

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

GEOPOLITICAL PROCESSES IN THE CIS SPACE: THE INTERESTS AND POSITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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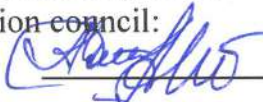


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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESEARCH

Relevance of the Research Topic and Degree of its Scholarly Elaboration. In the context of the ongoing transformation of the contemporary system of international relations and the shifts occurring in the global balance of power, the study of geopolitical processes unfolding in the post-Soviet space has acquired particular scientific and political relevance. The emergence of new geopolitical realities following the collapse of the USSR, the reconfiguration of relations among regional states, the parallel development of integration and polarization trends, as well as the clash of interests among major powers in this region, have collectively turned it into one of the key strategic arenas of world politics. In this regard, a comprehensive analysis of geopolitical dynamics within the CIS space holds significant scientific and practical importance, particularly in the context of ensuring the national interests of the Republic of Azerbaijan, defining its position in regional and global processes, and shaping a balanced and multi-vector foreign policy course.

The necessity of studying this problem can be substantiated by the following scientific-theoretical and political-practical arguments and propositions:

First, it is essential to emphasize a fundamentally important point: at the end of the twentieth century, the global order underwent profound disruption and transformation. This natural and inevitable historical process was обусловлен by the collapse of the USSR and the disintegration of the global socialist system. Among the multifaceted geopolitical consequences of this inevitable and fateful development, the formation of the post-Soviet space occupies a central place.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the post-Soviet space:

a) on the one hand, significant transformations occurred in contemporary world politics and international relations. In particular:

- the Cold War, the definitive conclusion of which has remained a matter of ongoing scholarly debate, gradually subsided;

- systematic and strategic efforts aimed at establishing a long-term unipolar world order - widely debated in academic discourse - failed to achieve substantial and sustainable success;

b) on the other hand, and most importantly, within the post-Soviet space, a number of multidimensional and qualitatively diverse geopolitical processes – whose comprehensive scholarly investigation is, in our view, highly necessary – have unfolded, accompanied by an abundance of military confrontations and diplomatic tensions:

- the “greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century” (a reference to the collapse of the USSR, a notion widely circulated in Russian political discourse) did not serve as a sufficient lesson for Russia; moreover, it managed to avert the risk of a second comparable collapse;

- shortly thereafter, priority was once again given to the traditional geostrategic concept of a “Unified and Indivisible Russia,” reflecting a revival of imperial-state thinking (as evidenced by the geopolitical perspectives associated with the so-called Yeltsin Doctrine and the policies pursued by the current leadership of the Russian Federation regarding the “near abroad”);

- the Kremlin’s policy of pressure toward the “near abroad,” including strategic initiatives, concrete acts of annexation, and economic leverage – particularly in the energy sphere – significantly accelerated processes of polarization within the post-Soviet space;

- under the “guidance” of the Russian Federation, several derivative geopolitical formations emerged within the post-Soviet region:

a) initially, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) – often described in Western discourse as a “stillborn entity” (excluding the Baltic states) – was established;

b) subsequently, within the CIS framework, additional military and economic structures of varying configurations were created, including the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), often referred to as a “Russian NATO” and interpreted as a counterbalance to NATO;

c) the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and the Customs Union were also established;

- as a form of response and counterbalance, the GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova) was formed (with Uzbekistan participating between 1999–2002), and was often perceived as an alternative center of power within the CIS space and, to some extent, as a geopolitical platform countering Russian influence;

- within the CIS space, disputes and tensions emerged in the sphere of “oil and gas diplomacy,” particularly regarding the ownership, processing, and transportation of energy resources, as well as the legal status of the Caspian Sea - manifesting both in short-term disagreements (e.g., between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan with Russia) and more prolonged disputes (e.g., between Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan);

- on the one hand, Russia created serious challenges to the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, and the Central Asian republics by instigating ethno-political conflicts and employing other destabilizing mechanisms; on the other hand, it itself faced separatist movements as a consequence of its own ineffective ethno-political policies.

Ethno-political conflicts in which Russia has been involved, as well as their consequences, can be outlined as follows:

1) Russian Federation: a) In 2008, during the so-called Five-Day War with Georgia, Russia achieved military dominance, subsequently recognizing the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia; b) In its ongoing military, political, and diplomatic confrontation with Ukraine, Russia annexed Crimea – regarded in its official discourse as a historically significant territory – and supported the separation of Donetsk and Luhansk from the control of the central government in Kyiv; 2) Republic of Azerbaijan: Azerbaijan achieved a historic victory over Armenia in the 44-day Patriotic War (Second Karabakh War), restoring control over its internationally recognized territories that had previously been under occupation.

At the same time, the Kremlin addressed its conflict with Chechnya primarily through military means (including multi-stage wars), while tensions with Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and other autonomous entities were largely managed through political and constitutional mechanisms.

- Calls for the establishment of a “Caucasus House (Union)” were put forward, alongside B. Yeltsin’s proposed “Caucasus Quartet” framework (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, and Russia) aimed at facilitating regional cooperation;

- The number of actors competing for influence in the South Caucasus has significantly increased due to the involvement of major external powers (such as the United States, the European Union, and China), regional actors (including Turkey, Iran, and Israel), as well as certain CIS member states (including Ukraine and others). This development has had a notable impact on the emergence of new, complex, and multidimensional realities in the South Caucasus.

