

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND FORMATION OF POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN AZERBAIJAN REPUBLIC AND US IN THE 90S OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract. The paper is devoted to the establishment and formation of political relations between Azerbaijan and the United States in the 90 years of the 20th century.

The paper investigates the state and obvious success of the Azerbaijani state in early 90s of 20th century as a direct result of the implementation of the strategy of the national leader Heydar Aliyev.

The author identifies factors contributing to the Azerbaijani-US relations and touches upon the issues of "globalization" and "westernization", the prospects of global development of the Azerbaijani diplomacy.

In the article is investigated the enrichment and importance of the US-Azerbaijani relations at different levels.

Key words: Azerbaijani diplomacy, Azerbaijani-US political relations.

1. Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new sovereign states in the Eurasian space generated a fundamentally new situation, characterized very accurately by the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, with the "trans-nationalization, globalization of world economy, a new distribution of military and economic power centers" that in total, "fundamentally changed the status of the Caspian region in the world, the role and importance of the newly independent states" [11, 7].

In early 90s, it was necessary for the Azerbaijani state, whose history is replete with heavy periods, first of all, to "harden" in the situation of real dangers [5, 10]. After a long historical path of development, the Azerbaijani state received "a unique opportunity to focus efforts on the development of the internal potential of the Azerbaijani people" [33, 191].

Obvious successes of Azerbaijan observed by the international community at the end of the 90s – the direct effects of the realization of national leader Heydar Aliyev's strategy, the result of his deep and all-embracing vision and timely warning of possible dangers that could and can come with the idea of modernization and globalization. The genius National leader Heydar Aliyev also noted the positive side of the globalization ideas. On the whole, on the base of the achievements in the second half of 90s of the 20th century lays the "principle of openness of Azerbaijan to the entire world" [4, 6].

The investigation of the Azerbaijani-US relations is one of the most interesting problems of modern geopolitics. This is due to a qualitatively new changes in international politics associated with the processes of globalization. After proclamation of sovereignty, Azerbaijan became a full member of the UN and began to build an independent foreign policy, providing the integration to world economy.

In the 90s of the 20th century, the Republic of Azerbaijan was open to America as well, and the US-Azerbaijani relations were predetermined by two factors: 1)

a new legal status of the Azerbaijani state that dropped out-of-system of federal relations within the USSR, and 2) a new role of the United States as the sole superpower in the world.

United States was the first among the states to recognize officially the independence of Azerbaijan, shows a keen interest in Azerbaijan, which above all, had a strategic importance for it. The US considers the Caspian region as a zone of its strategic interests, and the energy doctrine of US intends intensive contacts with the state and public organizations of Azerbaijan.

Using the most important facts of bilateral relations, those facts in particulars of which the conceptual truth are concealed can be outlined the general political contours of the Azerbaijani-US relations. These relationships were built in the world situation, known as the phenomenon of globalization. Therefore, the globalization has left its mark on the Azerbaijani-US relations. The phenomenon of globalization as a world context provides with the explanation of nature, orientation and intensity of the Azerbaijani-US relations.

The term "globalization" put to use in early 80s of the 20th century by American T. Levitt, disseminated in the book "World without borders" by Japanese K. Omi as an economic globalism, was objectively directed against the national states. It is known that globalization in its main essence is the interrelations between the national states and modern multi corporations IMF, International Bank, WTO, OSCE, TNC, financial individuals (Soros, Gates). All these subjects are interested in weakening the role of national states and in rising of international institutions, taking on the functions to maintain order in every country. The US, the stronghold of numerous corporations and non-governmental organizations, of course, is rather involved in this process than the others.

As one of the strategists of American global hegemony Zbigniew Brzezinski writes, "For the first time in history a non-Eurasian power, i.e. US has not only become the main

arbiter in relations between the European states, but also the most powerful state in the world" [14, 42].

