

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

On the rights of the manuscript

A B S T R A C T

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**POLITICAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN TURKEY AND FRANCE
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXI CENTURY**

Speciality - 5901.01 - "International Relations"

Field of science: Political sciences

Applicant: Dadasheva Aynur Sultan qızı

BAKU - 2021

The work was performed at the Department of diplomacy and foreign policy of Baku Slavic University

Scientific supervisor: doctor of Philosophy, professor
Etibar Ali oglu Najafov

Official opponents: doctor of Political Sciences, prof
Hadi Musa oglu Rajabli


doctor of philosophy in political sciences, associate professor
Afet Agaali qızı Safarova

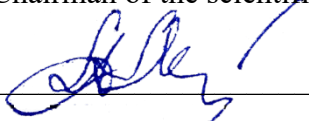
doctor of philosophy in political sciences,
Siyavush Kamran oglu Gasimov

Dissertation council - FD 2.30 of Superme 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: academician

Urkhan Kazim oglu Alekperov

Scientific secretary of the Dissertation council: doctor of political Sciences, professor

Ziyafat Ziya qızı Habibova

Chairman of the scientific seminar: doctor of Political Sciences, professor.

Adil Mirabdulla oglu Mirabdullayev

INTRODUCTION

The actuality and the usage rate of the research work. The official report of the Ministry of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey states that France has been an ally of Turkey for 5 centuries. There are 650,000 turkish communities in France, an important economic and trade partner of Turkey. The history of turkish-french diplomatic relations dates back to 1483. Sultan Bayazit II, in order to obtain information about his brother Jem, who was arrested in France, sent an ambassador to Louis XI on the island of Limni. Jean de la Forest, the first official french ambassador to the Ottoman empire, began his career in 1535. After France gained the right of capitulation in 1535, it became the most privileged state in the Ottoman empire. In 1721, Mehmet Chalabi became the first ambassador of the Ottoman empire to France. The bilateral agreement signed in Ankara on october 20, 1921, at the end of the war of independence, laid the foundation for modern relations between Turkey and France¹.

Turkey and France have deep historical roots and features of political ties.

The study of political relations between Turkey and France in the early XXI century is one of the most important topics in political science and international relations. In this regard, it is very important to study Turkish-French political relations in-depth and comprehensively. There is a need for a scientific analysis of current trends in turkish-french political relations. The relevance of the research topic is that in the globalized world, the factors influencing the dynamics of bilateral relations between Turkey and France, are about to form new conditions that consider the global and regional, economic and political, current and future interests of the parties.

In other words, France's position on Turkey's EU membership and the "genocide" of Armenians, Turkey and France's Middle East

¹Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dış İşleri Bakanlığı. Türkiye-Fransa İlişkileri /<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-fransa-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa>

policy and their major strategies in the region, France's position on the Kurdish question, mutual interests in deepening bilateral economic ties and many other political and economic factors influence the development of political relations between Turkey and France. The topic of the dissertation is also relevant because, as in the past, turkish-french political relations are at the center of European politics today. Constructive cooperation with France is important for Turkey's economic and political integration into Europe. France's stance on EU membership for Turkey, as one of the leaders of the European Union, is very important. This issue has a great impact on defining the political and economic relations between the two countries. The development of political relations between Turkey and France in the early 21st century was greatly influenced by Turkey's accession to the European Union. The current situation creates tension and complicates turkish-french bilateral relations.

Therefore, the study of the policy pursued by France in connection with Turkey's membership in the European Union, as an important part of turkish-french relations, is very relevant and has scientific and political significance.

The other interesting aspect of touching on this problem is the so-called "armenian genocide" which is one of the fundamental factors negatively affecting the development of turkish-french relations in modern times. Today, the anti-Turkish policy of the armenians aims for the so-called "armenian genocide" to be recognized by the world community, and the next step is to demand financial compensation and territorial claims against this country. Therefore, we try to answer the following questions in this dissertation: Why does France sacrifice its usual and mutually beneficial economic relations with Turkey to the so-called "armenian genocide"? Why does the french state support the so-called "armenian genocide", knowing that it is a fabrication? Why does France recognize this so-called "armenian genocide", which is known to all it is a fabrication and which is more political blackmail than a historical fact and puts pressure on Turkey to accept this fabrication although it is a sensitive issue for Turkey?

Does it arise due to "christian bigotry" or the geopolitical interests of France? Why did France embrace the armenian terrorists

and always turn a blind eye to their terrorist activities against Turkey? Why is the so-called "Armenian genocide" so important for France, which seriously damaged bilateral relations with Turkey? In our opinion, the answer to these questions shows how much the "armenian genocide" factor influences France-Turkey relations. Answering these questions also will help us to show the role, place, and impact of the "armenian genocide" factor in turkish-french relations and why the myth of the armenian genocide has become a topical issue in the geopolitical plans of major powers, including France. We must pay attention to the formation of the armenian diaspora in France and investigate the strong influence of the armenian lobby on the policy of the french government. As the dissertation intends to answer the above questions it has scientific and political significance in this sense.

The fact that Turkey is becoming a serious and powerful regional power worries many countries in the modern world, which is of great interest in the study of this dissertation.

