of this. My country is proud of

having successfully hosted 7th Global Forum of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations under the theme “Living together in inclusive societies: a challenge and a goal” in April this year, which once again reaffirmed the commitment and dedication of Azerbaijan towards fostering constructive interaction between different cultures and religions, promoting broader mutual understanding and respect between civilizations on international level.

Azerbaijan’s commitment towards strengthening Islamic solidarity and promoting Islamic values is very well-known, as well. We will be honored to host the 4th Islamic Solidarity Games in Baku next year and hope that they will help to reinforce the bonds of unity, amity and fraternity between Muslims.

Mr. Chairman,

In conclusion, I would like to commend the consistent and principled position of the OIC regarding the illegal use of force against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and occupation of its territories. We welcome the decision of the 13th Islamic Summit to establish a Contact group on the aggression of the Republic of Armenia against Azerbaijan. I am pleased to announce that the first meeting of the Contact Group was successfully held three days ago on the sidelines of our Annual Coordination Meeting, here in New York. I want to thank the Member States engaged in the Contact Group, and reiterate our kind request to all Member States to support the work of the Contact Group aimed at ensuring justice and the respect for international law.

Thank you.

Assalamu alaikum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh!

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE 15TH ANNUAL MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE GROUP
OF THE LANDLOCKED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (LLDCS) ON THE
THEME OF “HARNESSING COHERENCE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND VIENNA
PROGRAMME OF ACTION”**

22 September 2016, New York

Honorable Ministers,

It gives me indeed a great pleasure to participate at this 15th annual ministerial meeting of the group of the LLDCs and deliver a statement on behalf of the Republic of Azerbaijan in front of such a distinguished audience.

With the aim of timely and effective achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and implementation of post-2015 sustainable development agenda, Azerbaijan continues to successfully implement its sustainable development strategy, entitled “Azerbaijan 2020: vision for the future”, and a strategic roadmap for national economy and its major sectors that will ensure country’s smooth transition from a traditional economy to more diversified, competitive, resilient, as well as innovative, technology-rich and knowledge-based economy.

In this context, Azerbaijan attaches high importance to the implementation of the Vienna Programme of Action for LLDCs to ensure country’s sustainable development and efficient integration into the global economy, as well as to break into strategic markets.

Despite global economic crisis and sharp drop in oil prices and continuing occupation of around 20 percent of the territories of Azerbaijan by neighboring Armenia, as a result of which almost 1 million people became refugees and IDPs, my country has managed to retain its growth dynamics last year. In 2015, the non-oil industry grew by 8.4%. In 2015, foreign trade turnover of my country was more than USD 20 billion and the number of trading partners of Azerbaijan reached 165 countries thanks to successful reforms on trade

facilitation and transit-related measures, as well as ongoing development of sophisticated transport, ICT and energy infrastructure.

Located at the crossroad of East-West and North-South international transport corridors, Azerbaijan has managed to become a pioneer in the region in initiating and enabling a number of strategic trans-regional transport, ICT and energy projects such as Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway link, the new Baku International Sea Trade Port, Trans-Eurasian Information Super Highway and Southern Gas Corridor, consisting of Trans Adriatic Pipeline, Trans Anatolian Pipeline and South Caucasus Pipeline. Due to its advantageous geostrategic location, strong transit potential and serving as the economically efficient and shortest route for connecting Europe and Asia, Azerbaijan continues to contribute to the inter and intra-regional trade and overall sustainable development of the Eurasia region by offering multitude of favorable transport opportunities.

Azerbaijan is interested in further strengthening the trans-regional connectivity in sustainable transport. Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway link, expected to be fully operational in 2017, has a strategic importance for the region and will be able to provide competitive link for the passenger and container shipping and increase the volume of multimodal transportation across Eurasia, as well as cargo flows from Asia to Europe and vice-versa. Moreover, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Georgia are interested in attracting more cargo flows through Trans-Caspian International Transport Route in the near future and therefore agreed to establish the International Trans-Caspian Transport Consortium in April 2016.

Being at the very heart of North-South transport corridor, Azerbaijan enables transit of goods from the Persian Gulf to Russia and to Europe via the Black Sea. We are also actively engaged in the relevant multilateral processes aimed at further development of the North-South corridor.

The new Baku International Sea Trade Port Complex, striving to become the leading trade and logistics hub in the wider region, will play a key role in transportation of goods both by North-South and East-West international transport corridors, act as a vital transit point within TRACECA project and lead to expanding inter and intra-regional trade with the capability to

accommodate the transit cargo deliveries between Asia and Europe. Series of international carriages, originating from China and passing across the Caspian Sea, were carried out via the very Port which proved its efficiency in terms of diminishing delivery time and transportation costs.

With the aim of further ensuring smooth flow of transit goods through Azerbaijan by rail and maritime transport, via ports and marine terminals, the National Coordinating Council on Transit Freight was established in October 2015.

Besides, free trade zone type special economic area to be established in the country represents yet another element of Azerbaijan's policy to strengthen the country's position as a regional logistics and transportation hub and create a multi-vector transport infrastructure.

Azerbaijan also emerges as an important ICT transit hub of the region, especially through the perspective implementation of UN General Assembly-supported Trans-Eurasian Information Super Highway (TASIM) project which will help to build broadband connectivity, promote development of ICT infrastructure and e-commerce across Eurasia and will further contribute to UN's bridging the digital divide initiative.

Azerbaijan has been successful in becoming one of the key players and investors in energy infrastructure projects in the South Caucasus region and beyond. Through initiating and implementing sustainable energy projects Azerbaijan has established itself as a reliable energy supplier and become a vital bridge between Asia and Europe. Currently, we are an enabler of the Southern Gas Corridor which will not only contribute to the regional energy security, but also will provide new opportunities for other energy producers.

Azerbaijan is ready to share its relevant experience, especially on public administration, single window in customs and tax system, socio-economic reforms, with other LLDCs and also relies on their interest and cooperation in further strengthening trans-regional connectivity aimed at addressing existing sustainable development challenges of our countries, as well as meeting SDGs.

I thank you.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE HIGH-LEVEL SEGMENT OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY
TO COMMEMORATE THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT**

22 September 2016, New York

Mr. President,
Ladies and gentlemen,

At the outset, I would like to express my sincere thanks to the President of the General Assembly for organizing today's very important event, which I hope will allow us to exchange views on how to better promote international cooperation for the realization of the right to development.

Azerbaijan attaches a great importance to the Declaration on the Right to Development. I would like once more to confirm my Government's adherence to the principles enshrined in the Declaration.

Last year, here in New York we witnessed the historic adoption of the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development which constitutes the central part of development agenda at both national and international levels. Post-2015 development agenda pledges to leave no one behind and to reach the furthest behind first. The Declaration also addresses the structural impediments that disadvantage the poor and prevents them from benefiting the effects of development. This substantive convergence between the Declaration and the 2030 Agenda is remarkable and encourages international community to pay more attention to the practical implementation of the principles of the Declaration.

Dear participants,

Over the past years, Azerbaijan has achieved impressive results on many Millennium Development Goals targets, especially on eradicating extreme

poverty and hunger, ensuring universal primary education and promoting gender equality. Currently, Azerbaijan is adapting its national sustainable development strategy taking into account the Sustainable Development Goals targets, aimed at developing a more sustainable, inclusive and diversified economy.

The Government has been implementing large-scale programs on improving good governance, strengthening rule of law, ensuring respect for human rights, providing facilitated access to public services, inclusive and equitable education, gender equality and empowering women, enabling access to affordable energy and protection of environment, aimed at improving well-being of its population and ensuring the full enjoyment of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights by the citizens. Azerbaijan has considerably improved its rating in human development index among 187 countries moving from the 91st place in 2004 to 78th in 2015 and advancing from medium to high human development group.

As the Declaration stipulates, States have the duty to cooperate with each other in ensuring development and eliminating obstacles to development. Besides undertaking appropriate measures within the country for the realization of the right to development, Azerbaijan actively undertakes international development efforts, particularly through Heydar Aliyev Foundation and the Azerbaijan International Development Agency-AIDA. As an emerging donor, Azerbaijan responds to humanitarian and socio-economic challenges faced by the developing countries through AIDA and other channels.

As the newly elected ECOSOC member, Azerbaijan will help advancing the realization of the Declaration on the Right to Development during its membership at the Council.

I thank you.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV,
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN,
AT THE INFORMAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BLACK SEA
ECONOMIC COOPERATION (BSEC) MEMBER STATES**

23 September 2016, New York

Mr. Chairman,
Dear Ministers and Heads of Delegations,
Ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Azerbaijan, I am pleased to greet all participants and wish us fruitful deliberations.

Today's meeting is yet another opportunity for sharing views on recent developments within the Organization as well as for reviewing activities implemented and works to be done in the light of the upcoming BSEC Summit dedicated to the 25th Anniversary of the Organization.

It is our firm belief that pursuing the path of consistent reforms within the Organization adds value to the ongoing debate on the necessity to raise the effectiveness and efficiency of the BSEC, enhance its legal and institutional capabilities.

In this context, we welcome the practice of informal meetings, where consolidation and improvement of the effectiveness of the organization is discussed. We hope that we will be able to achieve tangible results and progressive solutions to that end.

As one of the BSEC founding members, Azerbaijan realizes the important role that the BSEC plays in the region. We are genuinely interested in strengthening the effectiveness of the Organization. We support the BSEC reform process that should help it adapt to the changing realities of the global development agenda and better respond to the needs of its members. The overall reform process should lead to transforming the BSEC PERMIS into a strong professional

executive body implementing the adopted decisions more effectively.

Distinguished participants, Azerbaijan, in cooperation with several BSEC Member States and international partners, contributes to the regional development by initiating and implementing large-scale energy and transportation projects.

We are interested in further strengthening the trans-regional connectivity and actively participate in the realization of International North-South and East-West Transport Corridors. In this regard, Baku-Tbilisi-Kars (BTK) railway link which is expected to be fully operational in 2017, connecting Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey with a new railway connection, have a strategic importance for the region and provide reliable link for the passenger and container shipping, increase the volume of multimodal transportation flows between Asia and Europe. We firmly believe that Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway project and the new Baku International Sea Trade Port will create an intersection of rail, road and sea routes passing through the territory of Azerbaijan, which in its turn will contribute to the wider BSEC regional development.

The new Baku International Sea Trade Port Complex, as one of the perspective trade and logistics hub of the region, will play a key role in transportation of goods both by North-South and East-West transport corridors, contributing thus to the BSEC region and beyond, inter alia, by promoting regional trade.

Azerbaijan has initiated variety of significant energy projects of regional importance which in its turn established reliable and sustainable infrastructure in the BSEC area. Azerbaijan is and will remain committed to further development of energy cooperation in the region by realization of Southern Gas Corridor (SGC), a unique project which involves six BSEC Member States. Construction of Trans-Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP) as one of its components is ongoing. This May the groundbreaking ceremony of another component of the SGC - Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) was successfully held in Thessaloniki.

Through that strategy Azerbaijan aims to intensify existing cooperation among BSEC Member States as well as to strengthen ties in and beyond the region contributing, thus, to the sustainable intra- and inter-regional development.

In spite of vast opportunities available in the context of regional cooperation, the challenges to peace and security are still among the impediments to the sustainable development of the region. The ongoing military aggression by neighboring Armenia against Azerbaijan and occupation of nearly 20% of its internationally-recognized territories, in blatant violation of international law and the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council continues to represent a serious threat to sustainable development and cooperation in the region.

Withdrawal of Armenian military forces from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan and ensuring the return of the refugees and internally displaced persons to their homes will not only contribute to peace and security in the South Caucasus but also enhance full-fledged cooperation in the BSEC region as a whole.

Thank you.

STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN, AT THE UN ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS (UNAOC) GROUP OF FRIENDS MINISTERIAL MEETING ON THE THEME OF “COUNTERING XENOPHOBIA THROUGH FOSTERING INCLUSIVE DIALOGUE”

23 September 2016, New York

Secretary-General,
High Representative Nasser Abdul Aziz al-Nasser,
Distinguished Delegates,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me at the outset to welcome the participants of the annual meeting of the Group of Friends of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations and thank the organisers for holding this very important event. The Republic of Azerbaijan highly appreciates and stands ready to make any necessary contribution to the activities of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations.

In the contemporary world of growing intolerance, discrimination and violence based on religion or belief, intercultural and interreligious dialogue has become one of the most important tools in promoting tolerance, sustainable peace, stability and development. In this regard, the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations plays an important role in fostering a global dialogue and cooperation for the promotion of tolerance, peace and better understanding across countries, cultures and civilizations.

Azerbaijan attaches primary importance to the promotion of intercultural and interreligious dialogue at all levels. Multiculturalism and tolerance is a longstanding tradition in my country that strengthens and consolidates our society. For ages, people of different nationalities and religions have been living in peace and dignity in Azerbaijan. The year of 2016 has been declared a “Year of Multiculturalism in Azerbaijan” by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Consequently, a special Plan of Actions has been developed that implies measures to safeguard and disseminate the humanistic ideals of multiculturalism both at national and international levels.

On 25-27 April 2016, Azerbaijan hosted the 7th Global Forum of the UN Alliance of Civilizations entitled “Living together in inclusive societies”. This important event was attended by more than 4,000 delegates from 147 countries, including Heads of states and governments, ministers, government officials, representatives of international organisations and media. The Forum’s themes reflected the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which incorporates the promotion of inclusive societies as pivotal component for sustainable development. Taking this opportunity, I would like to sincerely thank all those who organised and participated in that Forum.

A major outcome of the Forum was the Baku Declaration. It strongly condemned any advocacy of religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence and urged all Member States to unite against violent extremism in all its forms and manifestations.

The Baku Declaration should serve as guidelines for states and international organisations in promotion of intercultural dialogue and multiculturalism as a way to counter violence, extremism and xenophobia. Recognising the special role of youth in the establishment and development of inclusive societies, the UN Alliance of Civilizations Youth Event was also held on the sidelines of the Forum with the participation of more than 150 youngsters. In this regard, I would like to welcome the oncoming International Conference on “The Role of Youth in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism”, which the UNAOC and the Cooperation Council of Turkic States will hold jointly on 20-21 October 2016 in Istanbul Turkey.

In April next year, Azerbaijan will be hosting the 4th World Forum on Intercultural Dialogue, which is held biannually since 2011 within the so called Baku Process. We invite all our partners and interested parties to take active part in that event. I am also happy to note that based on experience of excellent co-operation, the Government of Azerbaijan together with the UN Alliance of Civilizations has recently agreed to launch a new project called “Baku – Alliance of Civilizations Award for Intercultural Dialogue”.

I also fully share the view expressed by previous speakers that promoting intercultural cultural dialogue, tolerance and countering violent extremism have

gained increased importance in the context of large movement of refugees and migrants. Azerbaijan has deep understanding of this problem given the fact that we have one million refugees and IDPs ethnically cleansed out of their homes. Enabling safe and dignified return of refugees and IDPs must be at the center of international efforts.

In conclusion, let me express my confidence that our today's meeting, as the previous ones, will successfully contribute to the joint efforts to counter mistrust, misconception and hatred, and to foster dialogue, mutual respect and understanding.

I thank you.

**STATEMENT BY MR. ELMAR MAMMADYAROV, MINISTER OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN, AT THE GENERAL
DEBATE OF THE 71ST SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

23 September 2016, New York

Mr. President,
Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset, I would like to congratulate Mr. Peter Thomson on his assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at its seventy-first session and to wish him every success in fulfilling that highly responsible duty. We are also grateful to Mr. Mogens Lykketoft for all his hard work in presiding over the Assembly at its seventieth session.

A year ago we had gathered here to witness the adoption of a comprehensive and people-centered post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda. There are milestones in history when universal values are translated into political commitments that change the course of events. We hope that the adoption of the Sustainable Development Agenda will be one of them.

While reaching an agreement on SDGs, we all had been motivated by the success story of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which proved to be instrumental in promoting development worldwide.

Azerbaijan has adapted its national development strategy taking into account the SDG targets, and continues to implement large-scale programs on improving good governance, sustainable growth, strengthening the rule of law, ensuring respect for human rights, providing facilitated access to public services, and promoting inclusive societies.

Despite global economic crisis and sharp decline in oil prices, Azerbaijan has managed to retain its economic growth.

Sustainable economic growth has enabled Azerbaijan not only focus on its national development strategy, but also actively support the international development. Azerbaijan has rendered international humanitarian and development assistance to a number of countries through Heydar Aliyev Foundation and Azerbaijan International Development Agency (AIDA) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This year in June, Azerbaijan has been elected to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations for the years of 2017-2019 with the vote of 176 countries out of 184 member states participating in the voting at the UN General Assembly. Since the ECOSOC is the central platform for professional deliberations on sustainable development, this will constitute yet another opportunity for us to contribute to the international development.

In support of the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 16, Azerbaijan initiated a draft resolution entitled “Prevention of corruption by promoting transparent, accountable and efficient public service delivery through the application of best practices and technological innovations”, which was unanimously adopted at the 6th session of the Conference of States Parties to the UN Convention against Corruption, held on 2-6 November 2015.

Against the background of various threats and challenges facing the world nowadays, it is critical to persistently stress the importance of promoting key values of different cultures, enhancing better understanding among diverse communities and encouraging mutual respect. Located between the two great continents of Asia and Europe, Azerbaijan is a unique place, where the East and the West meet, where the world’s main religions peacefully coexist and where the values and traditions of different cultures harmoniously complement each other. It is not a coincidence that the 7th Global Forum of the UN Alliance of Civilizations was held this year in Azerbaijan.

Mr. President,

Unresolved armed conflicts, terrorism, violent extremism, aggressive separatism, intolerance and discrimination on ethnic and religious grounds continue to represent the most serious challenges and are among the main obstacles to development.

The outcome document of the United Nations summit for the adoption of the post-2015 development agenda stated that there could be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development, recalling the rights and obligations of States under international law and reaffirming the need to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of States.

Mr. President,

Over the period passed since the last General Debate, no substantive progress has been achieved in the settlement of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. Armenia continues to occupy the territories of Azerbaijan, including the Nagorno-Karabakh region and seven adjacent districts, in flagrant violation of international law and resolutions 822, 853, 874 and 884 adopted in 1993 by the United Nations Security Council. Its engagement in the conflict settlement process is nothing but imitation.

Azerbaijan cannot use economic potential of the occupied territories. The disruption of communications as a direct consequence of military occupation of territories is the serious obstacle to full-fledged socio-economic development of our country and the realization of region's untapped economic perspective. Similarly, full potential of the region for intra and trans-regional connectivity remains under-utilized.

The humanitarian consequences of the conflict are equally harsh and necessitate urgent solutions. As a direct impact of massive displacement of people from their places of origin, close to one million refugees and IDPs continue to be deprived of their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, most notably, the right to home and property. Further continuation of this situation is intolerable.

Armenia's policy and practices in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan undermine the prospects of achieving a political settlement of the conflict and pose an imminent threat to peace, security and stability in the region.

The Republic of Azerbaijan has made it clear on numerous occasions that the

unlawful presence of the armed forces of Armenia in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan is the major destabilizing factor with the potential of escalation at any time with unpredictable consequences and the main cause of tensions and incidents in the conflict zone.

Instead of engaging in negotiations in good faith, Armenia demonstratively disrupts any attempt to settle the conflict by peaceful means. In total disregard of the demands of the UN Security Council and in flagrant violation of international law, Armenia refuses to withdraw its troops from Azerbaijan, prevents the hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijani forcibly displaced persons from returning to their homes, and tries to further consolidate the status quo by altering the physical, demographic and cultural character of the occupied territories – a worrying development that was confirmed by the OSCE fact-finding missions.

Moreover, it frequently resorts to armed provocations trying to divert attention from the core, substantive issues of the peace process to technical aspects of the ceasefire. Most recently, in early April this year Armenia conducted large-scale attacks against the civilian population of Azerbaijan. It subjected the densely populated areas of Azerbaijan, including schools, hospitals, and places of worship, to intensive fire with heavy artillery and large-caliber weapons. As a result of Armenia's reckless attacks, large number of Azerbaijani civilians, including children, women and elderly were killed or seriously wounded. Without timely use of effective civil defense measures, the number of casualties among the population would be significantly higher. Armenia also systematically mutilated the bodies of fallen Azerbaijani soldiers.

During those attacks, 34 towns and villages in Azerbaijan suffered severe destructions. Substantial damages were inflicted upon private and public property, including civilian critical infrastructure. In particular, hundreds of civilian buildings, among them residential houses, schools, kindergartens, cultural centers and other civilian facilities were ruined.

Armenia's direct and deliberate attacks against the Azerbaijani civilian population, as well as inhuman acts against Azerbaijani military servicemen, during its offensive action in April this year, constitute yet another serious violation of international humanitarian and human rights law by Armenia.

By its deliberate, offensive actions, Armenia undermined the ceasefire regime established in 1994 and endangered the prospects for the political settlement of the conflict. Having received an effective response from Azerbaijan, Armenia was forced to ask for a ceasefire, which was agreed under the mediation efforts of the Russian Federation on April 5, 2016, in Moscow, at the meeting of Chiefs of Defence of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Despite that, it continues to violate the ceasefire. Moreover, Armenia is amassing forces and building heavily reinforced military fortifications in the seized Azerbaijani territories. Lately, Armenia started on September 19 this year, intensive military activity in the occupied Aghdam district of Azerbaijan. With all these, Armenia continues to challenge and tries to undermine the efforts of the international community, including the Presidents of the OSCE MG Co-Chairing countries, aimed at reaching a breakthrough at the peace talks and getting Armenia's troops out of sovereign lands of Azerbaijan.

Armenia must realize that relying on the status quo and armed provocations is a grave miscalculation. Its attempts to hypocritically mislead the international community on the root causes of the conflict by presenting themselves as a suffering side is doomed to fail.

Azerbaijan expects from Armenia to halt its military build-up in the occupied territories, and engage in negotiations with Azerbaijan in good faith so as to find a political solution to the conflict, which is long overdue.

The conflict can be resolved only and only on the basis of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan within its internationally recognized borders. The sooner Armenia reconciles with this reality and withdraws its armed forces from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, the earlier the conflict will be resolved, and Armenia and its population will benefit from the prospects of cooperation and economic development.

Azerbaijan will spare no effort towards achieving the settlement of the conflict and ensuring peace, justice and development in the region.

Thank you.

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

14 July 2016, Baku

List of documents signed during the official visit:

- Protocol of the Fifth Meeting of the Council of Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Ukraine
- Protocol on bilateral activity in combating customs violations during air cargo transportation between the State Customs Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine
- Program on cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Ukraine in the field of culture and arts for 2016-2020

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

Dear Mr. President!

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen!

Dear Mr. President, let me once again cordially welcome you to Azerbaijan. Welcome to our country! We attach great importance to your visit. This is your first visit to Azerbaijan, and I am glad that it has been very successful. The negotiations held today and the documents signed once again confirm this.

We met in Davos earlier this year. That meeting was of great importance, because it was followed by important steps aimed at developing Ukrainian-Azerbaijani relations. After that, high-level delegations started coming to Azerbaijan from Ukraine. Earlier this month, a meeting of the intergovernmental commission was held and today you are paying an official visit to Azerbaijan.

Taking this opportunity, I want to thank you for accepting our invitation to come to Azerbaijan.

Today, both in the one-on-one meeting and at the Council of Presidents, we

extensively discussed the various aspects of Ukrainian-Azerbaijani relations and identified steps for future joint activities. The Council's agenda was very broad. We discussed many important issues – energy, transport, military and technical cooperation, political relations and our interaction in international organizations. We can say that very serious instructions were given in respect of all the issues discussed. I am confident that as a result of execution of these orders, our countries will become even closer to each other and the turnover will increase. At the moment, neither us nor the Ukrainian side is pleased with the turnover.

We have extensively discussed the development of political relations. We successfully cooperate and support each other in many international organizations. We will continue to deepen our cooperation in these organizations, in particular the UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe and other organizations.

With regard to economic issues, there is a great potential in this area. There are opportunities for the expansion of trade. We have agreed that Azerbaijan will pay attention to Ukrainian companies in the delivery of imported goods to our country. At the same time, Azerbaijan already has broad export opportunities, and the Ukrainian market is quite large and very interesting for us. Specific instructions have been issued.



We intend to implement joint investment projects and have given appropriate instructions on studying the investment opportunities of both countries, because there is a great interest in that.

In the energy sector, it was noted that the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan, SOCAR, is already active in Ukraine, has invested more than \$200 million and has 60 petrol stations there. SOCAR activities in Ukraine are very successful and it unites our countries even more.

At the same time, appropriate instructions have been given in connection

with the revival of the Odessa-Brody pipeline, which is actively discussed now. Azerbaijan exports large volumes of its oil to world markets, including Europe, also playing a transit role for countries located on the east coast of the Caspian Sea. From Azerbaijan, oil is exported to world markets, and I believe that there are ample opportunities for the revival of the Odessa-Brody pipeline project.

In general, I believe that the format of cooperation involving the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea and the Baltic Sea contains a great potential. Of course, the activity of transport corridors is also very important. The first pilot project has already been implemented. Some cargo from Ukraine has been transported to Central Asian countries through the territory of Azerbaijan. Today we decided that the need to review the tariffs in order to make this corridor more economically viable. After all, the tariffs should be acceptable for shippers, so that even larger volumes of cargo could go in both directions.

I have informed Mr. President that we will commission the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway in the near future. This road means a restoration of the Silk Road, and there are new opportunities for Ukrainian companies there. At the same time, Azerbaijan, together with partner countries, has made efforts to establish the North-South corridor. In the future, the Ukrainian side can use this railway as well. In short, there are great opportunities in the transport sector, and I am sure that the orders issued today will lead to good results.

We have also exchanged views on the establishment of joint industrial areas. This applies to the heavy industry as well. At the same time, there are opportunities for the development of the military-technical industry. Our cooperation in this area already has a wonderful experience, and these issues were also discussed.

Cooperation in the humanitarian sphere is of great importance. The Ukrainians living in Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijanis living in Ukraine, of course, play an important role in the development of bilateral ties. In addition, we have held a thorough exchange of views related to culture, education and the expansion of tourism opportunities.

I am very satisfied and pleased with the talks. They were very specific. Members of our delegations have provided information and reports on each specific project. I am sure that there will be concrete results on every issue discussed in the near future.

Overall, I have a good assessment for the meeting of the Council of Presidents and am sure that Ukrainian-Azerbaijani relations will continue to develop as planned in Baku today.

I want to note once again that President Poroshenko's official visit to Azerbaijan is a very important and serious political step at the current stage of bilateral ties. I am confident that the excellent results of this visit will bring our states and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Ukraine closer together in the future.

Mr. President, once again, welcome to Azerbaijan and I wish you a nice visit.

THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

7-8 August 2016, Baku

List of documents signed during the official visit:

- Memorandum of Understanding between the State Committee for Standardization, Metrology and Patent of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Institute of Standards and Industrial Research of Iran in the fields of standardization, metrology, conformity assessment and accreditation
- Memorandum of Understanding between Central Bank of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran
- Implementation Program between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the field of tourism cooperation (2016-2019)
- Protocol of Intent between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran on cooperation in the field of realization of International North-South Transport Corridor
- Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Communications and High Technologies of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology of the Islamic Republic of Iran on cooperation in the field of electronic security
- Agreement on cooperation in the field of plants protection and plant quarantine between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev during the meeting in an expanded format

Dear Mr. President, distinguished guests.

Let me sincerely welcome you to Azerbaijan again!

We attach great importance to your visit. I am confident that the visit will



be very successful and will give a further impetus to the development of our relations.

I am glad that we meet quite often. In February this year, I paid an official visit to Iran. Today you are paying an official visit to Azerbaijan. This in itself is an indicator of the fact that our relations are rapidly and successfully developing and are at the highest peak.

Today, in a bilateral meeting, we discussed many issues – political, economic and others. We see that there is a great understanding between us. We are building our relations on the basis of this understanding. I am very pleased that Iranian-Azerbaijani relations have been developing very fast in recent years. In the 25 years of our history, this has been a period of rapid, perhaps, the most rapid development. Over the period since February, many issues have been resolved in the economic, transport and energy sectors. I am sure that your visit will contribute to the further development of relations. Several documents will be signed today, opening up opportunities for future cooperation.

I am very glad that you have come to Azerbaijan with a large delegation. Of course, members of the delegations are in contact with each other, and these ties will be deepened further. Iranian-Azerbaijani relations will continue to develop successfully on the basis of fraternity and friendship. Once again, welcome!