Since the beginning of the 90s "on the whole, occurs the westernization ("Westernization"- N.B.) of international political system, as in other aspects of the life of the world community" - writes a well-known expert on international law, professor I.Lukashuk [23]. America's influence on international system is defined by powerful national potential – economic, scientific and technological. This potential was and is created by America's use of the international relations, through imposing its economic and financial contracts on the countries of the third world which are unfavorable for them.

"Americans - writes professor V. Inozemtsev - offered the world their own vision of globalization. They believed that this process should be based on American ideals of freedom and on unshakable faith in the optimal nature of market regulation." However, this kind of US proposals "objectively result in scarcity of cultural relations" owing to the reason that these national cultures undergoing standardization lose their originality [21, 64].

In the most general sense the globalization sets tough frameworks in which national economies of all countries function. As a result, on the one hand, the postindustrial West gets richer and so self-sufficient, separates from the rest of the world, and on the other hand, intensifies its expansion and multilateral pressure upon developing countries. In the 90s –at the threshold of the new XXI century, the US, the superpower of the world strategically unstable, unpredictably changeable in the most important moments, pursues a policy on implanting democracy in the western understanding, not taking into consideration national features of separate people in the field of political and cultural life.

The American policy is based on the belief, that victory in the global space of liberal values (human rights, legal state (governed by the rule of law), division of the political and economic authorities, freedom of self-expression in culture, etc.) will create necessary preconditions of a political victory over not democratic, authoritative regimes. Accordingly policy pursued by the West in the sphere of culture causes certain concern in the countries which do not belong to the West: there is a risk of destruction and loss of national bases of culture.

Foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, which is realized in the conditions of globalization and in a new world order proclaimed by the USA, serves both to the traditional purposes for the preservation of sovereignty, and integration into global processes in terms as much as possible consistent with the national interests of the country.

Azerbaijan diplomacy connects prospects of global development with process of formation of the multipolar world, as the idea of the unipolar world "can lead to the hegemony of one power and to overshadow interests of the medium and small states" [1, 67].

In 1991-1992, diplomatic relations with US were not so good. During this period American foreign policy institutions were actively involved in studying the strategic, political and economic conditions of new states on post-Soviet territory. Unfortunately, this studying was not expressed in the concept

of equal partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and US, and these mutual relations were developing not easily.

Through the efforts of Armenian lobby the Americans got some prejudice against Azerbaijan, maybe, therefore the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries practically coincided on time with the adoption of discriminatory "Section 907" of the Freedom Support Act known as "the amendment of Kerry" which was accepted by the US Congress on 24th October 1992, and providing ban for rendering of the humanitarian aid at the governmental level.

Despite the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USA and the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1992, until mid 1993 in the development of the Azerbaijan-American relationships there were not undertaken any serious steps.

With the return of outstanding world statesman Heydar Aliyev to power in the second half of the XX century the foreign policy of Azerbaijan had personified his personality potential - wisdom, foresight, determination and firmness. Foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the new geopolitical dimensions of the 90s was characterized by obvious achievements. Their scale is remarkable by the fact that the country experienced cataclysms, previously unseen in the domestic history of the XX century. Beginning from mid 1993 Azerbaijan - later will write academician Ramiz Mehtiyev - made "a serious leap... in shaping ... the concept of foreign policy that meets the realities of the XXI century providing the national and international interests of the state." He characterizes the foreign policy of Heydar Aliyev as a "pragmatic" ("realistic"), because it was based on "the understanding of that the interests of the elites, society and the public underlies" in the foreign policy of any country, and this course is built for them "in an extremely balanced manner" associated with the global trends of world development" (28, 35-37).

"Foreign partners of Azerbaijan frankly admit that Heydar Aliyev built the concept of foreign policy correctly and adjusted by linking it with the global trends of world development" [26].

The foreign policy of Heydar Aliyev was guided by the creation of guaranteed stable business relations with the West, first of all with the US. The essence of these relations was the idea of protection and preservation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Azerbaijan in accordance with international legal norms and principles.

