

Even without large petroleum and natural gas deposits in countries such as Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, stability in the region has ramifications for the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and the ongoing struggle over Afghanistan's future.

"Color revolutions" in both Georgia and the Ukraine had enhanced the US' power and influence in the former USSR, and the unexpected "Tulip Revolution" in Kyrgyzstan seemed to only prove that this trend was unstoppable.

But since the summer, the US has been ousted from its important air base in Uzbekistan, whose government has grown much closer to both Russia and China since the Andjian massacre roughly a year ago and the resultant condemnation by the US and the EU.

Kazakhstan's proposed participation in the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline threatens to further weaken Russia's ability to control energy supplies to Europe.

However, the Russian government has recently objected on environmental grounds to a proposed "trans-Caspian pipeline", which would carry Kazakh oil to Baku and then to Europe via the BTC.

During a visit to Moscow in April, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbaev agreed to increase shipments of Kazakh oil to Russia substantially. US Vice President Dick Cheney was scheduled to visit Kazakhstan this week in order to discuss US-Kazakh relations with Nazarbaev.

And in Kyrgyzstan, President Kurmanbek Bakiev is demanding that the US increase its rent payment for leasing an airbase at Manas or face eviction by 1 June. Kyrgyz Foreign Minister Alikbek Jekshenkulov has reportedly specified a rent increase "by one hundred fold" if the Americans want to continue using the base. The current leasing arrangement calls for an annual payment of US\$2 million a year. The Russian government pays no rent for its military base at nearby Kant, and Bakiev's trip to Moscow last week was widely interpreted as a signal that President Vladimir Putin is Kyrgyzstan's patron - the Tulip Revolution notwithstanding.

In view of these setbacks and the increasingly tense Iranian situation, the US needs Azerbaijan more than ever, no doubt more than Azerbaijan needs the US. And the Russian president's recent three-day visit here was noticed in Washington.

During his visit, Putin tweaked the US by publicly touting the so-called CASFOR, a regional security force for the Caspian Sea countries that would be far more ambitious than America's comparatively modest "Caspian Guard" program. CASFOR would entail the use of military assets to interdict the flow of drugs and WMD materiel, prevent terrorist activities, and protect the economic interests of the five Caspian Sea states: Iran, Azerbaijan, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan.

The Iranian government has backed CASFOR, which if implemented would involve all five Caspian states and coordinate activities between the Caspian's two major naval powers: Russia and Iran.

Aliyev has yet to accept or decline Putin's invitation to join CASFOR.

Can Azerbaijan play a constructive role?

Meanwhile, southern Azerbaijan is swelling with Iranian immigrants, fearful of a coming war.

Tahir Taghi-zadeh, director of the Press and Information Policy Department for the Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told ISN Security Watch he doubted that the US had plans for a military solution anytime soon due to its engagements in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

Iran is, said Taghi-zadeh, in "full compliance" with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). "Any country has a right to develop a nuclear research program. They have never said that they are developing weapons."

The diplomatic option, which Bush stressed in the photo-op with Aliyev, is "far from exhausted".

At the Council on Foreign Relations, Aliyev ruled out Azerbaijan joining a US-led coalition against Iran, saying: "I think that...it's time to stop speculating on this issue."

Referring to the recently signed non-aggression pact with Iran, Aliyev reminded the audience that it "clearly says that the territories of our countries cannot be used for any danger towards each other".

What the Azerbaijani president did not say was more tantalizing. First, while dismissing operations against Iran, he did not address the ongoing issue of whether a US military base might be established in Azerbaijan, something the US has desired for years.

Aliyev has been unambiguous on this issue in the past, and last summer he attempted to quash persistent rumors that establishment of a US base might be in the offing. "I have said this before, and I repeat: Azerbaijan will not host American military bases on its territory," he declared.

US ambassador Reno Harnish also told the Azerbaijani press that the US would "not locate our military bases in the territory of Azerbaijan" - a development that would violate provisions in Azerbaijan's constitution that prohibit foreign bases on Azerbaijani soil.

However, US Undersecretary of State Daniel Fried seemed to undercut this assurance by the ambassador when he told a large audience at Baku State University in October that the US would not seek to establish "a large, Cold War style base" in Azerbaijan, an answer that prompted many analysts to deconstruct the terms "large" and "base".

With respect to a possible US-Iranian conflict, what the Azerbaijani government has hinted at in recent days is the possibility of acting as a facilitator in any possible negotiations between the two sides.

"This is an issue where we can play a positive role," said Taghi-zadeh. "We have a strategic partnership with the United States and we have neighborly relations with Iran."

While Taghi-zadeh was reluctant to use the term "mediator", he stressed that "generally, our intention is to facilitate discussion" between the US and Iran.

Azerbaijan's offer to assist the two nations comes amid heightened tension in its relations with Iran. A public