Secondly, the relevance of the dissertation research and the significance of the topic under investigation can also be substantiated through the following key analytical considerations introduced into the scholarly discourse:

- There exists an inherent and undeniable interconnection between geopolitical processes in the CIS space and such fundamental strategic issues as the comprehensive development of the Republic of Azerbaijan, its international standing and foreign policy, as well as national-state security challenges and long-term development prospects;

- The predominant and leading role of the “Russian factor” in the multidimensional processes within this geopolitical space and in interstate relations is indisputable, and this circumstance is likewise characteristic of Russia–Azerbaijan relations. In this context, the perspective of National Leader Heydar Aliyev is noteworthy: “Russia is not only a close neighbor for us, but also a country of which we were a part for more than two centuries.” Similarly, according to Ilham Aliyev, Russia is the only major power that shares a direct border with Azerbaijan and is considered a regional state;

- The participation of the Republic of Azerbaijan in processes within the CIS and its capacity to influence them constitute another essential factor that must be taken into account. In this regard, particular emphasis should be placed on the country’s effective utilization of its advantageous geographical position and its rich natural resources, especially hydrocarbon reserves. In our view, two

major achievements should be highlighted: (1) Azerbaijan's transformation into one of the principal transport and communication hubs not only within the CIS but across the broader Eurasian space; (2) the successful diversification of oil and gas export routes;

- Certain positive outcomes of the policy aimed at neutralizing efforts by Russia and Armenia to diplomatically isolate Azerbaijan within the CIS are particularly noteworthy. In this respect, Azerbaijan's close cooperation with influential member states of the organization, such as Kazakhstan and Belarus, may be regarded as an effective and well-founded diplomatic strategy;

- The comprehensive scholarly assessment of the multifaceted consequences of Azerbaijan's historic victory over Armenia in the 44-day Second Karabakh War (Patriotic War), particularly in terms of the new military-political realities it has created within the CIS space - and especially in the South Caucasus – is of considerable importance.

With regard to the degree of scholarly elaboration of the topic, it is necessary to emphasize two key points:

1. A comprehensive and multidimensional scientific analysis of geopolitical processes within the CIS space in the context of the interests and position of the Republic of Azerbaijan has, for the first time, been undertaken within the framework of this dissertation study.

2. Certain aspects of the scientific problem examined in this dissertation – specifically, issues related to the research topic - have previously been addressed in studies conducted both in Azerbaijan and in foreign countries.

The development of relations within the post-Soviet space, the clarification and resolution of complex and contradictory issues, the regulation of integration and disintegration processes, and the обеспечение of collective security – along with the settlement of the former Armenia–Azerbaijan conflict, which has posed a serious threat to the overall security of this vast region – have gradually been brought into a stable and constructive trajectory largely due to the purposeful and consistent efforts of Azerbaijani diplomacy. At the same time, these very factors serve to sustain the continued relevance of the problem

selected as the object of this comprehensive research and constitute the basis for fostering mutual cooperation within the region.

The adoption of the Constitutional Act on the Restoration of State Independence (1991), which marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of Azerbaijan, placed a number of urgent tasks before the Republic in the field of foreign policy. Under the newly emerging historical conditions, relations with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), or the broader post-Soviet space – and, within this context, relations with Russia – occupied a special place among the priority directions of the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan. In our view, the factors contributing to the relevance of this problem can be grouped as follows:

- The national interests of Azerbaijan necessitated – and continue to necessitate – the establishment of comprehensive, multidimensional, and mutually beneficial relations with the states and institutions of the CIS space across various spheres;

- Russia's geographical proximity to Azerbaijan, along with its shared borders with Armenia, Georgia, and Iran, has required – and continues to require – the flexible and pragmatic engagement of the Azerbaijani leadership in addressing challenges in bilateral relations;

- The necessity of examining Azerbaijan's relations with post-Soviet states not in isolation, but in a comprehensive manner grounded in the country's national interests, as well as prioritizing relations with Russia, is обусловлено by the fact that empirical evidence demonstrates Russia's predominant interests and significant leverage over most post-Soviet states, with the exception of the Baltic countries;

- Nearly all post-Soviet states – particularly Russia – continue to regard the South Caucasus as a sphere of strategic interest, despite certain shifts in their geostrategic approaches;

- Azerbaijan's geostrategically significant location, its abundance of energy resources and natural wealth, and the direct involvement of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan in determining the legal status of the Caspian Sea;

- The complex configuration of interests surrounding the Caspian region, directly linked to energy resources and oil and gas

export communication systems, involving states such as Russia, Iran, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and others;

- The passage through Azerbaijan of major oil and gas export pipelines, the Great Silk Road, and other communication systems, in which Russia has not always demonstrated aligned interests;

- The conclusion of the Armenia–Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as a result of the 44-day Patriotic War, which ensured the restoration of Azerbaijan’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, and led to the emergence of a new geopolitical reality in the South Caucasus with significant international implications.

Given that the aforementioned factors are closely linked both to the current state of the region and to its future trajectory, Azerbaijan must take these considerations into account in shaping its foreign policy strategy and seek to expand cooperation with post-Soviet states across political, economic, socio-cultural, humanitarian, environmental, and other domains. Such cooperation may also be extended to specific areas related to military development and defense-building.

Taking into account that geopolitical processes in the CIS space are also at the center of attention of Western diplomacy, the present research has drawn upon a body of scholarly literature reflecting the findings of studies conducted in a number of foreign countries. These works examine issues such as Russia’s efforts to maintain influence over the post-Soviet space, including its use of ethno-political conflicts for this purpose; the provision of political, military, and economic-financial support by Western actors to the newly independent states in response to pressures exerted by the Russian Federation; and the implementation of global projects aimed at reducing these countries’ dependence on Russia’s sphere of influence¹.

¹ Armenia and Turkey normalise ties // BBC News [сайт]. URL: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8299712.stm> (дата обращения: 21.12.2011 г.); Коджаман, О. Южный Кавказ в политике Турции и России в постсоветский период / О.Коджаман. – Москва: Русская панорама, – 2004. – 296 с.; Hamburg “The South Caucasus at the Crossroads, Caspian oil and Great Power Politics”; Myers, J.M. The Myth of the Caspian “Great game”: The Real Geopolitics of Energy” / J.M.Myers, R.A.Manning // – Survival (journal), – 1998–1999. Vol. 40, No. 4, – pp. 112–129.; Starr, S.F. Resolving Karabakh: Strategic Options for the US

In general, the degree of scholarly elaboration of the topic indicates that geopolitical processes in the post-Soviet space, as well as the position of the Republic of Azerbaijan within this context, have been examined from various perspectives by both domestic and foreign researchers. Among Azerbaijani scholars, the works of J.Eyvazov, A.Abbasbeyli, H.Hüseynova, S.Garashova, and others provide extensive analysis of issues such as national interests, foreign policy strategy, and regional security². Among foreign scholars, the works of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Stephen Starr, as well as Russian researchers such as Alexander Dugin and Sergey Markedonov, among others, have examined geopolitical transformations in the post-Soviet space and the policies of major powers from various perspectives³. These studies have played a significant role in shaping the theoretical and methodological foundations of the research topic.