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President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Hassan Rouhani said:

- In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate.

Your Excellency Mr. President, I am very pleased to meet with you. Your visit to Tehran was very successful. After it we took important steps to develop the relations between our countries. During that visit, along with bilateral relations between our countries, we also planned on trilateral ties. Tomorrow we will witness that. As part of that visit, we reached good agreements. Today we will sign documents prepared on the basis of those agreements.

Currently, there are very important issues we have mentioned. We discussed them in detail at the bilateral meeting. These topics are related to different areas, and we will discuss them at this meeting. I am confident that the relations between our countries are based on honesty and trust. As friendly, brotherly and neighboring countries, we should raise these relations to a level that would match the desire of our peoples. Our peoples have want the best relations that would serve the interests of our countries, stability and peace in the region. I do hope that new steps will be taken after this visit to further develop our relations.

President Ilham Aliyev: Thank you very much.

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

Dear Mr. President,
Distinguished guests!

Let me once again sincerely welcome you to Azerbaijan. Welcome to Azerbaijan! We attach great importance to your visit. I am glad that the visit has been very successful, and I am sure that the talks we held and the documents signed today will ensure the further development of Iranian-Azerbaijani relations.

For centuries, our peoples have lived together, side by side, in the conditions of friendship and good neighborliness. The history, culture and religion that have united us for centuries are our greatest common assets.

We build our bilateral relations on a solid basis. I am glad that Iranian-Azerbaijani interstate relations have developing successfully for nearly 25 years. I should also note that the recent period of development is especially significant because Iranian-Azerbaijani relations have registered a great progress in the past few years. Mr. President, we have met several times over the past few years. And the organization of mutual official visits – these are very important steps in this direction. In February of this year, I paid an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. Today you are our guest. This in itself is an indicator which shows that our relations are developing very rapidly and dynamically, and have good results. As part of my official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran, more than 10 documents were signed. Less than six months later, six more documents have been signed. This is very important for our future activities. The documents and agreements signed in Iran in February are being executed. Today, both in the one-on-one meeting and in the meeting with the participation of delegations, we discussed our bilateral relations. We can say that these discussions have been very constructive in all areas. I am sure that the agreements reached will further strengthen our unity and cooperation.



We successfully cooperate within the framework of international organizations. We support each other in all international organizations we are members of. We constantly work closely in the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and other organizations. Azerbaijan has always opposed the sanctions applied against Iran and openly expressed its position. We are very pleased that these sanctions have now been lifted, and thus there are new opportunities for cooperation. Iran, for its part, has always respected the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and supported Azerbaijan's fair position in the settlement of Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. This support manifests itself within the framework of the UN and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

The declaration adopted at this year's Summit of the Organization of Islamic

Cooperation demands a settlement of the conflict within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan again, and we appreciate the activities of the Iranian government in this direction.

Today, I informed President Rouhani about the current situation related to the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As you know, Azerbaijani lands have been under occupation for many years. Nagorno-Karabakh is ancestral and historical part of Azerbaijan. Today, Nagorno-Karabakh and seven adjacent districts are under occupation. The Azerbaijani population has been driven out of these regions by force. Our historical monuments, including our mosques, have been destroyed by the Armenians, and about 20 per cent of our land is occupied. This occupation continues. Ways of resolving the conflict are clear. Armenian armed forces, the forces that violate the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, must withdraw from our occupied lands. This is also required by four UN Security Council resolutions. I should also note that the Summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation condemned the April aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan and established a contact group on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

In April this year, the Armenian armed forces committed another armed provocation against Azerbaijan. As a result of this provocation, our soldiers and six civilians were killed. More than 20 civilians were injured. Over 600 houses were damaged and more than 100 houses were completely destroyed. Azerbaijan was forced to take the necessary steps to protect its citizens and its land, and these steps were very effective. The decisions and resolutions of international organizations on the conflict settlement must be fulfilled and the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan must be restored. Today, I informed President Rouhani about the latest state in the negotiations.

I am glad that our economic relations are developing successfully. Today, at a meeting in an expanded format, we were told that the turnover increased by 66 per cent this year. This is an excellent indicator. If we consider that the global financial and economic crisis is still ongoing, I think it required tremendous effort to achieve this success in such circumstances, and this effort was made. The joint inter-governmental commission works very successfully and actively. Today, there has been an extensive exchange of views on further

cooperation in the economic sphere.

I am glad that the foundation of a plant was laid in the city of Neftchala on the eve of this visit yesterday, where “Iran Khodro” will produce cars. This is a perfect example of our cooperation. Each year more than 10,000 cars will be manufactured there, and this is a new form of cooperation. There was no such cooperation before. Today we had a broad exchange of views on joint activities in other areas as well. In particular, there are plans to build a plant for the production of medicines in the near future. It will operate on Iranian technology.

Of course, we are opening up opportunities to address energy and transport issues. I am glad that the Imishli-Parsabad line has been connected. This will have a very positive impact on the relations between our countries and regional cooperation. Very important steps have also been taken towards the creation of the "North-South" transport corridor.

In February last year, after returning from Iran, I made appropriate instructions and they are being executed. As I promised, Azerbaijan will extend its railway to the Iranian border before the end of this year. Also this year, with the participation of officials from Iran and Azerbaijan, we started the construction of a bridge across the river Astarachay, and much of the work has already been done. To accelerate the implementation of the "North-South" transport corridor, we signed a memorandum today, and the Azerbaijani side wants to participate in the future financing of this project. I should also note that this issue, as well as the issues related to energy, will be discussed at the first summit of the presidents of Iran, Russia and Azerbaijan tomorrow. Let me also note that this trilateral format is a new initiative and a very important step. Naturally, this format is based on bilateral relations.

Azerbaijan has very good relations with Iran and Russia. I am aware that Russian-Iranian relations are also at a very good level. Therefore, the creation of such a trilateral format of cooperation is natural. It is based on history and geography, as well as our joint projects. The transport corridor "North-South" is a project of great significance not only for our countries but also for continents, and very important steps for the further implementation of this

project will be taken tomorrow.

As for the bilateral format, a wide range of issues was discussed today. There are excellent prospects in the tourism sector. Iranian citizens can already travel to Azerbaijan on the basis of a simplified visa regime. The railway Nakhchivan-Tabriz-Mashad is opening. There is a beautiful picture in the field of air transport. The number of flights is increasing. Issues relating to the environment and the Caspian Sea were also discussed. I can say that there are no disagreements on the issues discussed. Our main desire is to develop Iranian-Azerbaijani relations, protect and secure the interests of our peoples, and strengthen our political, economic and humanitarian ties. Today's visit of Mr. President Hassan Rouhani to Azerbaijan is a very important step in this direction.

Mr. President, thank you again for accepting my invitation to visit Azerbaijan again. I wish you and the brotherly people of Iran continued success.

Thank you.

**THE WORKING VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
TO THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

8 August 2016, Baku

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

Dear Vladimir Vladimirovich,
Dear guests,

It is my pleasure to welcome you once more to Azerbaijan.

This is your third visit to our country in the past three years, which in itself reflects the high level of relations between our countries.

I also visit Russia often. We met recently in St Petersburg in June. These regular meetings give new impetus to developing our relations, which have long since reached the strategic partnership level and encompass practically all areas of our life. We work together actively at international venues, strengthen our political dialogue, develop our economic, transport and energy ties, and we have good results in developing our humanitarian cooperation too.



Baku will host the next humanitarian forum within the framework of the Russia for Azerbaijan program in September. This offers good opportunities for developing our relations.

I would particularly like to stress Russia's role in settling the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. We value this role, and your personal involvement plays a very important part in the settlement process. We had

a meeting in St Petersburg in June devoted specifically to this issue, and I thank you for your active participation in this process.

Today, the leaders of Iran, Russia, and Azerbaijan will hold their first trilateral meeting. This is a promising new format that has potential for bilateral cooperation as well.

We will also discuss important regional cooperation issues today. I think this will contribute not only to our countries' economic development but also to strengthening security in our region.

* * *

President of Russia Vladimir Putin:

Thank you very much for the invitation, Mr. İlham Heydar oğlu.

I fully agree with your description of our relations, which have indeed become a strategic partnership not just on paper but in reality. As you previously mentioned it is very good to see that our ties are greatly diversified now, developing in different areas. In the humanitarian area — and you put forward the proposal to develop this dimension of our relations — we now hold a regular top-level Humanitarian Forum.

Indeed, we participate at the top level in this event taking place under our patronage. Thus, Speaker of the Russian Parliament's upper house Valentina Matviyenko took part in the latest forum.

Close to 600 Russian companies work in Azerbaijan and the volume of direct investments is close to \$1.5 billion, more precisely, it is \$1.4 billion.

There are some points I would like to note now. As we all know, for various reasons such as the crisis affecting both the global economy and our own, the drop in the prices of our traditional export goods and the related problems with exchange rate differences, our trade turnover has dropped in value terms.

It is therefore very timely that we have this chance to discuss these matters today and find solutions to these issues. We have built an excellent base in this area, and overall, we are maintaining the physical volumes of trade. I fully agree with you here.

We also have promising new projects, not only in the energy sector, of course, but in other sectors such as machine-building and high technology. I think this is very important. We continue our cooperation on the Caspian Sea, including our military cooperation.

Thank you very much for organising this trilateral meeting. This was also your initiative and we do indeed have matters to discuss in this format, new projects in the Caspian Sea, and on the broader plane, transport, the energy sector, and the development and diversification of our trilateral trade and economic ties.

You mentioned Nagorno-Karabakh. This is indeed one of the problems that we have inherited from the Soviet past. I know what a sensitive issue this is for Azerbaijan and Armenia. We have but one sole aim – for Armenia and Azerbaijan to find a solution that would be a mutually acceptable compromise for both sides, for there to be no victors in this conflict, no victors other than the peoples of both countries, and for both countries to know that they have resolved this complicated task in the interests of current and future generations.

Mr Aliyev, thank you for the invitation. I am sure that our work together today will be positive, productive, and will help to create conditions for further developing our bilateral relations and improving the situation in the region.

Thank you very much.

**TRILATERAL SUMMIT OF THE HEADS OF STATE
OF AZERBAIJAN, IRAN AND RUSSIA**

8 August 2016, Baku

***Opening speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham
Aliyev***

Distinguished Presidents,
Dear guests,
Dear summit participants.

First of all, let me warmly welcome all our guests. Welcome to Azerbaijan! Today, Baku is hosting a trilateral meeting of the presidents of Iran, Russia and Azerbaijan for the first time in history. This is a historic event. A new format of cooperation among three countries is emerging today. I would like to express my gratitude to President Putin and President Rouhani for accepting my invitation to participate in the Summit.

I should note that in April of this year, foreign ministers of the three countries met in Baku at the initiative of Azerbaijan. I am sure that today's summit will give a new impetus to regional cooperation.

Our peoples have lived side by side for centuries and share a common history and geography. Azerbaijan has close ties of friendship with Iran and Russia. These ties have further evolved in recent years and reached the level of strategic partnership.

Iran, Russia and Azerbaijan successfully cooperate within the framework of international organizations. Our countries have always supported each other in the UN and other international organizations. Azerbaijan successfully cooperates with Iran within the framework of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), and with Russia within the OSCE, the CIS, the Council of Europe and the Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation. In these organizations, our three countries consistently support each other.

Azerbaijan was opposed to the international sanctions imposed on Iran and Russia, and has repeatedly and openly expressed its position. Azerbaijan pursues an independent policy. This policy is based on the norms of international law, justice and national interests of our country. Close ties with our neighbors are in line with our national interests.

Iran and Russia respect the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Azerbaijan. Both countries have repeatedly expressed the need to resolve the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict within the framework of international law.

The international community and international organizations recognize the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and are in favor of a fair settlement of the conflict in accordance with international law. The UN, the Non-Aligned Movement, the OSCE, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and other international organizations unequivocally support the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. The status quo existing in the conflict is unacceptable. The conflict must be resolved in accordance with international law and within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. To resolve the conflict, Azerbaijani lands should first of all be freed from occupation.



The territorial integrity of Azerbaijan has been violated for many years. Twenty per cent of our land is under occupation. This occupation affects more than a million Azerbaijanis. The UN Security Council has adopted four resolutions in connection with the conflict. They contain the requirement of an unconditional withdrawal of Armenian armed forces from the occupied lands. Unfortunately, these resolutions have not been fulfilled for more than 20 years.

In recent years, the region we live in is faced with growing risks and threats. We should further unite our efforts against international terrorism. In fact, the whole world should unite its efforts. Only in this way can we defeat international terrorism. Azerbaijan's principled position against terrorism remains

unchanged. In 2012-2013, Azerbaijan as a member of the UN Security Council initiated a discussion on important issues related to international peace and security. We launched the initiative to strengthen cooperation in the fight against international terrorism.

I would like to highlight the high-level meeting on the theme of "Threats posed by terrorist acts to international peace and security" held in the Security Council under the chairmanship of Azerbaijan in May 2012. After the meeting, a statement was adopted condemning all forms and manifestations of terrorism.

Dear colleagues! The Caspian Sea connecting us is our common heritage. The Caspian Sea is a sea of peace and cooperation, and should remain as such. Protection of the Caspian Sea ecosystem is a common cause for all Caspian littoral countries. Azerbaijan is making its contribution in this direction. The Caspian Sea has rich oil and gas deposits. Iranian and Russian companies have been engaged in the development of oil and gas fields in the Azerbaijani sector of Caspian Sea and making major investments for 20 years. In turn, the State Oil Company of the Republic of Azerbaijan, SOCAR, is interested in participating in the projects carried out in Iranian and Russian sectors of the Caspian Sea.

The tripartite format will create a good opportunity for raising our economic cooperation to a higher level. Russia and Iran are our major trading partners. I am confident that this trilateral format would be beneficial for the businesses of our countries. Increased trade, mutual investment and expansion of mutual export opportunities are of great importance to economic cooperation. There are good prospects for cooperation in financial, banking and insurance sectors. Given the broad financial capabilities of our countries, we can participate in joint investment projects in other countries.

Azerbaijan has created favorable conditions for investments. Over the past 20 years, \$200 billion has been invested in Azerbaijan. Half of this is foreign investment. There is great potential for investments in agriculture, travel and telecommunications spheres. The Global Competitiveness Index of the Davos World Economic Forum ranks Azerbaijan in 40th place globally.

There is successful cooperation in the electricity sector. Azerbaijan has joined its energy system with the power lines of Iran and Russia. The volume of energy exchange with the two countries is increasing every year. In accordance with the existing agreement with Russia, the energy system of Azerbaijan is functioning in parallel with the Unified Energy Systems of Russia. The energy systems of the two countries are connected through power lines "Khachmaz-Derbent" and "Yalama". With Iran, there is also an energy exchange through the power lines "Parsabad", "Astara-Astara", "Araz" and "Julfa". A few days ago, the power line between Imishli and Parsabad was connected. In the near future, we will fully commission the power line between the cities of Astara and Masalli.

Azerbaijan has turned from a country importing electricity into a country exporting it. Our export capacity is growing. I am confident that together we can achieve the formation of a reliable energy corridor that will provide for energy exchange among the three countries and access to new markets.

I am glad that reliable cooperation has been established in the area of border security. At the initiative of the Azerbaijani side, the heads of border services of Iran, Russia and Azerbaijan held a meeting in Baku this year. Deepening of cooperation in this field, joint exercises (including the Caspian Sea), joint activities and rapid exchange of information will further enhance the security of our countries.

Cooperation in the transport sector has a great future. Azerbaijan is the only country in the world to have borders with Iran and Russia. At present, there is a railway link between Russia and Azerbaijan. This year we decided that Azerbaijan would extend its railway to the border with Iran in the near future. I do hope that we will achieve this in the coming months. At the same time, the foundation-laying ceremony of a railway bridge over the river Astara on the Azerbaijani-Iranian border was held recently. These infrastructure projects are an integral part of the "North-South" transport corridor.

The "North-South" transport corridor is a transnational project of strategic importance. In the future, this corridor will benefit many countries. This corridor has a very high economic viability. This route is very favorable for the

transportation of transit of goods from the point of view of time. I do hope that together we will achieve the realization of this project soon.

It is gratifying that our countries have no problems in religious and ethnic matters. This is a huge asset of our countries.

For centuries, Azerbaijan has been a place where different religions, cultures and civilizations merge. We are not only a geographical but also a cultural bridge between the East and the West. Throughout history, the representatives of different religions and cultures lived in Azerbaijan in peace and brotherhood. Multiculturalism is a way of life in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is a multinational and multi-confessional country. Year 2016 has been declared a "Year of Multiculturalism" in Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan is one of a handful of countries represented both on the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and on the Council of Europe. Our countries successfully cooperate in these organizations.

Dear colleagues! The new trilateral format of cooperation we have created has great potential. This is a very important geopolitical initiative. Trilateral cooperation will serve peace, security and stability in the region. Economic cooperation, trilateral cooperation in the energy and transport sectors improves the welfare of our peoples. The format we have created will take its rightful place in the international arena. Today, we are setting an example of good neighborly relations. Today we prove that if there is mutual respect and good will, if our dreams are sincere, we can protect our countries from risks, consolidate stability and enhance cooperation even in this unstable region which is full of crises and conflicts.

Thank you for your attention.

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Closing speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

Thank you, Vladimir Vladimirovich!

Dear colleagues!

After a few minutes, the Joint Declaration of the Summit will be signed. Hard work on the Declaration has been under way for two days. Meetings in a bilateral format have been held for two days. I met with President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mr. Rouhani yesterday and with President of Russia Putin today. Also today, there was a meeting between the presidents of Russia and Iran. These meetings are of great importance. In fact, the tripartite format we have created is based on bilateral connections.

I am also glad that Azerbaijan's relations with Russia and Iran and Russia's ties with Iran are at a high level. The development of these relations allows us the opportunity today not only to talk about a new format of cooperation, but also to create it. The Joint Declaration to be signed today reflects the work done, our intentions, positions and our views of the future.

The region we live in is very complex. It is full of risks and threats. Unfortunately, these risks are not reducing but gradually growing. Under such circumstances, tripartite cooperation is essential for regional security.

The trilateral cooperation among Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan is a stabilizing factor in the region. I believe that together we will not only defend our countries from possible risks, but also, in a broader sense, deepen cooperation in the region.



The agenda today is very extensive.

My colleagues have spoken about this in their speeches. Of course, we should further strengthen our political ties in the future. We are neighbors. We have good neighborly relations and should strengthen this unity. At the same time, additional measures will be taken to improve our export potential in the economic sphere and increase in turnover. Relevant ministers from our delegations have met to discuss this issue and reached a certain agreement. There are excellent opportunities, in particular, for cooperation in the field of transport and energy. This cooperation has been established through the efforts of the three countries, and many countries will join that. The "North-

South" transport corridor we are creating will provide for the security of our countries and for our economic interests.

I noted in my opening remarks that our relations are underpinned by sincere cooperation and good intentions. We show and prove that this is possible. Sometimes neighbors experience problems and conflicts. Fortunately, the relations between us are only based on friendship, mutual understanding and mutual respect. We support each other, trust each other and rely on each other.

We demonstrate an excellent format of cooperation both to the region and the whole world. I am confident that the results of this Summit will be very successful. All the issues reflected in the Declaration will be fulfilled, and our people will live better, in safety, peace, tranquility and prosperity.

I would like to once again express my gratitude to my colleagues. It was noted here that this meeting was initiated by Azerbaijan. While on an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran in February this year, I discussed this issue with President Rouhani. I got a very positive response from him. Then I got in touch with President Putin. His attitude was also very positive. Later, in April, the foreign ministers of the three countries met in Baku and worked very hard to prepare for this Summit.

The Joint Declaration we will sign today is a very serious political document. Today's meeting is historic because it is based on history. Our peoples have been together for centuries. At the same time, it is the first such meeting in history. I am confident that this meeting will be continued and further cooperation among our countries will deepen.

And now let's move on to the signing ceremony.

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In conclusion, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, President of Iran Hassan Rouhani and President of Russia Vladimir Putin signed the Joint Declaration of the Summit.

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President Ilham Aliyev said: President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Mr. Rouhani proposes to hold the next trilateral meeting in Iran. We are grateful for the proposal and will meet again in the brotherly country with pleasure. Thank you, Mr. President.

Thus, today's summit is over. Let me thank you again and wish you all success.

Thank you.

THE 5TH BAKU INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN FORUM

29 September 2016, Baku

Speech by President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev

Dear ladies and gentlemen!
Distinguished guests!

The Baku International Humanitarian Forum is beginning its work. Let me cordially greet all the guests who have come to our country to participate in this forum, and say "Welcome to Azerbaijan"!

The current forum brings together over 400 representatives from almost 80 countries. This is an indicator in itself. In recent years, the forum has gained a lot of respect in the international arena. It holds a special place among the most prestigious international events. Azerbaijan has always paid great attention to international humanitarian cooperation. We believe that positive trends in the world should be enhanced. International cooperation plays a special role in the development of relations among countries. In recent years, we have hosted numerous international events with this purpose. A special place among them, of course, is occupied by the Baku International Humanitarian Forum. Our country hosts the Forum on Intercultural Dialogue every other year. The summit of world religious leaders was held in Baku several years ago. This year we held the Seventh Global Forum of the UN Alliance of Civilizations. As part of all these prestigious events, extensive discussions were held on international humanitarian cooperation, multiculturalism and other important issues.

In recent years, Azerbaijan has also played host to prestigious sporting events. This year alone, Baku hosted the Formula 1 competition and the World Chess Olympiad for the first time. The inaugural European Games were also held in Baku last year. This is an indicator because the first European Games were held in a Muslim country, which can be viewed as Azerbaijan's contribution to the strengthening of interreligious and intercultural dialogue. Next year, the Sixth Islamic Solidarity Games will be held in Baku as well. In other words, one city hosts European and Islamic Games over the course of two years.

This is the path of the present-day Azerbaijan.

There are many goals we have pursued when hosting these international events in our country. First of all, it is necessary for our country because Azerbaijan is a multi-religious and multi-ethnic country. Representatives of all religions and nationalities live in Azerbaijan like one family. At the same time, these international political and humanitarian events send a message to the world that progressive representatives of the world should consolidate their efforts even more closely. Unfortunately, negative trends prevail in the world today. There are bloody clashes and wars in various regions of the world. There is bloodshed on religious and ethnic grounds. The deepening of international humanitarian cooperation can prevent the negative and enhance positive trends to some extent.

Azerbaijan is a member of the Council of Europe and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and plays an active role in both organizations. On Azerbaijan's initiative, both organizations have adopted very fair resolutions based on international law regarding the most painful issue for us – the Armenia-Azerbaijan Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The resolutions describe Armenia as an occupier state. We continue to work successfully in these two organizations, which bring together more than 100 countries worldwide. A few years ago we thought that it would be nice if there was a contact between the Council of Europe and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. With this aim, we invited the Ministers of Culture of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to the Baku forum of the Ministers of Culture of Council of Europe member-states in 2008. This resonated very well in the world. Our work in this area received good feedback and the initiative was called the "Baku process". In 2009, we received the Ministers of Culture of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and invited the Ministers of Culture from Europe to that meeting. Thus, a very important new process was launched on our initiative. Of course, we are very



proud that this initiative was subsequently called the "Baku process".

We are trying and will continue trying to contribute to the strengthening of interreligious and intercultural dialogue in the humanitarian sphere because this is what our policy is about. Our history is also based on multiculturalism. Although multiculturalism is a new concept, it has always been present in Azerbaijan. Regardless of the public and political system, Azerbaijan has always been a space of peace, cooperation and mutual understanding, and we cherish this tradition. By conducting such events today, we are contributing to the development of multiculturalism as an independent state. The policy pursued in Azerbaijan strengthens these positive trends in everyday life.

I want to note again that representatives of all nations and religions live in Azerbaijan like one family, in peace and friendship. Our country has never had any confrontation or misunderstanding on religious or ethnic grounds. This is our greatest asset. Historical monuments of all religions are protected by the state. The state provides funds for the restoration of these monuments. Mosques, churches and synagogues are built and renovated in Azerbaijan. We celebrate our religious festivals together. All religious communities celebrate them together. We are proud of our history and culture. Today, one of the oldest mosques in the world is located in Azerbaijan, in the town of Shamakhi. The Shamakhi mosque was built in 743. It has been restored and is now in operation. At the same time, there is one of the oldest churches in the Caucasus near the city of Sheki – the Church of Caucasian Albania. This historical monument has also been renovated. It is also in operation and attracts numerous tourists. There is a Zoroastrian temple, a temple of fire worshipers, not far from Baku. This is our history. Azerbaijan has been inhabited by representatives of different religions and cultures throughout history. It is probably no coincidence that they chose Azerbaijan for coexistence. After all, these trends have always prevailed in our country and region. Today it is a state policy and we will continue to pursue it.

This public policy gets a lot of approval in the country. At the same time, it is the mood of our society, because a government policy can be successfully implemented only when society responds to it positively. The friendly attitude and the trends associated with multiculturalism in society further reinforce our

public policies. It is no coincidence that this year has been declared a "Year of multiculturalism" in Azerbaijan. An international center of multiculturalism has been created in Baku. Not far from the State Flag Square, which is a symbol of our statehood, there is a monument to multiculturalism.

We believe that this issue must always be in the spotlight. International organizations and countries should express their position on this issue. Unfortunately, other pessimistic thoughts related to multiculturalism are expressed in various parts of the world these days. Some believe that multiculturalism has failed. Others even think that this trend should not be allowed because it is harmful. These are very dangerous thoughts and approaches. Let's see what the alternatives to multiculturalism are. Are there any? Of course there are, but what are they? I believe that the alternatives to multiculturalism are xenophobia, discrimination, racism, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism. These are extremely dangerous trends. We have repeatedly seen in history what terrible implications the strengthening of these trends can have. Therefore, all progressive mankind should unite around the ideas and ideals of multiculturalism. We must demonstrate an unequivocal position here. We, in turn, by showing our activities and efforts to the world and the atmosphere existing in our country, demonstrate that this is possible. Multiculturalism has many addresses in the world, and Azerbaijan is one of them. We will continue trying to strengthen these positive trends, both in the international arena, and in the country and region.

Unfortunately, global threats are growing. When we organized the first Baku International Humanitarian Forum, the threats that exist today were not there. In the past few years, the world, our region, the Middle East, Europe and other places have experienced very dangerous events that cause concern. There are bloody clashes and wars, some countries have been completely destroyed, hundreds of thousands of innocent people have been killed, millions, tens of millions have become refugees and displaced persons, which, in turn, strengthens radicalism trends in the affected countries. Besides, after the destruction of these countries, I am talking about the Middle East, people began to seek refuge in Europe. Migrants encountered humiliating treatment. Anti-immigrant tendencies intensified. This plays into the hand of radical forces in Europe. If we look at the recent elections in some European countries, we can see that radical forces are gaining more support. Why? They take

advantage of this situation and gain greater political clout. And this leads to the radicalization in Europe, which is a very dangerous trend.

We are talking about a dialogue between civilizations, but in reality we are seeing early manifestations of inter-civilizational clashes. If these trends are not nipped in the bud, it will lead to a huge disaster. All countries may find themselves in a difficult situation. Therefore, at the present time, these issues should be on the agenda. Positive trends must prevail. We must openly talk about the issues of concern. This is the purpose of the Baku forum. For example, Islamophobia is very worrying for the whole of Islamic world, because certain media, as well as some non-governmental organizations and politicians, deliberately create a negative opinion about Islam, about our religion. They identify Islam with terrorism. However, it is Muslim countries that suffer from terror the most. The leaders of certain European countries say “Stop Islam”. Some say that they are ready to accept migrants but not Muslim ones. What is this? Does it mean that fascism is raising its head again in Europe in the 21st century? Unfortunately, international organizations or countries do not react to this, as if this were something ordinary. These are very dangerous trends, and we have to talk about them. Such factors as radicalization in the Muslim world are also quite disturbing. Therefore, I believe that we need to discuss these issues openly.

The Baku International Humanitarian Forum is attended by well-known statesmen, public figures and prominent scientists, including 13 Nobel Prize winners, as well as journalists, representatives of non-governmental organizations and other distinguished guests. Therefore, it is an excellent format for open discussions, recommendations and actions.