The study of Turkey's experience in international political relations is also of scientific and political relevance. Scientifically based, well-covered political practice is of great importance for the development of a flawless and comprehensive foreign policy concept. The importance of proposing possible scenarios for the development of political cooperation between Turkey and France in the XXI century also emphasizes the relevance of the topic. It needs to look through their historical roots and retrospective for determining the general directions and development trends of turkish-french political relations. Therefore, the chronological framework of the dissertation is given under the purpose of the research and determines its structure. In other words, the dissertation also analyzed the historical roots of the problem. This approach allows us to identify the characteristics of political relations between Turkey and France, point out the most important sides of their interaction, assess the current situation, and predict the prospects for the development of mutual political relations.

All the above factors, arguments, and reasons make it essential to study the political relations between Turkey and France in-depth and comprehensive manner. The study of French-Turkish political

relations which is a link between Europe and Asia is of great importance in terms of understanding the relations between East and West.

Thus, the research topic requires a special political analysis of all aspects of political relations between Turkey and France, as well as to put forward scientific conclusions and recommendations for the development of bilateral relations based on this analysis. In this regard, in my opinion, the presented dissertation can be an asset to the political study of this problem.

Analysis of the background degree of the research topic shows that although its various aspects have been studied by scientists and political scientists from Turkey and France, partly from Azerbaijan, Russia, and several Western countries, in general, this issue is studied comprehensively in this dissertation for the first time. In general, research on turkish-french political relations can be divided into two groups: the first group includes works studying the historical aspects of turkish-french political relations, and the second group includes works examining the current state and prospects of turkish-french political relations.

Turkish scientific literature on political relations between Turkey and France is of great importance. Historical and political aspects of turkish-french relations were studied in the works of T.Bulut¹F, I.Ceran² F,A.S.Çapanoğlu³ F, Er. Serkan⁴F, I.Soyсал, H.Yeniay⁶ and others¹.

In the works of turkish authors, special attention is paid to the definition of France's policy towards turks, including France's

¹Bulut T. Türkiye-Fransa ilişkileri. Ankara, 2014, 386 s.; Ceran İ. XVI Yüzyılın ilk yarısında türk-fransız ilişkileri, Kanuni Sultan Suleyman – İ. François İttifakı. Turkish Studies. International Periodical For the Languages Literature and History of Turkish Volume 9/2, Winter 2014, p.479;Çapanoğlu S., Servante D.2015: Fransa'ya türk göçünün 50'nci yılında Türkiye- Fransa ilişkileri / İktisadi kalkınma vakfı. №129, Haziran 2015, Ankara / <http://www.ikv.org.tr/images/files/.pdf>;Serkan Er.Türkiye-Fransa ilişkileri (1923-1939). Ankara, 2001. Akademiya Yayınları, 25 s.<http://www.academia.edu/1923-1939> ; Soyсал İ. Türk - Fransız siyasal ilişkileri (1921-1984). Belleten, Cilt XVII, Ankara, Ekim, 1983; Yeniay H. Yeni Osmanlı Borcları Tarihi. İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1964, 150 s.

position on Turkey's EU membership and how the so-called "armenian genocide" affects the nature of turkish-french relations^{7F}¹.

K. Guru's^{8F}² valuable book depicts the adventurous policy of the Armenian nationalist leaders who turned their people into hostages of the "Greater Armenia" dream. Based on rich archival documents, it describes how international capitalism, including France, periodically uses "armenian question" for its purposes. French historians, political scientists, international relations experts, and others also gave a place to turkish-french political relations^{9F}³ in their works. It should be noted that there is no detailed and objective analysis of turkish-french political relations in the works of french authors. There is no separate study in Russian historiography on Turkish politics between the XX and XXI centuries in France. Russian researchers, as a rule, focus on various controversial issues of Turkey's accession to the EU, as well as some contradictions between France and Turkey in this matter. In the works of historian B.M.Potskhveriya³, french-turkish relations are partially touched upon.

In his book "Turkey and the cyprus problem" B.M.Potskhveriya analyzes in detail the situation in Cyprus since the 19th century and

¹Karlık R. Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye. İstanbul: Beta Basım A.Ş., 2002, 640 c.; Öniş Z. An awkward partnership: Turkey's relations with the European Union in comparative-historical perspective İstanbul, 2000. c.13; Akagül D. Association CEE-Turquie: à la recherche d'une nouvelle dynamique // Révue du Marché Commun - Paris : Ed. Techniques et Economiques, Vol. 303.1987, 30, p. 3-13.

²Гюрюнк. Армянское досье. Перевод Стурецкого. Баку: Язычы, 1993, 176 с.