The dissertation makes extensive use of documents and materials from the current archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan. A substantial portion of these materials is being introduced into scholarly circulation by the author

Government. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute / S.F.Starr. – Washington, D. C. – 2004.; Graham, B. Rumsfeld Discuss Tighter Military Ties with Azerbaijan / B.Graham. – 2003.; Iskit, T. Turkey: A new actor in the Field of Energy / T.Iskit. – 1996.; Brzezinski, Z. The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives / Z.Brzezinski. – 1997. Halliday, F. Condemned to React, Unable to Influence: Iran and Transcaucasia / F.Halliday. – 1996.

² Эйвазов, Дж. Безопасность Кавказа и стабильность развития Азербайджанской Республики / Дж.Эйвазов. – Баку: Нурлан, – 2004. – 352 с; Аббасбейли, А. Гейдар Алиев и мировая политика / А.Аббасбейли. – Баку: Азернешр, – 1997. – 328 с.; Hüseynova, H. Azərbaycan Avropa inteqrasiya prosesləri sistemində / H.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, – 1998. – 280 s.; Qaraşova, S.A. ABŞ-Rusiya: postsovet məkanı uğrunda mübarizə / S.Qaraşova. – Bakı: Səda, – 2018. – 408 s.

³ Бжезинский, З. Выбор. Мировое господство, или глобальное лидерство /З.Бжезинский. – Москва: Международные отношения, – 2004; Starr, S.F. Resolving Karabakh: Strategic Options for the US Government. Central Asia-Caucasus Institute / S.F.Starr. – Washington, D.C. – 2004. Дугин, А. Основы геополитики. Геополитическое будущее России. Мыслить Пронстранством / А.Дугин. – Москва: АРКТОГЭЯ – центр, – 2000. – 928 с.; Маркедонов, С. Постсоветское пространство: прощание с дефиницией? – 30 лет. Эволюция постсоветского пространства: прошлое, настоящее, будущее: хрестоматия /С.Маркедонов. – Москва: НП РСМД, – 2017. – 384 с.

for the first time. These sources primarily consist of agreements, accords, and treaties of various types.

The systematic publication of documents signed among the states of the CIS began in the late twentieth century. As a result of the joint efforts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Azerbaijan, a collection covering a limited selection of political, economic, trade, and humanitarian documents signed between the two states in the period 1992–2002 has been published in two languages⁴.

The research also draws upon a wide range of periodical publications, as well as materials related to mutual visits of the heads of state of Azerbaijan and Russia. Also, extensive use has been made of statistical data and official documents reflecting the foreign policy course of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Object and Subject of the Research. The object of the research comprises the essence, dynamics, impact on international relations – particularly world politics – and the development prospects of geopolitical processes in the CIS space.

The subject of the dissertation research consists in the analysis and generalization of the interests and position of the Republic of Azerbaijan with regard to geopolitical processes within the CIS.

Aim and Objectives of the Research. The principal aim of the dissertation is to examine the interests and position of the Republic of Azerbaijan in relation to ongoing geopolitical processes within the CIS space.

In accordance with this aim, the following research objectives have been formulated:

- to characterize the factors that have conditioned the formation of the post-Soviet and CIS geopolitical spaces;
- to identify the essence, key features, and principal directions of geopolitical processes within the CIS;
- to clarify the preliminary outcomes and future prospects of two mutually contradictory processes in the region – namely, integration and polarization;

⁴ Azərbaycan-Rusiya. Sənədlər toplusu. (Azərbaycan və rus dillərində) / – Bakı, – 2002. – 468 s.

- to examine Azerbaijan’s approach to participation in political-military integration and economic-humanitarian cooperation within the CIS;

- to assess the position of Azerbaijani diplomacy regarding the “Russian factor” in the geopolitical processes of the CIS;

- to investigate the state policy of Azerbaijan in relation to the resolution of the already-settled Nagorno-Karabakh issue, as well as other ethnopolitical conflicts in the post-Soviet space;

- to analyze Azerbaijan’s position with regard to the CIS policies of the United States and the European Union;

- to evaluate, from a scholarly and political perspective, the new situation in geopolitical processes within the CIS shaped by the decisive victory of the Azerbaijani people and armed forces in the Second Karabakh War.

Research Methods. The dissertation research has been conducted through the application of a range of specific methodological approaches to the analysis of individual problems:

a) Issues examined through historical-analytical and logical-critical evaluation methods include: the process of the collapse of the USSR and its geopolitical consequences; the factors determining the formation of the post-Soviet and CIS spaces; and Azerbaijan’s integration into the CIS space, among others;

b) Problems investigated through a rational and objective approach include: the “Russian factor” in geopolitical processes within the CIS; perspectives on the future of the CIS, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), GUAM, and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU); the causes underlying the resolution of ethnopolitical conflicts in the post-Soviet space; and Azerbaijan’s capacity to influence geopolitical processes within this region;

c) Issues analyzed through systemic and comparative analysis methods include: the confrontation between integration and polarization processes within the CIS; and the position of the Azerbaijani state regarding the CIS policies of the United States and the European Union;

d) Work carried out through the method of theoretical generalization includes: the classification and systematization of

findings presented in the chapters and paragraphs, as well as in the conclusion of the dissertation.

Main Provisions Submitted for Defense:

1. The CIS space constitutes a field of interaction and tension between processes of integration and polarization.
2. The “Russian factor” represents a significant and influential element in geopolitical processes within the CIS.
3. The policy of the Russian Federation toward the “near abroad” and Russian-speaking populations constitutes a notable security concern for the post-Soviet space, including the Republic of Azerbaijan.
4. The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) do not make a substantial contribution to the national security and development of Azerbaijan.
5. The Republic of Azerbaijan is an important and active actor within the post-Soviet geopolitical space.
6. Azerbaijan’s victory in the Second Karabakh War has served as a significant catalyst for structural changes in geopolitical processes within the CIS.