As I have already noted, Azerbaijan has always paid great attention to humanitarian cooperation. However, I would like our guests to know that our country and people have also been faced with a major humanitarian catastrophe. In the early 1990s, as a result of Armenia's military aggression against Azerbaijan, 20 per cent of our land was under occupation. As a result of this occupation and the policy of ethnic cleansing, more than one million Azerbaijanis became refugees and IDPs in their own land. Our historically native lands of Nagorno-Karabakh and seven districts adjacent to

it were occupied by Armenia. Innocent people were killed. A war crime was committed against our people – the Khojaly genocide. As a result of genocide in the town of Khojaly, 613 civilians were killed, including 106 women and 63 children. All these Armenian atrocities have been documented. There is video and photographic evidence. There are numerous witness accounts. Ten countries in the world have already recognized the Khojaly genocide as an act of genocide.

The Armenians have destroyed our historical and religious monuments in the occupied lands. There are facts. The OSCE has sent two fact-finding missions to the occupied territories, and this is openly stated in their reports. All our cities have been razed to the ground. The infrastructure and graves have been destroyed. They have destroyed our graves with bulldozers. We have destroyed our mosques. There is an Armenian church in the center of Baku. We have restored it. Currently, more than 5,000 books in the Armenian language are stored in this church. They have razed our mosques to the ground. This is the difference between us. Armenian fascism has brought great misfortunes. Innocent people are still suffering from the Armenian policy.

All international organizations clearly support our position. In particular, the first and the highest international organization of the world, the United Nations with its General Assembly, has repeatedly adopted resolutions. The UN Security Council has adopted four resolutions providing for an unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Armenian forces from our occupied lands. Unfortunately, Armenia ignores these resolutions and there is no mechanism for their implementation. This is a huge injustice. We perceive it as a policy of double standards because in some cases UN Security Council resolutions, as we have seen in recent history, are executed in a matter of days, even hours, and the aggressor is punished. When it comes to us, although it has been more than 20 years since these resolutions were adopted, they are not executed. Those who adopted these resolutions do not insist on their execution.

Other international organizations have adopted similar decisions and resolutions. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Parliamentary Assembly of the

Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the Non-Aligned Movement, the OSCE – so all international organizations support our position. Nagorno-Karabakh is an integral historical part of Azerbaijan. It is also an integral part of Azerbaijan from the point of view of international law. The territorial integrity of our country must be restored. The territorial integrity of our country is no less important than the territorial integrity of other countries. International law must be ensured.

In spite of this problem, our country is steadily developing. We are getting stronger. Next month, we will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the restoration of our independence. Most of these 25 years have been years of development and progress. Today Azerbaijan enjoys great authority in the world. Several years ago, 155 countries of the world showed great confidence in us by electing us a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Our country addresses humanitarian issues. We pay great attention to them. Over the past 13 years, we in Azerbaijan have built and renovated more than 3,000 schools, over 600 hospitals and health centers. The problems of internally displaced persons are also being resolved. We have built over 90 refugee settlements where more than 250,000 IDPs have been provided with new homes and apartments.

The country's economy is developing. Over the past 13 years, the gross domestic product has tripled. We have large foreign exchange reserves equal to the gross domestic product. We have taken significant steps to reduce unemployment and poverty. Today, both unemployment and poverty are about 5 per cent in our country. Literacy is almost 100 per cent. A significant part of the Azerbaijani economy is connected with natural resources. Despite the sharp drop in oil prices, Azerbaijan is coping with the crisis with minimal losses, and the dynamic development continues. I was told yesterday that the Davos World Economic Forum awarded Azerbaijan 37th globally in terms of competitiveness. I believe that being in 37th place in the world for competitiveness is a great achievement for our young state. The first years of our independence were extremely difficult. We were in a deep political and economic crisis. For the number of refugees and displaced persons, Azerbaijan is in one of the first places in the world. This is very bitter statistics, but

it is true. This, of course, attracted our financial resources. Despite all this, the correct economic policies, peace, stability in society, good relations with neighbors and our international initiatives are asserting Azerbaijan in the world as a place of stability and development.

We are proud of the fact that we have been an independent state for 25 years. We live at our own expense, do not owe anything to anyone and do not depend on anyone. Independence is above everything for us. Our people are free and our destiny is in our own hands. We have built a beautiful country and it will become even more beautiful. We want to make an even greater contribution to our common cause. The Baku International Humanitarian Forum is a part of this intention.

I would like to express my gratitude to all the guests again for coming to our country. I wish the forum success.

Thank you.

BƏYANATLAR – STATEMENTS – ЗАЯВЛЕНИЯ**STATEMENT BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

30 August 2016, Baku

According to information of mass media Armenian side under the pretext of so-called “25th anniversary of the independence” of illegal regime established in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan plans to organize the conference in Yerevan on September 2-3 and take the participants to the seized lands. There are also plans to organize the international youth conference in Khankandi on September 15-18, and other provocative events.

It is well known that Armenia has unleashed war against Azerbaijan, by using force occupied twenty percent of Azerbaijan’s territories and ethnically cleansed about one million Azerbaijanis from those areas, and committed numerous other war crimes, crimes against humanity, and the acts of genocide.

The illegal regime established by Armenia in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan is ultimately nothing other than the product of aggression and occupation; it is under Armenia’s direction and control and survives by virtue of its military, political, financial and other support, as was also confirmed by the European Court of Human Rights in its judgment of 16 June 2015 on the case of Chiragov and others v. Armenia.

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

have adopted a similar position.

Instead of taking constructive steps towards the resolution of the conflict further provocative events planned by Armenia under the pretext of so-called “25th anniversary of the independence” of illegal regime are contrary to the spirit of Vienna and Sankt-Petersburg meetings of the Presidents, undermine the negotiation process mediated by the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairs and detrimental to the efforts to build the durable peace in the region. They only serve for futile efforts of propagating the illegal regime and deliberate provocation.

We do call upon persons who are invited to the activities under the pretext of “25th anniversary of the independence” of illegal regime to respect the norms and principles of international law and to refrain from attending these provocative events and visiting the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. The visitors to the occupied territories of Azerbaijan violate the national legislation of Azerbaijan and will be addressed by the Government of Azerbaijan accordingly, including a ban will be put on their future visits to Azerbaijan.

ARXIV SƏNƏDLƏR – ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS – АРХИВНЫЕ ДОКУМЕНТЫ

DEPORTATION OF AZERBAIJANIS FROM THE ARMENIAN SSR

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR, DECREE №4083 ON RESETTLEMENT OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS AND OTHER AZERBAIJANI POPULATION FROM THE ARMENIAN SSR TO THE KURA-ARAS LOWLANDS OF THE AZERBAIJAN SSR

23 December 1947. Moscow, Kremlin

Amendment 10/III-48, № 754

The Council of Ministers of the USSR hereby decides:

1. To voluntarily resettle 100,000 collective farmers and other Azerbaijani population from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR from 1948 to 1950, including 10,000 persons in 1948, 40,000 persons in 1949 and 50,000 in 1950.
2. To oblige the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR:
 - a) to arrange the explanation of conditions and privileges offered by the state to migrants to the Kura-Aras lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR, among collective farmers and other Azerbaijani population;
 - b) to ensure the settlement of accounts between kolkhozes and collective farmers - no later than 10 days prior to their departure as per workday units envisioned by production plans of kolkhozes;
 - c) to ensure the transportation of personal belongings, cattle and poultry by the migrants.

3. To oblige the heads of ministries and institutions, establishments and enterprises to dismiss those persons who migrate from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR.

4. To provide the following privileges to Azerbaijani population resettling to the Kura-Aras lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR:

- a) to provide free transportation and carriage of cattle and properties in the amount of up to 2 tons per family;
- b) to apply the decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Soviet People's Commissariat №115/2043 of November 17th 1937 "On privileges for agricultural resettlement", except for the privileges on compulsory supplies of milk;
- c) to provide migrating families with irrevocable cash benefits of 1,000 roubles per head of the family and 300 roubles per each family member;
- d) to sell for cash payment bread grain in the amount of 1.5 centners per head of the family and 0.5 centers per family members, to migrant families resettled to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR.

5. To allow Azerbaijani population migrating from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR to exchange agricultural products (grain, potatoes) and cattle prohibited for transportation by the quarantine laws for exchange coupons in places of departures, in order to receive an equal amount of products and equal number of heads of cattle in the place of destination.

6. To oblige the Agricultural Bank: a) to provide credits for the construction of dwelling houses and dependencies in the amount of up to 20,000 rouble per farm with the repayment period of 10 years, starting from the third year after receipt of the credit; b) to award longterm loans worth 3,000 roubles per family of migrants for the period of 5 years with the repayment beginning on the third year after receipt of the loan.

7. To oblige the Ministry of Communications a) to ensure transportation of Azerbaijani population with their properties and cattle by request of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, by special echelons with the equipped and disinfected wagons; b) to get wagons ready by the Railroad Department on the schedule, approved by the Ministry of Communications, the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, without collecting the payment for wagons in the destination point. The settlements for transportation of Azerbaijani population shall be centralized by the accounts, provided by the Railroad Department.

8. To oblige the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR to ensure medical examination of all migrants in the point of destination and medical and sanitary control in the process of transportation. The staff and appropriate medicines shall be provided to accompany the echelons.

9. The Ministry of Finances of the USSR shall envision in the budget of the Azerbaijan SSR for the year of 1948 the funds for the resettlement of Azerbaijani population from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR.

10. The Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR shall joint develop the appropriate specific measures for the resettlement and placement of population from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR, within a period of one month for the purposes of the fulfillment of this decree. The measures shall be reported to the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

11. To allow the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR to use buildings and living houses abandoned by Azerbaijani population in light of their resettlement to the Kura-Aras lowland of the Azerbaijan SSR for the settlement of foreign Armenians arriving into the Armenian SSR.

J. Stalin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

Y. Chadayev, manager of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

**THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF USSR, DECREE №754
ON THE MEASURES OF RESETTLEMENT OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS
AND OTHER AZERBAIJANI POPULATION FROM THE ARMENIAN SSR
TO THE KURA-ARAS LOWLANDS OF THE AZERBAIJAN SSR**

10 March 1948. Moscow, Kremlin

In addition to the decree №4083 of the Council of Ministers of December 23rd 1947 "On resettlement of collective farmers and other Azerbaijani population from the Armenian USSR to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR", the Council of Ministers of the USSR decides:

1. To allow collective farms who resettle to the Kura-Aras lowlands from the Armenian SSR, to bring their means of production (agricultural machinery, inventory, draft cattle and vehicles, all types of cattle and poultry, bee families, transport vehicles and other properties, as well as natural and other resources), except for subsidiary enterprises (mills, grits cutters, electric power stations) and components of cultural and consumer buildings.
2. To establish that collective farms of the Armenian SSR, from which collective farmers are resettled to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR, are transferred to collective farms, which will include resettling collective farmers, their movable properties (agricultural machinery, inventory, draft cattle and vehicles, all types of cattle and poultry, bee families, transport vehicles and other properties, as well as natural and other resources), while the cost of immovable properties (plantations of trees, mills, electric power stations and other economic and consumer buildings) are transferred to collective farms in places of settlement within the period, fixed by the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR.
3. To oblige the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR to establish, within a period of one month, the rules of settlement of accounts with collective farms, collective farmers and other Azerbaijani population, resettling from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR, for their immovable properties which remain in the Armenian SSR.

4. To oblige the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR to provide possible assistance to resettling collective farmers, as well as workers and employees who resettle from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR, in sale of their houses in places of resettlement.

5. To recognize as efficient the reorganization of the Department for economic management of resettling population and resettlement of collective farms under the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR to the Resettlement Department under the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR.

6. To oblige the Department for development of irrigated areas in the Kura-Aras lowlands to provide technical assistance and aid in provision of construction materials to migrating collective farms, collective farmers, and construction of subsidiary enterprises, which are required for the accomplishment of migrants.

7. To allow the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Ministry of Agriculture of the Azerbaijan SSR to organize the Azpereselnstroy trust at the base of the Azpereselenstroy office under the Department for development of irrigated lands in the Kura-Aras lowlands, and to organize construction maintenance offices under this trust in Salyan, Alibayramli, Sabirabad and Pushkino.

8. To allow the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR to:

a) organize its representative office in the Armenian SSR (Yerevan) for the period of resettlement of collective farmers and other Azerbaijani population from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR;

b) to spend 11 million roubles of assignments envisioned for the non-centralized (off-limit) capital expenditures for the year of 1948 on the preparatory works related to the resettlement of Azerbaijani population from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR (projecting, construction of subsidiary enterprises, organization of timber industry farms, acquisition of materials, construction equipment, transport vehicles);

c) to organize the recruitment of 700 villagers to do logging jobs in Molotov oblast and the works, carried out by the Department for development of irrigated lands in the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR.

9. To allow the Department for development of irrigated lands in the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR:

a) to carry out the construction of buildings and subsidiary enterprises and preparatory works for further development of resettlement construction within the financial estimates coordinated with the Agricultural Committee;

b) to increase production capacities of logging industry in Molotov oblast during 1948-1950.

10. To oblige the State Provision of the USSR, the Ministry of Motor Car and Tractor Industry, the Ministry of Mechanical Engineering and Instrument Making, the Ministry of Electricity Industry, the Ministry of Meat and Milk Industry of the USSR, the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry of USSR, the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the Ministry of Food Industry of the USSR, to supply the equipment and materials in amounts indicated in the Appendix, to the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the Department of Exploration of Irrigated Lands in the Kura-Aras lowland.

11. To oblige the Central Union in coordination with the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR to deliver to the Azerbaijan SSR the construction material sand motor cars for sale to collective farms and collective farmers, migrating from the Armenian SSR to the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR.

12. To oblige the Ministry of Communication to provide the Department for development of irrigated lands in the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR in stations Lenkoran, Salyan, Saradjalar, Saatli, Kirminzi-Kend, Daykend, Papanin, Yeni Osmanli, Mashburun, Udjari and Masalli of the Azerbaijan Railroad, areas of 600 meters each within the right of way, for staging posts and rail depots. Loading/deloading areas shall be provided with dead-end sidings. These works shall be carried out by the Department for Development of irrigated lands in the Kura-Aras lowlands of the Azerbaijan SSR.

13. To allow the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR to provide 50 horses which were drafted out from stud farms, for sale to logging organizations of the Azerbaijan SSR.

14. To oblige the State Staff Commission under the Council of Ministers of the USSR to consider and approve within a period of one month the lists of members of staff of the Resettlement Department under the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, Azpereselenstroy trust and its construction/maintenance offices, as well as representative office of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR to Yerevan city of the Armenian SSR.

J. Stalin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

Y. Chadayev, manager of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

MƏQALƏLƏR - ARTICLES – СТАТЬИ

DAĞLIQ QARABAĞ MUXTAR VİLAYƏTİNİN YARADILMASI:
TARİXİ GERÇƏKLİK NƏDİR?

Musa QASIMLI*

Azərbaycan torpaqlarına 1828-ci ildən sonra köçürülmüş ermənilər 1918-ci ildə Ermənistan adlı bir dövlət qurdular. Azərbaycan tərəfi İrəvanı paytaxt olaraq güzəştə getdi. Ermənilər bununla da kifayətlənməyərək, Azərbaycana qarşı əsassız ərazi iddialarını genişləndirdilər. 1923-cü ildə Azərbaycan ərazisində Dağlıq Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayəti yaradıldı. Bu, təbii proses idi, yoxsa qəsd idi? Uzun illər boyu Rusiya arxivlərində “tamamilə məxfi” qrifi altında saxlanılmış çoxlu arxiv sənədlərinin öyrənilməsi bu məsələyə aydınlıq gətirir.

Daşnakların “Böyük Ermənistan” iddiaları və sovet xadimlərinin mövqeyi

1920-ci il aprelin 28-də Azərbaycan işğal edilərək sovetləşdirildi. Bu zaman Ermənistanda hakimiyyətdə olan daşnaklar “Böyük Ermənistan” qurmaq xəyallarını gerçəkləşdirmək məqsədi ilə yeni torpaqlar işğal etmək üçün Azərbaycana qarşı əsassız iddialara başladılar. Ermənistan ilə mübahisələrin hərbi deyil, diplomatik-siyasi yolla həllinə üstünlük verən Azərbaycan hökuməti aprelin 30-da nota verdi. Notada yazılırdı: "1. Qarabağ və Zəngəzurdan ordularınızı çıxarın; 2. Öz sərhədlərinizə çəkilin. 3. Millətlərarası qırğını dayandırın. Əks halda Azərbaycan SSR İnqilab Komitəsi özünü Ermənistan Respublikası hökuməti ilə müharibə vəziyyətində hesab edəcəkdir¹.

Tarixi həqiqətləri kobudcasına saxtalaşdıraraq Zəngəzuru və Qarabağı erməni torpaqları hesab edən Ermənistanın xarici işlər naziri A.Ohacanyan mayın 3-də verdiyi cavab notasında yazırdı: "Azərbaycan ərazisində erməni ordusu yoxdur... Qarabağ kəndliləri Ermənistan Respublikasının tərkibində olmaq istəyirlər. Zəngəzurda isə Azərbaycan öz hakimiyyətini heç vaxt yaymamışdır və Zəngəzuru Azərbaycan ərazisi hesab etmək hüquqi və taktiki cəhətdən düzgün deyildir..."².

* Tarix elmləri doktoru, professor, Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyasının Qafqazşünaslıq İnstitutunun direktoru.

¹ Нота Азербайджанского советского правительства правительствам Армении и Грузии. 30.04.1920. – Azərbaycan Respublikası Dövlət Arxivi (ARDA), f. 28 s., siy.1, iş 99, v.12; Azərbaycan Respublikası Siyasi Sənədlər Arxivi (ARSSA), f. 1, siy.169, iş 249, v.8; f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.9; Газ. “Коммунист”, Баку, 01.05.1920, №1.

² Нота Армении. 03.05.1920. №2792. – ARDA, f.28 s., siy.1, iş 99, v.26; Газ. “Коммунист”, Баку, 15.05.1920, №12

Qeyd etmək lazımdır ki, coğrafi anlamda Qarabağ dedikdə, Yelizavetpol quberniyasının Şuşa, Cavanşir və Zəngəzur qəzalarını əhatə edən keçmiş xanlıq ərazisi, həmçinin Göyçə gölündən cənuba doğru Kiçik Qafqazın cənub-şərq hüdudları başa düşülürdü³.

Əsassız ərazi iddialarını davam etdirən ermənilərin Tiflisdəki Qarabağ icmasının nümayəndələri S.Pirimov və Aramans Yerhinyans 1920-ci il mayın 9-da Q.K.Orconikidzeyə göndərdikləri teleqramda Zəngəzurun və Qarabağın əhalisinin Azərbaycanın tərkibinə daxil olmaqdan imtina etdiklərini yazsalar da⁴, bir müddət sonra, iyunun 9-da V.İ.Leninə göndərdikləri teleqramda vurğulayırdılar:

“Qarabağ ermənilərinin çoxu Bakı mədənlərində çörək pulu qazanırlar... Dağlıq Qarabağ kəndliləri 1920-ci il yanvarın 22-də Azərbaycanın hakimiyyətini rəsmən tanımışlar... Dağlıq Qarabağ kəndlilərinə öz müqəddəratını təyinetmə hüququ verməyinizi xahiş edirik...”⁵.

Əsassız iddialarına nail olmaq üçün daşnak Ermənistanı ideoloji fərqlərə baxmayaraq, Rusiya sovet hökumətinə Azərbaycan ilə mübahisəli məsələlərin həllində vasitəçi olması və azərbaycanlılara məxsus əraziləri mübahisəli elan edərək, rus qoşunlarını yerləşdirməyi təklif edirdi. RSFSR xalq xarici işlər komissarının müavini L.Karaxan 1920-ci il mayın 15-də Azərbaycan SSR xalq xarici işlər komissarı Mirzədavud Hüseynova teleqram göndərərək Rusiya sovet hökumətinin vasitəçiliyinə razılıq verilməsi haqqında məlumat verməyi xahiş etdi⁶.

Lakin hansı cavabın veriləcəyini gözləməyən Ermənistan az sonra hərbi əməliyyatlara başladı. Hərbi əməliyyatların aparılmasının konkret hədəfləri var idi. Erməni tədqiqatçısı A.Lalayanın yazdığı kimi, daşnak Ermənistanı Azərbaycanda Qarabağ və Naxçıvan, Gürcüstanda Borçalı, Axıska, Axalkələk kimi torpaqları işğal etmək, Türkiyədən Şərqi Anadolunu Aralıq dənizində qoparmaqla "böyük, müstəqil Ermənistan" yaratmaq istəyirdi⁷.

³ Энциклопедический словарь. Изд. Брокгауз, Ефрон.Т. XIV.СПб., 1895.

⁴ Телеграмма С.Пиримова и А.Ерхиняна С.Орджоникидзе.09.05.1920. – Российский Государственный Архив Социально - Политической Истории (РГАСПИ), ф. 85, оп. 13, д. 18, л. 1.

⁵ Телеграмма С.Пиримова и А.Ерхиняна В.И.Ленину.09.06.1920. –ARSSA-nın surət fondu, 409, v. 1-2, 4.

⁶ Телеграмма заместителя наркома иностранных дел Карахана народному комиссару иностранных дел Гусейнову. 15.05.1920. №1102. – ARDA, f. 28s., siy. 1, iş 99, v. 96.

⁷ Лалаян А. Контрреволюционный “Дашнакцютюн” и империалистическая война 1914-1918 гг. – “Революционный Восток”,М.,1963, № 2-3.

Ermənistanın təcavüzkarlıq hərəkətləri Azərbaycanda etirazla qarşılandı. N.Nərimanov, Qafqaz diyar Komitəsinin üzvü P.K.(Budu) Mdivani, Azərbaycan K(b)P MK üzvü A.Mikoyan, Ermənistan K(b)P MK üzvü Nuricanyan iyunun 19-da RSFSR xalq xarici işlər komissarı G.Çiçerinə və Q.K.Orconikidzeyə teleqram göndərərək daşnak hökumətinin Azərbaycana hücum etdiklərini, bəzi rayonlarda uğur qazandıqlarını, Qazaxa və Gədəbəyə yaxınlaşdıqlarını, dəmiryolunu təhlükəyə salmaq məqsədi güddüklərini və daşnak Ermənistanı ilə danışıqların zamanı gəlmədiyini bildirdilər. Azərbaycan ordusunun yaxınlaşdığını gören Dro başda olmaqla erməni terror dəstələrinin Qarabağdan çəkildikdən sonra ermənilərin sovet hakimiyyəti quraraq Qarabağdakı komissarlar olan D.Bünyadzadə və M.Qaragözovla əlaqə qurduqlarını qeyd edən bu şəxslər vurğulayırdılar:

“Artıq sovet Azərbaycanın tərkibində keçmişdə guya mübahisəli olan Zəngəzur və Qarabağa gəldikdə isə qəti surətdə bəyan edirik ki, bu yerlər mübahisəsizdir və bundan sonra da Azərbaycan hüdudlarında olmalıdır... Öz tərəfimizdən biz daşnak hökuməti ilə hər hansı danışıqları və sizin təklif etdiyiniz şəkildə Türk Ermənistanı (Türkiyənin Şərqi vilayətləri nəzərdə tutulur – M.Q.) haqqında məsələni zamanı çatmamış hesab edirik”⁸.

İyunun 20-də daşnak dəstələri Qazax rayonunun Ermənistan ilə sərhəddə yerləşən kəndlərini yenidən gülləbaran etdilər. Hücumları dayandırmaq və bu tələbi Moskvadakı erməni nümayəndəsinə çatdırmaq üçün Azərbaycan İnqilab Komitəsinin sədri N.Nərimanov G.Çiçerinə, V.İ.Leninə və RSFSR-in Tiflisdəki nümayəndəsi S.M.Kirova müvafiq nota verdi⁹.

Bundan sonra V.İ.Lenin Azərbaycan ilə Ermənistan arasında ərazi mübahisələri barədə G.Çiçerinin fikrini soruşdu. N.Nərimanovun mövqeyinə qarşı çıxaraq, 1920-ci il 22 iyun tarixində V.İ.Leninə “Nərimanov Bakı tatarlarının (azərbaycanlılar – M.Q.) hücum niyyətinə haqq qazandırır”¹⁰ yazan G.Çiçerin gerçək tarixi saxtalaşdıraraq vurğulayırdı:

⁸ Телеграмма Нариманова, Мдивани, Микоянаи Нуридджаняна Чичерину, копия Орджоникидзе. 19.06.1920. – ARSSA, f.1, sly.31, iş 186a, v. 10; РГАСПИ, ф. 28, оп 1, д. 99, л. 115.

⁹ Нотат. Нариманова наркоминделу Чичерину, копия Ленину, копия Тифлис, дипломатическому представителю РСФСР т. Кирову. – Газ. “Коммунист”, Баку, 08.07.1920, №58.

¹⁰ Ответ Г.Чичерина Ленину. Июнь 1920. – РГАСПИ, ф. 2, оп. 1, д. 14516, л. 2.

“Qarabağ erməni yerləridir, lakin ermənilər orada qaldıqdan sonra düzənlik hissədə tatarlar yerləşmişlər, dağlıq hissədə isə ermənilər qalmışlar. Biz indi tatarları incik salmamaq üçün həmin yerləri ermənilərə vermirik... Gürcüstanın və Ermənistanın sovetləşməsi üçün şərait yetişdikdə, onda bütün bunlar aradan qalxacaqdır”¹¹.

Bu zaman sovet Rusiyası menşevik Gürcüstanını və daşnak Ermənistanını Antanta ölkələrindən ayırmaq üçün diplomatik yolu seçərək kompromis xətt yeridirdi. Azərbaycan kommunistlərinin həmin xəttə maneçilik törətdikləri qənaətində olan G.Çiçerin yazırdı:

“MK Gürcüstan və Ermənistan burjua hökumətləri ilə hələ qüvvələrimizi bu istiqamətə cəlb etmək üçün vaxt olmadığından diplomatik yolla onları Antanta ayaqları altından çıxarmaq və Ermənistanın sovetləşdirilməsini rədd etmək, kompromis xətt yeritmək barədə qərar qəbul etmişdir. Bakılı yoldaşlar öz hərəkətləri ilə kompromisi pozurlar, MK-nın Ermənistan ilə tələb etdiyi sazişi rədd edirlər, üsyanlara şərait yaradırlar, bizim qüvvələrin tutması qərarına gəlinən mübahisəli ərazilərin Azərbaycana birləşdirilməsi Ermənistanla sazişi tamamilə mümkünsüz edir. Bakılı yoldaşların bu inadkar xətti MK-nın artıq qoyulmuş xəttinin tamamilə əksinə gedir”¹².

G.Çiçerin iyulun 2-də Q.K.Orconikidzeyə göndərdiyi teleqramında daşnak hökuməti ilə kompromis əldə edilməsinin sovet Rusiyası üçün zəruri olduğunu yazaraq əlavə etdi:

“Azərbaycan hökuməti yalnız Qarabağ və Zəngəzuru deyil, Şərur-Dərələyəz qəzasını da mübahisəli elan edir. Sonuncu ərazi heç vaxt, heç bir halda mübahisəli olmamışdır və hətta Müsavat hökuməti belə oranı həmişə Ermənistan kimi tanımışdı. Şərur-Dərələyəzsiz Ermənistana demək olarki, heç nə qalmır, Ermənistan sülh nümayəndə heyəti uzun müqavimətdən sonra gec-tez böyük hissəsinin Ermənistana veriləcəyinə ümid edərək Qarabağ və Zəngəzurun mübahisəli olduğu ilə heç bir halda razılaşmır. Digər tərəfdən Ermənistanla müqaviləmizin Azərbaycan hökumətinin tələblərinə zidd olmadığına dair Azərbaycan hökuməti ilə razılığa gəlməyimiz zəruridir. Sizin Bakıda çox

¹¹ Yene orada.

¹² Письмо Г.Чичерина в Политбюро ЦК РКП (б).22.06.1920. – ARSSA-nın surət fondu.

*böyük təsiriniz olduğundan xahiş edirik, bu təsirdən istifadə edərək Azərbaycan hökumətinin Şərur-Dərələyəzi deyil, Qarabağ və Zəngəzuru mübahisəli ərazi kimi tanımasına nail olun*¹³.