³Assemblée Nationale Commission des affaires étrangères compte rendu № 19 (Application de l'article 46 du Règlement) Mercredi 10 janvier 2001 (Seance de 9 heures 30) Présidence de M. François Loncle, Président // Официальный сайт Национальной Ассамблеи Франции // www.assemblee-nationale.fr; Terno Y. Empire ottoman le déclin la chute, l'effacement Editions du Félin, 2005; Veinstein G. Les Ambiguïtés de l'Alliance Franco-Ottoman, Paris 2006; Gnesotto N, Kodmani-Darwish B. Les relations franco-turques. In: Politique étrangère N°1 - 1985 - 50e année pp. 173-185.

argues that the cyprus problem is the most important obstacle to Turkey's EU membership. To work on this topic, the researcher uses a largenumber of sources in different languages (Turkish,Greek, English). The works of V.Gurko – Kryajina10F¹, T.S.Kondratyev11F², A.Zadoxin12F³, Q.Ziganshina13F⁴, N.V. Borodkin14F⁵, and others have partially been mentioned.TS Kondratyev in his research work called "European Union - Turkey: a geopolitical game with unpredictable results" examines in detail all the political aspects of Turkey's membership in the EU. The author says that France "does not want" to see Turkey in the EU, and therefore insists to prevent the membership in any way. In turn, Turkey has done everything possible and impossible to join the EU. The author thinks that if Turkey joins the EU, it could lead to radical changes in the union.

Some issues of turkish-french political relations have been covered in the works of Azerbaijani political scientists, scholars, and diplomats15F⁶.

¹Гурко-Кряжин В.: Армянский вопрос / Большая Советская Энциклопедия. 1-е изд, т. 3. М.: Сов. энцикл., 1926, с.437-440

²Кондратьева Т. С. Евросоюз - Турция: геополитическая игра с непредсказуемым результатом // Актуальные проблемы Европы.М., 2006. №4. С. 109-144.

³Задохин А. Европейский путь Турции // Обозреватель. М., 2006. № 10. с. 79 - 84

⁴Зиганшина Г. Турция: марафон на пути в Европу // Азия и Африка сегодня, 2005, №5, с. 33 - 40.

⁵Бородкина Н.В. Ближневосточная политика Франции в период президентства Ж.Ширака (1995-2007гг.): Автореферат на уч.степ. кан.ист.наук. Ярославль, 24 с.

⁶Abasov E. Fransa və qondarma erməni soyqırımı // Tarix və onun problemləri, №1, 2014, s. 230-236;“Сәмил Hәсәнли “erməni soyqırımı” iddiasını darmadağın etdi” – Tarixi faktlar /<http://azpolitika.info/?p=112519>; “Çexiyadakı Azərbaycan və türk diasporu Fransa parlamentinin qərarına etiraz olaraq aksiya keçirmişlər” /azertag.az/.../Çexiyadakı Azərbaycan..; Hacıyev S.Müasir Türkiyədə terror. Bakı: 2005, 310 s.; Hacıyev S.Türkiyə - Rusiya münasibətləri və erməni terroru. Bakı: Bakı Universiteti nəşriyyatı, 1998, 244 s.; Sevdimalıyev R. Beynəlxalq erməni terrorizminin formalaşması və inkişafı: tarixi baxış (I hissə)

E. Abasov's article rightly criticizes France's recognition of the so-called "armenian genocide". The article emphasizes that France's recognition of the so-called "armenian genocide" has become one of the most pressing issues in recent years. This fact shows how strong the armenian lobby is in this country and how it affects France's foreign policy. Not only the fact that France has recognized the so-called "armenian genocide", but also the fact that the punishment for denying this genocide has become an object of discussion should motivate us - historians to take all measures to expose all the frauds of the armenians¹.

In general, all the above-mentioned authors touched upon only certain aspects of turkish-french political relations. Thus, it should be noted that turkish-french political relations have not yet been comprehensively reflected in historiography. A brief review of historiography shows that the topic of the dissertation has not been specifically studied in either domestic or foreign historiography. At the same time, it should be noted that I made full use of the factual material collected from the above-mentioned works during my research. It will be useful to say a few words about the source base of the research.

The main sources include legislative and official documents. These include relevant legislative acts concluded between Turkey and France. Another source group is archival materials, reports, and speeches of turkish and french authorities, diplomats, parliamentarians, international relations experts, political scientists, and others. Relevant documents of the UN and the EU were also used.

Turkish and french periodical press are also among the main sources. The Turkish and French press was widely used as sources. They are the following: "Hürriyet", "Milliyet", "Cumhuriyet", "Sabah", "Zaman", "Turkish Daily News" and others. The French

<http://1905.az/beyn%C9%99lxalq-erni-terrorizminin-formalasmasi-v%C9%99-inkisafi-tarixi-baxis/>

¹Abasov E. Fransa və qondarma erməni soyqırımını // Tarix və onun problemləri, №1, 2014, c.236

press used is “Liberation”, “Le Croix”, “La Stampa”, “Le Figaro”, “Le Parisien”, “La Tribune”, “L’Humanité” and others.

The official websites of the ministries of foreign affairs and the presidential administration of both countries occupy a special place among the sources. The sites contain the texts of the presidents’ and prime ministers’ speeches of the Republic of Turkey and France in press conferences, their signed agreements, treaties, and protocols.

The object and the subject of the research. The object of the research is the political relations between Turkey and France in the early XXI century, and the subject is the study of the dynamics of development of turkish-french political relations, contradictions, problems, and prospects.

The aim and the objectives of the research. The main purpose of the dissertation is comprehensively to study the political relations between Turkey and France at the beginning of the XXI century.

