

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE IMPACT OF NEW POLITICAL TRENDS IN THE
UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Specialty: 5901.01 – “International relations”

Field of science: Political sciences

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Baku – 2024

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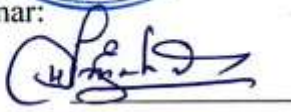
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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance and degree of elaboration of the topic. The XXI century in international relations was marked by various political and military events, important turning points that changed the course of previous ideological and geopolitical trends. As a result of the interaction of complex social, economic, political and technological processes, the existing world order has undergone changes at different stages, the emerging realities have comprehensively influenced people's lives. Undoubtedly, the role of the West in shaping this new dynamic is undeniable.

It should be emphasized that the West has radically changed the direction in which the world was moving almost from the end of the fifteenth century with the beginning of the Age of Discovery. While the discovery of new continents, domination over global sea routes, colonization, access to large-scale natural resources and their exploitation led to the West becoming militarily, politically and materially dominant, such significant events as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, the Age of Enlightenment led to its scientific, ideological and cultural hegemony. As a result, it has also become a force that exports ideologies to the world and guides other peoples, especially the liberal-democracy system, in terms of their way of thinking.

In the wake of recent instability in the world, a large influx of immigrants to the United States and Europe and the resulting various integration problems have led to a further spread of overt xenophobic rhetoric. All this new climate and institutional shortcomings in the United States and the European Union have created conditions for populist, anti-elitist and anti-immigrant worldviews to gain support among people. The peak of such a development of events in the United States was the election of Donald Trump as President, distinguished by his own populist rhetoric, while in Europe it was the Brexit - the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. Additionally, in most parts of Europe, right-wing, populist groups that support similar political discourse have been successful in various elections.

Other factors that determine the relevance of the work are as follows:

- The share of the United States and the European Union in the world gross domestic product is quite large. In addition to such criteria as economic wealth, technological development, military power, they are also important states in terms of “soft power”. Countries with soft power are becoming objects of imitation; political, social and other trends that are here are beginning to be followed and repeated by other masses. The fact that these regions also have such a great advantage makes them even more important political actors.

- The West is also one of the founders of the modern world order that arose after the Second World War. Looking at both the historical and current political and economic conjuncture, the importance of the region for the world is undeniable. For these reasons, the study of innovations and changes taking place in the West is of great importance.

- A wide and comprehensive study of new political trends and their influence on international relations, which have just emerged, gained popularity in the USA and Western European countries and rapidly spread to other parts of the world, is also important for the Republic of Azerbaijan, which has become a part of the international political system. Since these countries greatly influence the direction in which the world is going, the analysis of the processes taking place within them has a scientific essence.

- Another factor that makes the topic relevant is the change in the traditional worldview of the countries with the emergence of new political phenomena in these regions, which significantly influenced international relations throughout history. In this sense, it is undoubtedly important that the new processes taking place are studied and understood in detail. For this reason, the political currents that have received the most support and sympathy in the United States and Western Europe have been studied.

- Modern political trends include the so-called Trumpist populism in domestic politics, which became popular in the United States after Donald Trump's rise in politics, New Left-wing populism promoted by Burney Sanders, and radical, far-right Alternative Right-

wing movements. In Western Europe, political trends called neo-nationalism and new right-wing populism were studied in this scientific work. Examples of how the new trend of right-wing populism developed on the continent manifested itself in the four most important European countries in terms of political and economic influence – Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy.

- Political trends are phenomena that change public discourse and the general course of politics, leading to the formation of a political line. They are the totality of different elements, such as ideas, ideologies, various political groupings, as well as the integrated and complete forms of political processes that occur for certain purposes. Since domestic political dynamics and the worldview guide the formation of foreign policy, it is important to find out what results these political trends can bring.

- Since these factors affect the establishment of interstate relations in the international arena and many global issues, a detailed and systematic study of these political trends is of great importance.

These new phenomena quickly became one of the most interesting topics of scientific research in the world due to the fact that they caused a great stir, undermined settled systems and caused their impact. Various researchers and think tanks around the world have made important efforts to study the political innovations taking place in those regions. The book “Populism and new patterns of political competition in Western Europe” by Daniele Albertazzi and Davide Vampa is a collection of scientific articles written by various scientists. The book tells in detail about the changing atmosphere of political struggle, new ideologies and reactionary political trends in the countries of Western Europe. Extensive considerations have been made about the rise of populism in the region and the political line of opposition parties to existing systems¹.

The book “Far-right politics in Europe”, authored by Jean-Yves Kamu and Nicola Leburg, presents a detailed exchange of views on how and under what conditions the new right-wing political trends in the region are formed, it explains their differences and common

¹ Albertazzi, D. and Vampa, D. Populism and New Patterns of Political Competition in Western Europe. – Oxon: Routledge, – 2021. – 314 p.

features. Although the researchers believe in the superficial generalization of all right-wing political groups and show differences within them, these types of political trends are mainly based on the goals of eliminating the negative consequences of globalization and multiculturalism, and preserving ethnic homogeneity².