Tarix boyu coğrafi-siyasi və etnik-mədəni baxımdan Azərbaycana məxsus olmuş ərazilərin Ermənistana birbaşa birləşdirilməsini təklif edən G.Çiçerindən fərqli olaraq Q.K.Orconikidze Qarabağ və Zəngəzurun Azərbaycan tərkibində muxtariyyətinin elan edilməsinə, digər ərazilərin isə Ermənistana verilməsi üçün təzyiqlər edilməsinə tərəfdar çıxır, bunu “türk təhlükəsi” və iqtisadi amillərlə əlaqələndirərək tövsiyə edirdi ki, muxtariyyətin elanı ideyası RSFSR ilə Ermənistan arasında imzalanacaq müqavilədə göstərilməməli, ideya Azərbaycandan gəlməlidir. O, G.Çiçerlə telefon danışığında mövqeyini aşağıdakı kimi əsaslandırır:

*“Azərbaycan Qarabağın və Zəngəzurun təcili və danışqsız birləşdirilməsini təkid edir. Məncə bunu etmək zəruridir. Çünki hər iki qəza iqtisadi baxımdan Bakıya meyillidir və xüsusilə, Bəyazid türk diviziyasının araya girdiyi indiki vaxtda bu qəzalar tamamilə İrəvandan ayrılmışlar. Bu qəzalar mübahisəli saxlanıldığı halda, onlar sözsüz, türklər tərəfindən tutulacaqlar və bütün erməni əhalisi qılınclan keçiriləcəkdir. Bunu aradan qaldırmaq üçün biz heç nə edə bilmərik. Bu qəzaların Azərbaycana birləşdirilməsi Azərbaycan kommunistlərinin əlinə güclü dəlil vermiş olar və köçərilər üçün yolları açardı. Qabrielyanın (Daşnak Ermənistanının Moskvadakı nümayəndəsi - M.Q.) sözlərinə görə, erməni nümayəndəliyi sözsüz buna gedər. Məsələnin həllinin belə gedişində Azərbaycanı məcbur etmək olar ki, digər vilayətlərdən imtina etsin. Fikrimcə, Qarabağ və Zəngəzur təcili olaraq Azərbaycana birləşdirilməlidir. Azərbaycanı məcbur edəcəyəm ki, bu vilayətlərin muxtariyyətini elan etsin, lakin bu ideya Azərbaycandan gəlməlidir və heç bir halda bunu müqavilədə (Rusiya ilə Ermənistan arasında imzalanacaq müqavilə nəzərdə tutulur – M.Q.) göstərmək olmaz*¹⁴.

Göründüyü kimi, Orconikidze həmin ərazilərə muxtariyyət verilməsini təklif edir, lakin bu ideyanın Azərbaycandan gəlməsini məsləhət bilir, onun reallaşdırılması üçün təzyiq edəcəyini yazırdı.

¹³ Телеграмма Чичерина Орджоникидзе. 02.07.1920. – РГАСПИ, ф. 85, оп. 3 с., д. 2, л. 3.

¹⁴ Ответ Орджоникидзе по прямому проводу Чичерину. Июль 1920. – РГАСПИ, ф. 85, оп. 3 с., д. 2, л. 6; ARSSA, f. 1, sy. 31, iş 186 a, v. 38.

Məsələyə fərqli yanaşan G.Çiçerinin isə iyulun 8-də Q.K.Orconikidzeyə göndərdiyi teleqramında vurğulayırdı:

“Biz əla bilirik ki, Ermənistanın da sovetləşdirilməsi üçün zaman yetişəcəkdir, lakin indi ona getmək tezdir. Ən başlıcası, indi nəyə nail olmaq olar? İndi Qarabağ və Zəngəzuru mübahisəli yerlər elan etmək olar, bunun üçün isə Azərbaycan hökumətinin razılıq verməsi gərəkdir (seçmə bizimdir – M.Q.). Bu, bizim üçün zəruridir, biz mütləq Ermənistan ilə müqavilə bağlamalıyıq. Bunu qəti şəkildə beynəlxalq vəziyyət tələb edir, bunun üçün isə ən azından Qarabağ və Zəngəzuru mübahisəli elan etmək lazımdır”¹⁵.

G.Çiçerin “Azərbaycan hökumətinin razılıq verməsi gərəkdir” deməklə, əslində Qarabağ və Zəngəzurun Azərbaycan əraziləri olduğunu təsdiqləyir, həmin əraziləri “mübahisəli elan etmək”lə isə gələcəkdə Ermənistana verilməsini düşünürdü.

Mərkəzi hökumətin azərbaycanlılara məxsus tarixi əraziləri Ermənistana vermək cəhdləri Azərbaycanda etiraz yaratdı. N.Nərimanov, P.Mdivani, A.Mikoyan, B.Naneyşvili, IX Ordu Hərbi Şurasının üzvləri J.Vesnik, M.Levandovski və İ.Mixaylov RK(b)P MK-ya göndərdikləri 1920-ci il 10 iyul tarixli məktubda Qafqazda inqilabın mənafeyinə zidd olan, Ermənistan ilə aparılan məlum danışıqlarda nəzərdə tutulan Qarabağ və Zəngəzur məsələlərinə dair vahid fikirlərini bildirdilər. Onlar yazırdılar ki, Müsavat hökuməti dövründə Qarabağ bütövlükdə Azərbaycanın tərkibində olmuşdur. Qarabağ və Zəngəzurun Bakı ilə qırılmaz iqtisadi və mədəni birliyi bu vilayətlərdən olan on minlərlə fəhlədən qidalanaraq, onların İrəvanla tamamilə əlaqəli olmaması 1919-cu ildə Qarabağın erməni əhalisinin kəndli qurultayında aydın şəkildə təsdiqini tapmışdır. Məktub müəlliflərinin fikrincə, Ermənistan agentlərinin təxribatçı əməllərinə baxmayaraq, hər halda erməni əhalisi ermənilərə sakit həyat təminatı şərti ilə Azərbaycanla tamamilə bir yerdə olmağa qəti surətdə tərəfdar olmuşdur. Müsəlman (azərbaycanlı – M.Q.) kütlələrini Azərbaycanın köhnə sərhədlərdə saxlamamağı sovet hakimiyyətinin xəyanəti, ermənipərəstliyi və ya zəifliyi kimi qiymətləndirən bolşevik xadimləri xəbərdarlıq edirdilər:

¹⁵ Телеграмма Чичерина Орджоникидзе. 08.07.1920. – РГАСПИ, ф. 64, оп.1, д.17, л. 60.

“Qarabağ və Zəngəzur məsələsində tərəddüd etməklə Azərbaycanı rəzil vəziyyətə qoymasınlar”¹⁶.

N.Nərimanov bununla bağlı olaraq V.İ.Leninə birmənalı şəkildə yazırdı:

“Mərkəz Gürcüstan və Ermənistanın müstəqilliyini tanımışdır. Lakin eyni zamanda, Mərkəz Azərbaycanın mübahisəsiz ərazilərini Ermənistana verir”¹⁷.

Bu məsələdə G.Çiçerini təqsirləndirən N.Nərimanov yenə də V.İ.Leninə yazırdı:

“Əgər Mərkəzə Azərbaycanı qurban vermək və yalnız Bakını-nefti özündə saxlamaq sərfəlidirsə və Şərqi siyasətindən imtina edirsə, qoy etsin, lakin xəbərdarlıq edirəm: bütöv Azərbaycan olmadan xain daşnakların və gürcü menşeviklərinin qonşuluğunda Bakını saxlamaq olmaz. Digər tərəfdən mən Sizdən öyrənmək istəyirəm, Mərkəz biz müsəlmanlara necə baxır və o, belə mühüm məsələləri bizziz necə həll edə bilər. Mərkəz bizə inanmaya bilər, ancaq Orconikidze və Mdivani kimi məsul yoldaşlar da Mərkəzin qərarı ilə razı deyillər. Mərkəz bizdən silahımızı almışdır və Qarabağ haqqında öz qərarı ilə Müsavat təxribatını gücləndirmişdir. Hansı ki, həmişə deyirlər, müsəlman kommunistlər Azərbaycanı Rusiyaya satmışlar. Həmin Rusiya Gürcüstan və Ermənistanın müstəqilliyini tanıyır, lakin nəyə görə Azərbaycanı sovet hakimiyyəti qurulana qədərki mübahisəsiz əraziləri mübahisəli hesab edir”¹⁸.

Azərbaycan təkcə Mərkəzə müraciət etməklə kifayətlənmədi. 1920-ci il iyulun 10-da Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Bürosunun iclasında “Qarabağdan məruzə” müzakirə edildi. Məruzədə deyilirdi ki, erməni kəndliləri Ermənistana birləşmək istəyirlər¹⁹. Müzakirə nəticəsində qeyd edildi:

“Qarabağın kommunistləri...Qarabağı Azərbaycan ilə sıx bağlayan iqtisadi şəraitə görə, onun Azərbaycana birləşdirilməsini zəruri hesab etmişlər. Erməni kəndliləri Ermənistanın tərkibinə daxil olmaq istəyirlər. Onların Rusiyaya güclü meyili vardır. Rusiyaya gedən yol isə Bakıdan keçir”²⁰.

¹⁶ Письмо Нариманова, Мдивани, Микоила Нанейшвили, Веснина, Левандовского и Михайлова ЦК РКП(б).10.07.1920. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy. 44, iş 118, v. 25-28.

¹⁷ Письмо Н.Нариманова В.И.Ленину. – ARSSA, f.609, siy.1, iş 62, v. 19.

¹⁸ Письмо Н.Нариманова В.И.Ленину. – ARSSA, f.609, siy.1, iş 71, v. 41.

¹⁹ Протокол заседания Бюро ЦК АКП. 10.07.1920. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v. 47-48.

²⁰ Заседание Бюро ЦК АКП.10.07.1920. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy.13, iş 120, v. 13.

Belə bir şəraitdə, 1920-ci il avqustun 10-da bolşevik Rusiyası daşnak Ermənistanı, Antanta ölkələri Osmanlı dövləti isə müqavilə imzaladılar. Bundan ruhlanan Ermənistan Şərqdə Türkiyəyə qarşı yeni bir cəbhə açdı. Lakin türk ordusu Ermənistanı darmadağın etdi. Belə bir şəraitdə Ermənistanı yalnız sovetləşdirmə xilas edə bilərdi.

Sovet Ermənistanı daşnak siyasətini davam etdirir

1920-ci il noyabrın 29-da Ermənistan sovetləşdirildi. Beləliklə, Antantaya qarşı mübarizə aparan Türkiyə və Rusiya arasında yol açılmış oldu. 1921-ci il 16 mart tarixdə isə Rusiya və Türkiyə arasında imzalanan Moskva müqaviləsi Türkiyə ilə Cənubi Qafqaz respublikaları arasında münasibətləri tənzimləmək üçün yeni imkanlar açdı. Lakin Moskva müqaviləsində sərhədlərin müəyyənləşdirilməsindən bəzi sovet xadimləri narazı qalmışdılar. Onlar müqavilə nəticəsində Türkiyənin guya üstünlük əldə etdiyi və Bakını tutmaq üçün böyük perspektivlər qazandığı qənaətində idilər. Bununla bağlı olaraq Xalq Xarici İşlər Komissarlığının katibi Tsyurupa, Puqaçov və b. RK(b)P MK-ya, G.Çiçerinə, İ.Stalinə və Q.Orconikidzeyə 1921-ci il 31 mart tarixli məktublarında yazırdılar:

“Ardahan və İqdırın strateji məntəqə kimi Türkiyəyə verilməsi Cənubi Qafqazı ağır vəziyyətə salır. Bununla İrəvan və Aleksandropol sərhəd rayonlarına çevrilmişdir. Müharibə olacağı təqdirdə onların müdafiəsini təşkil etmək olmayacaqdır. Karsın türklərə keçməsi böyük üstünlük verir, dəmiryolu türklərin zərbəsi altına düşür, Axiska və Axalkələkə yol açılır, Batum Cənubi Qafqazdan ayrılır, Tiflis təhlükə altına düşür, bütün Cənubi Qafqazın və sovet Rusiyasının həyatı əsəbi olan Bakının müdafiəsi ağır şərtlərə düşər olur. Türklər Bakını tutmaq üçün böyük perspektivlər qazanırlar: 1.Naxçıvan-Biçənək aşırımı-Gorus-Şuşa-Yevlax-Bakı; 2.Naxçıvan-Ordubad-Xudafərin körpüsü-Yevlax-Bakı (və ya Xudafərin körpüsü-Qarabağ çölü-Bakı). Bütün bu yollarda (Meğri-Nüvədi istisna olmaqla) türklərə rəğbət bəsləyən müsəlmanlar yaşayırlar, onlar ordunu ərzaq və yolla təmin edər, Cənubi Qafqazın müdafiəsi sıfıra enər (seçmə bizimdir – M.Q.). Erməni kommunistləri sərhədin Arpaçay və Arazdan müəyyənləşdirilməsini “yeni Brest”, “xüsusi zolaq yaratmaq” adlandırırlar”²¹.

²¹ Письмо секретаря Цюрупы, Пугачева ЦК РК(б)П, Чичерину, Сталину.31.03.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.85, оп. с/Турция, д.29, л.32-34, 41.

Bu tövsiyələri verməklə məktub müəllifləri hansı məqsədləri güdürdülər? Bakıya gedən yollar üzərində ermənilərə yeni ərazilərə verməklə “etibarlı ünsürlərdən” ibarət bufer zolaq, strateji maraqlar üçün “ikinci erməni ocağı”nı yaratmağımı düşündülər? Qeyd etmək lazımdır ki, məktubda göstərilən Meğri-Nüvədidə də ermənilər deyil, müstəsna olaraq azərbaycanlılar yaşayırdılar. Görünür, məktub müəllifləri bu məsələni ya dəqiq bilməmiş, ya da gələcəkdə həmin ərazinin Ermənistanla birləşdirilməsi üçün saxta bir zəmin hazırlamaq niyyəti güdmüşlər.

Kars konfransına hazırlıqlar dövründə Ermənistanın Azərbaycana qarşı əsassız ərazi iddiaları və Qarabağ məsələsinin müzakirəsi

Bu zaman Türkiyənin Cənubi Qafqaz respublikaları münasibətlərini tənzimləmək üçün konfransa hazırlaşdılar. Türkiyənin ayrı-ayrılıqda müqavilə bağlamaq istəyindən narahat olan bolşevik Rusiyası ilk növbədə Azərbaycan ilə Türkiyənin yaxınlaşmasına yol vermək istəmirdi. Ona görə də imzalanacaq müqavilənin layihəsini əvvəlcədən Mərkəzlə razılaşdırmağı təklif edərək, Azərbaycana təzyiqlər göstərməyə başladı. 1921-ci il aprelin 1-də RK(b)P MK Siyasi Bürosuna məktub göndərərək, Qafqaz respublikalarının Türkiyə ilə müqavilə layihəsinə dair Büro üzvlərinin öz düşüncələrini Xalq Komissarları Sovetinə yazmalarını xahiş edən G.Çiçerin vurğulayırdı:

“Türklərin taktikası bizdən ala bilmədiklərini ayrı-ayrı müqavilələr bağlamaqla Qafqaz respublikalarından sıxıb almaqdan ibarətdir. Türklərə Qafqaz respublikalarını ayırmaq üçün süni manevrlər etməyə imkan verməmək üçün Qafqaz sovet respublikaları öz aralarında fəvqəladə dərəcədə sıx mütəşəkkil fəaliyyət göstərməli və türklər ilə qarşıdakı danışıqlarda bizimlə tam əlaqədə olmalıdırlar. Bununla belə, qorxmaq olar ki, bu münasibətdə hər şey əlverişli olmayacaqdır və xüsusən Azərbaycan tərəfdən. Əgər biz heç bir arzuolunmaz meyllərə yol verməmək üçün tədbirlər almasaq, belə hallar asanlıqla baş verə bilər (seçmə bizimdir – M.Q.). Buna görə də vacibdir ki, Mərkəzi Komitə qəti şəkildə və konkret olaraq müəyyənləşdirsin ki, Qafqaz sovet respublikaları Türkiyə ilə imzalayacaqları müqaviləni öncədən bizim hökumətimizin bəyənməsi üçün təqdim etsinlər”²².

²² Письмо Чичерина в Политбюро ЦК РК(б)П. 01.04.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.2, оп.1, д.18011, л.1.

G.Çiçerin “təbirlər almasaq” deyərkən, nəyi nəzərdə tuturdu? Sonrakı proseslər göstərdi ki, Mərkəz Azərbaycanın tarixi torpaqlarını qoparmaq üçün Ermənistanın ərazi iddialarını irəli sürməsinə rəvac verərək, Bakını təzyiq altında saxlamışdır.

V.İ.Lenin aprelin 2-də G.Çiçerinin təklifini bəyəndi. RK(b)P MK Siyasi Bürosunun 3 aprel tarixli iclasında (protokol №8, §1) müvafiq qəbul olundu²³. G.Çiçerin aprelin 4-də Q.K.Orconikidze və İ.D.Oraxelaşviliyə göndərdiyi teleqramında Cənubi Qafqaz respublikaları ilə Türkiyə arasında müqavilə layihəsinə dair fikirlərini belə ifadə edirdi:

“Əvvəlcədən Ermənistan və Azərbaycan nümayəndələri ilə görüşün, ayrı-ayrı danışıqlar zamanı sürpriz çıxmasın... Türkiyə ilə Ermənistan arasında müqavilə isə Gürcüstanla olan müqavilədən bəzi hissələri ilə fərqlənməlidir. Onda ən əvvəldə yazılmalıdır ki, tərəflər müharibə vəziyyətinin başa çatdığını elan edirlər, bütün əvvəlki müqavilələri ləğv edirlər, xüsusən Aleksandropol müqaviləsini. ...Azərbaycan ilə müqaviləyə xüsusi diqqət yetirmək lazımdır ki, türklərin B.Şahtaxtinski ilə hazırladıqları layihədə olan maddələr olmasın, burada Türkiyə faktiki olaraq Azərbaycanın protektoratı rolunda çıxış edir. Türklər bütün ölkələrin müsəlmanları üzərində protektorat rolunu oynamaq istəyirlər. Buna heç cür yol vermək olmaz və xüsusən Azərbaycan qəti şəkildə Türkiyənin digər ölkələrin müsəlmanlarının himayəçisi olmaq cəhdlərindən özünün müstəqilliyini qorumalıdır”²⁴.

Q.K.Orconikidze və İ.D.Oraxelaşviliyə teleqram göndərməklə kifayətlənməyərək Azərbaycana da təzyiqlər edən G.Çiçerin aprel ayında M.Hüseynova yazdığı qeydlərində vurğulayırdı:

“Türklərin xətti Azərbaycanda protektorat rolunu oynamağı hər vasitə ilə göstərməkdən ibarətdir. Onun daxili işlərinə qarışmaq üçün himayəçisi olmaq istəyirlər. Cənubi Qafqaz respublikaları bizimlə danışmadan türklərlə müqavilə imzalamasınlar. Türklər bütün dünya müsəlmanları üzərində protektoratlıq qurmaq istəyirlər”²⁵.

²³ Заседания Политбюро ЦК РК(б)П. 03.05.1921 (пр. №8). – РГАСПИ, ф.17, оп. 3/ПБ, д.145, л.1.

²⁴ Телеграмма Чичерина Орджоникидзе, Орахелашвили. 04.04.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.298, оп.1, д.106, л.3.

²⁵ Записка Чичерина наркоминделу Гусейнову. – ARSSA, f.609, sij.1, iş 94, v. 196.

Bundan az sonra, aprelin 16-da Ermənistan SSR xalq xarici işlər komissarı A.Bekzadyan RK(b)P MK, V.İ.Leninə, G.Çiçerinə, İ.Stalinə və Kominterinin İcraiyyə Komitəsinə yazdığı məktubunda Moskva müqaviləsinə etirazını bildirərək vurğulayırdı ki, ilk gözə çarpan odur, Rusiya Ermənistanın hesabına Türkiyəyə ərazi güzəştləri etmiş, bu ərazilərin gənc və kiçik bir sovet respublikası üçün saxlanılmasına cəhdlər edilməmişdir. O, Türkiyənin bütün Cənubi Qafqaz müsəlmanlarının, xüsusən sovet Azərbaycanının himayəçisi və müdafiəçisi olmağa iddia etməsini qəbul etməyərək, “türklərə kim bu səlahiyyəti vermişdir” deyər yazır, hesab edirdi ki, Cənubi Qafqaz müsəlmanlarının ən yaxşı müdafiəçisi sovet Rusiyası ola bilər. Naxçıvan və Şərur-Dərələyəz məsələsində Rusiyanın öz mövqelərini qorumaq üçün lazımi dəyanət göstərmədiyini yazan A.Bekzadyan türk nümayəndə heyətinin Naxçıvan məsələsini və Naxçıvanda muxtariyyət yaradılması təklifini “Türkiyənin şərq sərhədlərinin təhlükəsizliyi” ilə əlaqələndirməsinə qarşı çıxaraq, yanlış olaraq bunu sovet Ermənistanına hücum imkanı, təcavüzkarlıq niyyəti kimi qiymətləndirirdi. Guya “erməni ərazilərinin verilməsini” ermənilərin hüquqlarının pozulması hesab edən, A.Bekzadyan “Rusiyanın millətlərin öz müqəddəratını təyin etmə hüququnu” pozduğunu bildirirdi. O, Ermənistanda qalan iki iri mərkəzin - İrəvan və Aleksandropolun kamalçı Türkiyənin təhlükəsi qarşısında olduğu qənaətində idi. Naxçıvan və Şərur-Dərələyəz məsələsinin həlli ilə Ermənistanın Zəngəzuru idarə edə bilməyəcəyini, Sarıqamış, Kars, Kağızman və digər ərazilərdən məhrum olan Ermənistanın kommunizm qurmaq üçün oralardan lazım olan yanacaq, tərəvəz və s. aldığını yazan A.Bekzadyan bütün bu məsələləri sovet Ermənistanı üçün ölüm-dirim məsələsi hesab edirdi²⁶.

Kars konfransına hazırlıqlar dövründə Ermənistan sovet hökuməti daşnak hökumətinin Qazaxda işğal etdiyi Azərbaycan yaylaqlarını və meşələrini geri qaytarmaq, kəndliləri həmin yerlərə buraxmaq istəmir, Qarabağ regionuna iddialar irəli sürürdü. Digər tərəfdən, Cənubi Qafqazın üç respublikası arasında ərazi mübahisələri qızıışırdı. Ona görə də RK(b)P MK Qafqaz bürosu 1921-ci il 2 may tarixli iclasında (protokol №2) S.Kirovun sədrliyi altında Cənubi Qafqaz respublikaları arasında daxili sərhədləri dəqiqləşdirmək üçün Azərbaycan, Gürcüstan və Ermənistan nümayəndələrindən ibarət komissiya yaratdı²⁷.

²⁶ Доклад наркоминдела Армении Бекзадяна в ЦК РКП, Ленину, Чичерину, Сталину, исполком Коминтерну о договоре РСФСР с Турцией. 16.04.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.17, оп. 84, д.238, л.2-7.

²⁷ Протокол №2 заседания Кавбюро ЦК РКП (б). 02.05.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д.1, л.57.

Bundan az bir vaxt keçmiş “Dağlıq Qarabağın Ermənistana birləşdirilməsinə dair məsələ üzrə əsas müddəalar” adlı bir sənəd hazırlandı²⁸. Bu sənəd mahiyyətinə görə, təkcə Dağlıq Qarabağın deyil, Azərbaycanın digər ərazilərinin də qopardılaraq Ermənistana birləşdirilməsi məqsədini güdüdü. Sənəddə vurğulanırdı ki, Dağlıq Qarabağ yüksək olmayan təbii dağ aşırımları sərhədi ilə aran Qarabağdan ayrılmışdır. Beşinci maddədə yazılırdı ki, Dağlıq Qarabağın Ermənistan Respublikasına keçməsi ilə Qarabağ və Zəngəzur arasındakı dar dağ zolağı olan “Kürdüstan”da təbii olaraq ona keçməlidir. Sənəddə qeyd edilirdi ki, bu rayon özünəməxsus coğrafi yerləşməsinə və əhalisinin arasında millətçi meyillərin olduğuna görə, bəzi mürəkkəblilər ola bilər. Şuşadan şimalda Görüs şossesi üstündə yerləşirən və əhalisi cəmi 27 min nəfər olan bu rayon altı kənd icmasından ibarət idi. Millətçi meyilləri aradan qaldırmaq üçün bu rayondan ibarət Ermənistanın idarəçiliyi altında, çarəsiz qaldıqda isə Azərbaycanın protektoratlığı altında xüsusi konton yaratmaq olardı.

Əslində bu sənəd Ermənistanın daha geniş niyyətlər güddüyünü göstərirdi. Belə ki, altıncı maddədə yazılırdı ki, Kürdüstandan cənuba Həkəri cayının axarı boyunca daha çox ermənilərin məskunlaşdığı Qaladərəsi və Cəmilli icmaları yerləşmişlər. Bu həmin zolaqdır ki, ondan şosse yolu keçir və təkinzibati vahid qurmaq və vahid idarəçilik üçün Dağlıq Qarabağ yalnız bu yolla Zəngəzurla birləşə bilər və bu birləşmə olmadan Dağlıq Qarabağın Ermənistana birləşdirilməsinin heç bir mənası qalmır.

Bütün bunları əsas götürən Ermənistan tərəfi heç bir hüquqi əsas olmadan Ermənistan K(b)P MK 1921-ci il 21 may tarixli plenumunda (protokol №4) Dağlıq Qarabağın Ermənistana birləşdirilməsi və Akop İonisyannın Dağlıq Qarabağda səlahiyyətli nümayəndə təyin olunması haqqında qərar qəbul etdi. Zəngəzur komissiyasının bəyanatı haqqında Pirumovun məruzəsini dinlədi. Məlum məsələ barəsində Azərbaycana nota verilməsi məqsəduyğun sayılmadı. Belə bir qərar qəbul olundu ki, RK(b)P MK Qafqaz bürosunun qarşından gələn plenumunda Dağlıq Qarabağ haqqında məsələyə aydınlıq gəlməyə qədər Azərbaycana nota verməkdən imtina edilsin²⁹.

²⁸ Основные положения по вопросу о присоединении Нагорного Карабаха к Республике Армении. 1921. – РГА-СПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д.137, л.7-7 об..

²⁹ Протокол №4 заседания ЦК КП(б) Армении. 23.05.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д.105, л.5 об..

Beləliklə, Ermənistan Kars konfransına hazırlıqlar aparıldığı bir zamanda Dağlıq Qarabağın özünə birləşdirilməsi üçün konkret addımlarını atdı. Mərkəzin işarəsi ilə edilən bu hərəkət Azərbaycana təzyiq etmək, onu bir küncə cıxışdırmaq, tarixi ərazisini qopartmaq və rəsmi Bakını fakt qarşısında qoymaq məqsədi güdüdü.

Ermənistanın bu hərəkətindən bir neçə gün sonra, 1921-ci il iyunun 3-də RK(b)P MK Qafqaz bürosunun plenumu (protokol №6) keçirildi. Plenumda Q.Orconikidze, F.Maxaradze, N.Nərimanov, A.Myasnikov, İ.Oraxelaşvili, A.Nazaretyan, Y.Fiqatner, Azərbaycan K(b)P MK büro üzvlüyünə namizəd Kaminski və Gürcüstan K(b)P MK üzvü Ş.Eliava iştirak edirdilər. Plenumun axşam iclasının gündəliyinə üç məsələ daxil edilmişdi: 1. Azərbaycan məsələsi. 2. Zəngəzur məsələsi. 3. Köçərilər haqqında³⁰.

Q.Orconikidzenin sədrlik etdiyi iclasda geniş müzakirələrdən sonra müvafiq qərarlar qəbul edildi. Sənəddə birinci və üçüncü məsələ üzrə qəbul olunmuş qərarlar protokolda, ikinci məsələyə dair qərarın yerində isə “protokola əlavəyə bax” qeydi yazılmışdır. Bütövlükdə, iclasın protokolu məxfi olmasa da, “Zəngəzur haqqında məsələyə dair” 7 maddədən ibarət qərar “tamamilə məxfi” qurfi ilə qəbul edildi. Qərarın 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7-ci maddələri Zəngəzura, 5-ci maddə isə Dağlıq Qarabağa aid idi. Beşinci maddədə yazılırdı ki, Ermənistan hökumətinin bəyannaməsində Dağlıq Qarabağın Ermənistana məxsus olması göstərilsin³¹.

Göründüyü kimi, qəbul edilən məxfi qərarla Dağlıq Qarabağın Ermənistana məxsus olmasına dair bəyannamə vermək haqqında Ermənistan hökumətinə tapşırıq verilməsi Azərbaycanın ərazi bütövlüyünə edilən qəsd idi. Belə bir qərarı Qafqaz bürosu Mərkəzin göstərişi olmadan qəbul edə bilməzdi. Deməli, bu addım Kars konfransı ərəfəsində Azərbaycana təzyiq etmək, asılı salmaq və tarixi torpağını ondan qoparmaq məqsədi güdmüşdür.