Scientific Novelty of the Research. The scientific novelty of the research is reflected in the following contributions:

- The conclusion that the CIS can be interpreted as an institutional manifestation and instrument of Russia’s policy aimed at maintaining its sphere of influence in the post-Soviet space has been substantiated;
- The outcomes of the interaction and tension between integration and polarization processes within the CIS space have been clarified;
- The nature, potential, challenges, and prospects of the “Russian factor,” considered as a key influential force in intra-CIS geopolitical processes, have been comprehensively assessed;
- The implications of Russia’s policy toward the “new Russian diaspora” in CIS countries, including the challenges and risks it poses for Azerbaijan and other member states, have been characterized;
- The objectives, features, challenges, and political-diplomatic benefits of Azerbaijan’s balanced policy toward the CIS have been examined;

- The position of Azerbaijani diplomacy regarding polarization within the CIS – particularly its assessment of the limited prospects of participation in the CSTO and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), as well as its engagement within GUAM – has been analyzed;

- Azerbaijan’s experience of resolving the former Nagorno-Karabakh conflict through military means, in the context of the perceived limitations of a purely peaceful settlement, has been evaluated;

- Systematization and generalization of the research findings have been carried out.

Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Research. The scientific and practical significance of the dissertation is reflected in the following:

- The conclusions and findings of the study may contribute to the identification of new directions for further research. In this regard, the following topics may be particularly relevant: “Opportunities and Challenges of the Post-Soviet Space”; “The Policy of the Russian Federation toward the ‘Near Abroad Russians’: Issues and Implications”; “Geopolitical Competition and Ethnopolitical Conflicts in the South Caucasus”; “The Interaction of Integration and Polarization Trends in the CIS Space: Azerbaijan’s Interests and Position”; “Azerbaijan’s Influence on Intra-CIS Geopolitical Processes: Potential and Challenges”, among others;

- The theoretical and empirical materials of the research may be utilized in the teaching of such academic disciplines as Foreign Policy of Azerbaijan, Political Science, Geopolitics, and Ethnopolitical Conflicts, as well as in the preparation of relevant textbooks and teaching materials;

- The dissertation is also of significance for expanding the scientific and theoretical foundations of Azerbaijan’s CIS policy, strengthening its legal framework, and supporting the practical activities of the relevant state institutions of the Republic.

Approbation and Implementation. The main content of the dissertation has been sufficiently reflected in the author’s published scholarly works, including eight academic articles. The findings of the

research have also been presented at national and international scientific conferences. The results of the study, including its conclusions and recommendations, may be taken into account and effectively utilized in academic-pedagogical as well as political-diplomatic activities.

Name of the Organization Where the Dissertation was Performed. The dissertation was carried out at the Department of Diplomacy and Contemporary Integration Processes of Baku State University.

The Total Volume of the Dissertation in Characters, with Separate Indication of the Volume of its Structural Sections. The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, seven paragraphs, a conclusion, and a list of references.

The introductory part of the dissertation is 16 pages – 28284 characters, Chapter I is 31 pages – 59601 characters, Chapter II is 28 pages – 52315 characters, Chapter III is 40 pages – 75557 characters, the conclusion is 6 pages – 12130 characters. The total volume of the dissertation, excluding the list of used literature, is 227887 characters.

MAIN CONTENT OF THE RESEARCH

The **Introduction** of the dissertation substantiates the relevance and scientific novelty of the topic, reviews the degree of its scholarly elaboration and the sources employed, and outlines the aim and objectives of the research, its theoretical and methodological foundations, as well as its theoretical and practical significance.

The paragraph concludes with a presentation of the overall structure of the study. **Chapter I** of the dissertation, entitled **“Geopolitical Processes in the Post-Soviet Space: Essence and Current State,”** consists of two paragraphs. As indicated by its title, this chapter provides an analysis of the geopolitical processes unfolding in the post-Soviet space.

In the first paragraph **“The Geopolitical Consequences of the Collapse of the USSR: A Political Analysis”**, examines the causes of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its geostrategic consequences.

The disintegration of one of the two superpowers of the late twentieth century – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – did not

merely signify the collapse of the Yalta–Potsdam system. It was also understood and accepted as marking the emergence of a new geopolitical configuration in world politics. Despite nearly one-third of a century having passed since the dissolution of the USSR, political and scholarly debates surrounding this process have by no means subsided and continue to be assessed by contemporary researchers from highly divergent and often opposing perspectives. Notwithstanding the extensive body of research conducted, including numerous dissertations, monographs, and scholarly discussions, the decline, collapse, and geopolitical consequences of the Soviet Union are likely to remain a subject of sustained debate within global academic and political thought⁵, as well as in influential mass media, for the foreseeable future.

Alongside internal political failures, shortcomings in foreign policy also played a significant negative role in the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government's defeat in Afghanistan not only undermined the USSR's international prestige but also dealt a severe blow to its economic system. The war imposed substantial financial costs, with each day of military engagement reportedly costing approximately 18 million Soviet rubles – equivalent to over 35 million US dollars at the exchange rates of that period⁶. The events in Afghanistan, which political scientists have described as the “final conflagration,” involved the participation of numerous states, ranging from the United States to Israel.

Contemporary political science places particular emphasis on the role of the Cold War in the collapse of the Soviet Union. By the 1970s, the USSR had effectively achieved strategic parity with the United States. However, during the first presidential term of Ronald Reagan (1980–1984), this balance shifted in favor of the United States. According to the Western political scientist P.Schweiner, “the Soviet

⁵ Лундестад, Г. Крушение Советского Союза // Восток, Запад, Север, Юг. Основные направления международной политики. 1945-1996. – Москва. – 2002. – с. 279-283; Внешняя политика и дипломатия Российской Федерации. Учебник / Пред. ред. совета А.Н.Панов. – Москва: Восток-Запад, – 2010. – с. 49-52.