In the improvement of the Azerbaijani-US relations the meetings of Heydar Aliyev with US politicians, in particular with US Vice President A.Gore in Cairo, with President Bill Clinton during the 49th session of the UN General Assembly in New York, and also at the OSCE summits in Budapest and Lisbon were of great importance [13, 22, 23].

Beginning from 1994, more significant contours began to appear in the US-Azerbaijani relations, the content of these relationships enriched, they became much closer, to which contributed considerably the frequent contacts at various levels, owing to which they became closer, in short, mutual interests increased, were emphasized points of their

further growth and in the first place, thanks to the “Contract of the Century”, agreement signed in Baku in September 1994 with a number of major multinational companies on joint exploitation of oil deposits in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea for a period of 30 years. In one of his speeches President Heydar Aliyev divulged the peculiarity of the “Contract of the Century.” It was signed “namely due to the trust shown to the independent Azerbaijan state by the big states, great countries... The basis of all this is the ... process of democratic construction. The basis of all this is the principle of openness of Azerbaijan” [4, 6].

Signing of the “Contract of the Century” with leading oil companies of the world laid the foundation for the process of transformation of Azerbaijan into a profitable economic partner for the powerful states of the West, first of all for US. On 27th September 1994 a meeting took place between Heydar Aliyev and Clinton in New York residence of US President. Clinton expressed his regret for he could not personally participate in the signing ceremony of the “Contract of the Century” on 20th September in Baku and expressed his hope that the oil contract signed with eight oil companies from six countries will bring great benefit to these countries, and, of course, it would be beneficial for the independent Azerbaijan Republic.

A landmark event in the notion of the Western powers became the achievement of stability in the country by President Heydar Aliyev which allowed them to design a broad cooperation with Azerbaijan.

Building relations with US, based on certain expectations of both sides, from the Azerbaijani side was directed towards constructive solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem - the position defended by the President in strict accordance with international legal norms.

In our opinion, it should be highlighted the methodological basis in establishing the Azerbaijani-American relations. Understanding of these fundamentals appears there with the study of Heydar Aliyev’s activities.

On the whole, beginning from 1994, issues on the Azerbaijan-US relations became a subject of detailed discussions in official circles of US: in the administration, ministries, chambers of the Congress, federal agencies and other state structures.

The “Los Angeles Times” wrote that the efforts of private American humanitarian organizations on aid to Azerbaijani refugees are blocked by the laws of the United States, which gives rise to a negative impact on the course of the war, accompanied by numerous victims, put in difficult position workers of humanitarian organizations (32). Another influential newspaper, the mouthpiece of oil magnates, “Houston Chronicle” stated that “the oil industry supports Azerbaijan in the conflict with Armenia” and – harmful “Section 907” should be lifted (16).

In May 1995, Senators Helms and Lugar introduced a bill called the “Helms project” partially modifying the “amendment of Kerry”. It said that the restrictions on the assistance to Azerbaijan by the US government will not be applied to the provision of humanitarian aid to refugees and displaced persons, as well as to the development of

democratic institutions to support the programs of the OSCE and the development of a market economy [13]. In other words, the bill offered to narrow the scope of assistance to charity, and pursued the aim of financing of the so-called third sector - public structures, declaring the need of the market and democracy. The bill failed.

Building of relations with the US, based on certain expectations from both sides, from the Azerbaijani side directed towards constructive solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem - the position upheld by the President in strict accordance with international legal norms.

By the mid of 90s of the 20th century in American establishment a view in favor of a special relationship with Azerbaijan has become to prevail. Geopolitical considerations of Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger about world domination on the unprecedented rise of America in power and further degradation of the democratic regime in Russia, received recognition at the level of a foreign policy doctrine. Azerbaijan, “with its vast energy resources - wrote Zbigniew Brzezinski...is of key importance”, because Azerbaijan “is a cork in a vessel containing the wealth of the Caspian Sea basin ...” “Azerbaijan connected with markets of the West with pipelines which do not pass through Russian-controlled territory, also is becoming a major thoroughfare for advanced and energy-consuming economies to access to the energy-rich Central Asian republics” [14, 62].