Belə bir qərarın qəbul edilməsi Ermənistanı daha da fəallaşdırdı. Az sonra, iyunun 12-də Ermənistan SSR XKS Qarabağın dağlıq hissəsinin Ermənistana birləşdirilməsi haqqında dekret verdi. A.Myasnikov və M.Karabekyanın imzaladıqları dekretə yazılırdı ki, Azərbaycan Sosialist Sovet Respublikası

³⁰ Протокол №6 вечернего заседания Пленума Кавбюро ЦК РКП(б). 03.06.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д.1, л.76 об..

³¹ Yene orada, v.77.

İnqilab Komitəsinin bəyannaməsinə, Ermənistan və Azərbaycan sosialist respublikaları arasındakı razılaşmaya uyğun olaraq elan edilir ki, bundan sonra Dağlıq Qarabağ Ermənistan Sosialist Sovet Respublikasının tərkib hissəsidir³².

Dekretdən açıq şəkildə bir daha məlum olur ki, əgər Ermənistan Dağlıq Qarabağı “birləşdirdiyini” elan edirdisə, deməli, bu ərazi əvvəllər ona məxsus olmamışdır. Çünki bir dövlət torpağı olan və idarə etdiyi ərazini yenidən özünə birləşdirməsini bəyan etməz. “Bundan sonra Dağlıq Qarabağ Ermənistan Sosialist Sovet Respublikasının tərkib hissəsidir” yazılması da göstərir ki, bu ərazi heç bir zaman erməni əhalisinin təsiri altında olmamışdır. Dekretdə iki respublika arasında “razılaşma” ifadəsi yazılsa da, belə bir razılaşma olmuşdurnu? Biz Dağlıq Qarabağın Ermənistana verilməsi haqqında Azərbaycan hökumətinin razılığına dair heç bir arxiv sənədinə rast gəlmədik. İki respublika arasında bu məsələ üzrə heç bir hüquqi, siyasi sənəd də imzalanmamışdır. Elə isə Ermənistan XKS-nin bəyanatında olan yer alan yalanlar nə ilə bağlı olmuşdur? Görünür, ya Mərkəz Azərbaycanı belə bir “razılığa” getməyə şifahi şəkildə məcbur etmiş, ya da Ermənistan tərəfi saxtakarlıq edərək “razılaşma” olduğunu bəyan etmişdi.

Ermənistan XKS-nin dekreti Ermənistan K(b)P MK-nın 15 iyun tarixli iclasında (protokol № 8) müzakirə edildi. Müzakirə nəticəsində aşağıdakı qərar qəbul edildi: “Dağlıq Qarabağın Sovet Ermənistanına birləşdirilməsi haqqında dekret dərc olunsun”.

İclasın gündəliyinin beşinci maddəsi Qarabağa nümayəndə göndərmək haqqında idi. Müzakirə nəticəsində A.Mravyan, Pirumov, Akop İonisyan, Ter-Simonyan və digərlərindən ibarət qrupun Qarabağa göndərilməsi haqqında qərar qəbul edildi³³.

Qəbul edilən qərara uyğun olaraq Ermənistan İnqilab Komitəsi iyunun 19-da hökumət dekretini mətbuatda dərc etdi. A.Mravyan Dağlıq Qarabağda Ermənistanın fəvqəladə nümayəndəsi təyin edildi.

Ermənistanın özbaşına hərəkətinə Azərbaycanın cavabı özünü çox da

³² Газета “Бакинский рабочий”, 1921, 22 июня.

³³ Протокол №8 заседания ЦК КП Армении. 15.06.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д.105, л.11 об..

gözlətmədi. Azərbaycan SSR XKS-nin 26 iyun tarixli iclasında Dağlıq Qarabağa Ermənistanın iddilərini öyrənmək və XKS üçün geniş məruzə hazırlamaq məqsəduyğun sayıldı. Məruzəni hazırlamaq üçün üç nəfərdən – Şaxtaxtinski, Vəzirov və Əliyevdən ibarət qrupun yaradılması haqqında qərar qəbul edildi. Azərbaycan SSR xalq hərbi-dəniz komissarı Ə.Qarayevin Dağlıq Qarabağa və Naxçıvana səfərinə dair məruzəsi dinlənildi. Azərbaycan XKS tərəfindən bu məsələ ətraflı araşdırılana qədər Ermənistan hökuməti tərəfindən A.Mravyana verilmiş vəkalətnamənin ləğv edilməsi, bu qərar barədə Q.Orconikidzeyə, Ermənistan İnqilab Komitəsinin sədri A.Myasnikova, Azərbaycan xalq hərbi-dəniz komissarı Ə.Qarayevə və A.Mravyana teleqram göndərmək haqqında qərar qəbul edildi³⁴.

Qərara uyğun olaraq, iyunun 27-də N.Nərimanov Azərbaycan SSR XKS adından Q.Orconikidze və A.Myasnikova, surətini Ə.Qarayevə və A.Mravyana teleqram göndərdi. Teleqramda A.Mravyanın Ermənistanın Dağlıq Qarabağda fəvqəladə nümayəndəsi kimi görünməsi misli görünməmiş siyasi və taktiki səhv kimi qiymətləndirilir və dərhal geri çağırılması xahiş edilirdi³⁵.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Siyasi və Təşkilat Bürosunun iyunun 27-də keçirilən iclasında “Azərbaycan ilə Ermənistan arasında sərhədlər haqqında” məsələ müzakirə edildi³⁶. Belə bir qərar qəbul edildi: Dağlıq Qarabağın Azərbaycana qəti iqtisadi meyilini nəzərə alaraq Dağlıq Qarabağ haqqında məsələnin A.Bekzadyan tərəfindən qoyuluşu qəbul edilməzdir; erməni və azərbaycanlı əhali yaşayan yerlərin müvafiq qaydada Ermənistana və Azərbaycana ayrılması təklifi inzibati və iqtisadi məqsəduyğunluq baxımdan qəbul edilə bilməz; məsələnin yeganə həlli N.Nərimanovun bəyanatında deyildiyi kimi, kənddə erməni və müsəlman əhalisinin sovet quruculuğuna geniş cəlb edilməsi ola bilər; bu məsələnin sonrakı gedişi və müzakirəsi Tiflisdən məlumat alana qədər açıq saxlanılsın.

N.Nərimanovun sədrliyi ilə Azərbaycan SSR XKS-nin iyunun 28-də keçirilən iclasında A.Myasnikovun Dağlıq Qarabağı “Ermənistan Sovet Sosialist

³² Газета “Бакинский рабочий”, 1921, 22 июня.

³³ Протокол №8 заседания ЦК КП Армении. 15.06.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д.105, л.11 об..

³⁴ Заседание СНК Азербайджана. 26.06.1921. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy. 169, iş 249/II, v. 48; Протокол заседания СНК Азербайджана. 26.06.1921. – ГААР, ф.411, оп.1, д.12, л.1.

³⁵ Телеграмма Н.Нариманова Орджоникидзе и Мясникову (копия Мрвяну и Караеву). 27.06.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.85, оп.13, д.98.

³⁶ Заседание Орбюро и Политбюро ЦК АКП (б).27.06.1921. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.74, iş 123, v. 88; Протокол №20 заседания политического и организационного бюро ЦК АКП(б).27.06.1921. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v. 49-50; ARDA, f.28 s., siy.1, iş 135, v. 2.

Respublikasının bir hissəsi” kimi elan edən bəyanatı rədd edildi və A.Mravyanın “Dağlıq Qarabağda Ermənistanın fəvqəladə nümayəndəsi” kimi geri çağırılması məsələsi qaldırıldı. Məsələnin Qafqaz Bürosunda müzakirəsi üçün N.Nərimanovun Tiflisə səfəri nəzərə alındı və Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Siyasi və Təşkilat Bürosunun 27 iyun tarixli iclasının qərarı əsas kimi qəbul olundu³⁷.

Ermənistan ilə Azərbaycan arasında mübahisəni nəzərə alaraq RK(b)P MK Qafqaz Bürosu plenumunun 1921-ci 4 iyul tarixli iclasında (protokol №11) beşinci məsələ kimi Dağlıq Qarabağ haqqında məsələ müzakirə edildi³⁸. Müzakirə zamanı iki müxtəlif fikir yarandı. Qarabağın Azərbaycanın hüdudlarında saxlanılmasının (“verilməsinə” deyil. Sənəddə belə də yazılmışdır. Seçmə bizimdir – M.Q.) lehinə N.Nərimanov, F.Maxaradze, A.Nazaretyan, əleyhinə Q.Orconikidze, A.Myasnikov, S.Kirov və Y.Fiqatner səs verdilər. Qarabağın bütün əhalisi arasında rəy sorğusu keçirilməsinin lehinə N.Nərimanov və Y.Fiqatner səs verdilər. Qarabağın Ermənistanın tərkibinə qatılması lehinə (Sənəddə belə yazılmışdır. Seçmə bizimdir – M.Q.) Q.Orconikidze, A.Myasnikov, Y.Fiqatner və S.Kirov səs verdilər. Yalnız Dağlıq Qarabağda ermənilər arasında plebissit keçirilməsi təklifinin lehinə Q.Orconikidze, A.Myasnikov, Y.Fiqatner, S.Kirov və A.Nazaretyan səs verdilər. Nəticədə belə bir qərar qəbul edildi: Dağlıq Qarabağ Ermənistan SSR tərkibinə qatılsın. Rəy sorğusu yalnız Dağlıq Qarabağda keçirilsin.

Tarixi və etnomədəni gerçəkliyi əks etdirməyən qərara N.Nərimanov etirazını bildirdi. Bundan sonra Q.Orconikidze səhv mövqeyindən imtina etdi. O və A.Nazaretyan qərara yenidən baxmaq haqqında məsələ qaldırdılar.

RK(b)P MK Qafqaz Bürosu plenumunun RK(b)P MK üzvü İ.Stalin, Qafqaz bürosunun üzvləri Q.Orconikidze, F.Maxaradze, S.Kirov, A.Nazaretyan, İ.Oraxelaşvili, Y.Fiqatner, N.Nərimanov və A.Myasnikovun, Azərbaycan SSR xalq xarici işlər komissarı M.Hüseynovun iştirakı ilə 1921-ci iyulun 5-də keçirilən iclasında (protokol №12) Dağlıq Qarabağ məsələsi yenidən müzakirə edildi³⁹. Məsələ üzrə aşağıdakı kimi qərar qəbul edildi:

a) yuxarı və aşağı Qarabağın iqtisadi əlaqəsini, yuxarı Qarabağın Azərbaycan ilə

³⁷ Протокол заседание СНК Азербайджана. 28.06.1921. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.169, iş 249/II, v. 48.

³⁸ Протокол №11 вечернего заседания Кавбюро ЦК РКП (б).04.07.1921. – РГАСПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д. 1, л. 114.

³⁹ Протокол №1-2 заседания Пленума Кавбюро ЦК РКП (б).05.07.1921. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.2, iş 25, v.107-108; РГАСПИ, ф.64, оп.1, д.1, л. 114.

daimi əlaqələrini və azərbaycanlılara ermənilər arasında milli sülhün zəruriliyini nəzərə alaraq, Dağlıq Qarabağ Azərbaycan SSR-in hüduqlarında saxlanılsın, Dağlıq Qarabağa Şuşa şəhəri inzibati mərkəz olmaqla geniş muxtariyyət verilsin; b) Azərbaycan MK-ya tapşırılsın ki, muxtar vilayətin sərhədlərini müəyyənləşdirib, təsdiq üçün RKP MK-nın Qafqaz Bürosuna təqdim etsin; v) Qafqaz Bürosu MK Rəyasət Heyətinə tapşırılsın ki, muxtar vilayətin sərhədlərini müəyyənləşdirib, təsdiq üçün RKP MK-nın Qafqaz Bürosuna təqdim etsin; q) Qafqaz Bürosu MK Rəyasət Heyətinə tapşırılsın ki, Dağlıq Qarabağın fəvqəladə komissarının namizədliyi haqqında Ermənistan MK və Azərbaycan MK ilə danışılsın; d) Dağlıq Qarabağ vilayətinin hüduqları Azərbaycan MK tərəfindən müəyyən edilsin və Qafqaz Bürosu MK-nın təsdiqinə verilsin.

Kars konfransı ərəfəsində belə bir qərarın qəbul edilməsi bir neçə baxımdan diqqəti cəlb edirdi. Hər şeydən əvvəl, Ermənistan Moskva müqaviləsi ilə artıq müəyyənləşdirilmiş sərhədlərin dəyişdirilməsinə çalışsa da, bu, mümkün deyildi. Ona görə də Mərkəzin məqsədi tarixi Azərbaycan torpaqlarında ermənilər üçün muxtariyyət, “ikinci erməni ocağı”nın yaratmaqla erməniləri “sakitləşdirilmək”, Azərbaycanı təzyiq altında və asılı saxlamaq, Türkiyənin Antanta ölkələri ilə yaxınlaşaraq Cənubi Qafqaza girməsinə imkan verməmək idi. Mərkəz hakimiyyət bu addımı ilə Azərbaycan və erməni xalqları arasında düşmənçilik üçün yeni zəmin hazırlamış oldu.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Siyasi Bürosu və Təşkilat Bürosu 1921-ci il 20 iyul tarixli iclasında Qarabağa dair məsələlərin işlənilib hazırlanması üçün komissiya yaratmağı qərara aldı. Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Siyasi və Təşkilatı Bürosunun 8 avqust tarixli iclasında (protokol №27) Qarabağda vəziyyət haqqında məsələni müzakirə etdi. İclasda S.Kirov, N.Nərimanov, Q.Kaminski, L.Mirzoyan, M.Qasimov, S.Əfəndiyev, H.Sultanov, Qutin, Ə.Qarayev və R.Axundov iştirak edirdilər. Ə.Qarayev və L.Mirzoyanın məruzəsi dinlənildi. Məruzəni L.Mirzoyan hazırlamış, Ə.Qarayev isə ona qələmlə bəzi qeydlərini etmişdi. Erməni kəndlisinin Bakı ilə sıx əlaqəsi olmadan yaşaya bilmədiyini deyən L.Mirzoyan Qarabağ məsələsinin həlli üçün aşağıdakı təklifi etdi: Azərbaycan XKS-yə, Azərbaycan MİK-ə və partiya baxımından birbaşa tabeliyində olan, mərkəzi Xankəndi olmaqla bütün Dağlıq Qarabağ inzibati vahidi ayrılınsın. Onun fikrincə, bu, bütün Qarabağ məsələsini həll edəcəkd⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ Протокол №27 заседания политическо-организационного Бюро ЦК АКП (б).08.08.1921. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.2, iş 19, v.3.

Kars konfransı açılan gün, AK(b)P MK Siyasi Bürosu və Təşkilat Bürosunun 26 sentyabr tarixli iclasında (protokol №30) Qarabağ məsələsi yenidən müzakirə edildi və səs çoxluğu ilə belə bir qərar qəbul olundu:

“Qafqaz Bürosundan xahiş edilsin ki, Dağlıq Qarabağın muxtar vahidə ayrılması haqqında qərarına yenidən baxsın; buna qədər muxtariyyət elan etməməli”.

Belə bir qərarın qəbul edilməsi həm Kars konfransında Azərbaycanın Türkiyə ilə yaxınlaşmasına mane olmaq üçün təzyiq anlamına gəlir, həm də Dağlıq Qarabağın nəzərdə tutulan muxtariyyətindən imtina edilməsi və onun Ermənistana verilməsi təhlükəsindən xəbər verirdi. Görünür, ona görə də N.Nərimanov və xalq maarif komissarı və xalq fəhlə-kəndli müfəttişliyi komissarı D.Bünyadzadə Qafqaz bürosunun muxtariyyət yaradılması haqqında qərarının qısa müddət ərzində həyata keçirilməsini tələb etdilər.

Məsələyə dair material toplamaq üçün Ə.Qarayev, S.Əfəndiyev, Stukalov və L.Mirzoyandan ibarət komissiya yaradıldı. Komissiya Azərbaycan MİK-in sessiyası sona çatana qədər Qarabağa gedərək materiallar toplamalı idi⁴¹. Fəaliyyətə başlayan komissiya bölgədə sovet və partiya işinə də rəhbərlik etməli idi.

Dağlıq Qarabağ məsələsinin müzakirəsi davam etdirilir

Belə bir şəraitdə, 1921-ci il oktyabrın 13-də Karsda Rusiyanın vasitçiliyi ilə Türkiyə və Cənubi Qafqaz respublikaları arasında müqavilə imzalandı və ərazi-sərhəd məsələləri tənzimləndi. Belə ki, S.Kirov və Q.Orconikidzenin təşəbbüsü ilə Zaqafqaziya Diyar Komitəsi Rəyasət Heyətinin 1922-ci il 27 oktyabr tarixli iclasında Azərbaycan K(b)P MK-ya Qafqaz Bürosunun 1921-ci il 5 iyul tarixli qərarının həyata keçirilməsi tapşırıldı. Həmin qərara uyğun olaraq, Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin 1922-ci il 30 oktyabr tarixli iclasında (protokol №49) Qarabağ muxtariyyətinə dair məsələləri işləyib-hazırlamaq üçün S.Ağamalıoğlunun sədrliyi altında Qaragözov və Svidirovdan ibarət komissiya yaradıldı⁴². Azərbaycan K(b)P MK-nın Azərbaycan K(b)P Bakı Komitəsinin

⁴¹ Протокол № 30 заседания организационного и политического бюро ЦК АКП. 26.09.1921. – ARSSA, f.1, siy. 31, iş 186a, v.51-52; Справка. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.40; ARSSA, f.1, siy.169, iş 249/I, v. 51.

⁴² Выписка из протокола №49 заседания Президиума Центрального Комитета Азербайджанской Коммунистической Партии.30.10.1922. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.26.

noyabr ayında keçirilən plenumunda məsələnin həlli üçün komissiya təşkil etmək Rəyasət Heyətinə tapşırıldı⁴³.

Xarici ölkələrdən ermənilərin gətirilməsi məsələsi müzakirə edilir. Lozan konfransı zamanı G.Çiçerinin sovet xadimlərinə tövsiyələri: “Milli azlıqlar üçün hər hansı formada özünüidarəni yaratmaq yaxşı olardı”

Belə bir şəraitdə xarici ölkələrdən ermənilərin gətirilməsi də gündəlikdə idi. A.F.Myasnikov 1922-ci il noyabrın 15-də İ.Stalin, V.İ.Lenin və G.Çiçerine göndərdiyi teleqramında yazırdı:

“...3. Sülhə can atdıqlarından İstanbuldan və digər yerlərdən 5 min nəfərədək erməni sənətkara öz əmlakları ilə Rusiyanın və Cənubi Qafqazın müxtəlif şəhərlərinə yerləşmək üçün sovet respublikalarında sığınacaq verilsin”⁴⁴.

1922-ci il noyabrın 29-da Lozandan İ.Stalinə yazdığı məktubunda ən çətin məsələnin milli azlıqlar məsələsi olduğunu qeyd edən G.Çiçerin, Millətlər Cəmiyyətinin hər yerdə, həmçinin Latviyada milli məsələlərə qarışmasına imkan verəcəyini güman edirdi. O, milli azlıqlar üçün hər hansı bir formada özünüidarənin yaradılmasını yaxşı olsa da, xeyli çətin hesab edirdi. G.Çiçerin Millətlər Cəmiyyətinin milli azlıqlardan istifadə edərək sovet Rusiyasının daxili işlərinə qarışacağından, ermənilərin düşdüyü vəziyyətdən sovet dövlətinə qarşı istifadə edəcəyindən və ictimai rəyi ona qarşı yönəldəcəyindən narahat idi. Çünki Birinci dünya müharibəsi və ondan sonrakı illərdə xarici ölkələrdən gəlmiş 250 min nəfərə qədər erməni özləri ilə çoxlu problemlər gətirmişdilər. Bu zaman Cənubi Qafqazda bütövlükdə 320 min qaçqın toplanmışdı. Onlardan 15 mini Gürcüstanda, 15 mini Azərbaycanda, 150 mini Şimali Qafqazda, 110 mini Ermənistanda, qalanları isə digər yerlərdə idi⁴⁵.

Dağlıq Qarabağ haqqında məsələ

Belə bir şəraitdə Qarabağın muxtariyyətinə dair komissiyanın üzvləri A.Qaragözov,

⁴³ Выписка заседания Пленума ЦК АКП, БК АКП с присутствием ответственных работников. Ноябрь, 1922. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.26.

⁴⁴ Шифротелеграмма секретаря Закрайкома РКП Мясникова Сталину, Ленину, Чичерину.15.11.1922. – РГАСПИ, ф.5, оп.2, д.108, л.3.

⁴⁵ Письмо председателя беженской комиссии при Союзном Совете ССРЗ. Ракатадзе, члены комиссии М.Карабека, Наджафова и секретаря Исаакяна в Союзный Совет ССРЗ. – ГМӨУТА, f.612, siy.1, iş 27, v.1-3.

Şadunç, Manuçyan və A.Mirzəbekyan 1922-ci ilin dekabrında Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin iclasında həm dağ, həm də arın Qarabağa vahid inzibati muxtariyyət verilməsi məsələsini qaldırdılar⁴⁶. Ə.Qarayevin sədrliyi altında İ.Dövlətov (Dövlətyan – M.Q.), L.Mirzoyan və b. ibarət komissiya bu məsələni araşdıraraq Zaqafqaziya Diyar Komitəsinin müzakirəsinə təqdim etdi. Muxtariyyətin yaradılması haqqında məsələ 1922-ci il dekabrın 14-də RK(b) P-nin Zaqafqaziya Diyar Komitəsinin iclasında müzakirə olundu və aşağıdakı qəbul edildi:

“...1. ASSR Xalq Komissarları Sovetinin nəzdində RK(b)P MK-ya bilavasitə müraciət etmək hüququ olan Şuşada yerləşən Dağlıq Qarabağ işləri üzrə xüsusi komitə yaradılsın. 2. Şuşada 7 nəfərdən Şuşa, Cavanşir və Qaryagin qəza icraiyyə komitələrinin sədrləri və üzvlərindən, göstərilən hər bir qəzadan bir nəfər nümayəndədən ibarət komitə yaradılsın. 3. İkinci maddədə göstərilən komitənin sədri Qaragözov təyin edilsin. O, göstərilən qəzalardan 3 nəfər nümayəndəni müəyyənləşdirsin. 4. Birinci bənddə göstərilən komitəni yaratmaq üçün Kirov, A.Mirzəbekyan və Qaragözovdan ibarət komitə yaradılsın. 5. Azərbaycan XKS-ə təklif edilsin ki, Qarabağın erməni əhalisinin ehtiyacı olan qəder vəsait buraxsın. 6. AKP MK-ya təklif edilsin ki, Dağlıq Qarabağı işçilərlə gücləndirsin. 7. Bütün bu qərarlar bir həftə müddətində həyata keçirilsin⁴⁷.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin 15 dekabr tarixli iclasında Zaqafqaziya Diyar Komitəsinin müvafiq qətnaməsi müzakirə olunaraq qəbul edildi. Azərbaycan XKS-nin Dağlıq Qarabağ üzrə komissiyası S.Kirov, A.Mirzəbekyan və A.Qaragözovdan ibarət yaradıldı⁴⁸.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin 17 dekabrın tarixli qərarına uyğun olaraq A.Qaragözov başda olmaqla Dağlıq Qarabağ işləri üzrə komitə təsdiq edildi⁴⁹. Komitənin tərkibinə Şuşa qəza İcraiyyə Komitəsinin sədri Ağzadə, Cəbrayıl qəza İcraiyyə Komitəsinin sədri Məmmədخانov, Trakozin və Şadunç daxil edildilər. Dağlıq Qarabağ komitəsində işləmək üçün Papezyanı Ermənistan XKS-nin katibi, Fanokolyansı isə Zəngəzur qəza komitəsinin katibi vəzifəsindən

⁴⁶ Справка. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş186a, v.40.

⁴⁷ Выписка из протокола №9 заседания пленума Заккрайкома РКП.14.12.1922. Г.Баку. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy. 85, iş 215, v. 141.

⁴⁸ Протокол №56 заседания Президиума ЦК АКП(б). 15.12.1922. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186 a, v.55-56.

⁴⁹ Протокол №57 заседания Президиума ЦК АКП(б).17.12.1922. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy. 74, iş 129, v. 180; ARSSA, f.1, siy. 31, iş 186a, v.28; ARSSA, f. 1, siy. 169, iş 249/l, v. 28.

azad etmək RK(b)P Zaqafqaziya Diyar Komitəsindən xahiş edildi. Azərbaycan SSR Fövqəladə Komissiyasının sədri M.Bağirova yuxarıda adları sadalanan tərkibi təcili olaraq XKS-dən keçirmək tapşırıldı. A.Qaragözova təcili olaraq komitənin fəaliyyəti üçün zəruri olan vəsaitin smetasını tutub XKS-nin həmin gün axşam keçiriləcək iclasına təqdim etmək həvalə edildi. Azərbaycan XKS yanında Dağlıq Qarabağ işləri üzrə Mərkəzi Komitə yaradıldı⁵⁰. Komitə yerlərdə vəziyyəti öyrənərək Azərbaycan K(b)P MK-nın Rəyasət Heyətinə bir layihə təqdim etdi.

G.Çiçerin köçürülən ermənilər üçün “milli ocaq”, “özünüidarə edən kontonlar” yaradılmasını təklif edir

Lozan konfransı zamanı yaranmış beynəlxalq şəraitdən istifadə edən erməni xadimləri “erməni məsələsi”ni həll etmək istəyirdilər. Bu niyyət Beynəlxalq Erməni Cəmiyyətinin nümayəndələrinin dekabrın 23-də Lozanda G.Çiçerin ilə görüşündə aydın şəkildə özünü göstərdi. Onlar G.Çiçerindən ermənilər üçün sovet Rusiyasında bir “milli ocaq” yaradılması işinə qarışmağı xahiş etdilər.

Bu, qəribə mövqe idi. Axı ermənilər üçün tarixi türk torpaqlarında hələ 1918-ci ildə “milli ocaq” – Ermənistan adlı bir dövlət qurulmuş və o, 1920-ci ildə sovetləşdirilmişdi. “Milli ocaq” deyərkən bu şəxslər hansı ərazini nəzərdə tuturdular?

Həmin istək Q.Nuraduqyanın G.Çiçerin ilə görüşündə də səsləndirildi. Dekabrın 24-də səhər tezdən G.Çiçerinin yanına gələn Q.Nuraduqyan bildirdi ki, sovet Rusiyasının ermənilər üçün etdiklərindən riqqətə gəlmiş və ona qarşı mübarizə aparmaqdan imtina etmişlər. G.Çiçerin dedi ki, indi nə qədər erməninin yerləşdirilməsi haqqında məsələyə Moskvada baxılır. Soyuq iqlimə uyğunlaşacaqlarına şübhə edən Q.Nuraduqyan ermənilərin ölkənin cənub ərazilərinə yerləşdirilməsini istəyirdi. O, hiyləgərliklə bildirirdi ki, “erməni məsələsi” İngiltərə və Amerikada ictimai rəyi hiddətləndirir, Fransada isə ona laqeyd yanaşırlar, həmin məsələdə İngiltərə və Fransa arasında fikir ayrılığı mövcuddur⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Выписка из протокола №41 заседания Совета Народных Комиссаров АССР. 17.12.1922. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy. 85, iş 249, v. 423.

⁵¹ Письмо Чичерина Литвинову. 24.12.1922.– РГАСПИ, ф.159, оп.2, д.19, л.142.

G.Çiçerin Rusiyanın cənubunda nə qədər ermənini yerləşdirmək barədə məsələni öyrənəcəklərini söylədi. Ukrayna nümayəndəsi X.Rakovski isə demişdi ki, ermənilərin bir qismini Ukraynada yerləşdirmək olar.

Lozanda milli azlıqlar məsələsinin müzakirəsindən Rusiya kənarlaşdırıldığından G.Çiçerin 1923-cü il yanvarın 26-da Beynəlxalq Erməni Cəmiyyətinə bir məktub göndərdi⁵². O yazırdı ki, Lozan konfransında Rusiya, Ukrayna və Gürcüstan “erməni məsələsi”nin həllindən uzaqlaşdırıldılar, buna baxmayaraq, sovet hökuməti erməni qaçqınlarını qəbul etməyə hazırdır.