To achieve the purpose, the following objectives have been identified and implemented:

- to follow the chronology of political relations between the Ottoman Empire and France;
- to determine the goals of french foreign policy at the present stage;
- to determine the goals of Turkey's foreign policy at the present stage;
- to identify the factors affecting modern bilateral political relations, and to analyze their normative-legal base and political-legal aspects;
- to review the political aspects of economic relations between Turkey and France at the present stage;
- to study the essence, nature, and major directions of political relations between Turkey and France at the present stage;
- to analyze France's position on Turkey's membership in the European Union and to show the impact of this position on political relations between Turkey and France;
- to investigate the impact of the so-called "armenian genocide" on political relations between Turkey and France;
- to conduct a comparative analysis of the relations between Turkey and France on the occupation of Azerbaijani lands by Armenian armed forces at the end of the XX century;

- to determine the priorities of Turkish-French political relations;
- to determine the development potential and prospects of Turkish-French political relations, etc.

The methods of research. The theoretical basis of the dissertation is the interdisciplinary research methodology, which allows considering the object of research as a whole, as a hierarchical structural system. In addition to the method of a systematic approach, systematic-historical analysis, comparative analysis, structural-functional analysis, descriptive-analytical analysis, and other research methods of political sciences, including general philosophical principles (concreteness, historicism, objectivity) were widely used in the dissertation. Systematization, analysis, and generalization of data from different sources allow revealing the essence and characteristics of the information contained in them. In her dissertation, the author followed the principle of historicism, which allows considering the foreign policy of Turkey and France in terms of development and dynamics.

The basic provisions giving to the defense.

- Modern political relations between Turkey and France, based on historical traditions and the basic principles and norms of international law, have developed on a solid regulatory framework;
- The political will of the state leaders plays an important role in the regulation of political relations between the two countries;
- Mutual interests and other political and economic factors influence the development of political relations between Turkey and France;

Turkish-french political relations are ambiguous, contradictory, and often inconsistent. The development trends, contradictions, and problems of bilateral relations are noteworthy: France's stance on Turkey's accession to the EU; Legislative recognition of the so-called "armenian genocide" during the Ottoman Empire in 1915; Turkey and France's Middle East policies and key strategies in the region; The emergence of a new foreign policy doctrine in Turkey based on the idea of increasing the importance of global interests in Turkish foreign policy; the Kurdish question and France's stance on it, etc.

- There has been no stable development in french-turkish relations, which affects the dynamics of modern bilateral relations. Turkish-

french relations deteriorated significantly during N.Sarkozy's presidency;

- During the presidency of F.Ollande, turkish-french relations began to develop. However, France's position on key issues remained unchanged.

- The issue which stands at the heart of turkish-french relations, is Turkey's accession to the EU. E.Macron's policy on Turkey's EU membership has not changed significantly. While former presidents try to exaggerate the "Armenian genocide" as an obstacle, E.Macron opposes Turkey's membership in the EU, citing the Turkish president's pan-Islamist stance. According to E.Macron, it is necessary to achieve "a strategic partnership" more than EU membership. In other words, E.Macron does not support Turkey's EU membership like previous French presidents;

- Turkey, as in the past, during the presidency of E.Macron, carries out cooperation and partnership with France based on equal cooperation, mutual trust, respect for international law, non-interference in internal affairs;

- Not only the fact that France recognizes the so-called "Armenian genocide", but also the initiative to punish for denying the "genocide" shows that the anti-Muslim, anti-Turkish nature of french policy in the past has not changed today. The issue of the "armenian genocide" became a tool of pressure and political blackmail against Turkey for France, and Armenian philology reached the level of state policy in France;

- Positive changes in turkish-french relations are mainly due to economic interests, while regional conflicts and geopolitical competitions are the characteristics and causes of negative transformation;

- The history of relations between the two countries is 500 years, and these historical ties must be preserved.

The scientific novelty of the research. The topic of the dissertation has not been an independent research topic so far. The scientific novelty of the research is that for the first time in the dissertation:

- modern turkish-french political relations have been comprehensively studied based on rich historical and political factual materials;
- new materials which were previously unpublished were translated by the author from french and turkish and brought into scientific circulation;
- the need for a comprehensive approach to the formation of the main directions of turkish-french political relations is justified;
- The content, nature, and main directions of political relations between Turkey and France at the present stage have been studied;
- France's position on Turkey's accession to the EU was analyzed with facts;
- the impact of the so-called "Armenian genocide" on Turkish-French political relations was analyzed;
- at the present stage, logical conclusions have been put forward that scientifically evaluate the turkish-french political relations;
- ways and mechanisms to remove obstacles to the development of political relations were recommended;
- prospects for the development of turkish-french political relations were presented;
- it is substantiated by factual materials that the so-called "Armenian genocide" has become a tool of French pressure and political blackmail against Turkey, and Arminianism has reached the level of state policy in France, etc.

The theoretical and practical importance of the research. The materials of the dissertation can be used in the teaching of some subjects on international relations and foreign policy of Turkey, in the preparation of new textbooks, in lectures on the history of the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey and France. The results, assessments, and proposals obtained in the dissertation are of practical importance for learning more deeply and predicting political relations between Turkey and France.

The approbation of dissertation. The scientific conclusions of the dissertation are presented by the author in the form of reports and messages at various scientific conferences. On the topic of the

dissertation, the author published 15 articles in Azerbaijan and abroad.

