

**Fuad Akhundov**

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***On the conflict between  
Armenia and Azerbaijan  
(Nagorno-Karabakh conflict)***

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*The Caucasus is one of the most multi-ethnic regions over the world. There are many neighbor villages speaking different languages in this region.*

*There is no any mono-ethnic country in Caucasus but Armenia.*

*Island, for example, is also mono-ethnic country in multi-ethnic Europe, and it is natural, because this country is surrounding by Atlantic Ocean.*

*Armenia is surrounding with four multi-ethnic country: Azerbaijan, Georgia Turkey and Iran where lives hundred thousands of ethnic Armenians, but no ethnic Azerbaijanian or Turkish lives in Armenia.*

*Mono-ethnic population of Armenia is not a result of natural evolutionary process - it is result of ethnic cleanse of the territory of Armenia.*

*Ethnic cleanse continued on the occupied territories of multi-ethnic Azerbaijan.*

## THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

Azerbaijan occupies south-eastern part of the Caucasian isthmus which stretches 825 kilometres along the Caspian Sea. Almost half of its territory are mountains: in the north there is Great Caucasus with the highest peak of the country - mountain Bazarduzu (4480 m). In between the mountains there lies the largest Kura-Araks lowland. Being situated at the junction of Europe and Asia the Republic has a unique geopolitical location and since ancient times has maintained its importance in terms of world economic and cultural links. The total area of Azerbaijan, which includes also Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic is 86,6 thousand square kilometres. In the north it borders on the Russian Federation (390 km), in the west - on Armenia (1009 km) on Georgia (480 km), in the south-west - on Turkey (12 km) and in the south - on Iran (750 km).

The Republic is rich and unique in its natural resources: landscapes vary from hot lowlands of the dry subtropics to eternal snow and glaciers of highlands. Azerbaijan has nine climatic zones out of existing on our planet, ranging from dry and humid subtropical to climate of mountainous tundra with the temperature amplitude of minus 45 degrees Centigrade to plus 45 degrees in the plains.

The Republic is rich in various minerals. The oil-fields of Apsheron peninsula and the Caspian shelf are mostly well-known including a unique sort of oil-cure oil called Naftalan. Azerbaijan has considerable reserves of iron-ore and alunites, and the latter's fields near Ganja are of world significance. Northern slopes of the Small Caucasus are known for the variety of other sorts of ores (molybdenum, cobalt and arsenic). Here marble is extracted which is no worse than the karrar marble as well as tuff, beautiful and solid.

Azerbaijan is famous for its numerous mineral sources - Istisu, Turshsu and Badamly. The longest river - Kura (length inside the Republic - 900 km) has substantial reserves of hydro-energy (estimated worth of 16 bin kWt per year). There are about 250 lakes in the Republic among which there is a unique Binagadi lake which survived through nowadays as a place of mass burials of ancient fossil animals.

The Caspian Sea - the largest salty lake on Earth, influencing nature and economy of Azerbaijan - plays a specific role in the life of the Republic. The layer of the soil vary from mountainous meadows of Alpine highlands to sulphuric soil of half-deserts and yellow soil of subtropics. Unique are many types

of flora (more than 4 000 kinds) and fauna (more than 12 000 species) of the Republic. Eldar pine-trees, Caspian lotus and others are included in the Red Book. There are more than a dozen of natural and historical and architectural natural reserves. Kyzylagaj reserve where each year more than a million of birds spend winter is of world significance.

Among the Republics of South Caucasus Azerbaijan is the most populated - there are more than 7.5 mln people who live there. It holds the leading position in terms of increase of population. Every year approximately more than 180 000 children are born. There is a relatively high life expectancy in Azerbaijan. There are more than 80 people at the age of 100 years and more for every 100 000 inhabitants. Longevity is a typical phenomenon mostly in Karabakh and Talysh. In the meantime Azerbaijan is a youth country. More than one-third of the total population are children (up to 14 years old), whereas the able-bodied part of the population constitutes about 60 percent.

Azerbaijan is a multinational Republic. The representatives of more than 90 nationalities - Azerbaijanis (85%), Russians, Ukrainians, Belarussians, Georgians, Armenians, Lezghins, Tatars, Talyshs, Kurds, Tats and other nationalities live there.

The population whose aggregate density is 86 persons per 1 sq.km. is scattered disproportionately. In lowlands and plains where mostly big industrial and agricultural centres are located 80% of the Republic's population are concentrated. The mostly densely populated is the Apsheron peninsula (300 persons per 1 sq.km.).

At present, the urban population make up 54% of the whole population of the Republic. Along with Baky urban area (2.5 mln inhabitants) the largest cities are Ganja (290 000). Sumgait (270 000), Mingechaur (96 000), Ali Bayramli (65 000), Khankendi, Lenkoran, Yevlakh, Sheki, Shusha and others. Intensive increase in urban population over the recent years is first of all connected with the continuing occupation of 20% of the Republic's territory and forcible displacement of people from the places of their permanent residence.