Bundan bir gün sonra Rusiya, Ukrayna və Gürcüstan nümayəndə heyətləri Lozan konfransının sədrinə verbal nota göndərdilər⁵³. Notada onlar “erməni məsələsi”nin həllindən uzaqlaşdırılmalarına etiraz edir, erməni əhalisinin taleyindən narahatlıq hissi keçirdiklərini qeyd edərək vurğulayırdılar ki, Rusiya, Ukrayna və Gürcüstan ərazilərində müəyyən qədər ermənini yerləşdirə bilirlər.

G.Çiçerin ermənilərin sovet ərzilərində yerləşdirilməsi barədə məlum notanı verdikdən sonra, Beynəlxalq Erməni Cəmiyyətinin nümayəndələri yenidən onun yanına gələrək təklifin reallaşdırılmasını nəzərdə tutan memorandumu təqdim etdilər⁵⁴.

Moskvanın bu barədə qəti mövqeyini bilmədən G.Çiçerinin məsələni ermənilərlə müzakirə etməsi qəribə idi. Bunu onun yanvarın 27-də müavini M.Litvinova göndərdiyi məktub da təsdiq edirdi. O, yazırdı:

“Bizim ermənilərə torpaq ayırmaq (seçmə bizimdir –M.Q.) barədə bəyanatımız hər şeydən əvvəl, Beynəlxalq Erməni Cəmiyyətində verilmişdir. Biz istəməzdik ki, dövlətlər bunu özlərinin daxili işlərinə qarışmaq kimi qiymətləndirsinlər. Bəyanat çox güclü təəssürat yaratmışdır”⁵⁵.

L.Karaxana yazdığı 28 yanvar tarixli məktubunda da G.Çiçerin Moskvanın bu məsələ barədə nə edəcəyini bilmədiyini, yalnız nəzəri olaraq bəzi məsələləri

⁵² Письмо тов. Чичерина на имя председателя международной филармянской Лиги.26.01.1923. – Газ. “Известия”, 08.02.1923, № 28(1765).

⁵³ Вербальная нота РУГ делегации на имя председателей Лозанской конференции.27.01.1923 (аналогичная нота послана американской миссии на Лозанской конференции). – Газ.“Известия”,08.02.1923, № 28 (1765).

⁵⁴ Армянская делегация у тов. Чичерина. – Газ.“Правда”,01.02.1923, №22.

⁵⁵ Чичерин–Литвинову. Лозанна. 27.01.1923.№ 93. – РГАСПИ, 159, оп. 2, д. 19, л. 311.

müzakirə etdiyini etiraf edirdi⁵⁶. Onunla görüşə Beynəlxalq Erməni Cəmiyyətinin nümayəndə heyəti ilə birlikdə, Amerika-Erməni cəmiyyətinin sədri B.L.Montqomeri, America Nea East Reliefin, Amerika kilsələr federasiyasının nümayəndələri də gəlmişdilər. G.Çiçerin onlardan məsələnin bütün tərəflərini Moskvada müzakirə etmək üçün təməl olacaq təkliflərini yazılı şəkildə vermələrini xahiş etmişdi. Nümayəndələr yaddaş qeydlərini təqdim edəcəklərini söyləmişdilər. Bu işdə sovet hökumətinin iştirakının zəruri olduğunu bildiren G.Çiçerinin fikrincə, sovet tərəfinin maraqları qorunmalı və bilinməli idi ki, hansı elementlər ölkəyə gəlir. Kazaklara tətbiq edildiyi kimi, onlar da filtrasiyadan keçirilməli idilər. Sovetlərin vəsaiti, gətirilən ermənilərin də kifayət qədər pulu olmadığından G.Çiçerin bu işdə ermənilərin mühacirətinə maliyyə yardımı verən və nəqliyyat ayıran təşkilatların iştirak etməsini, imkanları çox olan Beynəlxalq Erməni Cəmiyyətinin iştirakını təklif etmişdi. Bildirmişdi ki, bu məsələləri erməni komissarlığının və erməni milli hərəkatının Dro kimi (1918-1920-ci illərdə daşnak Ermənistanı tərəfindən azərbaycanlılara məxsus torpaqların işğal edilməsində və onların soyqırımında xüsusi rol oynamış Dro Kanayan nəzərdə tutulur – M.Q.) görkəmli xadimlərinin yaşadığı Moskvada müzakirə etmək lazımdır.

Sovet hökuməti ermənilərin gətirilməsi məsələsini müzakirə edir

Az sonra, 1923-cü il martın 23-də Xalq Torpaq Komissarlığı Kollegiyasının üzvü Mesyaçevin sədrliyi altında ermənilərin mühacirəti üzrə komissiyanın iclası keçirildi. İclasda Rusiyaya 200 min erməninin gətirilməsi məsələsi müzakirə edildi. 12 bənddən ibarət qəbul edilən qərara görə, Mesopotamiya və İrandan gətirilənlər ən yaxın yol ilə Türkünəstanə göndərilməli idi. Gətirilənlərin sayı 200 min nəfərdən çox olmamalı, köçürülmə 4 il ərzində, hər il 50 min nəfər olmalı idi. Onların 20 mini Samara, 20 mini Saratov, 20 mini Çarıtsın, 15 mini Stavropol quberniyalarında, 5 mini Kuban-Qara dəniz sahillərində, bundan çox olardısı, 15 mini Cənubi Qafqazda, 40 mini Türkünəstanda, 95 mini Qırğızıstanda yerləşdirilməli idi. 200 min erməninin gətirilməsi nəzərdə tutulsa da, əslində göründüyü kimi, bu rəqəm 220 min edirdi. Qırğızıstan və Türkünəstanın muxtariyyət özünəməxsusluğu olduğundan məsələni həmin muxtar respublikaların, həmçinin Zaqafqaziyanın müvafiq orqanları ilə həll etməli idi⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ Чичерин – Карахану. Лозанна. 28 .01.1923. – РГАСПИ, 159, оп.2, д.19, л. 319-320.

⁵⁷ Протокол заседания комиссии по эмиграции армян. О переселении в Россию 200.000 армян. 23.03.1923. – ГМӨУТА, ф. 617, с.1, іш 69, v.40-40a.

SSRİ xalq xarici işlər komissarının müavini bu qərarı 1923-cü il martın 28-də B.L.Montqomeriyə göndərdi. Məktubda yazılırdı:

“Rusiya, Ukrayna və Gürcüstan nümayəndələri verbal nota ilə Lozan konfransının sədrinə və Amerika nümayəndə heyətinə, həmçinin orada “erməni məsələsi”ndə maraqlı olanlara Rusiya və Ukrayna hökumətlərinin öz ərazilərində xeyli sayda ermənini yerləşdirməyi nəzərdə tutduqlarını bildirmişdir. Onların sayı yaxın zamanlarda dəqiqləşdiriləcəkdir. Bu bəyanat ilə bağlı olaraq nəzərdə tutulanları həyata keçirmək üçün Ermənistan SSR nümayəndələri konkret addımlar müəyyənləşdirmişlər, müvafiq sovet orqanlarının işləyib hazırladıqları plana görə, hər il sovet ərazisinə 50 min ermənini qəbul etmək mümkün olacaqdır. Erməniləri özünüidarə edən kontonlarda Mərkəz Volqaboyu, Cənubi Qafqaz, Qırğızıstan Respublikası və Türküstanda yerləşdirmək nəzərdə tutulmuşdur (seçmə bizimdir – M.Q.). Məskunlaşan ermənilər sovet Rusiyasında milli azlıqların istifadə etdikləri hüquqlardan istifadə edəcəklər. Ermənilərə verilən torpaq fondları, onların məskunlaşması, daşınması, evlərin tikintisi erməniləri xaricdən gətirən təşkilatların hesabına olacaqdır. Onun smetası sovet orqanları tərəfindən tutulub xarici təşkilatlara təqdim ediləcəkdir. Sovet Rusiyasının bu qədər ermənini köçürməsi, yerləşdirməsi və şərait yaratması üçün imkanları yoxdur”⁵⁸.

Bu məktubda yazılan “erməniləri özünüidarə edən kontonlarda... Cənubi Qafqazda... yerləşdirmək nəzərdə tutulmuşdur” ifadələri Azərbaycana edilən qəsdin olduğunu göstərir. Çünki Cənubi Qafqazda azərbaycanlılara məxsus torpaqlarda ermənilər üçün artıq bir dövlət yaradılmışdı. Yenidən bu regionda özünüidarədən konton harada yaradılacaqdı? Açıq yazılmasa da, söhbətin məhz Azərbaycan ərazisindən getdiyi aydın olurdu.

“Nəhəng əhəmiyyət daşıyan və böyük çətinlikləri olan bu işin həllinə yardımçı olacağına” ümid edən xalq xarici işlər komissarının müavini bildirirdi ki, RSFSR hökuməti ermənilərin sovet ərazisində yerləşdirilməsi məsələsinə həddindən artıq böyük əhəmiyyət verir və bu iş qısa müddətdə başa çatdırılacaqdır.

Məktub göndərildikdən bir müddət keçmiş gətirilən ermənilərin Cənubi Qafqazda

⁵⁸ Письмо заместителя народного комиссара по иностранным делам на имя Монтгомери. 28.03.1923. – ГМӨҮТА, ф.617, с.1, і.ш 69, в. 41-41а.

yerləşdirilməsi imkanlarının öyrənilməsi üçün tədbirlər müəyyənləşdirildi. SSRİ xalq xarici işlər komissarının müavini L.Karaxan 1923-cü il aprel ayının əvvəllərində RSFSR-in ZSFSR hökuməti yanında baş konsulu vəzifəsini icra edən Lvoviçə ermənilərin qəbul edilməsi imkanları, şəraiti və onlara yardım göstərilməsi məsələsini öyrənməyi tapşırırdı. Lvoviç bu barədə aprelin 26-da 336/ş №-li məktubu ilə ZSFSR xalq xarici işlər komissarı M.Hüseynova⁵⁹ və 8 may tarixli 949 №-li məxfi məktubu ilə ZSFSR XKS sədri İ. (Mamiya) D. Oraxelaşviliyə və Zaqafqaiya Diyar Komistənin katibi A.Myasnikova⁶⁰ bir məktub göndərdi. ZSFSR XKS-nin 1923-cü il 10 may tarixli iclasında (protokol №16) L.Karaxanın müraciəti əsasında Mesopotamiyadan 2 min 500 nəfər erməninin Ermənistanı gətirilməsi məsələsi müzakirə edildi⁶¹. Lakin Ermənistanın mövcud vəziyyətdə bu qədər adamı qəbul etmək imkanı olmadığı bildirildi.

Bir neçə il sonra Ermənistan XKS-nin məsələyə dair hazırladığı arayışdan aydın olurdu ki, 1922-ci ildə 9 min 162 nəfər erməni Ermənistanı gətirilmişdi. 1923-cü ildə İrəvan qəzasına 38 min 500, Eçmiadzin qəzasına 33 min 400, Leninakan qəzasına 28 min, Yeni Bəyazid qəzasına 8 min 100 nəfər, Lori Pəmbək qəzasına 7 min 600, Qarakilsə qəzasına 5 min, Dərələyəz qəzasına 1 min 400, Dilican qəzasına 4 min 500 nəfər erməni yerləşdirilmişdi. Bütövlükdə, Ermənistanı 126 min erməni gətirilmişdi⁶². Gətirilən ermənilər qaçqına çevrilmiş azərbaycanlıların evlərini ələ keçirmişdilər.

Xaricdən gətirilən ermənilər təkə Ermənistanı azərbaycanlılara məxsus yaşayış yerlərinə deyil, eyni zamanda Azərbaycanda da yerləşdirilirdilər. Məsələn, təkə 1922-1923-cü illərdə Mosul şəhərindən gətirilən 8 mindən artıq erməni Azərbaycan SSR-in müxtəlif bölgələrinə yerləşdirilmişdilər⁶³.

Belə bir şəraitdə Azərbaycan ərazisində süni surətdə Dağlıq Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayətini yaradıldı.

⁵⁹ И.об.генконсула РСФСР в ЗСФСР Львович – наркоминделу Гусейнову. Сов.секретно.26.04.1923. №366/ш. – ГМӨҮТА, ф.617, си.1, іш 69, в.38.

⁶⁰ И.об.генконсула РСФСР в ЗСФСР Львович – предсовнаркома Орахелашвили, секретарю Заккрайкома Мясникову. Сов.секретно. 07.05.1923. – ГМӨҮТА, ф.617, си.1, іш 69, в.39.

⁶¹ Протокол №16 заседания распорядительного Совета Народных Комиссаров. 10.05.1923. – ГМӨҮТА, ф.617, си.1, іш 69, в.1.

⁶² СНК ССР Армении. Беженский вопрос. – ГМӨҮТА, ф.617, си.1, іш 506, в.277-282.

⁶³ АРТНА.1931.

Dağlıq Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayəti yaradılır

Lozanda konfrans davam edərkən S.Kirovun sədrliyi altında Bakıda Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin 1923-cü il 20 iyun tarixli iclasında Azərbaycanın Qarabağ regionunda ermənilərə muxtariyyət qurulması məsələsi müzakirə edildi. İclasda aşağıdakı qərar qəbul edildi:

“a) İstər dağlıq və istərsə də aran olsun, Qarabağın bir inzibati vahid şəklində ayrılması zəruri sayılsın; b) Ə.Qarayev sədr olmaqla, M.Bağirov, İ.Dövlətov, L.Mirzoyan və Mahmud Xanbudaqovdan ibarət komissiya yaradılsın. Komissiya üç gün ərzində məsələni xırdalığına qədər işləyib hazırlamalı və MK Rəyasət Heyətinə təqdim etməlidir; v) A.Qaragözov və Şadunça Zaqafqaziya Diyar Komitəsinin plenumunda Qarabağ məsələsini müzakirəsində iştirak etmək təklif edilsin; e) M.Xanbudaqov özünün xüsusi rəyində qaldı”⁶⁴.

Zaqafqaziya Diyar Komitəsinin 1923-cü il iyunun sonlarında keçirilən plenumunda Ə.Qarayev (sədr), İ.Dövlətov, L.Mirzoyan və b. ibarət komissiyanın qərarı əsasında Dağlıq Qarabağın muxtar vilayətə çevrilməsi haqqında qərar qəbul edildi.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin 1923-cü il iyulun 1-də S.M.Kirovun sədrliyi və İnozəmpəvin katibliyi, üzvlər L.Mirzoyan, Ə.Qarayev, Q.Musabəyov, R.Axundov, üzvlüyə namizədlər Çapın və Bareykisin iştirakı ilə keçirilən iclasında (protokol №22) Qarabağ haqqında məsələ müzakirə edildi. Azərbaycan MİK-ə Dağlıq Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayətinin yaradılması tövsiyə edildi. Diyar Komitəsinin qərarı təsdiq olundu. Azərbaycan MİK-ə təklif olundu ki, Rəyasət Heyətinin adından Dağlıq Qarabağa muxtariyyət verilməsi barədə dekret versin, İcraiyyə Komitəsi başda və Xankəndi mərkəz olmaqla Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayəti yaratsın. Vilayətin inzibati sərhədləri və digər məsələlər xüsusi komissiya tərəfindən müəyyənləşdiriləcəkdi. İcraiyyə Komitəsi yaradılana qədər A.Qaragözov başda olmaqla 5 nəfərdən ibarət İnqilab Komitəsi, Manukyan başda olmaqla 5 nəfərdən ibarət Vilayət Partiya Komitəsi yaradılmalı idi. Dağlıq Qarabağın inzibati sərhədlərini müəyyənləşdirmək üçün Ə.Qarayevin sədrliyi altında A.Qaragözov, Sviridov, Ç.İldırım və D.Bünyadzadədən ibarət komissiya yaratmaq təklif edildi.

⁶⁴ Протокол №20 заседания Президиума ЦК АК(б)П.20.06.1923. – ARSSA, f.1, s.31, iş 186a, v.57..

Komissiya 7 gün ərzində MK-nın Rəyasət Heyətinə təkliflərini verməli idi⁶⁵.

İyulun 1-də Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayətinin yaradılması haqqında dekret verdi⁶⁶. Azərbaycan SSR MİK Rəyasət Heyətinin iyulun 4-də keçirilən iclasında (protokol №14) M.Qasimov, M.Xanbudaqov, M.Məmmədyarov, Hacıbaba, Vatsex, Novruzov, M.Qədirlı, F.Ordubadski, Sviridov və Teymur Əliyevin iştirakı ilə Dağlıq Qarabağ haqqında məsələ müzakirə edildi⁶⁷. Aşağıdakı qərar qəbul edildi: 1. a) Qarabağın dağlıq hissəsində mərkəzi Xankəndi olmaqla və başda İcraiyyə Komitəsi olmaqla Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayəti yaradılsın. b) İcraiyyə Komitəsi yaradılanadək Dağlıq Qarabağın idarə edilməsindən ötrü A.Qaragözovun sədrliyi altında İnqilab Komitəsi yaradılsın. v) İnqilab Komitəsinə 2 aydan gec olmayaraq sovetlər qurultayını çağırmaq tapşırılsın. q) Ə.Qarayevin sədrliyi altında A.Qaragözov, Sviridov, D.Bünyadzadə və Ç.İldırım üzvlər olmaqla komissiya yaradılsın. Komissiyaya müəyyənləşdirmək tapşırılsın: 1.Muxtar Qarabağın sərhədlərini. 2.Aran Qarabağın inzibati hüdudlarını. 3.Kürdüstanın vəziyyəti.

Azərbaycan SSR MİK Rəyasət Heyətinin 1923-cü il 7 iyul tarixli dekreti əsasında Azərbaycan SSR-in tərkib hissəsi kimi Dağlıq Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayəti təşkil edildi⁶⁸. MİK sədri Səmədağa Ağamalıoğlu və MİK katibi Mahmud Xanbudaqovun imzaladıqları dekret 5 maddədən ibarət idi. Birinci maddədə yazılırdı ki, Dağlıq Qarabağın erməni hissəsindən Azərbaycan SSR-in tərkib hissəsi kimi mərkəzi Xankəndində olan muxtar vilayət yaradılsın. İkinci maddəyə görə, muxtar vilayətin idarəçilik orqanları Vilayət İcraiyyə Komitəsi və yerli sovetlər idi. Üçüncü maddədə yazılırdı ki, Vilayət İcraiyyə Komitəsi qurulana qədər Müvəqqəti İnqilabi Komitəsi yaradılmalıdır. İki aydan gec olmayan bir müddətdə daimi İcraiyyə Komitəsinə seçmək üçün sovetlər qurultayı çağırılmalı idi. Dördüncü maddəyə görə, İcraiyyə Komitəsinin bütün zəruri maliyyə və texniki vasitələri Azərbaycan MİK sərəncamı ilə Azərbaycan SSR-in ümumi vəsaitlərindən təchiz edilirdi. Beşinci maddəyə görə, vilayət haqqında əsasnaməni

⁶⁵ Протокол №22 заседания Президиума ЦК АК(б)П.01.07.1923. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.58-59; f. 1, siy.74, iş 132, v.145-146.

⁶⁶ Справка. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.41.

⁶⁷ Протокол №14 заседания Президиума Азербайджанского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета Советов. 04.07.1923.–ARDA, f.379, siy.1, iş 7492, v.14; f.1, siy.125, iş 303, v.29; Выписка из протокола Президиума Азербайджанского Центрального Комитета Советов. 04.07.1923.– ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.38.

⁶⁸ Образование автономной области Нагорного Карабаха. Декрет Азербайджанского Центрального Комитета Советов. 07.07.1923. Об образовании "автономной области Нагорного Карабаха". – Собрание узаконений и распоряжений Рабоче-Крестьянского Правительства А.С.С.П. за 1923 г. Баку, Издание Народного Комиссариата Юстиции А.С.С.П., 1925, с. 384-385; ARSSA, f.1, siy.125, iş 303, v. 29.

işləyib hazırlamaq və inzibati vahidi faktiki olaraq Qarabağ muxtar vilayətinə vermək, həmçinin muxtar vilayətin sərhədlərini müəyyənləşdirmək üçün Dağlıq Qarabağ, aran Qarabağ, Kürdüstan və Azərbaycan SSR mərkəzi hakimiyyət nümayəndələrindən ibarət ortaq komissiya qurulmalı idi. Komissiya işini 1923-cü il avqustun 15-dək başa çatdırmalı idi.

Bu qərar qəbul edildikdən sonra Qarabağ məsələsi üzrə komitə ləğv olundu. Birinci vilayət sovetlər qurultayı çağırılanadək Müvəqqəti İnqilab Komitəsi yaradıldı⁶⁹.

İyulun 7-də Qarabağ və Kürdüstan muxtariyyətlərinin sərhədlərini müəyyənləşdirən komissiyanın iclası keçirildi. Aran Qarabağın qəzalarından ibarət mərkəzi Ağdam olmaqla vilayət idarəçiliyi quruldu. Kürdüstan muxtariyyəti yaradıldı⁷⁰.

Muxtar vilayətin inzibati ərazisi müəyyənləşdirildi. Azərbaycanlılar yaşayan bəzi ərazilər də Dağlıq Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayətinin tərkibinə daxil edildi.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin iyulun 14-də keçirilən iclasında (protokol №25) Muxtar Qarabağ Vilayətinin əsasnaməsinin hazırlanması məsələsi müzakirə edildi. A.Qaragözov, Ç.İldırım, M.Xanbudaqov, M.Çalyan və S.Manukyandan ibarət komissiyaya rəhbərlik etmək D.Bünyadzadəyə tapşırıldı. Komissiya ən qısa zamanda əsasnaməni hazırlayıb Rəyasət Heyətinin təsdiqinə verməli idi⁷¹.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin iyulun 16-da keçirilən iclasında Kürdüstan muxtariyyəti yaradılmasından imtina olundu. Kürdüstan qəzasının yaradılması qərara alındı. Azərbaycan SSR MİK və XKS iyulun 21-də bu qərarı təsdiq etdi⁷².

İyulun 23-də Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyəti iclasında (protokol №27) vilayətin əsasnaməsi haqqında məsələni yenidən müzakirə edərək layihəyə bəzi dəyişikliklər etdi. İclasda Dağlıq Qarabağ işləri üzrə komitə ləğv edildi. Onun bütün əmlakı Muxtar Vilayət İnqilab Komitəsinə verildi⁷³.

⁶⁹ Справка. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.30.

⁷⁰ Протокол заседания комиссии по определению границ автономного Карабаха и Курдистана. 07.07.1923. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.60.

⁷¹ Протокол №25 заседание Президиума ЦИК Азербайджана. 14.07.1923. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy.74, iş 132, v. 157.

⁷² Декрет ЦИК Азербайджана об образовании Курдистанского уезда.21.07.1923. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.125, iş 303, v. 33.

⁷³ Протокол №27 заседание Президиума ЦИК Азербайджана. 23.07.1923. – ARSSA, f. 1, siy.74, iş 132, v. 173.

Muxtar Qarabağ Dağlıq Vilayətinin əsasnaməsini hazırlayan komissiyanın iyul ayının sonlarında geniş bir iclası keçirildi. 1923-cü ildə quberniya icraiyyə komitələri üçün qəbul edilmiş əsasnamə Muxtar Qarabağ Dağlıq Vilayəti üçün də əsas olaraq götürüldü. Muxtar vilayət erməni əhalisi üçün yaradılsa da, komissiyanın iclasında (protokol №1) Qarabağın bəzi azərbaycanlı kəndlərinin də onun tərkibinə daxil edilməsi haqqında qərar qəbul olundu. Komissiya üç nəfər əleyhinə olmaqla böyük səs çoxluğu ilə Şuşa şəhəri və Xankəndinin aranı Qarabağa aid olması haqqında qərar qəbul etsə də, A.Qaragözovun təkidi ilə Şuşa və Xankəndi Dağlıq Qarabağın tərkibində qaldı. İclasda aranı Qarabağın və Kürdüstanın idarəçilik forması və inzibati bölgüsü haqqında qərarlar qəbul edildi⁷⁴.

Azərbaycan SSR MİK-in 1923-cü il 6 avqust tarixli dekreti ilə Qarabağın dağlıq hissəsində muxtariyyət qurulması ilə əlaqədar olaraq Qarabağın digər hissələrində Ağdam mərkəz olmaqla Ağdam, Cəbrayıl mərkəz olmaqla Cəbrayıl qəzaları və keçmiş Qubadlı qəzası ləğv edilərək mərkəzi Pirican (indiki Zəngilan – M.Q.) olmaqla Kürdüstan qəzası təşkil edildi⁷⁵.

Sentyabrın 18-də Muxtar Qarabağ Dağlıq Vilayəti MİK-in qərarı ilə Xankəndi şəhərinin adı dəyişdirilərək 1918-ci ildə azərbaycanlılara qarşı soyqırımın təşkilatçılarından biri olmuş bolşevik Stepan Şaumyanın şərəfinə Stepanakert qoyuldu. Əhalisinin mütləq əksəriyyətinin azərbaycanlıların olmasına baxmayaraq, Şuşa şəhəri Muxtar Vilayətin tərkibinə verildi. 1923-cü il əhalinin siyahıyaalınmasına görə, Şuşa şəhərində 6965 nəfər əhali yaşayırdı. Onların 6682 nəfəri azərbaycanlı, 45 nəfəri rus, 209 nəfəri erməni, 19 nəfəri İran Azərbaycanından olanlar, 2 nəfəri alman, 3 nəfəri dağ yəhudisi, 5 nəfəri digər millətlərin nümayəndələri idi⁷⁶.

Tarixi, coğrafi-siyasi, etnik-mədəni gerçəkliyi əks etdirməyərək, süni surətdə Muxtar Vilayətin yaradılmasının ağır nəticələri oldu. Bununla Azərbaycanın vahid ərazisi bölündü. Yerli rəhbərlər Azərbaycanın ərazi bütövlüyü üçün təhlükəni aradan qaldıra bilmədilər. Azərbaycanda milli dövlətçilik və gələcəkdə milli nifaq üçün zəmin hazırlandı. Müxtəlif dövrlərdə köçürülmüş ermənilər

⁷⁴ Протокол №1 заседание комиссии по разработке положение автономной Нагорно-Карабахской области. Июль 1923. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.169, iş 249/I, v. 63-64.

⁷⁵ Приказ Азербайджанского Центрального Исполнительного Комитета. 06.08.1923. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.31, iş 186a, v.18-20; f.1, siy. 169, iş 249/II, v. 18-20.

⁷⁶ Статистический справочник по Азербайджану на 1926 год. Под. ред. В.Смирнова. Баку, 1927, с.20.

üçün muxtariyyət yaradan sovet dövlətinin siyasəti mahiyyətə çarizmin və Müvəqqəti hökumətin siyasətindən fərqlənmirdi. Azərbaycan hökuməti ermənilərə mədəni-millî inkişaf üçün bütün şəraiti yaratdı. Muxtar Vilayətinin yaradılması nəticəsində Dağlıq Qarabağı Ermənistanla birləşdirmək istəyənlər öz istəklərinə çata bilməsələr də, bütövlükdə isə ermənilərin niyyətləri yerinə yetirildi. Sonralar, 1924-cü il mayın 5-də Azərbaycan K(b)P-nin VI qurultayında etdiyi məruzəsində S.Kirov Dağlıq Qarabağın muxtariyyətinin sovet hökumətinin hökmü ilə yaradıldığını aşağıdakı kimi etiraf edirdi:

“Bizim üçün bu sahədə ən iri, ən mühüm nailiyyət, ola bilsin tam olmasa da, hər halda xeyli dərəcədə Qarabağ deyilən məsələ həll edilmişdir. Bu məsələ Zaqafqaziya Federasiyasının diqtə etdiyi məsələlər (seçmə bizimdir –M.Q.) cərgəsinə aiddir”⁷⁷.

