### REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

On the right of manuscript

### **ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

## AZERBAIJAN-GREECE RELATIONS IN THE MODERN PERIOD

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Applicant: Ilyas Vagif Huseynov

The work was performed at the Department of International Relations of Baku Slavic University.

Scientific supervisor: Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor

Hikmat Baba Mammadov

Official opponents: Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor

**Elman Khudam Nasirov** 

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science,

**Associate Professor** 

**Ramid Sohbat Huseynov** 

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science,

Associate Professor Rashad Asad Sadiqov

Dissertation council FD 2.30 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Chairman of the Dissertation council:

Scientific secretary of the Dissertation council:

Doctor of Political Sciences, Associate Professor

Academician
Urkhan Kazim Alakharov

Sevda Aghamirza Aliyeva

Chairman of the scientific seminar:

Elchin Ildirim Ahmadov

**Professor** 

Doctor of Political Sciences,

#### I GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance of the topic and the degree of elaboration: The Republic of Azerbaijan, which has determined its historical destiny over the past thirty years since the collapse of the USSR, has entered the integration system of Europe and the world and has built its relations with foreign countries on the basis of the principles stipulated in universally accepted international legal Azerbaijan's recognition in the world as a state pursuing an independent policy and having its own vision of global political processes and the system of international relations has increased the prestige of our country and strengthened bilateral and multilateral relations. It is precisely as a result of all this that the number of countries showing interest in deepening cooperation with Azerbaijan in various spheres of life has grown on an upward trend. Globally important energy projects implemented in Azerbaijan, as well as our country's transformation into a center of international logistics and transport hubs, have further accelerated this process. Under the leadership of President Ilham Aliyev, thanks to the strengthening of Azerbaijan's economic potential, comprehensive development, and the independent foreign policy pursued, a favorable external environment has been formed around our country, and relations based on mutual trust have developed with the world's leading countries. After fully restoring its territorial integrity and sovereignty, Azerbaijan has entered a new stage in the system of international relations. In light of new geopolitical realities, the energy factor should be particularly emphasized in making Azerbaijan's place in the global arena more sustainable. The independent energy policy pursued by the country plays a significant role in Azerbaijan's transformation into an important regional and global actor. In this regard, the study of the relations between the Hellenic Republic, located on the Balkan Peninsula in the south-east of Europe, a member of the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Republic of Azerbaijan, which have developed in the modern era, is of considerable relevance.

Greece is a country with an ancient history and in this regard holds a unique place in the world. During the visit of Greek President Karolos Papoulias to Azerbaijan in 2011, President Ilham Aliyev noted that relations Azerbaijan and Greece were developing rapidly and very successfully. "There is a very high level of mutual trust and mutual interests between our countries. I am confident that as a result of further expanding our bilateral relations, the citizens of our countries will also get to know each other better. Contacts between people will be more intense. Thus, Azerbaijani-Greek relations will develop even more rapidly in the future"<sup>1</sup>.

As a result of the increasing dynamism in bilateral economic relations, which has also affected political relations, a favorable environment for cooperation has been formed. Therefore, there is a need to examine all aspects of relations between Azerbaijan and Greece. Although there is no direct border between Azerbaijan and Greece, the development of relations with Greece also acts as a factor accelerating our country's integration into the European space.

The following factors are relevant and of mutual interest in Azerbaijan's relations with Greece:

Azerbaijan-Greece relations are multifaceted. Over the past years, significant progress has been recorded in bilateral relations in many areas, including political, economic, energy, scientific, cultural and other areas. The development of relations between Greece and Azerbaijan also has a positive impact on Azerbaijan-EU relations. Therefore, expanding bilateral relations brings Azerbaijan closer to the EU in an institutional way.

Business relations have been established between Azerbaijan and Greece at the parliamentary level and numerous meetings have been held. Therefore, the study of bilateral interparliamentary relations is of great relevance.

Greece has consistently shown support for Armenia at various levels and a pro-Armenian position, including the bias shown by Greece in the liberation of the occupied Azerbaijani lands from occupation in 2020 and in local anti-terrorist measures carried out in 2023. Although Greek heads of state and government expressed their respect for the fundamental norms and principles of international law

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Əliyev, İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir [100+ cilddə] / İ.H. Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərnəşr, – 2017. – c. 45. – s. 51

during official meetings held in Azerbaijan, Greece's pro-Armenian attitude has deeply undermined bilateral relations.

In addition to bilateral relations, it is important to examine Azerbaijan-Greece relations in the context of international organizations and institutions. Systematic study of the prospects of relations at the multilateral level is extremely important.

The relevance of the topic for our country is that it is of great importance to examine the position of Greece, located in the Balkan region, on Azerbaijan based on Greek sources.

Since the "think tanks" operating in Greece play an important role in making political and geopolitical decisions, studying the attitude towards Azerbaijan in this country is consistent with the trends of the modern international relations system.

The signing of the "Contract of the Century" on September 20, 1994, became a significant event in the history of our country. The commissioning of the Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) project, the last segment of the SGC, in late 2020, to deliver gas produced within the framework of Shah Deniz-2 to EU gas importers, which adds value to increasing Europe's energy security, is of particular relevance in terms of Azerbaijani-Greek energy cooperation. Azerbaijan plays an important role in Europe's energy security, and in this regard, relations are strategic.

The breach of the agreement to acquire shares in DESFA (the state-owned company that is the exclusive operator of the Greek national gas transmission system) has significantly worsened the positive business environment that was created due to the promotion of economic relations between the two countries. The unfair, unconstructive position and conjuncture interests of the Greek SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left) government and the European Commission's Competition Directorate have prevented SOCAR from acquiring DESFA's shares. It is of great importance to assess the main factors negatively affecting cooperation in the energy sector between Azerbaijan and Greece and to analyze the reasons that led to the breakdown of the SOCAR-DESFA deal.

In Greece, tourism is not only a major contributor to GDP, but it has also been identified as an important sector for employment generation and new jobs. Mastering the theoretical and practical foundations of Greece's achievements in the field of tourism is a priority on the bilateral political agenda.

Numerous measures have been taken to expand and develop relations between Azerbaijan and Greece in the fields of culture, education and science. Studying the humanitarian field and analyzing shared values is important in terms of deepening bilateral relations.

Systematic research into relations between Azerbaijan and Greece in the field of diaspora is important not only for its positive impact on bilateral relations, but also for the promotion of the realities of our country in Greece.

Although articles and some studies on the subject were published in Azerbaijan during the years of independence, there was no scientific work covering the recent history of relations with Greece and comprehensively examining the political, economic, and humanitarian aspects of these relations, so there was a need to develop the subject in a fundamental way.

President Ilham Aliyev's work "Azerbaijan's Caspian Oil" was used to discuss Azerbaijan's energy diplomacy and the prospects for transporting Azerbaijani gas to the West via Greece<sup>2</sup>.

In the collection of articles on the topic "Main directions of the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan (1991-2016)", N.Aliyev examined Azerbaijani-Greek relations<sup>3</sup>.