Azerbaijan is one of the most ancient homes of the civilization, a country with rich and ancient history. For many millennia unique cultural heritage had been created on its territory making part treasury of world culture.

Discovery of Azikh cave - one of earliest sites of human being on the Earth as well as the discovery of a number of other sites of Stone Age testify to the fact that Azerbaijan is a part of the zone of anthropogenesis and is one birth-places of the human mankind. Here one can trace major milestones of the devel-

opment of the civilization. First political institutions emerged in the third millennium B.C. Ninth century B.C. witnessed the development of Azerbaijani statehood: Manney Kingdom with economic and cultural level of development emerges. Pantheons of deities are created - Manneys believed in natural phenomena, the Sun and the Moon. In early sixth century B.C. Manney was conquered by the power of Midia. The official religion in that period was Zoroastrizm the dissemination of which was motivated with self igniting sources of oil and gas.

Substantial role in the development of the independent statehood on the teritoru of Azerbaijan in ancient times belongs to the states of Atropatena and Albania. The name of the ruler - Atropat (translated as "guarded by the god of fire") explains the name of the country which had been later transformed into Azerbaijan. The process of formation of the Azerbaijani nationality has begun in Atropatena.

In the third fifth century AD. Azerbaijani statehood is strengthened. Christianity arrives in Azerbaijan, one of the first apostolic independent Christian churches is created, spiritual and secular cultures are developed. Invention of the Albanian alphabet in the beginning of the fifth century promoted the development of education. Unique monuments of material culture and literature, architectural traditions of that period had been preserved till nowadays.

At the beginning of eighth century Azerbaijan was conquered by Arabs and was included in the Arab caliphate as a vilayet (province) of Arran. Islam became the dominant religion in Azerbaijan. New traditions and cultures evolved. Azerbaijanis like the other peoples who accepted the religion of Islam participated under the common name of "Moslems" in the development of the Islamic culture. Azerbaijan presented the world with the row of brilliant scientists, poets and architects. Continuity of statehood is preserved on the territory of Azerbaijan in the Middle Ages. The states of Garagoyunlu and Aggoyunlu as well as the state of Sefevides emerge and find their development.

Competition of a number of states in bringing Azerbaijan into the sphere of their influence resulted in an abrupt internal destabilisation in the 19 th century: a number of ide-pendent and half-independent stately entities emerged that were called khanates. At the threshold of 18th and 19th centuries contradiction deepens between Iran, Turkey and Russia, wars are waged for Azerbaijan.

Turkmenchay Treaty of 1828 concluded between Russia and Iran divided Azerbaijan and separated its people: the northern part of Azerbaijan was con-

quered by Russia whereas its southern part fell within the Iranian state.

The 20th century has entered the history of Azerbaijan as a period of radical transformations in the social economic, public and political as well as cultural spheres of life. Intensive development of mining and processing industries has started. Baky became the world center of developing and processing of oil, delivering at the beginning of the century more than a half of the global and 95 percent of Russian oil. Cultural life livened up. Different fields of science started to develop, newspapers and magazines are published. Creation of political societies organisations and parties, dissemination of progressive democratic ideas promoted the evolution of national self-conscience, facilitated the growth of liberation struggle of the people.

February of 1917, collapse of monarchy in Russia created favorable conditions for the further development of the national movement in its outskirts.

On 28 May 1918 Azerbaijan resored its state self-rule, the independent Azerbaijani Democratic Republic was proclaimed. Having existed for twenty three months that Republic on 28 April 1920 fell down. The units of the Red Army marched in Baky. Since December 1922 Azerbaijan had been a part of the USSR, having as a union republic all attributes of statehood: Constitution, flag, hymn and coat-of-arms. In 1991 the state independence was restored, the Constitutional Act on national independence was adopted. On 12 November 1995 the Constitution of independent Republic of Azerbaijan enjoying the nation wide support was adopted. This event marked a new phase in the history of the Azerbaijani people - an epoch of struggle for democracy and progress.

In accordance with the Constitution adopted by the nation wide referendum on 12 November 1995 Azerbaijan is a democratic, law-governed, secular and unitary Republic. The state rule is built on the principle of division of powers: legislative, executive and judicial. The President is the head of the state and he exercises the executive power and is elected by direct vote for the term of five years. The current President of the Republic of Azerbaijan is Heydar Aliyev.