Azərbaycan K(b)P MK katibliyinin 1924-cü il iyulun 1-də keçirilən iclasında (protokol №9) Dağlıq Qarabağ haqqında əsasnamə hazırlamaq üçün Azərbaycan SSR Fövqəladə Komissiyasının sədri M.Bağirovun sədrliyi ilə Teymur Əliyev və A.Qaragözovdan ibarət komissiya yaradıldı⁷⁸. Azərbaycan K(b)P MK Rəyasət Heyətinin 3 iyul tarixli iclasında (protokol №10) DQMV-nin konstitusiyaya layihəsi haqqında məsələ müzakirə edilərək bəyənildi⁷⁹. Lakin 1924-cü il noyabrın 26-da DQMV-nin əsasnaməsi qəbul edildi. Sənəddə yazılırdı: 1.DQMV Azərbaycan SSR-in tərkib hissəsidir. 2. DQMV-də bütün kargüzarlıq, məhkəmə və məktəblərdə təhsil ana dilində aparılır. 3. DQMV Azərbaycan Respublikasının orqanlarında proporsional prinsipi ilə iştirak edir. Əsasnamədə eyni zamanda DQMV-nin ərazisi də təsdiq edildi: Onun tərkibinə Şuşa qəzası, Şuşa şəhəri, Stepanakert (Xankəndi) və kəndlər; Cavad qəzasının kəndləri; Qaryagin qəzasının kəndləri; Qubadlı qəzası daxil idi⁸⁰. Əsasnaməyə görə, Şuşa qəzasının Şuşa və Xankəndi şəhərləri daxil olmaqla 115 kəndi əhatə edən 16 kənd cəmiyyəti, Cavanşir qəzasının 52 kəndi əhatə edən 6 kənd cəmiyyəti, Qaryagin qəzasının 30 kəndi əhatə edən 3 kənd cəmiyyəti, Qubadlı qəzasının Qaladərəsi kənd cəmiyyəti Muxtar Qarabağ Dağlıq Vilayətinin tərkibinə daxil edildi.

1926-cı il siyahıyaalmanın ilkin yekunlarına görə, DQMV-də 125 min 159 nəfər

⁷⁷ Доклад тов. Кирова на VI съезде АК (б)П.05.05.1914. – Газ. “Бакинский рабочий”, Баку, 07.05.1924, №101.

⁷⁸ Выписка из протокола №9 секретариата ЦК АК(б)П.01.07.1924. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.74, iş 137, v.95.

⁷⁹ Протокол №10 заседания Президиума Центрального Комитета АК(б)П.03.07.1924. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.74, iş 137, v.96.

⁸⁰ Положение об Автономной Области Нагорного Карабаха. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.74, iş 137, v.98-99; Решение ЦИК Азербайджана об автономной Нагорно-Карабахской области.1924. – ARSSA, f.1, siy.169, iş 249/II, v. 33-34.

yaşayırdı⁸¹. Onun 111,7 min nəfəri erməni, 12 min 600 nəfəri qazərbaycanlı idi. Bu zaman Gürcüstanda 137 min 900 nəfər, Ermənistanda isə 76 min 900 nəfər azərbaycanlının yaşamasına baxmayaraq⁸², onlara muxtariyyət hüququ verilmədi. Bu, sovet rəhbərliyinin azərbaycanlılara olan münasibətinin göstəricisi idi.

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Beləliklə, tarixi araşdırmalar göstərir ki, azərbaycanlılara məxsus olan torpaqlara 1828-ci ildən sonra köçürülən ermənilər üçün çar hökuməti sonradan ləğv etsə də, “Erməni vilayəti” yaratmış, tarixi Azərbaycan torpağında ermənilər özlərinə 1918-ci ildə dövlət qurmuş, azərbaycanlıların mədəniyyət mərkəzlərindən biri olan İrəvan paytaxt olaraq Ermənistana güzəşt edilmiş, 1920-ci ildə sovetləşdirildikdən sonra bolşevik Ermənistanı daşnak siyasətini davam etdirmiş, sovet rəhbərliyi isə strateji maraqları naminə Azərbaycan ərazisində sünü surətdə Dağlıq Qarabağ Muxtar Vilayətini yaratmışdır.

⁸¹ Всесоюзная перепись населения. 17.12.1926. Краткие сводки. Вып. IV. Народность и родной язык населения СССР. М., 1928, с. VIII.

⁸² Yəne orada.

THE SHIFTING GEOPOLITICS OF THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT

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The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict constitutes a key element in the arc of instability stretching from the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea. However, since the ceasefire of 1994, the conflict, despite its geopolitical centrality, has been defined as ‘frozen’ and has therefore ceased to be of notable interest to Western policy-makers, media and the wider public. The de-facto neglect of the conflict in the West has occurred against the background of significant changes in its nature and in the policies of its major internal and external actors, which in turn have modified the trajectories for its possible settlement. The article examines the evolving agendas and policies of these internal and external actors and assesses the implications for them of the growing antagonism between the West and Russia over the Ukrainian crisis.

Introduction

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which erupted in the late Soviet period, has been one of the most complex and protracted ethno-territorial conflicts in the post-Soviet space. Since the cease-fire agreement of 1994, it has simmered at a low intensity and alongside conflicts between Moldova and Transnistria, and between Georgia, on the one side, and Abkhazia and South Ossetia, on the other, has been defined by academics and political analysts as a ‘frozen conflict’ and has been largely ignored by Western politicians and media¹. The other reason for this apparent lack of interest in the conflict has been the absence of an overt Russian involvement in it, compared to the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and more recently the inter-Ukrainian conflict which has dominated Western political and media discourse². Nevertheless, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has continued to

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¹ The armed conflict which erupted in spring of 2014 between the Kiev authorities and the self-proclaimed republics of Donetsk and Luhansk in eastern Ukraine could potentially turn into yet another post-Soviet ‘frozen conflict,’ if the cease-fire agreement, which was signed in Minsk on 12 February 2015, holds.

² This observation is based on the analysis of over 4,000 pieces of news from leading British media outlets and over 30 interviews with British and French diplomats and other policy-makers conducted within the research project ‘The Western Framing of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: A Factor in its Resolving, or Perpetuation?’ January-December 2014, University of Birmingham, UK.

affect negatively, either directly or indirectly, the lives of millions of people, and to threaten the peace and stability of the whole region, as well as the security of major oil and gas supplies to Europe.

The lack of political and media interest in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and its academic framing as ‘frozen’ has occurred even though it has been in a process of dynamic evolution in line with a rapidly changing geopolitical environment. The main domestic drivers of these changes have been Azerbaijan’s lengthy period of political stability under Presidents Heydar Aliyev and Ilham Aliyev (1993-present) and the country’s oil- and gas-related economic boom, facilitated by the 1994 \$45bn ‘contract of the century’ between the Azerbaijani state oil company and 13 global oil companies. As a result, Azerbaijan’s economic capacity has drastically outgrown that of Armenia³, securing its place in the ‘European Club’ by turning into one of Europe’s major energy suppliers. The geopolitical drivers have included the growing assertiveness of Russia in its ‘near abroad,’ of Turkey in the Turkic-speaking world, and of Iran in the Middle East, as well as the advance of the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) and most importantly the neo-Cold War confrontation over Ukraine between the US-led Western world and Russia.

This essay argues that the lack of any progress in the conflict settlement in the last twenty years reveals the ineffectiveness of the existing format for its resolution. It appears that the sides of the conflict, of their own accord, have been either unwilling or unable to overcome a profound mutual distrust and have failed to engage in a meaningful and constructive discussion leading to practical shifts towards the resolution of the conflict. Instead, they have persisted along the lines of dangerous military built-up, the politics of mutual demonization and rigid interpretation of the principles of ‘territorial integrity’ and ‘the right of a nation to self-determination’. The international mediation of the conflict in the form of the Minsk Group, although having secured a ‘deep freeze’ of the conflict, has been either unwilling or unable to facilitate the break-through in its political, economic and humanitarian settlement.

³ Thus, according to Ambassador Khazar Ibrahim, Head of Mission of Azerbaijan to NATO, between 1993 and 2014 the GDP of Azerbaijan rose from \$3bn to \$75bn, while that of Armenia from \$1bn to \$ 10bn. Cited in ‘The Impact of International and Regional Developments on the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Settlement Process,’ Oxford University, 11 November 2014, London: LINKS, p.8.

The Role of Russia in the Nagorno-Karabakh Process

Russia and Armenia

Throughout the conflict Russia's position has been ambiguous and has been defined by the changing nature of her bilateral relations with both Armenia and Azerbaijan and her contribution, as one of the three co-chairs of the Minsk Group, to the Group's static position regarding the resolution of the conflict. In the early stage of the conflict Moscow sided with Baku, but in the first half of the 1990s it reversed its position in favor of Yerevan by offering it substantial economic and military assistance, as well as moral support. Thus, Russia recognized the Turkish 'genocide' of Armenians in 1915- the issue which has been central to Armenian identity⁴. In 1995 the special relations between Russia and Armenia were cemented by Armenia's agreement to maintain the 3000 strong 102nd Russian Military Base on its territory, while Azerbaijan opted against Russian military presence on its territory⁵. In 2010 this relationship was advanced by Armenia's acceptance of the expansion of the base's military coverage from its borders with Iran and Turkey to the entire territory of Armenia, as well as its agreement to the increase of the base's lease from 25 to 49 years⁶. Following the sharp deterioration in Russia's relations with Georgia under President Mikheil Saakashvili, which culminated in the Russo-Georgian war and the breakdown in Russo-Georgian diplomatic relations in 2008, Armenia, as a member of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)⁷ has become Russia's only strategic ally in the South Caucasus. It is noteworthy that despite the failure in the Russo-Georgian relations and Georgia's overt siding with the West, Armenia has managed to maintain both its special relation with Russia and its good relations with Georgia and the West. In 2013, under the new Russo-Armenian defense treaty, Russia reiterated its military guarantees to Armenia if the latter were involved in a military conflict⁸. In 2014/15 the Russo-Armenian

⁴ The 'genocide' of 1915 was recognized by 23 countries, including Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Canada and 43 US states. In April 2014 a US Senate Committee issued a resolution recognizing the Armenian 'genocide' by Turks. In March 2015 the recognition of 'genocide' was debated in the British Parliament.

⁵ The only exception was the lease to Russia of the Gabala Radar Station which was, however terminated by Moscow in December 2012.

⁶ Complete Text of the Project Protocol on Russia's Military Base in Armenia. <http://news.am/rus/news/28027.html>, accessed on 10 March 2015.

⁷ The CSTO was established in 1992 as an intergovernmental military alliance. By 2015 it included Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

⁸ Formally, those guarantees related only to Armenia's internationally recognized borders and did not relate to the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

military alliance was complemented by the economic integration between the countries as a result of Armenia's decision not to sign a European Union Association Agreement and instead to join the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)⁹. Armenia's membership in the EAEU has enabled Russia to strengthen her influence over Armenia's foreign policy. At societal and cultural levels the Russo-Armenian entente has been facilitated by the existence in Russia of a multi-million Armenian diaspora and Armenian economic migrants, by Armenians' proficiency in Russian language, and by the history of cultural and political links between Russians and Armenians based on their common Christian heritage.

At the same time, the Russo-Armenian alliance has not been without problems. Thus, Russia has resented Armenia's close relations with Georgia, which has sought closer integration with the US-dominated NATO and the European Union¹⁰. Another thorn in the flesh of Russo-Armenian relations has been the significant and persistent economic and political interference in Armenia of the strongly nationalistic Armenian diaspora which has a sizeable presence in the US, France, Lebanon, and various countries of Western Europe and Latin America – a diaspora over which Russia has no control. Meanwhile, this economically and politically influential diaspora has played a pivotal role in the shaping of local and regional Armenian politics, as well as in the framing of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as a manifestation of the 'eternal hatred' between Christian Armenians and Muslim Turks (Azerbaijanis), linking it to the mass killings of Armenians by Turks in 1915. The Armenian diaspora has also provided local Armenians with substantial financial incentives to increase the birth rate with the aim of changing the demographics of the occupied Azerbaijani territories; and it has allocated scholarships to Karabakh and Armenia's Armenians for studies in the US and Western Europe¹¹. Russia has also been apprehensive of the increasing political assertiveness of the Party of Prosperity¹² which has been critical of the pro-Russian policies of President Serzh Sargysyan.

⁹ The EAEU was established in 2014 as an economic union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. By 2015 it also included Armenia and Kyrgyzstan. All these states also hold membership of the CSTO.

¹⁰ In 2014 Georgia, like Moldova and Ukraine, signed an Association Agreement with the European Union – a first step towards potential membership of NATO.

¹¹ Donnacha O'Beachain, 'Armenians on Karabakh and Armenians in Karabakh: Politics and Perceptions,' an international conference on The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Current Discourses and Future Perspectives, King's College London, 17 February 2015.

¹² Since 2012 the Party of Prosperity has had 37 members in the Armenian parliament.

Russia and Azerbaijan

As noted earlier, compared to the steady strengthening of Russo-Armenian relations in all spheres, relations between Russia and Azerbaijan have been ambivalent. A short period of rapprochement in the early years of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been replaced by policies indicating Azerbaijan's comprehensive disengagement from the Soviet-era legacy¹³ and its growing rapport with its linguistically and culturally close neighbor Turkey, on the one hand, and the US and the countries of Western Europe, on the other. A powerful symbolic denunciation of the Soviet legacy was the construction in the heart of Baku of the alley of shaheed (martyrs) who lost their lives as a result of the Soviet military actions in Baku in January 1990¹⁴. During the 1990s, in contrast to Yerevan, Baku refused Russia the right to keep military bases on its territory. In 1997 Azerbaijan, together with Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova, formed the pro-Europe Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (GUAM) and in 1998 it withdrew from the Russia-dominated CSTO, which it initially joined in 1993.

Under President Abulfaz Elchibey (1992-3), who was a passionate Turcophile, Azerbaijan subscribed to the Turkish model. During Elchibey's presidency Azerbaijan underwent an alphabetic, educational and cultural re-orientation from Russia to Turkey, which was manifested in the switch from Cyrillic to Latin, the proliferation of Turkish schools, the Turkification of Azerbaijani surnames and the radical de-Sovietisation and de-Russification of places and street names, as well as of monumental architecture. Throughout the post-Soviet period Turkey has remained Azerbaijan's main ally and supporter of its position on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and its proposed resolution.

Since the ascendance of Heydar Aliyev as President in 1993, Azerbaijan has pursued a multi-vector foreign policy by complementing its strong links with Turkey with advancing its relations with the US, the EU, Israel¹⁵ and Russia. A central element in this diversification has been Azerbaijan's abundant oil

¹³ Azerbaijan, however, has maintained its membership of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS, est. 1991), which includes nine former Soviet countries. The ex-Soviet states of Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Turkmenistan and Ukraine are not members of CIS.

¹⁴ On 20 January 1990 in Baku the Soviet army brutally suppressed the political opposition, leaving over 100 people dead. The 20th January, known as 'Black January,' has been officially declared as the Day of National Mourning.

¹⁵ Azerbaijan and Israel established diplomatic relations in April 1992. Since then Israel has been one of Azerbaijan's major economic partners. Of particular importance has been their military collaboration, especially which related to Azerbaijan's purchase from Israel of drones and anti-aircraft and missile defense systems.

and gas resources and its transformation into one of Europe's main energy suppliers. Azerbaijan's foreign policy multi-vectorism has been reflected in the educational and cultural spheres through the wide proliferation in schools of English as the de facto main foreign language with Turkish as the second and Russian as the third foreign language. Since 2009, at the higher education level, the provision in Azerbaijani/Turkish/English languages has been supplemented with that in Russian at the Baku branch of Moscow State University. At the level of cultural and public relations Baku has made significant efforts to raise its European profile by hosting in 2012 the Eurovision Song Contest and the First European Games in 2015.

Since the early 2000s Russia under President Vladimir Putin has reactivated its policy in the South Caucasus and has intensified the bilateral relations with Azerbaijan in the energy, migration, education and cultural spheres. This shift has reflected Moscow's reassessment of geopolitical military and humanitarian realities, such as the common border between Russia and Azerbaijan, their over two centuries-long common history, including the common supra-national Soviet identity of its older citizens, as well as the existence of over 140,000 ethnic Russians in Azerbaijan and of over 620000¹⁶ Azerbaijanis in Russia. Russia's increased activism in the South Caucasus has occurred against the background of the relative political stabilization in Russia's North Caucasus.

Russia and Azerbaijan have maintained their visa-free regime to facilitate business and labour movement between the two countries. Moscow, despite previous reservations over the split of the Caspian Sea's reserves, has begun to seek stronger positions in the Caspian Sea energy market which since the signing in 1994 of the 'Contract of the Century' has been dominated by Western gas and oil companies. There has been a steady rise in business and financial links between the two countries. Most significantly, since 2006 Russia has become one of the main suppliers, along with Israel, of heavy weapons to Azerbaijan. Russia's arms supply to both sides of the conflict has enabled her to strengthen her influence over the conflict's future trajectory in case of any possible armed 'de-freezing'.

¹⁶ Census of Republic of Azerbaijan, 2009, azat.org, accessed on 25 March 2015; Vserossiyskaya Perepis' Naseleniya 2010 goda, http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm, accessed on 25 March 2015. An estimated number of Azerbaijanis in Russia is much higher than the official figures and varies between 1,500,000 and 3,000,000. See Charles van der Leeuw, *Azerbaijan: A Quest for Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000, p.19.

The Role of Turkey and Iran in the Nagorno-Karabakh Process

Turkey

As already noted, Turkey has been the key ally of Azerbaijan throughout the conflict. It was the first to recognize Azerbaijan's independence from the USSR, which Baku declared on 30 August 1991. It is significant that the most charismatic presidents of both countries, Suleyman Demirel (1993-2000) and Heydar Aliyev (1993-2003) adhered to the principle of 'one people-two states'. In 1993, in solidarity with Azerbaijan, which suffered major territorial losses in the war with Armenia over Karabakh, Turkey closed its border with Armenia.

At the same time, Turkey's position vis-à-vis the conflict has been subject to notable fluctuations. Thus, in the 2000s Turkey attempted a differentiated approach towards Armenia in relation to the 'genocide' of 1915 and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. In 2007 and 2009 it made steps towards the normalization of its relations with Armenia through so-called 'football diplomacy'. Thus, in September 2008 Turkey's President Abdullah Gul visited Armenia at the invitation of the Armenian President to attend the football World Cup qualifier match in Yerevan, in which Turkey's football team took part. Among economic and humanitarian incentives for the improvement of bilateral relations has been the fact that over 100000 Armenians have been working in Turkey, especially in Istanbul, Izmir and Antalya¹⁷. In October 2009 in Zurich, with US mediation, Turkey and Armenia signed two protocols on establishing diplomatic relations and economic cooperation¹⁸. In December 2013 Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu visited Armenia. In April 2014, on the eve of the 99th anniversary of the Armenian 'genocide', Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdogan was close to apologizing for it by offering condolences to grandchildren of the victims of the tragic events of 1915 which he described as 'inhumane'. He called for a dialogue between Turkey and Armenia and proposed to set up a historical commission to probe events surrounding mass killings of Armenians¹⁹. In August 2014 Armenian Foreign Minister Edward

¹⁷ Ambassador Jacques Faure, 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: The Role of Regional Actors', an international conference on The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Current Discourses and Future Perspectives, King's College London, 17 February 2015.

¹⁸ In 2009 Turkey decided against ratifying the protocols unless Armenia resolved the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in favour of Azerbaijan.

¹⁹ James Hogg, 'Turkey's Erdogan Offers Condolences for 1915 Armenian Killings,' Reuters, 23 April 2014, <http://news.yahoo.com/turkeys-erdogan-offers-condolences-grandchildren-armenians-killed-ottomans-123727437.html>, accessed 20 March 2015.

Nalbandyan attended the presidential inauguration of Recep Erdogan in Ankara. However, by the end of 2014 relations between Turkey and Armenia returned to their uncompromising 'default' animosity. Armenia refused to take part in the proposed historical commission, while Turkey abandoned its differentiated approach towards 'genocide' and the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and began to condition the normalization of Turkey-Armenia relations on the full liberation of all occupied territories of Azerbaijan. In February 2015 Armenia's President Serzh Sargysyan recalled the aforementioned Munich protocols from the Parliament. The official animosity between the two countries has peaked in the highly charged atmosphere of the approaching 100th anniversary of the Armenian 'genocide' on 24th April 2015. Thus, in response to President Sargysyan's official invitation to President Erdogan to attend the commemoration ceremony in Yerevan, the latter issued a counter invitation to the Armenian President to attend the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Ottoman victory in the Gallipoli battle on 24 April 1915.

In the context of the Nagorno-Karabakh process Turkey's relations with Iran, another central regional player, have been similarly inconsistent. Thus, in the first decade of this century Turkey tried to ensure Iran's active participation in the mediation of the conflict by down-playing the Sunni-Shiite split in the region and brokering Iran's contacts with the West over its nuclear programme. However, since 2010 Turkey's relations with Iran have gone downhill. An aggravating factor has been the opposing positions Turkey and Iran have taken over Syria. Ankara has sided with the anti-government opposition, while Tehran has allied itself with the government forces under President Bashar Assad.

Since 2013 Turkey's external relations have been increasingly affected by its domestic instability due to the growing internal political polarization and its confrontation with 'the parallel' state in the form of the Gulen movement. The Erdogan government has been affected by the Taksim Gezi Park protests in Istanbul in May 2013 and by the corruption scandal involving several key people in the Turkish government who belonged to the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) in December 2013. It is symptomatic in this respect that Turkey, which has had historical links with the Crimea²⁰, barely reacted

²⁰ The Crimea was part of the Ottoman Empire until its annexation by Russia in 1783.

to the latter's annexation by Russia in March 2014. Turkey's social cohesion and security have been strained by the presence of over 1.5m refugees from Syria, its border insecurity, the influx of foreign jihadists who have used it as a gateway to Syria and Iraq, as well as by the rise of the Kurds, whom Ankara has historically regarded a fifth column, due to their central role in the anti-ISIL resistance on the ground²¹. Turkey's domestic preoccupations have also had notable repercussions for its relations with the EU, which has been critical of Erdogan's "anti-democratic tendencies". Turkey, on the other hand, has become increasingly disillusioned with Europe because of the latter's de facto ban on Turkey's entry into the European club, presumably because the EU's other members do not want a large Muslim country in their company. Given Turkey's internal and geopolitical constraints, as well as the current confrontation between Russia and the West, it is highly unlikely that, as a member of NATO, it will be prepared to intervene militarily on the side of Azerbaijan in the case of the armed 'unfreezing' of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and Russia's involvement in it as part of the mutual defense with Armenia within the CSTO format.

Iran

As noted earlier, Iran has been yet another central regional actor in the Karabakh process due to its historical, cultural and religious affinity with Azerbaijan, the lengthy border between the two countries and the existence of the nearly 30 million Azerbaijani community in Iran. However, this affinity has also been a cause of problems in the bilateral relations between the two countries. Thus, since the disintegration of the USSR in 1991 Iran has regarded Azerbaijan as being within its natural sphere of influence and therefore has been apprehensive of post-Soviet Russia's retention of its military presence on the territory of Armenia. It has sought to play down Azerbaijani nationalism and to encourage and support the Shi'ite Islamic revival in Azerbaijan. Iran has been wary of the independent state of Azerbaijan which, it feared, could have territorial claims on the Azerbaijani populated territory of Iran. Tehran has been also suspicious of Azerbaijani identity politics due to Azerbaijanis' claims to Iranian ruling dynasties. Iran's fear of growing pan-Azerbaijanism has been the major reason for Iran's rapprochement with Armenia and

²¹ Mustafa Akyol, 'Why doesn't Turkey speak up on Iran issue?', Al-Monitor, 26 February 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/02/turkey-geneva-nuclear-iran-un.html>, accessed 02 March 2015.

Iran's pro-Armenian stance in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. In February 1992 Iran became the first Muslim country, besides the republics of Central Asia, to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia, later signing a number of agreements on economic cooperation²². Throughout the conflict Iran has provided Armenia with the only outlet to the outside world.

Azerbaijan, on its side, has been wary of Iranian Islamized nationalism, its Shi'ite proselytism and has opposed Iran's close links with Armenia. The relations between the two countries have been marred by the information war, including a ban on Iranian television in Azerbaijan, regular deportations of Iranian 'spies' from Azerbaijan's territory, conflicting positions on the status of the Caspian Sea, and Azerbaijan's military collaboration with Iran's arch-enemy, Israel. However, the slow rapprochement between the US and Iran over the Iranian nuclear programme and their common animosity to the anti-Shi'ite ISIL, which began in 2015, as well as the potential weakening of Turkey's role as the West's major bastion in the region, may introduce a new momentum in Azerbaijan-Iran relations and Iran's involvement in the Karabakh process.

The Role of International Mediators

When the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict erupted in 1987/88 it was regarded as an internal Soviet matter with Moscow as its only arbitrator. The demise of the USSR at the end of 1991 and the transformation of the union republics of Russia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, together with the other twelve republics, into independent states, ended Moscow's unilateral role and paved the way for the internationalization of the conflict's mediation within the framework of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE (formerly the Conference on Security and Cooperation, CSCE). In 1992 Russia took part in the establishment of the CSCE Minsk Group with the aim of convening a conference in Minsk for a peaceful, negotiated resolution of the conflict between all the involved sides. Since 1997 Russia, along with France and the US, has had co-chairmanship of the OSCE Minsk Group on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. During that period Russia also accepted the OSCE and UN-led peace-keeping mission along the border between Georgia and South Ossetia, as well as the OSCE monitoring Russian peace-keepers along the border between

²² Rufat Sattarov, 'Islamic Revival and Activism in Azerbaijan,' Galina Yemelianova, ed, *Radical Islam in the former Soviet Union*, London: Routledge, 2010, p.166.

Georgia and Abkhazia. Since the 1994 cease-fire the OSCE Minsk Group has shaped the format of the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. To the Group's credit have been the 'freezing' of the conflict as well as some shifts in the negotiation process from absolutist and irresponsible demands of 'territorial integrity' confronting 'a nation's right to self-determination' towards smaller practical step-by-step measures²³.

But during its over 20-year long existence the Minsk Group has failed to achieve any tangible progress in resolving the conflict. This may be due to the insufficiently high level of its co-chairs (ambassadorial rather than ministerial), the increasingly divergent foreign policy trajectories of the US, France and Russia and the extent of their engagement with the direct participants in the conflict. As a result, the Group's important initiatives - e.g. the development of the basic principles for the peaceful settlement of the conflict at the OSCE meeting in Madrid in 2007 - have largely remained on paper. According to some commentators, the Minsk Group has acted as facilitator rather than moderator of the conflict and has lacked the capacity to resolve it²⁴. The Group's members have also been unable to negotiate the role of the diasporas in the conflict due to their countries' asymmetric engagement with them. While Russia has large and comparable Armenian and Azerbaijani diasporas and consequently comparable Armenian and Azerbaijani lobbies in the Russian political and business establishment, the US and France have only Armenian diasporas and lobbies in their respective political and economic establishments, with lack of Azerbaijani counter-balance.

Since the mid-2000s the prospects of a positive break-through in the Karabakh conflict have shrunk further due to the growing rifts in the foreign policies of the co-chair states as a result of the increasing assertiveness of Putin's Russia in the post-Soviet space and in the South Caucasus, in particular. Russia's regained interest in the South Caucasus has clashed with the political,

²³ Among such steps have been proposals for (i) a gradual return to Azerbaijan of five occupied districts (the districts of Aghdam, Fuzuli, Jabrayil, Gubandly and Zangelan) while deferring the decision on the status of Lachin and Kelbajar districts as well as on the Nagorno-Karabakh region to a later period; (ii) an increase in direct communication between peoples affected by the conflict; (iii) an increase in the lines of communication between the front line and defence ministries in Baku and Yerevan, (iv) the establishment of a minimum level of early warning infrastructure and the creation of back channels to prevent accidental escalation of the conflict. The author's interview with Ambassador Jacques Faure, French co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, Paris, 25 September 2014.

²⁴ Amanda Paul, 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: An Azerbaijani Perspective,' an international conference The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Current Discourses and Future Perspectives, King's College London, 17 February 2015.

military and energy strategies of the US and EU in the region. The major turning point was the Russo-Georgian war of 2008 in which the US supported the anti-Russian political drive and rhetoric of President Mikheil Saakashvili of Georgia²⁵. The political and military rift between the Minsk Group co-chairs' states has been reflected in the conflicting ideological frames of their policies in the South Caucasus. Russia has claimed her 'historical leadership' in the post-Soviet space, the boundaries of which roughly correspond to a culturally and politically distinctive 'Euro-Asian civilization', whereas the US and EU have emphasized their special role as bearers and promoters in the region of 'universal' European values of democracy, liberalism and human rights. The EU and OSCE have begun to condition any break-through in the conflict's settlement on the development of civil society and democratization in the region²⁶.