The name of the organization where the dissertasion work is perfomed. Baku Slavic University.

The structure of the dissertasion. The dissertasion consists of an introduction, three chapters, including two paragraphs each, the third chapter includes three paragraphs, a conclusion, a list of used literature. Introduction – 19267 characters, first chapter – 50397 characters, second chapter – 59012 characters, third chapter – 82725 characters, conclusion – 10774, list of used literature – 24927 characters. The total volume of the thesis is 162 pages, 248726 characters.

THE BASIC CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the **introduction** of the dissertation substantiates the scientific relevance of the topic, analyzes the level of study and source base, defines the goals and objectives, indicates the object and subject of research, the main provisions to be defended, scientific innovation, and scientific-practical significance.

The first chapter is entitled "Political-legal aspects of turkish-french relations in the modern era" and consists of two paragraphs.

The first paragraph of this chapter "Retro history as a factor in the formation of relations between Turkey and France." This paragraph is devoted to the historical stages of the establishment of mutual political relations. Thus, the history of political relations between the Ottoman Empire and France is traced here, the factors influencing modern bilateral political relations are identified, and the political aspects of economic relations between Turkey and France are considered; features, essence, character, and main directions of mutual relations are analyzed.

The study of historical materials shows that turkish-french diplomatic relations were established in the 16th century. The capitulations signed between France and the Ottoman Empire should be considered as the beginning of the establishment of political relations. These capitulations, as political and legal acts of bilateral relations, played a fundamental role in relations until the end of the Ottoman Empire, and at the same time were an indicator of the developing economic relations between the Ottomans and France. With the Treaty of Paris signed in 1856, European countries, including especially France, were determined as the guardians of the Christian population in the Ottoman Empire. As we have seen, the Ottomans' relations with the French at that time were not friendly. Bilateral relations deteriorated in 1881 after France invaded Tunisia, a part of the Ottoman Empire.

It should be noted that during this period, the Ottomans developed relations with Britain, tried to prevent the expansion of the French Empire at the expense of the territories of the Ottoman Empire¹.

Another problem in relations between the Turks and the French was the opening of many French schools in the Ottoman lands. Although they were established in Ottoman lands, they became the subject of controversy in future bilateral relations not to follow the laws of this state. Thus, in the 19th century, relations between the Ottoman Empire and France deteriorated, mainly in the political and economic spheres. It also laid the foundation for future problems.

Many mistakes made by both sides and France's colonial policy impeded the development of bilateral relations. However, France entered the twentieth century as the owner of several privileges in the Ottoman state, which gave it an advantage over other European countries. In the twentieth century, Ottoman Turkey was weakened. The empire as a whole lost its political and economic power. The empire was collapsing. At the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was among the losing forces within the German

¹Ozveren E. "Beykut". Doğu Akdenizde Liman Kentleri (1800-1914). Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994, c.92

bloc. On the contrary, France ended World War I on the victorious side.

After the end of World War I, in 1919, in San Remo, France and Britain signed an agreement on the division of former Ottoman territories. However, after the victory of the Turks in the Battle of Sakarya, on October 20, 1921, France signed the Treaty of Ankara with Turkey. This was a completely new political and legal act signed with the new Turkish government. This agreement put an end to the fighting on the Southern Front. France recognized the sovereign Republic of Turkey with the Ankara Agreement. The political and legal basis of modern political relations between Turkey and France has been established. Since then, political relations between the two countries have entered a new phase and are still full of events.

The second paragraph, entitled "Establishment of political and legal principles and main directions of political relations between Turkey and France in the modern era", analyzes the normative and legal framework and political and legal aspects of modern French-Turkish relations. Trends in bilateral political relations, as well as directions, contradictions, and problems of development are reviewed. Thus, the Treaty of Ankara and Lausanne, the 1926 Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourliness, the 1939 bilateral agreement, and others became the major legal acts in bilateral political relations between the countries.

After resolving the problems left behind the Ottoman Empire (the status of Hatay, etc.), there were no problems in bilateral relations between Turkey and France until the outbreak of World War II. It should be noted that the political and legal solution to the above-mentioned problems has made Turkey a subject of international law and international relations. In addition to bilateral agreements with France, multilateral agreements signed within the League of Nations and other Peace Conferences have had a significant impact on the future of Turkish-French relations.

Since then, political relations between Turkey and France have developed on this solid legal basis and have undergone significant changes. At the same time, bilateral relations have

changed. An analysis of the activities of the presidents and prime ministers of both countries in the format of bilateral relations shows that the political will of the state leaders plays an important role in regulating relations between the two countries.

In 2018-2020, political relations between the two countries experienced a deep crisis. What badly affected political relations during 2018-2020? President E.Macron's anti-Turkish speeches, statements, and a harsh response given by President R.T. Erdogan and France's support for Kurdish terrorists in the Syrian conflict have disrupted political relations. There were also disagreements, political and military conflicts, and confrontations between Turkey and France over the incident in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Libyan crisis, and France's unfounded accusations against Azerbaijan and Turkey during the 44-day glorious Patriotic War (Karabakh II).

Thus, at the NATO summit in London in 2019, E.Macron accused Turkey of collaborating with IS (Islamic State). After that, relations between France and Turkey began to tense.