The highest body of executive power is the Cabinet of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The judicial power is exercised by independent courts - Constitutional Court, Supreme Court and Highest Economic Court. The official language is Azerbaijani which belongs to south-western, Oghuz branch of the Turkic languages. The state bodies promote the free use and development of all the languages of various ethnic groups, which are taught in schools and used as languages of publications without any restrictions. The religion of the majority of the population is Islam. There are also five Orthodox Russian, four Armenian-

Gregorian, three Jewish, one Orthodox Georgian, thirteen Molocan, one protestant, one Krishnaite and one Ba'haite communities.

## **KARABAKH: THE CHRONICLE OF THE ARMENIAN AGGRESSION**

Karabakh is an ancient Azerbaijan land, one of the first centres of human civilization, testified by the archaeological excavations in the caves of Azikh, Khanlar and some others. Originally Karabakh was a part of the Caucasian Albania - an ancient Azerbaijan state, ethnically consisting of the Turkish and the tribes speaking in the Caucasian language. And in the Middle Ages Karabakh was a part of the Azerbaijan states formations like Atabeys, Eldaghizes, Gara-Goyunlu, Ag-Goyunlu, Safavids. With the start of disunity of feudalism some khanates were formed in the Azerbaijan territory, among them the Karabakh khanate, the first governor of which was Panah Ali-khan. Governor's new residence - Panahabad, a fortress, later called Shusha became the capitale of the Karabakh khanate. The Karabakh khanate rapidly developed during the years of Ibrahim-Khalil khan's reign, establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with other Azerbaijan khanates, as well as with Turkey, Iran, Georgia. As a result of the Russian-Iran and Russian-Turkey wars in the first third of the XIX century the Northern Azerbaijan, including the Karabakh khanate, was made a part of Russia. According to the post-war peaceful treaties the migration of the Armenian population from the territory of the neighbouring Moslem states to the territory of former Azerbaijan khanates began. More than 1.000.000 Armenian migrants were settled in the new lands, including Karabakh. In that way the Russian tsarism tried "to dilute" the population of its new Moslem outskirts with Christians. That was the time when the first territorial conflicts between the Armenian migrants and local Azerbaijani population began.

History testifies: Şavrov N.İ. "Novæ uqroza russkomu delu" (Sankt-Peterburq, 1911, str 59-61): "From 1828 to 1830 we settled to Transcaucasus more than 40000 Persian and 84600 Turkish Armenians and installed them in the best government lands of Elizavetopol and Erivan provinces, where the number of the Armenian population was very small. Happily ended Turkish war of 1877-79 endowed us with a stream of new Asiatic settlers: about 50 thousands Armenians and about 40 thousands Greeks were settled in the Kars region... By

the time of the arrival of the re-appointed governor of the region G.S.Golitsin in 1897 there already were not 100 thousand of the Armenian settlers as in 1894, but about 900 thousand. The greatest number of the settlers are of the Armenian origin, from 1 mln 300 thousand persons living in Transcaucasus nowadays, more than 1 mln don't belong to the native population of the region and have been settled here by us.

...Using false testimony, the Armenians, who were landless migrants, seized vast areas of lands" belonging to the state.

History testifies: A.S.Qriboedov "Zapiska o pereselenii armøn iz persii v našu oblastii" (soç. v 2-x tomax. Pravda, M. 1971, s. 339 - 341): "The Armenians mostly have been settled in lands of the Moslem Landowners.

...The settlers live in crowds and make the Moslem grumble at the lack of space. ... Besides we discussed a great deal of those instilling which should be done to the Moslems so as to reconcile them with their urden, which is not going to be long, and to eradicate their fears that the Armenians will have the lands for ever which they were first allowed to settle."

### **Ethnic "Cleansing" and Seizure of Territories**

Inspired by the support of the tsarist colonial authorities the Armenian leaders put forward the idea of creation of a buffer "Armenian state" - The Great Armenia "from sea to sea". Their territorial claims cover huge territories of Azerbaijan (Nakhichevan, Zan-gezur, Karabakh) and Georgia. Armenian terrorist organizations repeatedly arranged bloody massacres of Azerbaijani in Zangezur, Baku, Karabakh and other places (in 1895, 1904-1905, 1918 etc.), and thousands of peaceful population turned victims of these massacres.

With the decay of the Russian Empire and formation of three independent Transcaucasian states (1918-1920) the territorial claims of Armenia led to the beginning of the Armenian Georgian and Armenian-Azerbaijan wars. Hundreds thousand of Azerbaijanis were driven out of their native lands, the province of Zangezur was captured as a result and Nakhchivan was cut off the main land of Azerbaijan. Under the pressure of Bolsheviks, who occupied the mountainous part of Karabakh, where the Armenian migrants formed the majority as a result of the migration policy of the tsarist authorities and ... attacks of the Armenian bandits, Karabakh was declared an Armenian autonomy within the territory of Azerbaijan.

Then in 1946, 1961, 1965, 1976 the Armenian leaders again tried to tear away the mountainous part of Karabakh from Azerbaijan with the help of the leadership

of the former USSR.