⁶ Россия и последние войны XX века (1989-2000). К истории падения сверхдержавы / – Москва: Вече, – 2002. – с. 376

Union did not collapse of its own accord; rather, it was brought down by a combination of factors, including failures in Poland and Afghanistan, the inability to sustain the accelerating arms race, substantial losses in hard currency due to declining energy export revenues, restrictions on access to new technologies, and the burden of supporting the global communist movement, among others”⁷.

The second paragraph, entitled “*The Influence of the Russian Factor on Geopolitical Processes in the Post-Soviet Space and Its Characteristic Feature*”, analyzes Russia’s role in ongoing processes across the post-Soviet region from a regional perspective.

The geopolitical transformations that took place in the global order at the end of the twentieth century emerged as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, one of the world’s superpowers. These developments not only contributed to increasing instability in the international system but also marked the beginning of a new phase in international relations, while simultaneously laying the foundation for multidimensional interactions within the post-Soviet space. As a consequence, new forms of relations began to emerge among the republics that had once constituted parts of a unified state. In geopolitical research, the states of the post-Soviet space are generally classified into the following five groups:

- Russia;
- The Baltic states: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania;
- The Eastern European countries: Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova;
- The South Caucasus republics: Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia;
- The Central Asian states: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan⁸.

Despite the emergence of a new international environment, Russia’s relations with the post-Soviet republics did not fully develop on the basis of equal partnership. This situation can be

⁷ Исаков, В. Расчлененка. Кто и как развалил Советский Союз: Хроника. Документы / В.Исаков. – Москва: Закон и право. – 1998. – с. 146

⁸ Останков, В.И. Геополитические последствия распада СССР и национальные интересы России // Новое время, – 1993. № 6, – с. 23-25

explained by a range of underlying factors. In essence, Russia continued to perceive the post-Soviet space as an area of privileged interest and sought, through various mechanisms, to maintain and reinforce its influence over the newly independent states.

The Russian Federation – despite being recognized in the international arena as the successor state to the Soviet Union following its dissolution – has not reconciled itself to the loss of influence in the post-Soviet space. Moreover, it has pursued policies aimed at maintaining a sphere of influence characterized by varying degrees of dependence among neighboring states. This tendency has been illustrated by the August 2008 Russia–Georgia “Five-Day War,” as well as by the ongoing Russia–Ukraine conflict. The scholarly and political analysis of the empirical materials collected during the course of this research confirms the following reality.

The principal arguments and conclusions of this paragraph can be summarized as follows:

a) The “Russian factor” constitutes an undeniable reality in relations among post-Soviet states and in geopolitical processes within the CIS;

b) Russia’s relations with certain groups of post-Soviet states differ from its interactions with others in several key respects:

- differing geostrategic objectives;
- varying forms and conditions of cooperation;
- dissimilar challenges and outcomes;
- the promotion of polarization within the CIS, among others.

c) Russia periodically foregrounds the issue of the “near abroad Russians,” or the “new Russian diaspora,” within the post-Soviet space (including the CIS). In other words, Russia’s “near abroad” diplomacy entails multidimensional, systematic, and sustained forms of engagement in the domestic and foreign policies of post-Soviet states, framed as the protection of the rights of the “new Russian diaspora.” In certain instances, such involvement has tended to assume more assertive forms.

d) Within this context, Russia has also made considerable use of what may be regarded as one of its longstanding strategic instruments – namely, the cyclical management of ethnopolitical conflicts. This

approach, which was among the contributing factors to the collapse of the Soviet Union itself, involves a sequence of stages including the initiation, escalation, “freezing,” reactivation, intensification, and long-term containment of conflicts. Evidence suggests that elements of this strategy continue to be employed in the present period.

Chapter II of the dissertation, entitled “**Scientific-Theoretical and Political Aspects of the Republic of Azerbaijan’s Participation in Geopolitical Processes within the CIS Space,**” consists of two paragraphs. This chapter examines the significance of Azerbaijan’s cooperation with CIS member states, as well as geopolitical processes in the South Caucasus, drawing upon and critically engaging with a wide range of scholarly sources.

The first paragraph, entitled “*The Significance and Outcomes of Cooperation within the CIS Framework*”, examines the historical development, significance, and outcomes of Azerbaijan’s cooperation within the CIS.

During the initial years of its independence, the Republic of Azerbaijan pursued a policy prioritizing the establishment of bilateral relations with the majority of CIS member states. For this reason, it initially refrained from joining the CIS. At the same time, representatives of Azerbaijan participated in the Bishkek meeting of October 1992 and other CIS-related events in an observer capacity. It was within the context of this policy that the armed forces of Armenia – reportedly supported by Russian military units – launched an undeclared war and acts of aggression against Azerbaijan. As a result, approximately 20 percent of the country’s territory was occupied, and tragedies such as the Khojaly massacre and other acts of violence occurred. Analyzing Russia’s geopolitical strategy in the South Caucasus, D.Malysheva notes that during the period 1991–1993 (!), all parties involved in the Georgian–Abkhaz and Karabakh conflicts conducted military operations using Russian weapons and personnel, which significantly impeded the prospects for a fair resolution of these conflicts. In the context of the severe challenges faced by the Republic, Azerbaijan signed the relevant documents on accession to the CIS on September 24, 1993, which were subsequently ratified by the Milli Majlis (Parliament of the Republic

of Azerbaijan)⁹. This political and diplomatic step contributed to the emergence of new geopolitical realities affecting Azerbaijan¹⁰.

In our view, the initial contours of the country's foreign policy began to take shape during the presidencies of Ayaz Mutallibov and Abulfaz Elchibey in the period 1991–1993. The concept and practice of “Azerbaijani geopolitics” were subsequently elevated to a more coherent and comprehensive level of diplomacy under the leadership of Heydar Aliyev.

The Republic of Azerbaijan maintains close bilateral relations with all members of this space, particularly with Russia. Moreover, during the first decade of the CIS's existence, Azerbaijan was able to contribute to certain positive shifts in Moscow's position by channeling Russia's political ambitions into commercially oriented cooperation. At the same time, the overall performance indicators of the CIS have lagged significantly behind those of other regions of the world. External actors – including the United States, Western European states, Japan, China, and Turkey – have increasingly expanded their presence in the markets of CIS countries, thereby reducing Russia's relative economic influence.¹¹ In practical terms, the organization of military-political structures within the CIS framework has remained one of the key mechanisms through which Russia has sought to pursue its geostrategic objectives in the post-Soviet space. Some scholars analyzing Russian geostrategy and geopolitics have previously argued that the CIS exhibits features comparable to aspects of the European integration model, particularly in terms of coordination in foreign and security policy. At the same time, the CIS may also be regarded as one of the principal instruments through which Russia has influenced the deepening of polarization processes within the post-Soviet space¹².