In a collection of articles titled "25 Years of Independent Azerbaijan Through the Eyes of Ambassadors", Greek Ambassador to Azerbaijan D. Tsoungas reviewed all aspects of relations between the two countries<sup>4</sup>.

In Z.Adıgozalov's monograph "Political Relations of the Republic of Azerbaijan with the European Union Countries (1991-2006)", relations with Greece are also separately touched upon in the

 $^3$  Əliyev, N. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan münasibətləri // Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasətinin əsas istiqamətləri (1991-2016) (məqalələr toplusu) — Bakı: Poliart, — 2017. — s. 517-520

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Алиев, И.Г. Каспийская нефть Азербайджана / И.Г.Алиев. — Москва: Известия, —  $2003.-316\ c.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tsoungas, D.G. 25 Years of Independent Azerbaijan Through the Eyes of Ambassadors. (Collection of articles) / Baku: BEST-TMS, – 2016. – p. 417-422

context of studying the diplomatic history of Azerbaijan with the EU countries for the years 1991-2006<sup>5</sup>.

M.Ismayilov analyzed the dynamics of the development of bilateral relations in his article on "Azerbaijan-Greece political relations"<sup>6</sup>.

The analytical articles by R.Jafarli, E.Hajialiyev, I.Mirzabayli, M.Yagubzadeh and E.Jafarli commented on the mutual visits of the presidents of Azerbaijan and Greece and examined various aspects of bilateral relations<sup>7</sup>.

The analytical articles by F.Huseynaliev, E.Fatullayev and F.Baghirova analyzed the political and economic aspects of relations between Azerbaijan and Greece<sup>8</sup>.

S.Parastatov examined Greece's foreign policy towards the Caucasus after the collapse of the USSR, touched upon the close ties between Greece and Armenia, and the problems arising in determining the common vectors of relations between Azerbaijan and Greece<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Adıgözəlov, Z.N. Azərbaycan Respublikasının Avropa İttifaqı ölkələri ilə siyasi əlaqələri (1991-2006) / Z.N. Adıgözəlov. – Bakı: CBS PP, – 2015. – s. 95-100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> İsmayılov, M. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan siyasi münasibətləri // Geostrategiya. Sentyabr-Oktyabr, −2019, № 5 (53). − s. 45-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cəfərli, R. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan əlaqələrinin daha da dərinləşməsi üçün geniş imkanlar var // Azərbaycan. – 2009, 22 fevral. – s. 1; Hacıalıyev, E. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan əlaqələri ildən-ilə inkişaf edir // Azərbaycan. – 2011, 17 aprel. – s. 2; Mirzəbəyli, İ. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan əlaqələri qarşılıqlı etimad və maraqlar müstəvisində genişlənir // Xalq. – 2011, 13 aprel. – s. 5; Yaqubzadə, M. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan əlaqələri yeni mərhələyə qədəm qoyur // Xalq. – 2011, 10 aprel. – s. 1, 3; Cəfərli, E. Azərbaycanla Yunanıstan arasında dərin təməllər üzərində qurulmuş siyasi-iqtisadi əlaqələr mövcuddur // Yeni Azərbaycan. – 2011,8 aprel. – s. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Hüseynəliyev, F. Borularla oyun. TAP-a qarşı etirazların arxasında ekologiya qayğısı deyil, iqtisadi və geosiyasi amillər durur: [Elektron resurs] / Regionplus.az – 15.07.2017. URL: <a href="http://regionplus.az/az/articles/view/6283">http://regionplus.az/az/articles/view/6283</a>; Фатуллаев, Э. Дело Каспара: спецслужбы, бриллианты и кровь: [Электронный ресурс] / Наqqin.az – 20 Февраля, 2018. URL: <a href="https://haqqin.az/news/123223">https://haqqin.az/news/123223</a>; Багирова, Ф. ЦРУ: Греция поддерживала террористов ASALA, а Сирия – РКК: [Электронный ресурс] / 1news.az – 24 Января, 2017. URL: <a href="https://lnews.az/news/20170124032949913-TSRU-Gretsiya-podderzhivala-">https://lnews.az/news/20170124032949913-TSRU-Gretsiya-podderzhivala-</a>

terroristov-ASALA-a-Siriya-PKK

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{\ }^9$  Парастатов, С.В. Внешняя политика Греции на Кавказе после распада СССР // — Пятигорск: Вестник ПГЛУ. № 4, 2008. — с. 350-353.

Interviews with Azerbaijani Ambassador to Greece R.Mustafayev helped analyze Azerbaijani-Greek relations<sup>10</sup>.

I.Velizadeh, Z.Mehdiyev, E.Eminoglu, T.Gasimova, A.Hasanov and R. Mammadov studied Azerbaijani-Greek relations before and after the 2nd Karabakh War<sup>11</sup>.

At the scientific conference organized by the Hellenic Foundation for Europe and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) in 2013 on the theme "A New Era for Greece and Azerbaijan", R. Mustafayev's reports "Azerbaijan-Greece Relations in 2013: New Horizons for Bilateral Cooperation Open" and ELIAMEP's specialist on the Middle East and Caucasus E. Venetis' reports "Culture and Politics are Interconnected: The Partnership of Athens and Baku" focused on the prospects for the development of bilateral and multilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Greece<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Рустамов, Э. Посол Рахман Мустафаев: «Греция поддерживает суверенитет и территориальную целостность Азербайджана»: [Электронный ресурс] / 1news.az — 08 Сентября, 2011. URL: <a href="https://lnews.az/news/posol-rahman-mustafaev-greciya-podderzhivaet-suvernitet-i-territorial-nuyu-celostnost-">https://lnews.az/news/posol-rahman-mustafaev-greciya-podderzhivaet-suvernitet-i-territorial-nuyu-celostnost-</a>

αzerbaydzhana; Θεοχάρη, Γ. Πρέσβης Αζερμπαϊτζάν: "Σε νέα φάση οι διμερείς σχέσεις Ελλάδας-Αζερμπαϊτζάν": [Ηλεκτρονικός πόρος] / Briefingnews.gr. – Φεβρουάριος 03, 2014. URL: <a href="https://www.briefingnews.gr/parapolitika/presvis-azermpaitzan-se-nea-fasi-oi-dimereis-sheseis-elladas-azermpaitzan">https://www.briefingnews.gr/parapolitika/presvis-azermpaitzan-se-nea-fasi-oi-dimereis-sheseis-elladas-azermpaitzan</a>