Attempts of violent seizure of other territories of Azerbaijan included in the mythical "Great Armenia", did not cease. 1984 -1.700 hectare of lands were seized in the district of Gazakh; 1985-40 hectare of lands in the district of Lachin: 1986-the Armenian side tried to capture lands in the district of Gadabey and Gazakh.

Then come the events of February of 1988. The armed Armenian separatists supported and directed from Armenia began a new large-scale territorial expansion. During 1988-93 the Armenian armed formations, using considerable military, political and financial support from abroad, carried out mass deportation of the Azerbaijanians from Armenia, seized the mountainous part of Karabakh and other seven bordering districts - about 20 per cent of the Azerbaijan territory. In December of 1993 - February of 1994 - the national army of Azerbaijan repulsed the attacks of the Armenian troops in the directions of Beylagan and Tartar and launched a counter attack liberating 25 populated areas. Despite of the resolutions of the UN Security Council No 822, 853, 874, 884 which demand the unconditional evacuation of the occupied Azerbaijani territories, the Republic of Armenia violates the UN Charter, the OSCE principles, the Paris Charter and continues her aggression against Azerbaijan. The basic norms of international law - respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states, inviolability of borders, non-interference into one's internal affairs, right to live and security of millions of Azerbaijanian's have been violated by Armenia.

### **Political and Legal Aggression**

On December 1, 1989, the Armenian parliament together with the National Assembly of the Nagorno Karabakh adopted a joint resolution "On the reunification of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno Karabakh". On January 9, 1990 the Supreme Soviet of Armenia adopted the state plan of economic development of the Republic for 1990 which also included the Nagorno Karabakh.

In May of 1990 the Parliamentary elections were held in Armenia. 12 electoral districts were organized in the Nagorno Karabakh. At present 12 deputies of the Armenian Parliament are from the Nagorno Karabakh including Robert Kocharyan, the chairman of the so-called Defence Council of the Nagorno Karabakh .

In August of 1990, the Armenian Parliament adopted the "Declaration on the

sovereignty of Armenia" which again confirmed the joint resolution on the reunification of Armenia and the Nagorno Karabakh . In June of 1992, the Armenian Parliament passed a resolution in which the following was said in particular:

1. In order to guarantee the security of the Republic of the Nagorno Karabakh and its population the Republic of Armenia is to ensure their defence.

2. To consider any document stating that Nagorno Karabakh is an integral part of Azerbaijan as unacceptable for the Republic of Armenia.

3. To carry out a purposeful military mobilization in the Republic of Armenia, in connection with the situation to create necessary conditions for observing law and order, and take measures for preserving military secrets.

Strictly following the second item of the above mentioned resolution Armenia is the only state among the participants of many conferences that rejected the final document on the Karabakh conflict, not accepting the part of the document where the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan was mentioned:

- the annual conference of the foreign ministers of CSCE countries in 1993 in Rome:

- on April 15, 1994, in Moscow, Armenia again rejected another similiar document - "Declaration on observance of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of states" - signed by all the presidents of member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States;

- the summit OSCE countries in 1996 in Lissbon;

- in September of 1994 a resolution on the unification of monetary systems of Armenia and the Nagorno Karabakh was adopted.

We stress these facts because Armenia is a member state of the United Nations. OSCE and CIS, the Charters of which recognize the territorial integrity of all member states, including Azerbaijan.

## **Genocide**

The policy of ethnic cleansing pursued by the Armenian Nazis in the territory of Armenia has been crowned with an absolute result - today not a single Azerbaijani is living in the territory of Armenia. They were forcibly driven out by means of extremely brutal methods. Out of the 216 killed 57 were women, 5 infants and 18 children. They were killed by the doctors in hospitals, tortured, beheaded, burnt alive. The Azerbaidjanis were also burnt in the territory of thus, during the Armenian attack to Baganis Ayrum, a bordering village with Armenia, 7 Azerbaijanis were driven into the shed, were thrown petrol and burnt. The youngest

of the victims was several months old, and the oldest was 70. The Armenian monsters of cruelty repeated the same terrible act in a farm in the same Karabakh. They burned there 6 people alive. And an absolute result was achieved in Karabakh, not a single Azerbaijani remained there. But one day the Karabakh tragedy shook the whole world. At night of the 26th of February 1992 the Armenian terrorists, supported by division 366 of the joint military forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, seized the Azerbaijani town of Khojali. In order to imagine how they were killed, and generally to understand what is the meaning of primordial Armenian antiturkism and anti-islamism, we quote a document, prepared by the independent authoritative lawyers from Moscow. It is called: "Report of the lawyers centre "Memorial" on mass violation of human rights, connected with the seizure of Khojali settlement by the armed formations at night between the 25th - 26th of February 1992". Let us quote only one example: "The corpses taken off to Agdam had the traces of gibing. The doctors of hospital train of Agdam fixed more than 4 scalped bodies, one beheaded body. The cases of alive persons being scalped were also stated."