⁹ Quliyeva, G.M. Azərbaycan yeni geosiyasi münasibətlər sistemində / G.M.Quliyeva. – Bakı: Elm, – 2011. – s. 92-93

¹⁰ Musa, İ. Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti. III hissə / İ.Musa. – Bakı: Bakı Universiteti nəşriyyatı, – 2011. – s. 83

¹¹ Россия между Западом и Востоком: мосты в будущее / – Москва: Вече, – 2003. – с 82-85

¹² Проблема приоритетов во внешней политике России / Сборник статей. – Москва, – 1998. № 2, – с.16-22

The second paragraph, entitled *“Geopolitical Competition in the South Caucasus and the Impact of Russia on Regional Geopolitical Processes in the Context of Azerbaijan’s Interests”*, examines geopolitical dynamics in the region through the lens of Russia’s influence and Azerbaijan’s national interests.

In the early 1990s, the end of the Cold War coincided with the disintegration of the socialist system, and from that period onward the post-socialist space evolved into an arena of geopolitical competition. The gradual contestation by Western states for influence over regions that had previously been under Russian control contributed to a reconfiguration of the broader geopolitical landscape. Within this context, the South Caucasus occupies a particularly significant position as one of the regions where intense competition for influence has taken place. The emergence of divergent strategic approaches among multiple actors toward the region became a key factor shaping geopolitical rivalry. From this period onward, the increasing активности of Turkey and Western actors – especially the United States – in the Caspian region encountered strong resistance and competitive responses from Russia and Iran.

According to the American political scientist Paul Goble, who has emphasized the importance of expanding political and economic cooperation among the South Caucasus states and its relevance for regional security, the development of effective oil pipeline infrastructure could, under conditions of mutual understanding among the three republics, yield shared economic benefits, facilitate the resolution of mutual disputes, and ultimately reduce the region’s dependence on Russia¹³. However, in our view, the realization of such an approach does not depend solely on the states of the region. It also requires, above all, a degree of convergence among the positions of major external actors, including the United States, Russia, Turkey, and Iran. In the absence of such alignment, each of the three South Caucasus states continues to pursue distinct foreign policy trajectories.

As confirmed by a substantial body of political and diplomatic documents, as well as numerous historically significant

¹³ Hüseynova, H. Azərbaycan Avropa inteqrasiya prosesləri sistemində / H.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, – 1998. – s. 80-81

developments in the recent past, Azerbaijan’s policy of “balanced diplomacy” has yielded the following outcomes:

a) the stabilization of the domestic political environment through the resolution of earlier internal upheavals;

b) the successful diversification of energy export routes, ensuring the uninterrupted and efficient transportation of resources to international markets;

c) the maintenance of coordination and the achievement of agreements among international energy (oil and gas) corporations in the production, processing, and transportation of hydrocarbon resources;

d) the adoption of the Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea in 2018;

e) most importantly, the termination of Armenia’s military aggression against Azerbaijan and the occupation of its territories as a result of the 44-day Patriotic War (Second Karabakh War).

Chapter III of the dissertation, entitled “**The Geopolitical Activity Priorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan,**” is devoted to various directions of Azerbaijan’s foreign policy in relation to the CIS space. This chapter examines Azerbaijan’s interests and positions with regard to geopolitical processes unfolding in the post-Soviet region.

a) The first paragraph, entitled “*Azerbaijan’s Approach to Polarization Processes in the CIS Space within the Framework of Its Foreign Policy Activities*”, primarily addresses the nature of geopolitical processes in the CIS and Azerbaijan’s response to them. The main findings of our analysis presented in the first paragraph of Chapter III can be summarized as follows:

b) As the successor state and legal heir of the USSR, Russia established the CIS shortly before the final dissolution of the Soviet Union. However, due to a number of underlying factors, the Kremlin was unable to place full confidence in this organization. Against the backdrop of the prevailing dynamics of world politics, international relations, and geopolitical realities in the post-Soviet space, the future of the CIS appeared uncertain, and a degree of skepticism toward it became increasingly evident. Taking these considerations into account in a timely manner, Russian diplomacy proceeded to pursue the following approaches:

- prioritized a strategy of diversification in the context of geopolitical and geoeconomic polarization within the post-Soviet space;
- as a result of these and other factors, succeeded in establishing an institutional architecture within the post-Soviet (CIS) space – most notably the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) at the political-military level, as well as the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and the Customs Union (CU), primarily oriented toward economic and trade integration – although it did not achieve universal or unanimous membership among post-Soviet republics;

- through the establishment of such a hierarchical institutional system, also developed a “fallback option” strategy, enabling the utilization of alternative organizations when the benefits of any single structure proved limited or insufficient;

c) Among Russia’s geopolitical and geoeconomic “umbrella” structures, issues related to the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) have attracted particular scholarly attention and generated extensive debate. According to the principal theses advanced in numerous academic, political, and policy-oriented assessments, the CSTO:

- has been characterized as an “Asian NATO,” a “Russian NATO,” or a “Putin’s NATO”;

- is regarded as a military-political alliance designed to limit the involvement of major global actors – such as the United States, China, and the European Union – in the post-Soviet space;

- is viewed as an organization that, in terms of economic capacity, military capabilities, and human resources, is not comparable to NATO and remains largely formal in nature, projecting only a limited degree of institutional effectiveness;

- may be regarded as a derivative structure of the CIS that, in practice, tends to avoid intervening in conflicts among its member states when such intervention does not align with Kremlin priorities, and often maintains a degree of distance from social and ethnically driven tensions that periodically arise within participating countries. Illustrative examples of such cases can be observed. For instance, during the May 2021 border clashes between Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan – often referred to as a “water conflict” – Russia’s

response was characterized by a notably restrained approach. This position drew criticism from certain members of the Kyrgyz Parliament, who formally petitioned their legislature, accusing the organization of ineffectiveness and bias, and even calling for Kyrgyzstan's withdrawal from it;