<sup>11</sup> Велизаде, И. Треугольник по-армянски. Насколько долговечным окажется трехсторонний формат Армения - Греция - Кипр: [Электронный ресурс] / Region Plus. – 01 Октября, 2020. URL: <a href="http://regionplus.az/ru/articles/view/7204">http://regionplus.az/ru/articles/view/7204</a>; Мехдиев, 3. Профессор Пантеона: Карабах часть Азербайджана: [Электронный pecypcl Мая. 2020 Axar.az https://ru.axar.az/news/politika/468767.html; Эминоглы, Э. И греческие боевики прибыли на войну с Азербайджаном: [Электронный ресурс] / Haqqin.az - 08 Октября, 2020. URL: https://haqqin.az/oldage/191131; Касимова, Т. В Карабахе обнаружены боеприпасы из Иракского Курдистана: [Электронный ресурс] / Minval.az – 19 Октября, 2020. URL: https://m.minval.az/news/124045954; Гасанов, А. Греческая неблагодарность: [Электронный ресурс] // Зеркало. – 12 Августа, 2021. URL: https://zerkalo.az/grecheskaya-neblagodarnost/; Μαμμάντοβ, P.H. επόμενη ημέρα της έντασης: [Ηλεκτρονικός πόρος] / Karfitsa.gr – Ιούλιος 25, https://www.karfitsa.gr/wp-2020. URL: content/uploads/2020/07/831.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1K5LW-

 $<sup>\</sup>underline{PlQXggyy5HLKPacfRcNxZf17SazL1svIZVYBYrFL0QfsIVmKSGI}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Mustafayev, R. Azerbaijani-Hellenic Relations in 2013: Opening New Horizons for Bilateral Cooperation / 10th issue of Middle East Mediterranean Report focuses

A. Vassiliou, J. Ismayilov and G. Hasanova studied the historical, political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries<sup>13</sup>.

Important ideas on Greece's relations with its neighbors in Southeastern Europe, its position in the EU and NATO, the Balkan region and the South Caucasus, as well as the prospects for the development of Azerbaijan-Greece relations can be found in the books and articles of T.P.Dokos, L.Tsoukalis, P.Tsakaloyannis, and T.Couloumbis<sup>14</sup>.

As a result of our research in Greek, English, and Russian, it has been revealed that some events are presented from a pro-Armenian perspective. After the April 2016 fighting, CNN's Greek bureau correspondent M.Karkhilaki visited the conflict zone and filmed a documentary that contradicted our national interests. The film featured interviews with the leader of the separatist organization and so-called officials<sup>15</sup>.

on Greek – Azerbaijani relations / Athens: ELIAMEP, 4/2 September-December – 2013, – p. 5-11; Venetis, E. Culture and Politics Interwoven: The Partnership of Athens and Baku / Athens: ELIAMEP, 4/2 September-December. – 2013, – p.17-19 

13 Vassiliou, A. Greek-Azerbaijan relations revisited: [Electronic resource] / Athens: RIEAS, – June 15, 2014. URL: <a href="https://www.rieas.gr/researchareas/global-issues/asian-studies/2162-greek--azerbaijani-relations-revisited-">https://www.rieas.gr/researchareas/global-issues/asian-studies/2162-greek--azerbaijani-relations-revisited-</a>; Ismayilov, J. Historic and Modern-Day Azerbaijani-Greek Cultural Relations, Challenges and Suggestions: [Electronic resource] / Athens: RIEAS, – August 31, 2015. 12 p. URL: <a href="http://www.rieas.gr/images/middleeast/eurasia/Azerbaijan18.pdf">https://www.rieas.gr/images/middleeast/eurasia/Azerbaijan18.pdf</a>; Hasanova, G. Azerbaijani-Greek relations: New vision: [Electronic resource] / Athens: RIEAS, August 27, 2014. 7 p. URL: <a href="https://rieas.gr/researchareas/global-issues/eurasian-rieas/g

studies/2254-azerbaijani-greek-relations-new-vision

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Dokos, T. Who Lost Greece: The Geopolitical Consequences of the Greek Crisis // Athens: ELIAMEP Policy Papers, – 2012. (February) no. 18. – p. 5-6; Tsoukalis, L. The Future of Greece in the European Union / Greece in Twentieth century. Editors: Couloumbis, T. Kariotis, T. Bellou, F. London: Frank Cass. – 2003. – 336 p.; Tsakaloyannis, P. Greece: the limits of convergence / The Actors in Europe's Foreign Policy. Editor: Hill, C. – London: Routledge, – 2002, – 328 p.; Couloumbis, T. Greece and the European Challenge in the Balkans // European Security in the 1990s: Problems of South-East Europe. Proceedings of the Rhodes Conference (6-7 September 1991). Chapter 11. The UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). New York, 1992. p. 163-172

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Καρχιλάκη, Μ. Ναγκόρνο Καραμπάχ Στον μαύρο κήπο του Καυκάσου: [Ηλεκτρονικός πόρος] / CNN Greece. – Νοέμβριος 2, 2017. URL: https://www.cnn.gr/nagorno-karabakh

K.Pliakos, in addition to identifying the reasons for the criminal case opened against Greek citizen G. Karampetyan, who organized illegal trips to promote the separatist regime internationally, also referred to the investigations of media resources that cast a shadow on the international reputation and image of our country<sup>16</sup>.

P.Antonopoulos commented on the Greek hackers' destruction of the Türkiye parliament's website and posting information dedicated to Armenia during the 2nd Karabakh War, the opposition of Armenia, Southern Cyprus and Greece against V. Bozkir, who was nominated for the post of President of the 75th session of the UN General Assembly for 2020-2021, and the fact that Greek Ambassador to Azerbaijan N. Piperigos was among more than 40 diplomats visiting Shusha, based on Armenian narratives<sup>17</sup>.

Euronews correspondent I.Karagiorgas was engaged in spreading disinformation and false information about the displacement of 100,000 Armenians, even though they voluntarily left the region as a result of local anti-terrorist measures carried out in September 2023<sup>18</sup>.

To study the rapprochement between Greece, Armenia and Southern Cyprus and the reasons for intensive meetings and exercises

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Πλιάκος, Κ. Το Ναγκόρνο Καραμπάχ, τα λόμπι και ένα διεθνές ένταλμα σύλληψης με ελληνικό χρώμα: [Ηλεκτρονικός πόρος] / CNN Greece. – Μάρτιος 08, 2018. URL: <a href="https://www.cnn.gr/focus/story/120665/to-nagkorno-karampax-ta-lompi-kai-ena-diethnes-entalma-syllipsis-me-elliniko-xroma">https://www.cnn.gr/focus/story/120665/to-nagkorno-karampax-ta-lompi-kai-ena-diethnes-entalma-syllipsis-me-elliniko-xroma</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Antonopoulos, P. Anonymous Greece hacks into Turkish Parliament website and leaves message in support of Armenia: [Electronic resource] / Greekcitytimes.com – October 08, 2020. URL: https://greekcitytimes.com/2020/10/08/anonymous-greecehacks-into-turkish-parliament/; Antonopoulos, P. Greece, Cyprus & Armenia make historical move by blocking Turkey from leading UN General Assembly: [Electronic resourcel / Greekcitytimes.com June 10. URL: https://greekcitytimes.com/2020/06/10/greece-cyprus-armenia-make-historicalmove-by-blocking-turkey-from-leading-un-general-assembly/; Antonopoulos, Greek Ambassador visits Nagorno-Karabakh on Azerbaijani propaganda tour: / Greekcitytimes.com. Electronic resource July 12. 2021. https://greekcitytimes.com/2021/07/12/nagorno-karabakh-propaganda/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Καράγιωργας, Ι. Ναγκόρνο-Καραμπάχ: Από Σεπτέμβριο το Αζερμπαϊτζάν θα εγκαταστήσει πληθυσμό στην περιοχή: [Ηλεκτρονικός πόρος] / Μάιος 29, 2024 URL: <a href="https://gr.euronews.com/2024/05/29/nagorno-karabakh-apo-septembrio-to-azermpaitzan-tha-egkatastisei-plithismo">https://gr.euronews.com/2024/05/29/nagorno-karabakh-apo-septembrio-to-azermpaitzan-tha-egkatastisei-plithismo</a>

in the military field against our country, articles by S.Arutyunyan, M.Mkrtchyan and A Hovsepyan were consulted<sup>19</sup>.