### **The Consequences of the Armenian Aggression**

As a result of "ethnic cleansing", followed by summary massacres, executions and torture of peaceful inhabitants in Yerevan, Gugark, Masis, Gafan, Spitak and other settlements of the Republic of Armenia, 216 Azerbaijani including 57 women, 5 infants. 18 children have been killed. Over 200 thousand Azerbaijanis have been forcibly driven out from 172 burnt Azerbaijani villages in the Armenian Republic. Today Armenia has become the only monoethnic state among the 15 former USSR republics. And in Azerbaijan itself, as a result of Armenian aggression, over 800.000 Azerbaijanis from the upper part of Karabakh and regions adjoining to it have become refugees. About 600000 refugees out of 1 million are children, women and old people. More than 18000 Azerbaijanis, mainly women, old people and children, have been killed by the Armenian butchers.

Over 50000 people have been wounded or have been taken hostage, including 320 women, 173 old people and 71 children. 17000 km of land (about 20% of the territory of the whole republic), have been occupied by the Armenian armed forces. The Armenian troops control over 100 km of the Azerbaijan frontier with Iran. The total sum of damage inflicted by the Armenian aggressors is

estimated at over 1 billion dollars. More than 6000 industrial, agricultural and construction enterprises, more than 107000 residential buildings, 741 secondary schools, 219 kindergartens, 250 medical centres have been destroyed. More than 300 cultural-historical monuments of Azerbaijan, including the Mausoleum of Molla Panah Vagif, U.Hajibeyov's and Bul-Bul's museums and others have been pillaged and destroyed, thousands of Azerbaijani cemeteries have been ruined. Decade long tragedy is still continuing.

## **RESULTLESS ACTIVITY**

### **Resolution No 822 of the UN Security Council**

"Reaffirming the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in the region. reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory, the Security Council...  
1. demands ...immediate withdrawal of all occupying forces from the Kalbajar district and the other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan; 2. decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

### **Resolution No 853 of the UN Security Council**

"Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the the Republic of Azerbaijan .... reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for acquisition of territory, the Security Council:

1. condemns the seizure of the district of Agdam and of all other recently occupied areas of the Azerbaijan Republic;

2. demands ... the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces involved from the district of Agdam and all other recently occupied areas of the Azerbaijan Republic; 14.decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

### **Resolution No 874 of the UN Security Council**

"Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the the Republic of Azerbaijan and of all other states in the region, reaffirming also the inviolability of

international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory, the Security Council: - 5. calls for the immediate implementation of the reciprocal and urgent steps... including the withdrawal of forces from recently occupied territories..., 13. decides to remain actively."

### **Resolution No 884 of the UN Security Council**

"Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the the Republic of Azerbaijan and of all other states in the region ... reaffirming also the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory, the Security Council: - 1. condemns the occupation of Zangelan district and the city of Horadiz...: 4. demands ... unilateral withdrawal of the occupying forces from Zangelan district and the city of Horadiz and the withdrawal of the occupying forces from other recently occupied areas of the Azerbaijan Republic...: 9. decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

### **Statement of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office**

You all know that no progress has been achieved in the last two years to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the issue of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan, I regret that the efforts of the Co-Chairman of the Minsk Conference to reconcile the views of the parties on the principles for a settlement have been unsuccessful.

Three principles which should form part of the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict were recommended by the Co-Chairman of the Minsk Conference. These principles are supported by all member States of the Minsk Group. They are:

- territorial integrity of the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijan Republic;
- legal status of Nagorno-Karabakh defined in an agreement based on self determination which confers on Nagorno-Karabakh the highest degree of self rule within Azerbaijan;
- guaranteed security for Nagorno-Karabakh and its whole population, including mutual obligations to ensure compliance by all the Parties with the provi-

sions of the  
settlement.

I regret that one participating State could not accept this. These principles have the support of all other participating States.

This statement will be included in the Lisbon Summit documents.

### **Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan**

In February 1997, international public opinion got wind of massive deliveries of Russian weapons made between 1994 and 1996, unknown to the President and Government of the Russian Federation, to the Armenian Republic which had embarked on military aggression against the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The Azerbaijani party was more particularly concerned by the fact that, as we have learnt, these deliveries of weapons, particularly heavy armoured vehicles and tactical Scud missiles, had assumed exceptional proportions following the conclusion, on 12 May 1994, of a cease-fire agreement between Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia, which Azerbaijan respects scrupulously, notwithstanding the fact that the Republic of Armenia continues to occupy Azerbaijani territory.