It is obvious that for Americans “in the geopolitical struggle for the Caspian Sea is decided the fate of a new world order, because control over it allows to control the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Middle East, with all geostrategic advantages of it” [19, 178].

The turning point in the policy of the US Congress towards the Republic of Azerbaijan can be considered January 1996, when the Congress passed the “Wilson Amendment”, which gave the US president the right to suspend “Section 907” in the case, if he decides the assistance provided by non-governmental organizations to refugees and displaced persons in Azerbaijan is not adequate to the situation [13].

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“Section 907” which does not meet the strategic interests of the United States.

In the same year, Madeleine Albright, whose candidacy for the post of State Secretary considered in the Congress, “noted a particular importance of lifting the “Section 907” as a condition for the normal development of relations between US and Azerbaijan” [15, 95]. There was certain interest to enhance the US position on the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, the lifting of unfair “Section 907” [15, 97].

Since the beginning of 1997 the political dialogue between Azerbaijan and US reached a new level: it has become more intense, as evidenced by legal documents adopted in 1997 and in the following years. In February 1997, a conference was held in Washington on problems of Azerbaijan - a fact saying that changes of no small importance appeared in the American establishment (13). On 1th March 1997 the US ambassador Kozlarich at a meeting with Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev spoke about the interest in Azerbaijan, manifested in the business community and beyond. Interest in our country is not the sole for oil industry (3).

The peak in favorable relations with US was achieved as a result of the official visit of Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev to the US (27 July-7 August 1997).

Results of the visit allowed saying that the parties had reached a full understanding of the goals and motivations in strategic issues, in particular such as the place and role of Azerbaijan in the Caucasus and eastern policy of America, “Western” policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan. For the first time were agreed documents laying the legal foundation for the US-Azerbaijani relations. Azerbaijani leadership considered a number of goals - military, political, information-propagandistic, moral and legal. It was considered the creation of propagandistic background to give to the relations with powerful country the content of sustainable partnership.

There was a certain interest to enhance the US position on the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, the abolition of unfair, insulting the national feelings of “Section 907”. Documents - the Declaration on relations between the US and Azerbaijan, Agreement on joint protection and promotion of investments, General interbank agreement on the promotion of projects and two statements about future relations in the fields of defense and energy were signed. Documents accepted for implementation, and designated as the most important in the presidential decree “On measures of expansion of the partnership between Azerbaijan and the United States” (2th September 1997), were indirectly related to issues of spiritual culture since they would expand the space of contacts between local-civilization worlds. Zbigniew Brzezinski, one of the authors of a new foreign policy in America, called the official visit of President of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev as the beginning of a new era in the Caucasus policy of America, a landmark historical event.

A new stage of the struggle in US Congress for the lifting of “Section 907” coincided with the beginning of the visit of Heydar Aliyev. On the eve of his visit Boston federal newspaper “Krischen science monitor” published an article by an influential congressman Lee Hamilton, where

the congressman honestly say that if in 1992, he called for the adoption of the “Section 907”, now, five years later, he is obliged to admit that “this addition has harmed US foreign policy” (20).

2. Empirical results

American politicians and businessmen, prominent representatives of political and business circles saw the link between practicability of US strategic objectives and settlement of conflicts in the Caucasus, i.e., a general stabilization in the region. However, such a volumetric concept like “stabilization” also includes getting rid of crises in the economy, regulation of political relations and the establishment of power adequate to social and cultural expectations of the people, ensuring national and public security and so on. Is America ready and, most importantly, can whether contribute to the realization of these problems facing the states of the Caucasus? The question still remained open.

As you know, the meetings and negotiations with President Clinton, Vice President A.Gore, State Secretary Madeleine Albright and other US leaders resulted with a joint statement on the need to ensure regional peace, stability and prosperity. It was declared that US supports independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and democratic development of Azerbaijan, and stated that President Clinton reaffirms resoluteness to achieve lifting of “Section 907”, restricting the possibilities of cooperation between US and Azerbaijan (2, 8).