I.Gurbanov, who studied Greece's gas policy during the SYRIZA government and the problems arising in the privatization of DESFA, examined the contradictions arising in energy relations between Azerbaijan and Greece<sup>20</sup>.

In his article "US Strategy on the Southern Gas Corridor: The Strategic Cooperation of Azerbaijan and Greece", A.Livanios examined the importance of projects implemented in the energy sector for the future of the region. In his article "The Conundrum of the Southern Gas Corridor: What are the Risks for Europe and Azerbaijan?", A.Livanios assessed the risks for Azerbaijan and Europe in the context of transporting gas produced from the Shah Deniz field to Europe<sup>21</sup>.

The geopolitical and geoeconomic perspectives of the TAP project were analyzed in the monograph "Strategic Imperative:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Арутюнян, С. В январе в Ереване состоится саммит премьер-министров Армении, Греции и Кипра: [Электронный ресурс] / Радио Азатутюн. — 05 Ноября, 2019. URL: <a href="https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/30254744.html">https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/30254744.html</a>; Мкртчян, М. Армения, Греция и Кипр подписали трехсторонний оборонный план действий на 2020\_год: [Электронный ресурс] / Arminfo.info — 29 Февраля, 2020. URL: <a href="https://arminfo.info/full\_news.php?id=49731&lang=2">https://arminfo.info/full\_news.php?id=49731&lang=2</a>; Овсепян, А. Новый антитурецкий фронт и роль Армении: [Электронный ресурс] / Armenpress.am — 11 Июня, 2020. URL: <a href="https://armenpress.am/rus/news/1018069.html">https://armenpress.am/rus/news/1018069.html</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Gurbanov, I. Greece appeared a "Gordian Knot" for Azerbaijan's SOCAR: [Electronic resource] / Energy Corridors Review. – September 15, 2015. URL: <a href="https://energycorridors.wordpress.com/2015/09/15/greece-appeared-a-gordian-knot-for-azerbaijans-socar/">https://energycorridors.wordpress.com/2015/09/15/greece-appeared-a-gordian-knot-for-azerbaijans-socar/</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Livanios, A. The Shale Gas Revolution and US Strategy on the Southern Gas Corridor: The Strategic Cooperation of Azerbaijan and Greece / Azerbaijan and the New Energy Geopolitics of Southeastern Europe. Editors: Assenova, M. & Shiriyev, Z. Washington: The Jamestown Foundation. – 2015. – p. 203-231.; Livanios, A. The Conundrum of the Southern Gas Corridor: What are the Risks for Europe and Azerbaijan? The viewpoint of an insider // Paris: Actuelles de l'Ifri, Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (IFRI), April 2013. p. 1-18.

Azerbaijani Gas Strategy and the EU's Southern Corridor" written by T.Tsakiris and G. Rzayeva<sup>22</sup>.

The potential opportunities of the SGC were examined in the monograph "The Southern Gas Corridor and its Importance for South-East Europe", edited by K.Andriosopoulos and G.Rzayeva <sup>23</sup>.

Sh.Hajiyev's research on energy security is dedicated to the global importance of the commissioning of the TAP pipeline at the end of  $2020^{24}$ .

The articles of Russian Greek scholars L.Khodov, Y.Kvashnin, and A.Lubotskaya provided an opportunity to become closely acquainted with the impact of the economic crisis on socio-political life in Greece and the causes of the emerging difficulties<sup>25</sup>.

M.Qajar to the teaching of the Greek language at Baku Slavic University, A.Alifli drew attention to the issues of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the field of culture <sup>26</sup>.

A.Mammadova investigated the activities of political parties in Greece, and I.Mammadova investigated some aspects of the history of the Greek language <sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Tsakiris, T., & Rzayeva, G. Strategic Imperative: Azerbaijani Gas Strategy and the EU's Southern Corridor / SAM Review – Baku: SAM Center for Strategic Studies, – 2012 – 44 p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Andriosopoulos, K. & Rzayeva, G. The Southern Gas Corridor and its Importance for South-East Europe. New Era of Energy Transition / Energy Management Center at ESCP Business School, – 2020. – 238 p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hajiyev, Sh. The news you possibly missed: TAP pipeline up and running: [Electronic resource] / Euractiv.com – November 19, 2020. URL: <a href="https://www.euractiv.com/section/azerbaijan/opinion/the-news-you-possibly-missed-tap-pipeline-up-and-running/#ea-comments">https://www.euractiv.com/section/azerbaijan/opinion/the-news-you-possibly-missed-tap-pipeline-up-and-running/#ea-comments</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ходов, Л. Греческая экономика: факторы развития // — Москва: Современная Европа — 2008, № 1 (33) — с. 87-96.; Квашнин, Ю. Кризис в Греции // — Москва: Мировая Экономика и Международные Отношения, — 2011. № 4, — с. 70-78.; Лубоцкая, А.С. Истоки и причины внутриполитического кризиса в Греции // — Москва: Проблемы национальной стратегии, — 2012. № 3 (12), — с. 7-21.

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Qacar, M. Bakı Slavyan Universitetinin tarixindən // Bakı: BSU-nun elmi əsərləri. İctimai-siyasi elmlər seriyası. — 2016, №1. — s. 4-13.; Алифли, А.Р Сотрудничество Азербайджана и Греции в области культуры // Баку: Elmi iş. — 2019, № 2 (3). — c. 78-80

 $<sup>^{27}</sup>$  Məmmədova, A. Yunanıstanda siyasi partiyaların fəaliyyəti // Yunanıstan: Tarix, Siyasət, İqtisadiyyat, Mədəniyyət mövzusunda elmi-praktik konfrans — Bakı: Kitab

One of the most interesting studies on the subject is I.Pilicev's book "Greeks in Azerbaijan", published in Russian <sup>28</sup>.

S.Zeynalova studied the ethnopolitical characteristics of the Greek community that formed in Azerbaijan at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries<sup>29</sup>.

In his book "The Greeks of Azerbaijan" written by S.Angelis, the settlement of Greeks in Azerbaijan and the subsequent period are examined<sup>30</sup>.