In the statement it issued on that subject on 21 February 1997, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan drew the attention of the international community and the leaders of the Russian Federation to the fact that these illegal actions were in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and of the decisions of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe regarding the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, all of which banned deliveries of weapons to the States involved in the dispute, for those deliveries of weapons encouraged the escalation and continuation of the occupation of Azerbaijani territory. Furthermore, it was indicated that deliveries of Russian military materiel to Armenia were contrary to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. They undermine the authority of the Russian Federation in its capacity as mediator of the settlement of the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Since the deliveries of Russian weapons to Armenia came to light, the Russian Federation has tried to conduct investigations into the matter. In particular, the State Duma of the Russian Federation, after having devoted a special debate to the issue, asked its Committees on Defence, Security, and

Commonwealth of Independent States and ties with fellow citizens to conduct a thorough investigation into the facts surrounding the illegal deliveries. In its statement of 14 March 1997, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan expressed the hope that the investigation would lead to the disclosure of the identity of those officials who had been involved in the illegal activity regarding the deliveries of Russian weapons to Armenia, that these activities would be dealt with appropriately at the legal and political level and that the necessary steps would be taken to have the weapons withdrawn from the Republic of Armenia.

On 11 April 1997, the State Duma of the Russian Federation, having heard the report of the Chairman of the Defence Committee, Mr. L.Rokhlin, on the illegal deliveries of weapons and military materiel valued at one billion United States dollars to Armenia, adopted a resolution entitled "Measures to enforce the legislation of the Russian Federation concerning deliveries of weapons and military materiel to foreign States".

In this resolution, the State Duma requested the President of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, to take the necessary political and diplomatic steps to forestall the complications which might arise between States on the occasion of illegal deliveries of weapons and military materiel to Armenia, and to take detailed measures to prohibit similar violations of the legislation concerning deliveries of weapons involving other countries and to hold individuals who permitted such violations personally responsible. The State Duma of the Russian Federation also asked the Attorney-General of Russia to verify the violations of the legislation on deliveries by Russia of weapons and military materiel to Armenia and the cases where members of the armed forces of the Russian Federation might have used their official functions for reprehensible purposes.

In September 1997, Mr.E.Primakov who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, acting on instructions from President Boris Yeltsin made a statement in which he set forth the official position of the Russian Federation regarding the conclusion, in 1997, between the Russian Federation and Armenia of a treaty on friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance which contained, inter alia, an article on military co-operation and mutual assistance between the two States. He indicated in that statement that "the Russian-Armenian treaty was not directed against Azerbaijan and would never be used to benefit those who are hostile to the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan".

It also indicated that the leaders of the Russian Federation were concerned with the fact that "calls are being made at the present time, especially in Nagorny Karabakh, for a settlement of the conflict that has been going on for many years between Armenia and Azerbaijan by military means".

In its statement of 19 September 1997, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan deemed the statement by Mr. Primakov to be positive. However, it was again pointed out that during the preparation of the Russian-Armenian treaty no account had been taken of the possible negative consequences of the implementation of the Treaty both on the process of the peaceful political settlement of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and on bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation. In its statement the Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed the hope that all the obligations stemming from the Russian-Armenian treaty would not enter fully into effect until an overall settlement had been reached to the armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which presupposed the liberation of all the occupied territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the return of refugees and displaced persons to the places of their permanent residence and the normalization of relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Unfortunately, as it turns out, not one of the initiatives taken in the Russian Federation to look into the facts concerning the massive illegal deliveries of Russian weapons to Armenia has been completed and therefore not one has had any result whatsoever. What is more, the deliveries of weapons to Armenia are continuing, this time openly and legally. Subsequently, the statements by officials of the Russian Federation claiming that military cooperation between Russia and Armenia was not directed against Azerbaijan have quite simply not been confirmed. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the articles of the treaty concluded between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Armenia which have been supplemented by more than 20 agreements on cooperation in the political and military fields as well as military-technical cooperation.

These conclusions are also borne out by the visit made to Armenia on 14 and 15 July 1998 by the Minister of Defence of the Russian Federation, Mr. I. Sergeyev during which the results of the co-ordination of the future co-operation plans regarding military facilities were officially announced and the timing and budgets were determined; also determined were the further development of the Russian military base in Armenia and its co-operation with the armed forces of that country including the improvement of a system of unified air defence system based, inter alia. on the deployment of S-300 surface-to-air missile systems; the

plans for delivering modern weapons to Armenia, which provided, inter alia, for the modernization of the equipment of the 102nd Russian military base, joint military exercises in the presence of the Ministers of Defence Russia and Armenia on a training ground not far from Yerevan and plans for the reinforcement of Russian military troops in Armenia by reducing Russian forces in Georgia.