As a rule in the meetings with American politicians and business-structure leaders rouse the theme of “Section 907” and the answers to fair complaints were hopeful.

In January 1998, Ambassador C.Escudero informed President Heydar Aliyev that there has been some definite success in slackening of tension with the “Section 907”, as a result of which appeared opportunity for the United States to assist Azerbaijan, to allocate additional funding. He announced that humanitarian assistance will be provided in future at the governmental level (3).

Heydar Aliyev's visit is interesting in terms of ideas expressed by him in the course of numerous meetings in America. It should be noted that any statesman might envy for eventfulness and intensity of these meetings.

Describing the visit President Heydar Aliyev called it a new stage in the Azerbaijani-US relations; meetings considered to be very important, because they opened new perspectives [6, 5, 22]. The visit meets the strategic state task. The president speaks about it very frankly: Azerbaijan as an independent state, which tends to maintain its independence and build legal, democratic, secular state in his country needs in close cooperation with U S [6, 117].

The goal of Heydar Aliyev's visit devoted to this strategic objective was to provide a regulatory-legal framework (18, 6.22) for relationship with America. An equally important goal, said Heydar Aliyev can be informing fully the American Society about Azerbaijan. Tracing the logic of his words, we can say that Heydar Aliyev considered it necessary to promote “Azerbaijani truth”, that is the

truth about Azerbaijan, in conditions of hostile activities of Armenians (17, 67).

Heydar Aliyev was extremely pleased with the specific content of the Azerbaijani-American relations, progress in cooperation, reminding the fact that America was among the first countries to recognize the state sovereignty of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The President expressed hope for a “diversification” of relations (their transition to the non-oil sector), for general strengthening and expansion of these ties should work for the improvement of our peoples’ welfare. Although the foundation of practical affairs was laid, problems still remain (18, 111, 113, 118, 132). President implies the “Section 907” which, as originally unjust, has become a factor that complicates the development of the Azerbaijani-American relations - and its elimination is certainly topical (17, 142, 158, 171). In the following 1998 year President Heydar Aliyev would say that “the US Congress has passed an unfair resolution against Azerbaijan” and that “among the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States such an attitude shown only against Azerbaijan by the US. It is not fair” (7, 8).

In his speech to Congress, President highlighted the fact that institutional ties, in which the subjects are the Legislature of the US and in the face of executive power the state of Azerbaijan, have the following characteristics: Congress has great historical traditions in the development of democracy and the Republic of Azerbaijan, as a sovereign state only building a democratic society (40, 159). At another meeting with congressmen, he again raised the question of relations between the US and Azerbaijan, in the sense that Azerbaijan needs in useful, that is effective relationship, decisively advancing on the path of independence (18, 163).

Heydar Aliyev attracts attention of American interlocutors on that the relations between the two countries are built by various means, and in this series are particularly important direct meetings and visits of the state heads, the factor of personal friendship of high-ranking officials, undoubtedly summarizes Heydar Aliyev, friendly relationships of countries stem from personal contacts of the statesmen. Such contacts, he said, carry a major multi-purpose charge (18, 22, 31, 36-37).

During the conversations with the Americans Heydar Aliyev manifests the dignity of a statesman; it is the personality embodiment of his country: “You say that I am a friend of America, I believe that America is a great friend of Azerbaijan and mine” (18, 31).

In 2000, during his stay in Washington, President designated the foundations of the friendly relations which cannot contradict the idea of state sovereignty. “The United States of America is our friend, and we will develop these friendly relations,” but “the people of Azerbaijan, President of Azerbaijan intend to maintain its independence and we will never lose it.” Heydar Aliyev, listing the terms of American power - economic indicators, attention to democratic values and human rights in the world – says the time of gaining power - 200 years, in order to say, “We cannot wait 200 years ...” “to create a decent life for all our citizens” (10, 11). A year earlier, speaking in the same place, in Washington, the

President said: “We want the United States to increase its influence in the Caucasus region and to support us much in the name of development of Azerbaijan's independence, the work that we do” (8, 12).