- is perceived as a factor contributing to the prolonged and uncertain trajectory of Ukraine's and Moldova's aspirations for membership in NATO and the European Union;

- is regarded as a temporary and limited framework, lacking long-term institutional sustainability, similar to the CIS itself and its related structures, including the Eurasian Economic Union and the Customs Union;

d) The relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), as well as the country's interests and position with regard to this organization, warrant more in-depth and comprehensive scholarly analysis. According to the findings of this research, the Republic of Azerbaijan:

- has structured its relations with the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) – appropriately and justifiably – on the basis of its policy of “balanced diplomacy,” adopting a calibrated approach that neither brings the organization too close nor distances it excessively;

- for a certain period, by participating in the organization's activities in an observer capacity, was able to mitigate significant security risks facing the country, including those arising from regional dynamics involving key member states such as Russia and Armenia;

- has consistently prioritized, in its engagement with the organization, the issue of ending Armenia's military aggression against Azerbaijan and the occupation of its territories, keeping this matter at the forefront of its diplomatic agenda. In this regard, during key periods – such as the April clashes and the Second Karabakh War – attempts to involve the CSTO in the confrontation were effectively countered through Azerbaijan's diplomatic efforts.

The second paragraph, entitled “*The Objectives of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and Azerbaijan's Interests in the Context of Geopolitical Realities*”, analyzes the Union's

objectives in relation to Azerbaijan's national interests within the framework of prevailing geopolitical realities.

An analysis of the events and processes characterizing the direction of the Republic of Azerbaijan's foreign policy toward post-Soviet states (with the exception of the Baltic countries) over the past three decades provides grounds for the following conclusion: when approached comprehensively, it becomes evident that Azerbaijan has achieved considerable success both at the regional level – within the CIS space – and at the international level in contemporary world politics. As a key actor within the CIS, Russia remains one of the principal forces shaping the “rules of the game” across this geopolitical space. Within the framework of its polarization-oriented policies, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) has demonstrated a tendency toward expansion.

Processes of integration within this space – including the increasing transparency of customs borders, the application of customs duties and trade tariffs on the basis of mutual benefit, the diversification of economic activity, the transformation of Baku into a Eurasian transport hub, and the involvement of states beyond the post-Soviet region in the Union's activities – have, in turn, created favorable conditions for the expansion of the Republic of Azerbaijan's bilateral and multilateral relations.

The findings of our analysis in the second paragraph of Chapter III can be summarized through the following key propositions and assessments:

- Russia prioritizes and leverages a policy of diversification within the polarization processes it has cultivated in the post-Soviet space;
- this diversification of polarization is manifested across geopolitical (CIS), geo-military (CSTO), and geoeconomic (Customs Union and the Eurasian Economic Union) dimensions and institutions within the post-Soviet space. In a broader historical perspective, such patterns may, in certain respects, be seen as reminiscent of the multifaceted measures undertaken in the early 1920s during the formation of the Soviet Union. In this regard, a statement attributed to Vladimir Putin in May 2021 is noteworthy:

“The history of the Soviet Union was, in essence, inseparable from that of Russia... from a geopolitical standpoint, the USSR can be viewed as a continuation of historical Russia.”¹⁴ At the same time, in our view, contemporary international conditions and their evolving trends do not provide sufficient grounds to assume the viability of restoring such a model in its previous form.

- within the Western political–military–diplomatic framework, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) is at times perceived as a potential “neo-Soviet” project, while simultaneously exhibiting a number of internal contradictions. In this context, it may be noted that the concept of “Eurasianism,” originally advanced by Nursultan Nazarbayev with the intention of promoting broadly cooperative and integrative principles, has, in some interpretations, been reoriented by Vladimir Putin toward a geostrategic framework reflecting elements of contemporary Russian state-centered policy;

- there are scholarly and political interpretations that conceptualize a “EAEU without Armenia” as a potential Slavic–Turkic alignment, in some cases described as unprecedented in historical terms;

- the lack of consideration by Russia for the position advanced by Kazakhstan and Belarus – namely, that Armenia’s accession to the Union should occur only within its internationally recognized borders and with due regard to Azerbaijan’s position – points to underlying ambiguities and raises a number of concerns regarding the EAEU. As noted earlier, Armenia acceded to the Union relatively quickly, approximately five months after its establishment, reportedly with strong support from the Kremlin. This development has also prompted questions regarding the scale of Armenia’s human resources and its economic capacity to participate effectively in the activities of the EAEU.

- a number of ambiguities surrounding the objectives and strategic intentions of the Kremlin’s “EAEU project” have conditioned Azerbaijan’s carefully calibrated diplomatic approach - characterized by

¹⁴ Xaliddinbəyli, E. Putin yenə hədələdi: Rusiya müstəqil ölkələri öz ərazisi hesab edir: [Elektron resurs]/ URL: müsavat.com/news/putin_yene_oz_era_zisi_hedeledi_801950.html.

prudence, flexibility, and balance. In practice, Azerbaijan has pursued the development of bilateral economic and trade relations with EAEU member states without formally acceding to the Union.

The final paragraph of Chapter III, entitled ***“GUAM – Organization for Democracy and Economic Development as One of the Centers of Power in the Post-Soviet Space”***, examines the establishment of GUAM as an outcome of the polarization processes unfolding in the post-Soviet region.

One of the institutional formations within the post-Soviet space in which the Republic of Azerbaijan has been actively involved is GUAM. Its establishment represents both a закономерный outcome of the processes unfolding in the post-Soviet region since the early 1990s and a reflection of contemporary geopolitical realities. The creation of GUAM is widely interpreted as a response by Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine to Russia’s efforts to maintain its presence and influence in Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. As early as November 19, 1990, at the Paris Summit of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), an agreement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) was signed between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. According to this agreement, the mutual reduction of conventional armaments in Europe was intended to establish parity between the two blocs and eliminate the risk of a surprise attack¹⁵.