Finally, President E.Macron addressed a letter to R.T.Erdogan offering a meeting which indicates that there will be a positive turn in political relations between the two countries at a time when he was actively working on a draft of sanctions against Turkey, which is scheduled for March 30, 2021, in January 2020.

The issue of Turkey's accession to the European Union holds an important place in Turkish-French relations. For this reason, the second chapter of the dissertation is devoted to the analysis of France's position on Turkey's membership in the EU.

The second chapter is entitled "France's policy on Turkey's accession to the EU" and consists of two paragraphs. The issues of cooperation between Turkey and the European Union, the policy of France in the stage of membership negotiations, the anti-Turkish position of the French government and political leaders on this issue, etc. were analyzed in terms of a political aspect.

The first paragraph of the second chapter "Formation of cooperation between Turkey and the European Union and the position of France." It is noted that France's policy towards Turkey

has largely focused on the issue of the latter's accession to the EU. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the course of rapprochement with the West became synonymous with modernization in Turkey.

Turkey found the answer for providing its political and economic interests in full cooperation with Western countries. This direction in Turkey's foreign policy has accelerated the formation of a multi-party system and the establishment of relations with transatlantic and European structures. Turkey joined the Council of Europe in 1949 and became a member of NATO in 1952. At that time, Turkey became a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Turkey officially applied for membership in the European Economic Union on June 31, 1959. On September 11, 1959, the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community (EEC) considered Turkey's application for membership. EEC has decided to start negotiations with Turkey to sign a cooperation agreement^{18F¹}.

Negotiations between Turkey and EEC took place in three stages. In this dissertation, all stages are analyzed and conclusions are drawn. It should be noted that some EEC member states have taken formal and informal steps against the negotiation process itself. As noted, five sections were blocked by France, three by Austria and Germany, and eight by a decision of the Council of Europe in December of 2006. Other sections were also unofficially blocked. Thus, 11 chapters were suspended by the member states in the Council for political reasons.

Thus, more than half of the 35 units which were in the negotiation process, were blocked by either one or more members of the EU. The blocked parts of the negotiations include the three most important areas of joint activity between Turkey and the EU - foreign relations, energy, security, and defense policy. European politicians who opposed Turkey's accession had, in fact, greatly eroded the decision of the 1999 Helsinki Summit, which declared the Council of Europe "to apply the same criteria to other candidate countries."^{19F²}.

¹Karlık R. Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye. İstanbul:Beta Basım A.Ş., 2002, c.467

² Независимая газета. 02.03.2008.

The analysis of such facts in the research shows that the European Economic Union, and later the line of rapprochement with the EU, became one of the main conditions for Turkey's political and economic development and modernization. The French leadership openly opposes Turkey's membership and accepts Ankara's offer of "partnership" rather than "integration"^{20F}¹.

In this regard, the second paragraph of the second chapter analyzes the position and foreign policy of France, which opposes Turkey's EU membership.

In the second paragraph entitled "The main problems of France and Turkey's accession to the EU" the second chapter, the author explains the main arguments and features of the process of Turkey's accession to the EU, analyzes the position of leading countries such as France and Germany. France is especially emphasized. There is a clear link between the declines in support for Turkey's EU membership and the anti-Turkish rhetoric of french politicians. During J.Shirak's tenure, France was very loyal to Turkey, while N.Sarkozy changed the position to the negative. He was one of the most ardent opponents of Turkey's EU membership. Sarkozy has repeatedly said that Turkey remains a special, privileged partner of France and the European Union, but this does not mean that Turkey can join the EU. He believed that Turkey's full membership in the EU posed a threat to European values and was not conforming to the interests of the EU. Unlike N.Sarkozy, President F.Ollande has pursued a softer and more lenient policy on Turkey's EU membership.

Relations between the EU and Turkey deteriorated after a coup attempt in the summer of 2016. The EU has criticized Ankara's mass arrests and other measures and suspended preparations for the opening of new chapters in Turkey's EU accession negotiations.

¹ Монбриаль де Т.Турецкий вопрос. «Россия в глобальной политике». Москва, 2004, т.2, №4. Июль-август, www.globalaffaires.ru/number/n_3541

On December 1, 2016, President F.Ollande officially announced that he had not run for a second term for the first time in the history of the Fifth Republic and withdrew his candidacy. On May 14, 2017, E.Macron became the President of the French Republic with 66.10% of the vote. According to Macron, Turkey was assessed as an "essential partner." At the same time, German Chancellor Angela Merkel was not sharing her position on the suspension of negotiations with Turkey. However,E.Macron believes that Turkey should return to European values.

Along with it, E.Macron, unlike Merkel, is more pragmatic towards Turkey. He praised Turkey's 55-year wait for membership and raised the possibility of discussing a "privileged partnership" or similar document. Turkey's response to this proposal was very harsh, official Ankara said that any proposal that does not envisage full membership will be rejected without hesitation.

The third chapter is called "Armenian question" in turkish-french relations and consists of three chapters.

The first paragraph of the third chapter, entitled "The role of France in the emergence of the "armenian question" reveals the essence of the "armenian question", which is part of the "eastern issue" and identifies the causes and conditions of its emergence. "The role of France in the emergence of the "armenian question" explains political roots, why the myth of the "armenian genocide" has become a topical issue in the geopolitical plans of major powers, including France.