Heydar Aliyev's role in the development of Azerbaijan-US relations is great. It deserves special attention and a more detailed analysis. In this case, we have touched on it in general terms, in order to emphasize both theoretical and methodological basis of our research. Summarizing the above, we can conclude that to bind issues of partnership and friendship with the United States to the issue of strengthening the sovereignty of Azerbaijan was the ability inherent to Heydar Aliyev. Having taken the country in a fatal moment in its history, Heydar Aliyev has achieved the seemingly incredible - politico-economic stabilization and strengthening of the Azerbaijani state under conditions where America conducts its hegemony in the world.

The results of the visit allowed saying that the parties have reached a full understanding of the goals and motivations in strategic issues, in particular such as the place and role of Azerbaijan in the Caucasus and eastern policy of America, “western” policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan. For the first time were agreed documents that lay the legal foundation for the US-Azerbaijani relations. It was meant the creation of propaganda background to give these relations with powerful country sustainable partnerships content.

The US is interested in protecting Azerbaijan as a state for economic reasons. “Washington – the US expert A. Cohen says - must take all measures in order the pro-American oriented Azerbaijan did not subject to force tactics on the part of Iran, in order that oil companies like “BP – Amoco”, “Chevron”, “Exxon-Mobil” “Frontera Resources” ... did not feel any danger.” This approach, which focuses primarily on economic interests dictate measure, namely the assistance in “amendment of “Section 907” “Freedom Support Act”... This will allow the United States to contribute to the creation of ... land, sea and air Border Guard of Azerbaijan “(22, 41, 48-49).

Beginning from 1997, 7 agreements were concluded and 7 contractual documents were signed between Azerbaijan and the US: promotion of bilateral investment and preservation of the contract between the National Bank of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the US EXIM Bank about economic reforms between the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the US on the issues related to the transition to a market economy and energy development. In 2000, an agreement was signed between the Governments of the US and the Republic of Azerbaijan on humanitarian aid and cooperation providing for obligatory implementation of a number of practical measures in the interests of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the US. On the whole, 15 documents were signed in 1992-2000 in various fields between Azerbaijan and the United States [34].

In the period under review the problem, called “Section 907” has not been lifted. On 25th January 2002, US President George Bush signed a memorandum on suspension of “Section 907” of the “Freedom Support Act”, as political compensation for their help in the fight against terrorism. Azerbaijan for its

part provided an air corridor. For its assistance in 2002 US provided to Azerbaijan 54, 9 million \$US [33, 272].

Beginning from 1992 fiscal year, the US government allocated through the budget approximately \$335 million to finance assistance programs in Azerbaijan, provided the surplus of Department of Defense and humanitarian aid from private sources totaling \$115 million. For comparison, Georgia received \$1.1 billion and 408 million, Armenia - in total more than \$1.554 billion (24, 119).

In 2002 fiscal year, the US expanded assistance programs in the area of security targeting to improve the system of expert control and protection of borders of Azerbaijan, support for military reform, including training in US educational institutions, and promote Azerbaijan's participation in the program "Partnership for Peace".

3. Conclusions

Thus, the main directions of Azerbaijan-US relations in 1992-2000 according to their degree of equal relevance to the parties can be formulated as follows:

- Large-scale and multilevel contacts within the framework of projects for the development of oil deposits of Azerbaijan;
- Political dialogue on Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict with the common goal of achieving peace, stability and security in the region;
- The moral claims of Azerbaijan concerning the injustice, discrimination and American practice of known failures of voting in Congress as the configuration of relations formed around the theme of "Section 907";
- The development of trade relations and the search for the optimal conditions for the non-oil business;
- Networking in the field of defense;
- Origin and expansion of humanitarian and public relations, including cultural, educational, scientific and educational;
- Cooperation on the implementation of humanitarian regional projects.

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