The analyses and generalizations presented in the third paragraph of Chapter III give rise to a number of noteworthy conclusions, some of which are also reflected in existing scholarship:

1. The “Flank Agreements” initiative, regarded as a concrete manifestation of Russia’s contemporary neo-imperial policy thinking, generated significant and multidimensional tensions within the post-Soviet (CIS) space. The “Group of Four” (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova), which endorsed the “Flank package” following Western political and diplomatic recommendations, did not adopt a position of complacency and instead maintained a cautious and forward-looking stance.

¹⁵ Hüseynova, H. Azərbaycan Avropa inteqrasiya prosesləri sistemində /H.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Hərbi nəşriyyat, – 1998. – s. 98

A series of reciprocal official visits, consultations, and working meetings at various levels ultimately contributed to the institutional formation of GUAM. In this process, the then leaders of Azerbaijan and Georgia – Heydar Aliyev and Eduard Shevardnadze – played particularly prominent roles.

2. A wide range of, at times contradictory, international academic and political interpretations of GUAM exist. Among these, certain perspectives articulated in Western and Russian discourse are particularly noteworthy. In this regard:

a) According to positions commonly associated with policy circles in Washington, Brussels, Vienna, and Strasbourg, GUAM is viewed as:

- a platform for constructive cooperation in the Eurasian space;
- a pathway and bridge toward integration into the broader European political and economic framework;
- a localized model of natural regional integration;
- a policy framework aimed at reducing long-term dependence on Russia in the South Caucasus;
- an alternative “Great Silk Road” corridor bypassing Russian territory;
- a component of Europe’s energy security architecture, including access to Azerbaijani (Caspian) oil and gas resources, among others.

b) According to perspectives commonly associated with official discourse in Moscow, the organization is viewed as:

- a buffer zone in the context of Russia’s relations with Western (Europe, the United States) and Eastern (Asia) actors;
- a platform for the projection of U.S. influence within the CIS;
- an initiative with limited viability;
- a potential alternative framework in relation to regional alignments involving Iran, Russia, and Armenia, among others.

3. As an organization, GUAM:

- is characterized by dynamism and flexibility;
- is distinguished by modern institutional organization and an efficient structural framework;
- has experienced phases of partial and temporary expansion, as illustrated by the case of Uzbekistan;

- has, at various points, attracted interest in potential membership from countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey;
- has undergone changes in its institutional designation due to a range of factors;
- has passed through periods of both stagnation and revival in its development trajectory;
- has provided grounds for both optimistic (forward-looking) and more cautious (skeptical) academic and political assessments regarding its future.

The **Conclusion of the study emphasizes that** the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) represents one of the outcomes of the new realities that emerged in the post-Soviet space following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. For peoples and republics that had long existed within a unified legal, political, economic, social, and cultural framework, the abrupt abandonment of established ties and the sudden termination of integration processes would not have yielded positive outcomes. The labor and production resources, financial-market relations, as well as macro- and microeconomic mechanisms of post-Soviet states had been so deeply interconnected within a single system that their immediate disintegration could have led to serious consequences. At the same time, it is also evident that, from the early stages, Russia sought to utilize this framework in order to preserve its former dominant position over CIS countries and maintain influence over their domestic and foreign policies. It was precisely this policy that played a decisive role in shaping polarization processes within the CIS.

Azerbaijan, on the one hand, approaches the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as a significant, yet not vital, regional organization. On the other hand, it consistently safeguards its national priorities within this framework, refrains from participation in processes that could constrain its state sovereignty, and adopts clearly defined positions when circumstances so require. While actively engaging in integration processes within the CIS, the Republic of Azerbaijan seeks, as far as possible, to remain outside various functionally oriented structures - particularly in the military, security, border, and customs domains. At the same time, it maintains its independent position within the broader context of polarization in the post-Soviet space. Guided by

this approach, Azerbaijan has declined membership in organizations such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), and the Customs Union. Simultaneously, it acts as a founding member of GUAM.

The main findings and content of the dissertation have been published in the following works by the author:

1. Rusiyanın post sovet məkanının Şərqi Avropa ölkələri siyasətinin səciyyəvi xüsusiyyətləri // – Bakı: İqtisadi və Siyasi elmlər jurnalı, – 2018. №3, – s.93-103.
2. Cənubi Qafqazda geosiyasi rəqabət və Rusiyanın regional geosiyasi proseslərə təsiri // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2019. – s. 210-216.
3. Sovet İttifaqının dağılması, səbəbləri və geosiyasi nəticələri: politoloji təhlil // Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2019. – s. 150-156.
4. Создание и деятельность ОДКБ в призме внешней политики Азербайджанской Республики // – Україна: Регіональні СТУДІИ (Науковий Збірник), – 2021. – s. 77-84.
5. Postsovet məkanında iqtisadi inteqrasiya Azərbaycan və Avroasiya İqtisadi İttifaqı // – Bakı: Geostrategiya, Beynəlxalq ictimai-siyasi, elmi-nəzəri jurnal, – 2023. №5 (77), – s. 27-30.
6. Azərbaycan-MDB əməkdaşlığı – geosiyasi prioritetlərdən biri kimi: elmi-politoloji təhlil // XVII Beynəlxalq Elmi Araşdırmalar Konfransı, – Bakı: – 7 mart, – 2024, – s. 13-16.
7. GUAM – Müstəqil Dövlətlər Birliyinin alternativini kimi: elmi-politoloji təhlil // XVI Respublika Elmi Qaynaqlar Konfransı, – Bakı: – 12 mart, – 2024, – s. 51-54.
8. Müstəqil Dövlətlər Birliyinin yaranması: səbəbləri, geosiyasi nəticələri: elmi-politoloji təhlil // III Respublika Elmi Konfransı, – Bakı: – 12 yanvar, – 2024, – s. 15-18.
9. The Commonwealth of independent states: a pillar in Azerbaijan’s foreign policy strategy // LX International Multidisciplinary Conference, – USA: Shawnee, – 2024, – pp.42-45.

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of several fluid, overlapping strokes that form a cursive name or set of initials.

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