An extensive analysis and evaluation of the scientific literature on the topic shows that there is a need for substantial and comprehensive research to fill the gaps in this field and make generalizations.

**Object and subject of research:** The object of the research is Azerbaijan-Greece relations in the modern era, and the subject is the study of the formation, development dynamics and prospects of Azerbaijan's bilateral and multilateral political, economic and humanitarian relations with Greece.

**Research goals and objectives:** The purpose of the study is to examine Azerbaijan's relations with Greece and to explore the characteristics and directions of Azerbaijan's cooperation with this country. To achieve this goal, the following important tasks were selected and implemented in the research work:

- ➤ To determine the scientific foundations and principles of the process of development of political, economic and humanitarian relations between Azerbaijan and Greece;
- ➤ To examine the theoretical and legal aspects of Azerbaijan's diplomatic and political relations with Greece after independence;

aləmi – 05 İyun, – 2004, – s. 103-107.; Məmmədova, İ. Yunan dilinin tarixinə dair bəzi məqamlar // Yunanıstan: Tarix, Siyasət, İqtisadiyyat, Mədəniyyət mövzusunda elmi-praktik konfrans – Bakı: Kitab aləmi, – 05 İyun, – 2004, – s. 112-115.

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  Пилиджев, И.Х. Греки в Азербайджане / Греки в Азербайджане (сборник статей и воспоминаний) — Баку: Изд-во. Qanun, — 2015. — 3-14.

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  Зейналова, С.М. Формирование Европейских общин на Кавказе (XIX — первая половина XX вв.) / С.М.Зейналова. Баку: Изд-во.«Мутарджим» — 2010. — 300 с.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  Αγγελίδης, Σ. Οι Έλληνες του Αζερμπαϊτζάν / Σ. Αγγρλίδης. – Θεσσαλονίκη. – 2006, -64 σ.

- ➤ To study the stages and main features of the establishment and development of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Greece,
- ➤ To study the relations established between Azerbaijan and Greece at the level of inter-parliamentary diplomacy and the current state of cooperation;
- ➤ To study the position of Greece during the occupation of Azerbaijani lands by Armenia, as well as the 2nd Karabakh War, the local anti-terrorist operation, and the post-conflict period;
- ➤ To explore the directions of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece within the framework of regional and international organizations;
- ➤ To analyze the economic relations between Azerbaijan and Greece, evaluate geoeconomic opportunities and reveal the importance of hydrocarbon resources in the development of cooperation in this area;
- ➤ To explore cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the context of European energy security;
- ➤ To examine the current state and development prospects of trade and economic relations between Azerbaijan and Greece;
- ➤ To explore opportunities for cooperation in the field of tourism between Azerbaijan and Greece;
- ➤ To analyze the directions and forms of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the humanitarian and cultural fields;
- ➤ To explore the practical aspects of the diaspora factor in Azerbaijani-Greek relations.

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- ➤ To determine the scientific foundations and principles of the process of development of political, economic and humanitarian relations between Azerbaijan and Greece;
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- ➤ To study the stages and main features of the establishment and development of bilateral relations between Azerbaijan and Greece,

- > To study the relations established between Azerbaijan and Greece at the level of inter-parliamentary diplomacy and the current state of cooperation;
- ➤ To study the position of Greece during the occupation of Azerbaijani lands by Armenia, as well as the 2nd Karabakh War, the local anti-terrorist operation, and the post-conflict period;
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- ➤ To analyze the directions and forms of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the humanitarian and cultural fields;
- ➤ To explore the practical aspects of the diaspora factor in Azerbaijani-Greek relations.

The main provisions put forward for defense. The following scientific propositions were discussed in the dissertation:

- ❖ Analysis of the development of diplomatic and political relations between Azerbaijan and Greece, showing the successful prospects of these relations.
- ❖ In Azerbaijan's foreign policy activities, the deepening of cooperation with Greece in the political, economic, and cultural-humanitarian spheres has had a positive impact on the development of relations within the framework of the EU's regional integration programs.
- ❖ The opportunities for cooperation in the field of interparliamentary diplomacy between Azerbaijan and Greece were used.
- ❖ Greece's pro-Armenian position in the process of restoring Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and sovereignty has had a negative

impact on Azerbaijani-Greek relations.

- ❖ In Azerbaijan's cooperation with Greece, attention has been paid to multilateral relations, in addition to bilateral relations.
- \* Azerbaijan's cooperation with Greece in the energy sector is of great importance both for the development of bilateral relations and for ensuring Europe's energy security.
- ❖ Studying and widely applying Greece's rich experience in the field of tourism can accelerate the flow of tourists to our country.
- ❖ Plays an active role in expanding relations between Azerbaijan and Greece in the humanitarian and cultural fields and in developing other areas.
- ❖ The role of the diaspora factor in the development of bilateral relations is very important.

Scientific innovation of the research. The formation and development of relations between Azerbaijan and Greece has been a constant focus of political science in Azerbaijan and has led to a number of studies. However, for the first time, relations between Azerbaijan and Greece in the political, economic and humanitarian spheres have been studied at the level of a dissertation.

We can group the main scientific innovations of the dissertation work as follows:

- ✓ The dynamics of the development of Azerbaijani-Greek relations and cooperation were investigated based on new facts and sources:
- ✓ The current state of Azerbaijan's political, economic, humanitarian and cultural relations with Greece was analyzed and the prospects for the development of relations with Greece in the near future were assessed;
- ✓ The importance of Azerbaijan's bilateral and multilateral cooperation with Greece in the system of international relations was analyzed and it was concluded that the development of cooperation will further strengthen the place and role of our country in EU projects;
- ✓ Energy security has been a priority on the political agenda in Azerbaijan-Greece relations and this topic has remained relevant for a long time;

✓ Greece's position on the problem of violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan was analyzed, the biased steps and activities of the Greece-Southern Cyprus-Armenia trio against Turkey were reviewed, and the support provided by Greece to the occupying and aggressive Armenia at the political, economic, military, cyber security, moral, humanitarian and diaspora levels, the allocation of financial assistance, and its fundamentally negative impact on Azerbaijan-Greece relations during the 2nd Karabakh War were thoroughly investigated.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research. The materials of the dissertation can be used in writing research papers, monographs, textbooks and articles dedicated to the political, economic and humanitarian relations of Azerbaijan with Greece, as well as in the practical activities of state structures dealing with foreign policy and international relations. The materials collected during the research process will be useful in conducting lectures and seminars on relevant issues in universities and in promoting the foreign policy activities of the Azerbaijani state.

Approbation and application. The dissertation was discussed at the Department of International Relations of Baku Slavic University and recommended for defense. The main scientific propositions and conclusions put forward in the dissertation have been reflected in the author's scientific articles published in our country and abroad, as well as in his reports at various international scientific conferences and symposia.

The name of the institution where the dissertation work was completed. The dissertation was completed at the Department of International Relations of Baku Slavic University.