Based on the factors listed in the dissertation, the first conclusions we draw are that France, which reached a capitulation agreement during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent held a privileged position in the Ottoman Empire. The application of the views of renewal and Europeanization in the Ottoman Empire, and the norms and values of the West through the prism of France increased the importance of France in bilateral relations.

The political analysis shows that the hypocritical friendly relations shown by French statesmen could not cover up the real intentions of the French state in relation to Turkey.Thus, France "opened its arms" to Armenians, separatists, rioters and terrorists.

These rebels found favorable conditions for organization in France. The French government stimulated the terrorist activities of the Armenian committees established on its territory such as Gnchak (1887) and the Dashnaktsutyun party (1890) and incited them to revolt in 1880-1920. In particular, after 1900, French consuls and religious leaders constantly called on the Armenians to revolt and supported their actions. Armenian political-terrorist organizations such as Dashnaktsutyun and ASALA were established in France, and for this reason, international armenian terrorism spread in this country.

Therefore, the second paragraph of the third chapter, entitled "Factor of armenian genocide" in turkish-french relations, analyzes the arguments and facts related to this problem.

Summing up the dissertation on this issue, we can say that the historical "armenian issue" (now the "armenian genocide") has become a tool of French domestic and foreign policy: to attract the votes of half a million armenians in the country, in the foreign political arena to put another barrier in the way of entry of Turkey to the EU.

Thus, we see the Armenians exaggerating the events of 1915 as a "genocide" committed by the Turks against them, trying to gain international recognition and compensation from Turkey and France defends them by overshadowing bilateral relations with Turkey.

The analysis shows that the recognition of the so-called "armenian genocide" by France has become one of the most pressing problems of modern turkish-french relations. This fact shows how strong the armenian lobby is in that country and how it affects France's foreign policy.

Not only the fact that France has recognized the so-called "armenian genocide", but also the punishment for denying such a genocide shows that the anti-Muslim, anti-Turkish policy pursued by France in the past has not changed in essence today.

The "armenian genocide" has become a tool of french pressure and political blackmail against Turkey. This seriously damaged to turkish-french relations and has hurt inter-civilizational and

intercultural cooperation, which is the key to peace and stability in the world as a whole. The punishment for denying the so-called "armenian genocide" is discriminatory, racist, and undermines the foundation of freedom of speech and thought.

France, as the cradle of European democracy and an initiator of the principles of equality, brotherhood, and justice, must put an end to "Christian bigotry", Islamophobia, xenophobia, ethnic and religious discrimination between the diaspora and national minorities in the country, must get rid of the influence of the armenian lobby and not be with a state whose destiny is based on aggression and fabrications.

Political analysis shows that on the issue of the so-called Armenian genocide, Turkey and Azerbaijan had a common position.

Thus, after the rejection of the Constitutional court, relations between Turkey and France were restored.

The third paragraph of the third chapter analyzes "Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict against the background of turkish-french relations" examines the main contours of the policy of France and Turkey in the South Caucasus, the impact of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict on the relations of these two states. So, the South Caucasus is one of the priorities of Turkey's regional policy. The region also holds an important place in France's geopolitical interests. Turkey closed its state borders with Armenia in 1993 until the unconditional withdrawal of the Armenian army from the occupied Azerbaijani territories. And France is a strategic partner and patron of Armenia in the region. At the same time, it has broad and deep ties with Azerbaijan in the trade, economic and energy spheres. Azerbaijan, which in its foreign policy was guided by the principle of "one nation-two states", was also interested in developing relations with France. In 1997, during the visit of Heydar Aliyev to France, SOCAR and France signed a 25-year agreement on the joint development of the Total (10 %) and Elf (10%) oil fields. National leader Heydar Aliyev also agreed to become one of the co-chairs of the Minsk process for France.

Unlike Azerbaijan, Armenia provoked France into a confrontation with Azerbaijan and Turkey and constantly sought to worsen relations between them.

After the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict entered a heated phase in 2016, the conflict began to have a more serious impact on relations between Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan and France. The tension in relations reached its peak during the 44-day Patriotic War, which began on September 27, 2020.

During the 44-day war, President Emmanuel Macron pursued a seriously provocative policy, making statements about the need for military intervention in the region under the auspices of the European Union (EU) and trying to involve other member states in the process. Against this background, as far as it is reflected in the international press, it turned out that France is actively supporting Armenia by transferring high-tech weapons by air, especially during the truce between the parties¹.

Since France is a co-chair of the Minsk Group, it should be neutral. But France, from September 27 to the end of the war, more clearly expressed its policy based on double standards, without taking steps corresponding to mediation. The statements of President Macron that 300 militants were brought from Syria through Turkey without any evidence to fight on the side of Azerbaijan, as well as the statements of French Foreign Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian about Turkey's military participation, were rejected by Azerbaijan and Turkey. The French Government, which has been indifferent to the commitments made so far as a co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, has taken inadequate steps in connection with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

It can be concluded that another reason for the provocative policy of France in the Karabakh issue is the concern of the official Paris about the military-political participation of Turkey in the South Caucasus.