In its statement of 18 July 1998, adopted following the visit to Armenia by the Russian Minister of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan indicated that Azerbaijan was concerned, and not without cause, about plans to strengthen the strategic military alliance between the Russian Federation and Armenia, which cause a serious threat to the process to find a settlement as soon as possible and by peaceful means to the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and, more generally, to the security of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and cast a shadow on the role of Russia as a mediator in the settlement.

On 29 July 1998, the Director of the Department of International Military Cooperation of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation, general L.Ivashov, made a statement in which he confirmed the plans of Russian military leaders to replenish the military materiel of the 102nd Russian military base established on the territory of Armenia and, particularly, to strengthen operational coordination of the military machinery of the two countries.

In the statement it issued on the occasion of General Ivashov's statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan indicated that the frank and unambiguous statements by the above-mentioned military official of the Russian Federation strengthened Azerbaijan's apprehension regarding the purpose of this new phase of political and military co-operation between Russia and Armenia, which had thus been lifted to a qualitatively different strategic level.

The statement indicated that for the first time it had been acknowledged in Russia at so high an official level that all past and present deliveries of military weapons to Armenia had but a single purpose, namely, to strengthen that country's military potential and to enable it to obtain strategic military superiority over Azerbaijan. The qualitative replenishment and expansion of the military capacities of the Russian base, the strengthening of operational coordination between Russian military forces and the Ministry of Defence of Armenia and the continued deliveries of weapons to Armenia left no doubt as to the true intentions of the leaders at the Ministry of Defence of Russia regarding shifting the military-strategic balance in the zone of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and throughout the region in favour of Armenia.

On 15 and 16 December 1998, the Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force of the

Russian Federation, General A. Kornukov, paid a visit to Armenia during which further agreements were concluded in the area of military co-operation between the Russian Federation and Armenia. The visit was an occasion for examining specific technical questions raised by the considerable strengthening of the 102nd military base established in Armenia, the new aircraft unit to be supplied to that base, the improvement of the operation of the unified air defence system which was to be equipped with modern armaments, including S-300 surface-to-air missile systems, and questions concerning of the permanent deployment in the territory of Armenia of Russian MiG-29 aircraft. In Baku, the frank statements by General Kornukov did not pass unnoticed; it was clear that the Russian-Armenian military units might be used against both Turkey and Azerbaijan.

In the statement it issued on 19 December 1998 on the occasion of the visit of General Kornukov to Yerevan and the further military agreements concluded between Russia and Armenia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan pointed out that Azerbaijan was following with concern the expansion of the Russian military presence in Armenia and in the entire southern Caucasus region and saw it as a factor in the tension which not only was not contributing to but was hampering the establishment of peace, stability and security throughout the political area stretching from the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea.

Azerbaijan considers the military co-operation between Russia and Armenia and the Russian military presence in Armenia as a threat to its security particularly since the Russian military base is being used to strengthen the military capability of the Armenian armed forces and since the military personnel of that base is being used in the context of the armed aggression waged by the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan believes that the strengthening of Russia's military presence in Armenia may have unpredictable consequences for the region and beyond.

Numerous statements issued by officials of the Russian Federation to the effect that the Russian military base in Armenia is not directed against Azerbaijan are not credible. Accordingly, the following question must be asked: Why is Russia maintaining a military base in Armenia, a country with which it does not even have a common border? In order to ward off a possible threat from Iran? But Russia's relations with that country are very good. To ward off a threat from Turkey? But if Russian officials are to be believed, these two countries have good-neighbourly and friendly relations.

We sometimes hear it said in the Russian Federation, including at the official level, that the Russian military base in Armenia is a means of checking the shadow

that NATO casts on Russia. But everyone knows that the Alliance is expanding to the west of the Russian Federation, that is to say thousands of kilometres away from Armenia.

The strengthening of the military and strategic co-operation between Russia and Armenia, the continued deliveries of military materiel to Armenia, which merely serve to strengthen the latter's military potential and the inaction not to say the paralysis, of the trilateral committee for the settlement of the problem of weapons deliveries point to a different conclusion: these facts demonstrate that there are certain forces in the Russian Federation which are plotting in the corridors of power and which are managing to systematically carry out plans to reduce to zero the efforts made to put an end to the arming of Armenia, to settle the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan by peaceful means, to improve relations between the Russian Federation and Azerbaijan and to strengthen the role of Russia as a mediator with a view to the settlement of the conflict.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan is authorized to state that all the foregoing considerations are cause for deep concern to the Azerbaijani public opinion and are forcing the Azerbaijani leaders to consider measures that would guarantee the country's security and defend its independence and sovereignty,

### **Information of the Press-Service of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan**

President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Sent a Letter to the President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin.

Heydar Aliyev, continuing his dialog with the leadership of the Russian Federation with regard to the illegal arms transfers to Armenia deemed it necessary to once again draw the attention of President of Russia to this issue.