The structure of the dissertation. The structure of the research paper is determined according to the nature of the topic. The dissertation consists of a title page (335 characters), table of contents (2,150 characters), introduction (28,558 characters), Chapter I (77,654 characters), Chapter II (75,625 characters), Chapter III (77,668 characters), and conclusion (13,952 characters). The total volume of the dissertation consists of 190 pages of computer-written text, 275,942 characters, excluding appendices, graphics, and a bibliography.

#### II THE CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Introduction section of the dissertation work justifies the relevance of the topic, gives the degree of development, defines the object and subject of the research, theoretical foundations, research methods, goals and objectives, and indicates the main provisions put forward for defense, the scientific novelty, theoretical and practical significance, approval, and structure of the work.

Chapter I of the dissertation is entitled "Azerbaijan-Greece Political Relations" and consists of four subchapters. In the first subchapter of the chapter, entitled "Theoretical, legal foundations, stages of development and main features of diplomatic and political relations between Azerbaijan and Greece", the directions and principles of theoretical, legal, historical and political relations between Azerbaijan and Greece are determined, the geostrategic position of Greece and Azerbaijan is considered, and the dynamics of the development of bilateral relations after the restoration of Azerbaijan's state independence is analyzed. The prospects for the development of diplomatic and political relations between the states located in the Balkan Peninsula and the South Caucasus are examined.

Greece's transit potential has expanded after Azerbaijan made a firm decision to export its hydrocarbon reserves to the European market through the territory of Georgia and Turkey. Taking this into account, Greek diplomats took the initiative to organize meetings with National Leader Heydar Aliyev and come to Baku for negotiations.

The intergovernmental documents signed during the meetings with the Presidents of Greece, Konstantinos Stephanopoulos and Karolos Papoulias, led to the further expansion of political dialogue and raised bilateral relations to a qualitatively new level. President Ilham Aliyev's successful visits to Greece in 2004, 2009 and 2014 were significant in terms of maintaining peace and security in the region and attracted the attention of a very wide audience<sup>31</sup>.

The second sub-chapter of the first chapter, entitled "Azerbaijan-Greece interparliamentary cooperation", emphasizes that today, in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Məmmədov, H. Hüseynov, İ. Azərbaycan və Yunanıstan arasında siyasi və iqtisadi münasibətlərin inkişaf etdirilməsində Prezident İlham Əliyevin rolu // − Bakı: Dövlət İdarəçiliyi: Nəzəriyyə və Təcrübə, DİA − 2020. № 2 (70) − s. 121.

the modern system of international relations, great importance is attached to interparliamentary relations in establishing relations with individual countries. From this perspective, Azerbaijani-Greek interparliamentary cooperation is of great importance in terms of parliamentary diplomacy.

The illegal visits of Greek parliament member A.Nerantzis in 2010 and G.Canelli in 2016 to the occupied territories of Azerbaijan seriously damaged bilateral relations<sup>32</sup>.

These visits by Greek parliamentarians were assessed as unilateral steps contrary to the spirit of cooperation between legislative bodies, served to encourage Armenia's provocative actions and further aggravate the already difficult situation.

During the 2nd Karabakh War, H.Maximos, who was the head of the Greece-Azerbaijan interparliamentary friendship group in 2004-2007 and later a member of the group, left the group in protest against Azerbaijan's military operations in Karabakh and East Zangezur<sup>33</sup>.

In the third sub-chapter of the first chapter, entitled "Armenia-Greece relations in the context of restoring the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan", Azerbaijan's principled and consistent initiatives within the framework of sovereignty and territorial integrity were analyzed.

Armenia pursued military-political interests by establishing contacts with Greece and Southern Cyprus and taking part in an alliance against fraternal Türkiye. The intensity of meetings held at various levels within the framework of the trilateral format in 2019-2020 shows that Armenia has sought to achieve new alliances in the form of Southern Cyprus and Greece in order to strengthen its aggressive policy and comprehensively defend itself.

In 2020, President Ilham Aliyev, while accepting the credentials

<sup>32 &</sup>quot;Onların qanunsuz səfəri qərəzli və təhrikçidir" – XİN: [Elektron resurs] / Qafqazinfo.az - 12 Aprel, 2016. URL: https://qafqazinfo.az/news/detail/onlarinqanunsuz-seferi-qerezli-ve-tehrikcidir-xin-143885

<sup>33</sup> Απογώρησε από την κοινοβουλευτική ομάδα φιλίας Ελλάδας - Αζερμπαϊτζάν ο Χαρακόπουλος: [Ηλεκτρονικός πόρος] / CNN Greece. – Οκτώβριος 05, 2020. URL: https://www.cnn.gr/politiki/story/237198/apoxorise-apo-tin-koinovoyleytiki-omadafilias-elladas-azermpaitzan-o-xarakopoylos

of Greek Ambassador N.Piperigkos, highlighted Azerbaijan's firm and principled position<sup>34</sup>.

From the beginning of Armenia's aggression against our country, Greece was among the countries that stood by the occupier, violating all principles of justice and humanism.

During the 44-day military operations, a huge wave of support for Armenians was created in Greece, demonstrations were held on the central streets almost every day, and biased materials were circulated in the media. In these demonstrations, Greeks and Armenians called on the world community to exert political and economic pressure on Azerbaijan. The biased position taken by Greece has dealt a major blow to relations with Azerbaijan. The Azerbaijani ambassador to Greece has been summoned to Baku for consultations regarding the situation<sup>35</sup>.

The visit of Greek Ambassador to Azerbaijan N.Piperigos to the city of Shusha in 2021 caused debate in Armenia and Greece.

The 4th sub-chapter of the first chapter, entitled "Azerbaijan-Greece relations at the multilateral level", examines the issues of cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the context of regional and international organizations.

Greece has a major role in the development and expansion of relations with the EU. The EU is of great importance for Azerbaijan in terms of the implementation of promising regional projects and as a source of investment. This, in turn, allows Azerbaijan to pursue its own independent policy, using its energy resources and developed economic cooperation relations with the East and the West<sup>36</sup>.

In their political relations with Azerbaijan, most EU member states act as representatives of the interests of this organization. The same can be said about Greece. It should be especially emphasized that Greece has diplomatic missions in all three South Caucasus

35 Azərbaycan Respublikasının Xarici İşlər Nazirliyinin Mətbuat xidmət idarəsinin məlumatı: [Elektron resurs] / XİN. – №: 324/20. URL: <a href="https://www.mfa.gov.az/az/news/6935/view">https://www.mfa.gov.az/az/news/6935/view</a>

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  Ильхам Алиев о треугольнике Армения - Греция — Кипр: [Электронный ресурс] / Haqqin.az — 02 Сентября, 2020. URL: <a href="https://haqqin.az/news/188149">https://haqqin.az/news/188149</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Nuriyev, E. Cənubi Qafqazın müasir geosiyasətində Azərbaycanın strateji rolu // − Bakı: Qərb Universiteti. Elmi xəbərlər, 2011. №1, − s. 15-31

countries, and at the same time, these missions also perform various functions of the EU<sup>37</sup>.