It is significant that the major EU-funded political and academic initiatives in the region have directly linked its security with its democratisation²⁷. These conflicting political and ideological interests and narratives of the co-chair states have affected, although indirectly, the effectiveness of the Minsk Group. Russia has been increasingly suspicious of the Western involvement in the region and has been reluctant to change the existing format of the Nagorno-Karabakh process. On the other side, it has indicated its preference for a Eurasian, rather than an international, solution to the conflict. This approach was manifested in Armenia's membership in the Moscow-led Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) in January 2015. By contrast, the US and France (and increasingly the EU) have favored the widening and further internationalization of the Minsk mandate and advocated for greater powers and resources for the EU Special Representative (ERSP) for the South Caucasus and international monitors on the line of contact, as well as for the establishment along the contact lines of multi-national peace-keepers, including from NATO states, and Germany in particular²⁸.

²⁵ In April 2008, at the NATO summit in Bucharest, Georgia and Ukraine were promised NATO membership.

²⁶ Laurence Broers, in a paper, presented at the conference The Impact of International and Regional Developments on the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Settlement Process, Oxford University, 11 November 2014, London: LINKS, p. 16.

²⁷ For example, the EU-funded research initiative within the multi-million Seventh Framework Programme (FP7, 2014-17) encourages its participants to establish a nexus between security and democratisation in the Caucasus.

²⁸ Ambassador Herbert Saber, the EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, paper, presented at the conference The Impact of International and Regional Developments on the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Settlement Process, Oxford University, 11 November 2014, London: LINKS, p.5; Amanda Paul, 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: An Azerbaijani Perspective,' an international conference The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict: Current Discourses and Future Perspectives, King's College London, 17 February 2015.

Conclusion

Since the late 2000s there has been a considerable shift in the geopolitics of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict which has impacted on its settlement. The main factor in this shift has been the increasing assertiveness of Russia in the post-Soviet space, and as its corollary, the growing political, economic, military and ideological antagonism between Russia and the West. In the conditions of the ongoing Ukrainian crisis this antagonism has turned into a systemic conflict between Russia-led Eurasian integrism and US-driven global unitarism. The former has been framed around historical traditions of political authoritarianism, ethical conservatism, societal multi-ethnic and poly-confessional solidarity, and adherence to the multi-polar international system. The latter has used the frames of political democracy, liberalism, civil society and the supremacy of human rights, which camouflaged US-centred global universalism. Among the implications of this shift there has been a crisis of the pan-European integrist project and its replacement by the US-driven neo-Atlanticist project and the ensuing transformation of NATO and the EU into its constituent blocs²⁹. Another implication of this shift has been the growing political and economic role of Turkey in the region, which has been enhanced by its transformation into a main energy hub as a result of its energy deal with Russia over the 'Turkish Stream' project³⁰. The regional assertiveness of Turkey has occurred against the backdrop of Turkey's growing rift with the West over the ISIL and Kurdish-related policies in Iraq and Syria and the West's growing engagement with Iran-Turkey's major regional and religious rival. Another implication of this shift has been the West's growing criticism of authoritarian, i.e. non-Western, tendencies in Russia, Turkey and Azerbaijan and the West's direct linking of the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict with the promotion of democracy and human rights in the region. Russia, on her part, has emphasized her political and cultural similarities with the states involved in the conflict and advocated her undivided historical responsibility for both fomenting and resolving the conflict. It could be argued that these new geopolitical realities have exposed the problematic nature of the existing international format for the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and have necessitated its re-configuration.

²⁹ Richard Sakwa, *The Ukrainian Crisis and the End of Europe*, a guest lecture presented at the Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies, the University of Birmingham, 4 March 2015.

³⁰ The 'Turkish Stream' was a result of Moscow's decision, which was taken in December 2014 in response to Western sanctions over Russia's role in the Ukrainian crisis, to redirect the 'South Stream' gas pipeline from southern Russia to the EU countries under the Black Sea to resurface in Bulgaria, to a new route via Turkey.

THE CASE OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH: AN INTERNATIONAL LAW PERSPECTIVE

Natalino RONZITTI*

The case of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict involves several questions of international law: recognition of States, self-determination of peoples, status of minorities, and law of the *occupatio bellica*. The Nagorno-Karabakh is a province under the sovereignty of Azerbaijan, which has not attracted any international recognition. The inhabitants of the province are not a “people”, but the ethnic minority within the Republic of Azerbaijan, with the consequence that the principle of external self-determination cannot be applied. Even if one assumes that the secession is a question of fact in international law, the reaction by the international community towards the declaration of independence and subsequent acts of Nagorno-Karabakh show that the secession has not been successful.

Under the current situation, Armenia exercises effective control of the occupied Nagorno-Karabakh and seven adjacent regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan, whether directly by its own armed forces or indirectly through a subordinate local regime which survives by virtue of its overall support, as pointed out by the European Court of Human Rights (Grand Chamber, *Case of Chiragov and Others v. Armenia*, Application no. 13216/05, Judgment, Merits, 16 June 2015, para. 186).

The consequence is that Azerbaijan has temporary lost about 20% of its territory. The other aspect is a mass expulsion of the population, since about one million people were obliged to leave the territory of traditional settlement and have been displaced becoming a kind of internal refugees (internal displaced persons).

On 5 May 1994, Armenia and Azerbaijan stipulated the Protocol of Bishkek, a *pactum de contrahendo* aimed at terminating the hostilities in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The Protocol contains several points to be

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implemented by the parties. The real cease-fire was concluded a few days later thanks to the good offices of the Russian Federation. The cease-fire has been concluded for an unlimited duration. It has been often violated with incidents of minor and major gravity.

From the international law point of view, the cease-fire is still regulated by Articles 36-41 of the Regulations annexed to the IV Hague Convention of 1907 on war on land, even if in principle they relate to armistice. However those provisions should be reconciled with the Charter of the United Nations, which, on the one hand, prohibits the threat and the use of force (Art. 39) and, on the other, allows the right of self-defense (Art.51).

The View of the International Community

How the international community views the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh region? It is better to consider separately the United Nations and regional organizations.

(a) The UN Security Council has passed four resolutions on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: 822 (1993), 853 (1993), 874 (1993), 884 (1993). All resolutions have been adopted with the positive vote of all members of the SC and are premised on the respect of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan as well as on the principle of the inviolability of the frontiers and the prohibition of the acquisition of territory by force. The resolutions also confirm that the Nagorno-Karabakh is part of the Azerbaijan State. For instance, para. 9 of resolution 853 encourages Armenia “to exert its influence to achieve compliance by the Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan...”. The same is true for resolutions 822 and 884 where Armenia is invited to exert its influence to achieve compliance by the Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan with the previous resolutions. Note that the Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh are not qualified as a people of a sovereign entity, but only as a population of a region.

(b) As far as the districts occupied by Armenia, the above-mentioned resolutions condemn their occupation and demand the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces.

Also the resolution 62/243 (2008) of the UN General Assembly is worth noting. The resolution contains a set of principles which reaffirm the sovereignty of the Republic of Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh region and, at the same time, demand the restoration of its territorial integrity, “the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian forces from all the occupied territories of Azerbaijan” (para. 2), and “the inalienable right of the population expelled from the occupied territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan to return to their homes” (para. 3).

(b) As far as regional organizations are concerned, the following come into consideration:

Council of Europe

Both Armenia and Azerbaijan are members of the Council of Europe and have ratified the European Convention on Human Rights. The Azerbaijan entered into the Convention with a reservation stating that it was unable to guarantee its application in the territories occupied by Armenia.

The Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly passed a number of resolutions calling the parties to peacefully settle their dispute. For instance, resolution 1951 (1994) recommends a political dialogue between the two countries and so does the resolution 1416 of 25 January 2005:

- Regrets that, more than a decade after the armed hostilities started, the conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh region remains unsolved. Hundreds of thousands of people are still displaced and live in miserable conditions. Considerable parts of the territory of Azerbaijan are still occupied by Armenian forces, and separatist forces are still in control of the Nagorno-Karabakh region;
- Reaffirms that independence and secession of a regional territory from a state may only be achieved through a lawful and peaceful process based on the democratic support of the inhabitants of such territory and not in the wake of an armed conflict leading to ethnic expulsion and the de facto annexation of such territory to another state. The Assembly reiterates that the occupation of foreign territory by a

member state constitutes a grave violation of that state's obligations as a member of the Council of Europe and reaffirms the right of displaced persons from the area of conflict to return to their homes safely and with dignity;

- Recalls the SC resolutions concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh and the districts occupied by Armenia.

European Union

The position of the EU is unequivocal. In a 2002 a Declaration by the Presidency of the EU stated:

“The European Union confirms its support for the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, and recalls that it does not recognize the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh. The EU has always emphasized the need to establish a stable political agreement concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, which should be acceptable to both Armenia and Azerbaijan. The EU cannot consider legitimate the "presidential elections" that are scheduled to take place on 11 August 2002 in Nagorno- Karabakh. The EU does not believe that these elections should have an impact on the peace process”¹.

The EU in a number of documents took stance for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan. For instance, the 2005 Country Report, after having pointed out that the Soviet Union collapsed, affirmed that “war broke out between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh” and pointed out that “portions of Azerbaijan’s territory remained under Armenian occupation” (par. 2.4, Territorial and other conflicts/disputes). The 2006 Action Plan affirms that the conflict should be settled according to the “relevant UN SC resolutions and OSCE documents and decisions”. Moreover, the Country Strategy Paper covering period 2007-2013 states in connection with the Stability Instrument that “In the case of Azerbaijan this is particularly relevant for the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which continues to call into question Azerbaijani’s territorial integrity and challenges”. A resolution

¹ Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union on forthcoming «Presidential elections» in Nagorno-Karabakh, Brussels, 2 August 2002, 11463 (Presse 233) P. 105/02.

was adopted by the European Parliament on 13 October 2013 stigmatizing the occupation “by one country of the Eastern Partnership of the territory of another” and affirming that the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh question should be found along the lines traced by the SC resolutions above quoted.

NATO

The Azerbaijan is not a NATO member, even though it is a party to the PfP and of IPAP, and NATO has not a direct role in the conflict, the settlement of which it prefers to leave to the OSCE. Nevertheless NATO, since 1992, took stance in favor of the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and its political officers often affirmed that Nagorno-Karabakh was a region belonging to the Azerbaijan.

OSCE

The OSCE is the main regional organization which through the Minsk Group and its three Co-Chairs (France, Russia Federation, and United States) are conducting the real negotiation for the settlement of the conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Unfortunately, the results are insignificant notwithstanding 20 years of negotiation and the final stage is not yet foreseen. The main results are the adoption of the Basic Principles for Settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict (or Madrid Principles) formally adopted at the Madrid Summit (2007) and thereafter confirmed by the subsequent OSCE Summits. The Principles, which are not without ambiguity since they are the result of a negotiating process, are as following:

- return of the occupied territories surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh;
- interim status for Nagorno-Karabakh guaranteeing security and self-governance;
- a corridor linking Armenia to Nagorno-Karabakh;
- final status of Nagorno-Karabakh to be determined in the future by a legally-binding expression of will;
- the right of all internally-displaced persons and refugees to return;
- international security guarantees, including a peacekeeping operation.

The Nagorno-Karabakh as a non-recognized entity

Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention on the rights and duty of States

(1933), widely regarded as declaratory of customary international law, gives the following definition of State: “The State as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications: (a) permanent population; (b) a defined territory; (c) government, and (d) capacity to enter international relations with other States”. The Montevideo Declaration not only emphasizes the triad population, territory, government, but also the capacity to enter into relations with the pre-existing States, which reinforces the effectivity of the statehood and depends on their will. Recognition is not mentioned and in principle recognition is not an element of the statehood. However the absence of collective recognition shows that the entity aspiring to the statehood lacks of effectivity. This is particularly true when the secession has happened outside the colonial context and the opposition of the parent State in recognizing the secession becomes a sine qua non element. Nowadays the statehood depends on the real capacity to enter international relations with other States and to become member of the most important international organization, first of all the United Nations. In a recent book on a State-building and the naissance of States in international law, it has been held that those entities which live in a condition of isolation in the international community and of non-admission to international organizations are not States, even though they aspire to the statehood and independence². Note that even Armenia has not recognized the Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent State and the Armenian Parliament has rejected a proposal aimed at the recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh as a State (14 November 2014). As the example of Kosovo shows, the entity born from the secession needs the recognition of the other States to consolidate its independence. The absence of recognition shows the absence of the requirement of effectiveness of statehood and independence. According to a learned writer, the Nagorno-Karabakh is among the examples of “unsuccessful attempts at secession”³.

The Nagorno-Karabakh is recognized only by entities whose statehood is non-existent or dubious as Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria. Together they have formed an international organization called Community

² Enrico Milano, “Formazione dello Stato e processi di State-Building nel diritto internazionale” (Editoriale Scientifica Napoli, 2013) at 48-49.

³ James Crawford, “The Creation of States in International Law” (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2006), at 403.

for Democracies and Rights of Nations//Commonwealth of Unrecognized States, which is not an international organization made of States, but only a kind of NGO. Note that Nagorno-Karabakh maintains offices in a number of countries (Armenia, Australia, France, Germany, Lebanon, Russia Federation and USA). The offices do not have a diplomatic status and therefore one cannot imply that the countries in which they are settled have given an implicit recognition of the Nagorno-Karabakh statehood. The same is true, mutatis mutandis, for those parliaments of member States of Federal Entities which have “recognized” the Nagorno-Karabakh (for instance the Louisiana State Senate in the USA).

Note that the international community does not take stance in favor of the secession outside the decolonization process, as proved by the GA resolution 53/71, which classifies the violent collapse of States as a possible threat to peace and international security⁴.

One more thought on the case under examination. All Security Council resolutions and other documents quoted above underline the principle of the territorial integrity of the Azerbaijan. This means that these documents take stance, albeit implicitly, for the non-existence of the Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent State.

The secession is a question of fact in international law and is not in itself legitimate or illegitimate. However the secession is forbidden, if it is the by-product of foreign intervention and States are prohibited to recognize a situation which has come into existence with a violation of fundamental principles of international law.

The Status of Minorities in International Law and the Principles of Territorial Integrity of States

Sometimes the populace of the Nagorno-Karabakh is qualified as a “people”, while from the international law point of view is only a minority. Minorities are not entitled to external self-determination and cannot endanger the territorial integrity of States in which they live. The CSCE Helsinki Final Act

⁴ “Maintenance of International Security-Prevention of Violent Disintegration of States”, A/RES/53/71, 4 January 1999, GA RES 53/71.

of 1975 contains a number of provisions related to the territorial integrity of States and to national minorities. The CSCE/OSCE documents, including the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between participating States, are soft law. However several provisions embodied in the Declaration on Principles are declaratory of customary international law. Dealing with the territory, the Helsinki Final Act restates the principle of inviolability of frontiers as well as that of the territorial integrity of States. Moreover, the Helsinki Final Act contains two other principles dealing separately with the rights of peoples - the only entity titular of a right of self-determination - and the rights of national minorities. The respect of territorial integrity of States in relation to national minorities is reinforced by the Istanbul OSCE Summit declaration (1999).

One of the most important CSCE documents relating to our subject is the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension (1990). The Document contains a saving clause in relation to minorities in its paragraph 37, which reads:

“None of these commitments may be interpreted as implying any right to engage in any activity or perform any action in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, other obligations under international law or the provisions of the Final Act, including the principle of territorial integrity of States”.

The distinction between peoples and minorities is also present in the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. While Article 1, para. 1, states that

“All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”,

Article 27 does not encompass any right to self-determination and gives rights only to individuals belonging to minorities:

“In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right,

in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language”

It is often difficult to individuate who is self and to establish whether in a particular case we are dealing with a people or with a minority. However Article 1 (2) of the Turin Charter on protection of minorities (1994) established within the Central European Initiative gives the following definition:

“ ‘National minority’ shall mean a group that is smaller in number than the rest of population of State, whose members being nationals of that State, have ethnical, religious or linguistic features different from those of the rest of population, and are guided by the will to safeguard their culture, tradition, religion or language”

We may count other international instruments protecting the territorial integrity of States. In addition to Article 2(4) of the Charter of the United Nations reference should also be made, for instance, to paragraph 7 of the Principles of self- determination embodied on the UN General Assembly Resolution on Friendly Relations (res. 2625-XXV, 1970) which states the proper balance between the right to self-determination and the territorial integrity of States.

Other relevant instruments have been negotiated within the Council of Europe.

First of all, 1995 Framework Convention on National Minorities spells out, in its Preamble, that the rights of minorities should be guaranteed with due respect of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of States and Article 21 affirms:

“Nothing in the present framework Convention shall be interpreted as implying any right to engage in any activity or perform any act contrary to the fundamental principles of international law and in particular of the sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence of States”.

It is interesting to note that both Azerbaijan and Bulgaria appended a declaration when they became parties to the Convention stating that it “does not imply any right to engage in any activity violating the territorial integrity and sovereignty, or internal and international security”.

The European Charter of regional or minorities languages of 1992 should also be quoted, which embodies the principle of territorial integrity in the Preamble, Article 5 and Article 11, paragraph 2. As far as the United Nations are concerned, the two instruments which come into consideration are the 1992 General Assembly Declaration on the right of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities (Article 8, para. 2) and the 1997 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous peoples.

One more word should be devoted to the relations between self-determination and territorial integrity of States. We have already noted that only peoples are titular of a right to self-determination. Peoples under colonial domination or a racist regime may exercise their right to self-determination and become an independent State (external self-determination). In this case the principle of self-determination is paramount and derogates from the principle of territorial integrity. However the external self-determination is not a right belonging to peoples settled in the same State (for instance a federal State). The only exception is constituted by peoples co-existing in the same State and which are discriminated by the government in power, as may be inferred from paragraph 7 of the Resolution on Friendly Relations. In this case international law writers label the situation as “remedial secession”.

In conclusion, minorities, be they titular of collective or individual rights (as persons belonging to them), are not holder of a right to self-determination. Consequently minorities should be taken distinct from peoples, which on the contrary are titular of a right to self-determination. Therefore minorities should implement their rights within the legal order of the State to which they belong, without endangering its territorial integrity. Even if one moves from the point according to which international law takes a neutral stance vis-a-vis secession, it is nevertheless clear that secession and statehood cannot be recognized if they are a consequence of external aggression, since in this case there is an obligation not to recognize a situation which is the result

of a violation of an imperative norm of international law.

The Law of Occupation

The conflict on Nagorno-Karabakh is at the same time a non international conflict in connection with relations between Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh rebels and an international one in the relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Under the perspective of international law, Armenia is exercising the “overall control” over Nagorno-Karabakh region and therefore it should be considered as the subject responsible for the occupatio bellica of the Nagorno-Karabakh region, as well as of districts directly occupied by Armenia. In the words of S.Vité the situation is clear. The author states:

“The military structures in the region include, in particular, a sizeable number of conscripts and officers from that country [Armenia]. The role of Armenia is not therefore restricted to mere logistic support, but implies that it has a hand in the organization, co-ordination and planning of the power established in Nagorno-Karabakh. It may be therefore considered that the territory is de facto in a situation of occupation”⁵.

Moreover, from the point of view of the IV Geneva Convention of 1949 it does not matter whether the territory under consideration is a disputed territory. This was made clear by the Eritrea-Ethiopia claims commission⁶.

Therefore the law to be applied in Nagorno-Karabakh is the one relating to the occupatio bellica incumbent to Armenia. The sources are: the Regulations annexed to the IV Hague Convention of 1907, the IV Geneva Convention of 1949 and, as far as the cultural property is concerned, the Convention of 1954 on the protection of cultural property in time of armed conflict and the II Additional Protocol of 1999. One should also add the two 1966 Covenants on human rights and the 1989 Convention on the rights of children that should be applied by the occupant as stated by the ICJ on its advisory opinion on the wall in Palestine⁷.

⁵ Silvain Vité, “Typology of armed conflicts in international humanitarian law: legal concepts and actual situations”, 91 International Review of the Red Cross, No. 873, March, 2009, at 75.

⁶ Partial Award, Central Front, Ethiopia’s Claim 2, The Hague, 28 April 2004, para. 28.

⁷ Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Advisory Opinion, ICJ Reports 2004, 180, paras. 111-113

Hence a number of the duties incumbent to the occupant. Taking into account those relevant to Nagorno-Karabakh, the occupant is forbidden:

- To illegally transfer part of its population in the territory under occupation, as affirmed by Article 49 (6) of the IV Geneva Convention. This duty is aimed at impeding the reshuffling the ethnic proportionality of the population of the occupied territory, as made clear by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) opinion on the Wall in Palestine;
- Not to exploit the natural resources of the territory under occupation in contrast with the principle of permanent sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources. According to Article 55 of the Hague Regulations, “the occupying State shall be regarded only as administrator and usufructuary of public buildings, real estate, forests, and agricultural estates belonging to the hostile State, and situated in the occupied country. It must safeguard the capital of these properties, and administer them in accordance with the rules of usufruct”. The ICJ has recently affirmed that the occupier has the duty “to take appropriate measures to prevent the looting, plundering and exploitation of natural resources of the occupied territory”⁸ and the Institut de droit international has stated in its Bruges Declaration of 2003 on the use of force that “the occupying power can only dispose of the resources of the occupied territory to the extent necessary for the current administration of the territory and to meet the essential needs of the population”. An important principle is the one prohibiting the occupier to explore and run new mines and oil fields;
- As far as the protection of cultural property, the occupier is obliged to impede the appropriation and destruction of the cultural property and has the duty to punish every violation. Moreover the occupier should support the local authorities in their activity aimed at the conservation of cultural property (Article 5 of the 1954 Hague Convention) and has the duty to impede the illicit transfer of cultural property. The Protocol

⁸ Case Concerning Armed Activities on the Territory of the Congo (Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Uganda). Judgment, ICJ Reports 2005, 19 December 2005, at 168.

contains rules for excavations and prohibits any alteration whatsoever of cultural property (Article 9 of II Protocol of 1999).

Peaceful Settlement of Disputes: European and International Models

There is an obligation to settle international disputes peacefully. This obligation, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, belongs to customary international law. The UN Charter, in its Article 33, contains an enumeration of modes for settling a dispute. The enumeration is not exhaustive and the parties may prefer a method of their own choice.

As far as judicial settlement is concerned there are a number of fora going from the OSCE Court of Arbitration and Conciliation to the International Court of Justice. Also the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) might come into consideration. If the PCA is not chosen by the parties as a forum for settling the dispute, it can be used, as recent practice shows, as a structure for administering the arbitration chosen by the parties.

While the OSCE Court of Arbitration and Conciliation has never been used for settling a controversy, the ICJ is frequently resorted to by European countries, as proven by recent judgments *Germany v Italy (Greece intervening)* (2012) and *Croatia v Serbia* (2015).

A further model is represented by the European Court on Human Rights, which may hear not only individual claims, but also interstate disputes. However the Court may adjudicate controversies relating to the violation of human rights and is not directly concerned with disputes affecting territorial sovereignty, existence of States and likewise.

Another problem is constituted by the existence of a controversy, a necessary ingredient for deferring a controversy to an international court. Armenia has never claimed sovereignty to the Nagorno-Karabakh territory and on the other hand the Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be party to an international dispute, since it is not a State. Technically there is not an international controversy between Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh.

Therefore a judicial settlement does not fit for solving the controversy. A

possible way out could be a combination between various methods, for instance a “political arbitration”, involving arbitration, negotiation and political settlement. In one word, instead of relying on the rigid mechanism of a judicial settlement, the solution should be found around the notion of flexibility, including, if appropriate, an advisory opinion by ICJ on request of the Security Council or General Assembly.

Conclusion

As already noted, the work of the Minsk Group is in a phase of enduring stalemate. The Group continues to meet trying to offer its good offices for a solution that has yet to come. It is to remark the firm opposition of the Minsk Group to recognize the Nagorno-Karabakh “as an independent and sovereign State”, as has been clearly stated in the latest Press Release after the meeting held in Paris on 30 April 2015. This finding, together with the restitution by Armenia, of the occupied territories surrounding the Nagorno-Karabakh region, should be the starting point for a solution that should be centered on a status of autonomy of the Nagorno-Karabakh region, moving from the premises that the Nagorno-Karabakh issue is not a question of self-determination of peoples, but a question of minorities. The European history offers a number of models going from the Aaland Islands in the Baltic to the autonomous province of Bolzano/Bozen in Italy and the status of Alto Adige/South Tyrol. Moreover the OSCE documents dedicated to minorities are an example of how the status of minorities may be regulated. These documents, in all or in part, have been enshrined or recalled in bilateral treaties on the status of minorities, such as in the 1991 Treaty between Germany and Poland and in the 1996 Treaty between Croatia and Italy. Some of the models proposed are endowed with international guarantees for their compliance (for instance, Aaland Islands and Alto Adige/South Tyrol).

As far as the Council of Europe is concerned one may refer to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995) which embodies a set of norms for their protection and a system of guarantee/compliance. In this connection also the Venice Commission (The European Commission for Democracy through Law) might help in finding a solution.

Last but not the least, the question of international relations of a national

minority with its parent State should be regulated. The Council of Europe gives solutions for regulating this matter. The European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Countries and Authorities (Madrid, 1980) and its three Additional Protocols offer a number of models for the stipulation of transfrontier agreements which do not endanger the sovereignty of the territorial State.

YENİ TƏYİNATLAR – NEW APPOINTMENTS – НОВЫЕ НАЗНАЧЕНИЯ



18 July 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan granted Nuru Guliyev the diplomatic rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Second Category

18 July 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Nuru Guliyev as the Consul General of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the city of Kars of the Republic of Turkey



18 July 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Anar Maharramov, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Kingdom of Spain as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Principality of Andorra



18 July 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Bunyad Huseynov, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Islamic Republic of Iran as the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Economic Cooperation Organisation



6 September 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Galey Allahverdiyev, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to Malaysia as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Kingdom of Thailand



6 September 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Rashad Aslanov as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Argentine Republic



6 September 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Azer Khudiyev as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to Ukraine



6 September 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Aliyannaghi Huseynov as the Consul General of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the city of Tabriz of the Islamic Republic of Iran



7 September 2016

The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Ramin Hasanov as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Federal Republic of Germany



7 September 2016

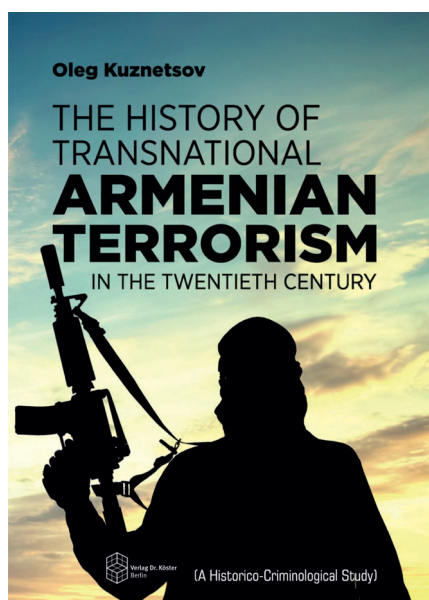
The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan appointed Gudsi Osmanov as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Republic of Moldova

YENİ TƏYİNATLAR – NEW APPOINTMENTS – НОВЫЕ НАЗНАЧЕНИЯ

YENİ NƏŞRLƏR – NEW PUBLICATIONS – НОВЫЕ ИЗДАНИЯ

“THE HISTORY OF TRANSNATIONAL ARMENIAN TERRORISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY”

Oleg KUZNETSOV



The Russian historian, scientist and lawyer Dr. Oleg Kuznetsov is one of the leading experts on international terrorism and the Armenian terrorism in Russia.

In this book “The History of Transnational Armenian Terrorism in the Twentieth Century” the author explores the history of transnational Armenian terrorism, a unique criminological phenomenon of the twentieth century that is still relevant today, focusing in particular on its historical, legal, political scientific, and culturological aspects.

He presents information summarized from more than fifty studies by Russian, American, Austrian, British, Israeli, Turkish, Azerbaijani, and Armenian scientists on this topic, whereby putting previously classified archive sources that represent judicial evidence and operational documents of the American and Soviet intelligence services into scientific circulation for the first time. The monograph is furnished with illustrative material (documents) and references.

It is intended for professional historians, lawyers, secret service employees, law enforcers, judicial officers, social experts, civil servants, post-graduate students and students of higher educational institutions majoring in humanitarian studies and the law, students of special higher military learning establishments and departmental higher educational institutions engaged in training specialists in law-enforcement activity, as well as for laymen interested in the history of the intelligence services of different countries of the world and their efforts to combat international terrorism and nationalist extremism.