At a meeting on November 25, 2020, the French Senate called on the government to recognize the so-called "Nagorno-Karabakh

¹Fransa-Türkiye ilişkilerinde Dağlık Karabağ gerginliği// <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/fransa-turkiye-iliskilerinde-daglik-karabag-gerginligi/2061558>

Republic" and demand that the government provide assistance to the Armenians.

Azerbaijan and Turkey reacted sharply to the decision of the French Senate, which called on the French government to recognize the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Thus, from the first day of the war, France took a pro-Armenian position and went to a confrontation with Turkey, which defended Azerbaijan.

In addition, the holding of a high-level dialogue between France and Turkey in the first half of 2021 shows that both sides have serious potential for cooperation, and this gives hope that this cooperation can make a significant contribution to peace and stability from Europe to the Caucasus, the Middle East and Africa.

In the **Conclusion** of the dissertation, the main conclusions are systematized and generalized, on their basis the most important scientific and theoretical provisions of the work are presented, recommendations of a theoretical and practical nature are formed. Thus, despite the political problems, the dynamism of the relationship between Turkey and France is seen as a positive direction in the development and activation of bilateral relations. In recent years, while demonstrating a common approach to international problems, France and Turkey have continued to strengthen friendly relations that will benefit both countries.

The main provisions of the dissertation are reflected in the following publications of the author:

1. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə münasibətlərində yeni mərhələ. Azərbaycanşünaslığın aktual problemləri. Ümummilli Lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 89-cu ildönümünə həsr olunmuş III Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları. Bakı, 2012, s.144-146
2. Azərbaycan-Fransa münasibətlərində Heydər Əliyevin rolu. Azərbaycanşünaslığın aktual problemləri. Ümummilli Lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 90 illik yubileyinə həsr olunmuş IV Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları. Bakı, 2013,s.145-147

3. Франция и Турция в Евросоюзе. Azərbaycan İnşaat və Memarlıq Universiteti. Doktorantların və gənc tədqiqatçıların XVII Respublika Elmi Konfransının materialları Bakı, 2013, s.70-71
4. Franco-Turkish cultural relations. The First International Conference on Eurasian scientific development "East West" Association for Advanced Studies and Higher Education GmbH, Vienna, 2014, p.237-239
5. Азербайджанская диаспора во Франции как фактор укрепления азербайджано-французских отношений. Azərbaycan-şünaslığın actual problemləri. Ümummilli Lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 91-ci ildönümünə həsr olunmuş V Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları Bakı, 2014, s.170-173
6. Азербайджано-Турецкие культурные связи. Azərbaycan-şünaslığın actual problemləri. Ümummilli Lider Heydər Əliyevin anadan olmasının 92-ci ildönümünə həsr olunmuş VI Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları Bakı, 2015, s.248-250
7. History of relations between France and the Ottoman Empire. The Seventh International Conference on Eurasian scientific development Vienna, 2015, p.136-138
8. European Union foreign policy of France. The Sixth International Congress on Social Sciences and Humanities Vienna, 2015, p.93-95
9. Fransız-Türk kapitulyasiyaları və Fransanın Erməni Məsələsinin meydana çıxmasında rolu. (Tarixi-Siyasi Təhlil) Tarix və onun problemləri. Bakı Dövlət Universiteti Bakı, 2016, s.103-108
10. «Геноцида Армян» в Турецко-Французских отношениях. АМЕА. Tarix İnstitutunun ELMİ ƏSƏRLƏRİ (61-cild.) Bakı, 2016, s.108-119
11. From the history of Turkish-French relations. International conference Science and society-Methods and problems of practical application Canada, 2018, p.57-63
12. Political and legal relations between Turkey and France, at the present stage. The European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Vienna, 2018, № 3, p.65-73
13. Türkiyə-Fransa siyasi əlaqələrinə erməni amilin təsiri. GEOSTRATEGİYA № 01(49) YANVAR-FEVRAL 2019

www.strategiya.az Aylıq ictimai-siyasi, elmi populyar jurnal, s.68-72

14. Тенденции развития и проблемы в турецко-французских отношениях. GEOSTRATEGİYA № 02 (50) MART-APREL 2019

www.strategiya.az Aylıq ictimai-siyasi, elmi populyar jurnal , s.41-45

15. FRANCE-TURKEY RELATIONS DURING E.MACRONS PRESIDENCY. NATIONAL PEDAGOGICAL DRAQMANOV UNIVERSITY.Academy of SCIENCES of Ukraine.Publishing House Hileya. Hileya SCIENTIFIC BULLETIN. Volume 147 (№ 8) Part 1, Historical sciences Kyiv-2019, p.34-37

The defense will be held on **29 June in 2021 at 14:00** at the meeting of the Dissertasion council – FD 2.30 of Superme Attestasion Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Address: Republic of Azerbaijan, Baku, Sabail district, AZ 1001, Lermontov str.74

Dissertasion is accessible at the Library of the Academy of Public Adminstration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Electronic versions of dissertation and its abstract are available on the official website of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Abstract was sent to the required addresses on **27 May in 2021**

Signed for print: 05.25.2021
Paper format: A5
Volume: 40602
Number of hard copies: 20 copies.