The energy partnership between Azerbaijan and Greece actually serves to solve the problems that have arisen in the global and regional geopolitical plan. In terms of sovereignty, Azerbaijan receives two important dividends from cooperation with Greece. First of all, it brings closer relations with the EU, develops a strategic partnership with it within a specific framework. Second, it gains international guarantees to protect the country's stability and security. It is known that both aspects are currently relevant for all states represented in the post-Soviet space<sup>38</sup>.

Over the past period, political relations between Azerbaijan and Greece have developed intensively in a multilateral manner. Cooperation between the two states has expanded within the framework of the EU, BSEC, UN, Council of Europe, OSCE and NATO.

Chapter II of the dissertation is entitled "Azerbaijan-Greece Economic Relations". The first subchapter of the chapter, entitled "Cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the Field of Energy Security: Analysis of Geoeconomic Aspects", emphasizes that the problem of energy security is one of the most discussed and constantly focused issues of the modern era.

Energy security currently has not only economic but also political significance<sup>39</sup>. Energy security is one of the most important elements of the national security concept of every country. Energy security is the second most important component of state security policy after national defense<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Voskopoulos. G. "Greek Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era: Balancing Between EU Institutionalization and Regional Challenges" / Balkans, Foreign Affairs, Politics and Socio-Cultures. Editors. C. Yenigün, F. Gjana – 2011, Tirana: Epoka University Publications. – p. 435 – 456.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Азербайджан-Греция: два аспекта стратегического партнерства: [Электронный ресурс] / Sia.az – 08 Июля, 2014. URL: https://sia.az/ru/news/analysis/419114.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Məmmədov, H.B. Xarici siyasət / H.Məmmədov. Bakı: Elm, – 2019. – 324 s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Kalicki, H.J. and Goldwyn, L.D. (eds.) / Energy and Security: Toward a New Foreign Policy Strategy. Washington – Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press with Johns Hopkins University Press, – 2005. – 640 p.

After the discovery of the Shah Deniz field, the main task was to bring Azerbaijani gas to the European market. After the choice was made over TAP, Azerbaijani-Greek relations have an important role in bilateral relations, in the EU context, as well as in ensuring regional cooperation, security and long-term stability between the Balkans and the South Caucasus. TAP, in addition to being the first large-scale international pipeline to transport Azerbaijani gas, strengthens the geopolitical role of Greece, as well as its economic development. Cooperation in the energy sector is considered a very important factor for the energy security of both Azerbaijan and Greece, as well as the EU as a whole.

The dissertation also extensively analyzes the causes and consequences of the problems arising from the privatization of DESFA.

The second sub-chapter of the chapter, entitled "Current status and development prospects of trade and economic relations between Azerbaijan and Greece", touches on the importance of business circles getting to know each other, establishing trade and economic relations, and business forums held in this direction, against the backdrop of the crisis that has left a deep mark on the Greek economy.

The dynamics of trade relations between Azerbaijan and Greece in 2019-2023 are analyzed, and it is emphasized that the volume of trade in the past period was not satisfactory compared to the potential of the countries.

The Azerbaijan-Greece economic partnership is seen as a great opportunity for both countries. Although Azerbaijan and Greece do not share a common border, economic and geopolitical realities are considered to be the main factors determining cooperation between the two countries<sup>41</sup>.

The formation of cooperation in tourism, construction, agricultural production, food industry, information technologies, use

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Гусейнов, И. Этапы развития и основные особенности дипломатических и политических отношений между Азербайджаном и Грецией // – Москва: Этносоциум, – 2020. № 5, 143, – с. 66-79.

of alternative energy sources, etc. serves to expand trade and economic relations.

The main products exported from Greece to Azerbaijan are pharmaceuticals, paper products, pipes, various furs and aluminum profiles. It is also important for our country's businessmen to expand their businesses in Greece. In Greece, successful work can be done in energy, environmental protection, telecommunications, consulting, and many other fields. In addition, it is desirable to apply the experience gained by Greece in the pharmaceutical, construction materials, and food industries to our country.

The third sub-chapter of the chapter, entitled "Cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the field of tourism", reviews the work done in the field of tourism in bilateral relations in accordance with the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Tourism between the Government of Azerbaijan and the Government of Greece on April 7, 2005. Greece is one of the countries with which Azerbaijan closely cooperates in the tourism sector.

The development of tourism in Greece began in the 1960s and 1970s, and the country took a leading position in the world. In the following period, as the construction of hotels and other tourism infrastructure facilities expanded, the number of tourists visiting the country also began to increase. The Summer Olympics held in Athens in 2004 gave a special impetus to this growth rate. This, along with having a positive effect on the economy, also caused a certain tension. In 2004, the budget deficit amounted to 6.1% of GDP, which was more than 2 times the permissible figure for countries participating in the eurozone<sup>42</sup>. In Greece, the tourism sector has been a more stable and competitive sector of the economy during the crisis<sup>43</sup>.

Chapter III of the dissertation is entitled "Azerbaijan-Greece Humanitarian Relations". The first subchapter of the chapter, entitled "The "Soft Power" factor in bilateral relations: Cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece in the fields of

<sup>43</sup> Guduraš, D. Economic Crisis and Tourism: Case of the Greek Tourism Sector // – Dubrovnik: Economic Thought and Practice. Periodical of the University of

Dubrovnik -2014, no. 2, -p. 614.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ходов, Л.Г. Греческая экономика после Олимпийских игр // Москва: Российский Внешнеэкономический Вестник -2006, № 8-с. 37-38.

Education, Science and Culture", examines the issues of cultural diplomacy and "soft power."

Today, alternative (non-military and non-economic) sources of influence on foreign policy are becoming increasingly important in the system of international relations. In modern studies in this area, a binary opposition has become widespread, that is, the concepts of soft and hard power ("hard power" and "soft power") are widely used J.Nye, the author of the concept of soft power, considers soft power as a way to achieve desired results in international affairs through attraction, not coercion or monetary rewards<sup>44</sup>.

In 1997, an agreement was signed between the Government of Azerbaijan and the Government of Greece on cooperation in the fields of education, culture and science. In 2003, a Program on cooperation in the fields of science, education and culture was adopted between the Government of Azerbaijan and the Government of Greece for 2002-2005. In 2011, a Program on cooperation in the fields of science, education and culture was adopted between the Government of Azerbaijan and the Government of Greece for 2011-2013.

Teaching Greek in Azerbaijan is not only a national strategic priority for Greece, but also a demonstration of "soft power." Through the language, students learn about the history, mythology, philosophy, and internal political structure of Greece<sup>45</sup>.

It is of great importance to study the cultural aspects of the policy implemented between Azerbaijan and Greece and diplomacy in the field of culture.