The letter notes with regret that despite the numerous promises of the Russian side the investigation into the arms transfers to Armenia worth 1 billion of US dollars has not yielded any results. The office of the Prosecutor-General, the Ministry of Defence and other federal executive bodies of Russia have not implemented instructions of the President of Russia Boris Yeltsin, the officials involved in that case have not been identified and punished, the necessary political and legal assessment of the illegal activities on arms transfers has not been made. In the meantime, the work of the trilateral interstate commission set up in connection with this problem was qualified in the letter as complete non-action that

yielded no result so far.

President Heydar Aliyev outlined that the arming of Armenia by Russia causes damage to friendly ties existing between the Russian Federation and Azerbaijan and fully contradicts the spirit and contents of the Treaty on friendship, co-operation and mutual security signed between our states.

A special concern in the letter has been expressed over the deployment by Russia in Armenia of offensive weapons, the most sophisticated weaponry - S-300 air defense missile systems and MiG-29 aircraft as well as over the increased military co-operation between Russia and Armenia. It has been especially emphasized that such militarization of Armenia is seriously undermining military strategic balance in the region. The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan underlines that the Russian Federation, as a Co-chairman of the OSCE Minsk Conference, must make *full use of its capabilities for a just settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict* and consolidation of peace and tranquillity in the Caucasus. And this would serve both to the enhancement of the international authority of Russia and to development of co-operation and friendship between our countries.

Heydar Aliyev stressed that the Azerbaijani side remains committed to the settlement of the conflict by peaceful means, to observance of the cease-fire regime up until the achievement of peace and intends to develop traditionally friendly ties with Russia.

**TABLE**  
of the cost (due to the average commercial costs) some of the  
examples of military equipment, weapons and ammunitions  
transferred by Russian Federation for Armenia (in USD)  
(the dates since January 1993 to December 1996)

| NN  | Designation                                       | Price per 1 piece | Quantity    | Total cost    |
|---|---|-------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1   | Operative-Tactical Missiles Launcher              | 210.000           | 8           | 1.680.000     |
| R-17  | Missiles  | 210.000           | 32          | 6.720.000     |
| 2   | Surface-to-air Missiles system "Kroog"            | 300.000           | 27          | 8.100.000     |
|   | Missiles for "Kroog"                              | 300.000           | 349         | 4.700.000     |
| 3.  | Missiles for Surface-to-air Missiles system "Osa" | 200000            | 40          | 8.000.000     |
| 4.  | Battle tanks T-72                                 | 1.200.000         | 84          | 100.800.000   |
| 5   | BMP-2 (AIFV)                                      | 280.000           | 50          | 14000.000     |
| 6.  | 122mm Howitzer D-30                               | 52.000            | 36          | 1.872.000     |
| 7.  | 152mm Howitzer D-20                               | 40.000            | 18          | 720.000       |
| 8   | 152mm Howitzer D-1                                | 50.000            | 18          | 900000        |
| 9.  | MLRS "Grad"                                       | 250.000           | 18          | 4,500.000     |
| 10.   | Mortars   | 12.000            | 26          | 312.000       |
| 11.   | Launcher Surface-to-air Missiles system "Igia"    | 40.000            | 40          | 1.600.000     |
|   | Missiles for "Igia"                               | 40.000            | 200         | 8.000.000     |
| 12.   | Rocket launcher, on mounting                      | 2.500             | 20          | 50.000        |
| 13.   | Machine-guns                                      | 400               | 306         | 122400        |
| 14.   | Submachine guns *                                 | 120               | 7.910       | 949.200       |
| 15.   | Pistols   | 60                | 1.847       | 110-820       |
| 16.   | Shells (different) in average                     | 400               | 489.160     | 195644,000    |
| 17.   | Shells for BMP-2 "SH " in average                 | 30                | 478.480     | 14.354,400    |
| 18.   | Fighting vehicle for Anti-tank Guided Missiles    | 330.000           | 4           | 1.320.000     |
|   | Anti-tank Guided Missiles In average              | 8,400             | 945         | 7.938.000     |
| 19.   | Hand grenades                                     | 30                | 345.800     | 10.374.000    |
| 20.   | Cartridges (different) in average                 | 1                 | 227.253.000 | 227253.000    |
| <b>TOTAL</b>  |   |                   | about       | 720.039.000   |
| Other samples of weapons, equipment and munitions                 |   |                   | about       | 270.000.000   |
| <b>TOTAL (together with the transportation and etc. expenses)</b> |   |                   | about       | 1.000.000.000 |

Ref: Other samples of weapon, equipment and munitions include: transport-loading vehicles different type wireless stations on wheeled base (i.a.- space communication stations), communications sets. ground cable, objectives detection stations, tank technical equipment, fuel, different types accumulators(i.a.-armoured) the containers with oil, spare parts for battle tanks, guns and AIFV, the tank engines and etc. This date is not complete.