The second half of the chapter, entitled "The Diaspora Factor in Azerbaijani-Greek Relations", discusses the formation of the Greek community in Azerbaijan, the establishment of the Greek Philanthropic Society in Baku, the church, club, school, "Evripidis" theater group, and the "Embros" ("Forward") football team operating under the society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Nye, J.S. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics / New York: Public Affairs, – 2004, – p. 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Huseynov, I. Cultural and political aspect as a foundation key link in the expanding relation between Azerbaijan and Greece // – Lviv: Visnyk of the Lviv University, Philosophical and Political studies – 2020, Issue 31–p. 105-111.

Directive No. 50215, signed by the USSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs N.Yezhov on December 11, 1937, marked the beginning of the repression of Greeks living in Baku, the Greek Philanthropic Society was closed, and all the values that united and bound the Greeks were destroyed<sup>46</sup>. The "Greek Operation" lasted until April 15, 1938, and was distinguished by its particular ruthlessness<sup>47</sup>. The first deportation of Greeks, including Azerbaijani Greeks, to special settlements in Northern Kazakhstan and Siberia was carried out in 1942. In connection with the "goal of cleansing the Black Sea coast and the Caucasus of politically unreliable elements," tens of thousands of Greeks were deported to southern Kazakhstan by a decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on May 17, 1949<sup>48</sup>.

In 1994, at the initiative of the Greek Ambassador to Azerbaijan, P. Karakasis, the Greek Cultural Center was established under the embassy, and in 1997, with the establishment of the "Argo" Greek society, it became possible to unite the Greeks of Azerbaijan after decades.

In 2017, upon the joint application of members of the Azerbaijani community and Greeks living in Thessaloniki, Greece, the "Qala" Greek-Azerbaijani Friendship Society was established by the relevant decision of the city court. Since its establishment, the "Qala" society has been in close contact with the State Committee for Work with the Diaspora.

As a **result**, the research was concluded and generalizations were made, and on their basis, necessary proposals and recommendations of a theoretical and practical nature were put forward. Cooperation between Azerbaijan and Greece at the bilateral level, within the framework of regional and international organizations has undergone a certain period of development. Currently, consistent steps are being taken to further expand this cooperation, and in the context of the EU,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Российский государственный архив новейшей истории (РГАНИ), фонд (Комиссия Шверника), дело 4, листы 4-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Huseynov, I. Greeks in Azerbaijan: epochal look at history and modernity // – Dnipro: Grani Scientific and Theoretical almanac. – 2020, № 5 – p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Российский государственный архив социально-политической истории. Ф. 17. Оп. 162, Д. 40. л 185. Копия.

special importance is attached to the establishment of close relations. The energy factor plays a major role in bilateral relations, and relations in this direction are of a strategic nature.

# The main content of the dissertation has been published in the following articles and theses by the author:

- 1. Heydər Əliyevin təhsil siyasəti və Bakı Slavyan Universitetində Yunan dili və mədəniyyəti Mərkəzinin fəaliyyəti // "Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycan gəncliyi" mövzusunda magistrant, doktorant və gənc tədqiqatçıların Respublika elmi konfransı, Bakı: "Mütərcim", 28 aprel 2017, 2017, s. 61-62.
- 2. Ümummilli lider Heydər Əliyevin yunan diplomatları ilə görüşləri // "Səmərəli islahatların uğurlu nəticələri: reallıqlar və perspektivlər" mövzusunda beynəlxalq elmi-praktiki konfrans, Bakı: "Biznes Universiteti" nəşriyyatı, 04-05 may 2017, 2017, s. 728-732.
- 3. Yunanıstan Respublikasının Prezidenti Karolos Papulyasın Azərbaycana dövlət səfərinin nəticələri // "Heydər Əliyev irsi: Müasir dövrdə İslam Həmrəyliyi" mövzusunda beynəlxalq elmipraktiki konfrans, Bakı: "Müəllim" nəşriyyatı, 10 may 2017, 2017, s. 154-155.
- 4. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan iqtisadi münasibətlərinin prioritet istiqamətləri // "İqtisadiyyatın rəqabətqabiliyyətliliyinin yüksəldilməsi yolları" mövzusunda Respublika elmi konfransı, Sumqayıt: Sumqayıt Dövlət Universiteti. Redaksiya və nəşr işləri şöbəsi, 17-18 oktyabr 2017, 2017, s. 228-230.
- 5. Azərbaycan və Yunanıstan arasında siyasi münasibətlərin yaradılmasında Heydər Əliyevin rolu // Doktorantların və gənc tədqiqatçıların XXI Respublika elmi konfransı, Bakı: "Bakı Universiteti Nəşriyyatı", 24-25 oktyabr 2017, 2017, 2-ci cild, s. 64-66.
- 6. The rights and freedoms of the human and citizens in Azerbaijan and Greece (comparative analysis) // International scientific-practical conference of students, graduate students and young scientists "Youth science 2018: socio-economic and humanitarian aspects of society development", Chernihiv: "Chernihiv National

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- 8. Azərbaycanda yaşayan yunanlar multikulturalizm şəraitində // "Heydər Əliyev: multikulturalizm və tolerantlıq ideologiyası" mövzusunda I Beynəlxalq elmi konfrans, Bakı: "MTM-İnnovation" MMC, 09 aprel 05 may 2018, 2018, s. 199-200.
- 9. Qafqazda geosiyasi proseslər və Yunanıstanın maraqları // "Qafqazda dövlətlərarası münasibətlər: 100 il əvvəl və müasir dövr" mövzusunda beynəlxalq elmi konfrans, Bakı: MTM İnnovation, 23-24 may 2018, 2019, 2-ci cild, s. 235-242.
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- 14. Azərbaycan və Yunanıstan arasında turizm sahəsində əməkdaşlıq // Gənc tədqiqatçıların II Respublika elmi-praktik konfransı, Bakı: "Azərbaycan Universiteti" Nəşriyyatı, 15 mart 2019, 2019, s. 167-169.
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- 17. Azərbaycan və Yunanıstan arasında mədəni münasibətlərin tarixi kökləri və mövcud vəziyyəti // III İnternational Scientific Conference of Young Researchers, Bakı: "Bakı Mühəndislik Universitetinin Nəşriyyatı", 29-30 Aprel 2019, 2019 1st book. s. 841-846.
- 18. Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti İlham Əliyevin Yunanıstana ilk dövlət səfəri və bu səfərin ikitərəfli siyasi münasibətlərə təsiri // "Azərbaycan və dünya 1991-2018-ci illərdə: müqayisəli inkişaf dinamikası" mövzusunda Respublika elmi-praktik konfransı, Bakı: Qərbi Kaspi Universiteti. Nəşriyyat-Poliqrafiya Mərkəzi, 2 may 2019, 2019, s. 62-68.
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- 29. Azərbaycan-Yunanıstan parlamentlərarası münasibətlərində Ermənistan-Azərbaycan Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsi // − Bakı: Elmi xəbərlər. İctimai və texniki elmlər seriyası, Qərbi Kaspi Universiteti, −2019. №3, − s. 90-101.
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Address: 74, Lermontov street, AZ1001, Baku, Azerbaijan

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