The book “Neo-nationalism: the rise of Nativist populism” by Eirikur Bergmann is a very important source on the new populist and nationalist political trends in the Western Hemisphere. After talking about the historical aspects of populist political tendencies, Eirikur Bergmann tried to explain which tactics the political organizations that adopted this worldview, resorted to succeed and what approach they took to attract people to their side³.

Up to this point, the topic of new political trends in the United States has not been worked out in a complex way, usually each political trend has been separately chosen as a subject of study. For example, the book “The Rise of the alternative right” by Thomas Main about the political trend of the Alternative Right, which has recently gained popularity in the country, is an important source for a complete understanding of this trend. Trying to explain the specifics of that radical political trend in the book, the scientist says that it has a greater influence than its predecessors⁴.

Important insights have been made about Trumpian populism in the United States in David Neiwert's book “Alternative America: the rise of the radical right in the age of Trump”. This book explores how right-wing political groups in particular use conspiracy theories and how Donald Trump's rhetoric has polarized and radicalized the country. There is also valuable information about these contemporary right-wing populist tendencies in William Howell and Terry Mo's book “Presidents, Populism, and the Crisis of Democracy”. There is also valuable information on the current flow of left-wing populism in

² Fougier, E. What is Sarkozysm ? The Sarkozy Revolution of the French Right-wing // – Nice: L'Europe en Formation, – 2012. № 365, – p.217-228

³ Bergmann, E. Neo-Nationalism: The Rise of Nativist Populism. – Cham: Springer International Publishing, – 2020. – 235 p.

⁴ Main, T. The Rise of the Alt-Right. – Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, – 2018. – 313 p.

the West in the book “For Left-Wing Populism” by the renowned scholar Chantal Mouffe⁵.

Among foreign authors such researchers as E. Kofmann, R. Itwell, M. Goodwin, G. Fitz, Y. Makert, B. S. Turner, R. Haynish, E. Massetti, B. Moffit, N. Hyub, E. Laklau, C. B. Judiz, R. Havertz, V. A. Galston, Ch. Berlet, P. Welfens have made important contributions to the study of the subject.

The book “Systemic earthquake and the struggle for world order: exclusive populism versus inclusive democracy” written by former Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu also deals with populist, reactionary and far-right trends in the world, and gives an opinion on how it harms regional and global stability. In his book, A. Davutoglu said that more inclusive international institutions and mechanisms should be built to counter radical political trends. Although the book is rich in scientific and theoretical terms, the practical solutions proposed by the author to realize his approaches are not so clearly and accurately described⁶.

Complex scientific research has not yet been carried out on this subject of research in Azerbaijan. Since modern political trends in the United States and Western Europe are quite recent, the main sources are in foreign languages. Sources in the Azerbaijani language cover only some certain aspects of the topic of this dissertation. For example, Nigar Sultanova's dissertation on “Institutional mechanisms of the European Union's foreign policy and the main directions of its relations with Azerbaijan” provides information on institutional mechanisms shaping the European Union's foreign policy. The main theoretical and conceptual approaches related to the EU's foreign policy and the activities of institutions have also been studied here.

The scientific work of Azerbaijani researcher Nargiz Nagiyeva “European centralism: models and paradigms” is a source for the study of the European political system⁷. In her work, the author presented

⁵ Mouffe, C. For a Left Populism. – London: Verso Books, – 2018. – 112 p.

⁶ Davutoglu, A. Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy. – London: Cambridge University Press, – 2020. – 326p.

⁷ Nağıyeva, N. Avropa mərkəzçiliyi: modellər və paradqlmalar / N. Nağıyeva. Bakı: Elm və Təhsil, – 2017. – 188 s.

information on such topics as the emergence of the EU, the various integration models.

Migration is one of the main reasons for the emergence of new political trends in both regions. The book “Global migration crisis: International Relations and Western policy on the eve of a new historical turn” by public and political figure Novruz Mammadov, author of the idea and editor-in-chief, is a valuable source for studying the phenomenon of migration and its effects. The book examines such topics as the analysis of the migration factor from the historical context, the causes of the modern migration crisis, deep disagreements between the EU countries on this topic. The book emphasizes that the migration crisis is a great test of the modern system of international relations. In this scientific work, it is concluded that the world community can achieve the solution of the migration crisis only by following the principles of international justice and law⁸.

The works of Azerbaijani scientists such as A. Abbasbeyli, R. A. Panahov, M. Qasimli, E. Ahmadov, M. Iskenderzade were used in the study of the topic.

Object and subject of research. The object of research is new political trends in the United States and Western Europe.

The subject of research is the influence of these political trends on international relations.

The purpose and objectives of the study. The purpose of the dissertation research is to systematically analyze the new political changes taking place in the leading regions of the world, such as the United States and Western Europe, to study the causes and characteristics of their occurrence, to determine what results these political flows can bring in interstate relations and international political and economic configuration. To achieve the stated purpose, the following objectives were set in the research work:

- To analyze in a compact and phased way the process of formation and evolution of the country in order to understand how the indigenous population in the United States sees the political phenomena taking place;

⁸ Məmmədov, N. Qlobal miqrasiya böhranı: Beynəlxalq münasibətlər və Qərb siyasəti yeni tarixi dönüş ərəfəsində / N. Məmmədov. – Bakı, – 2018. – 308 s.

- To delineate in detail the characteristics of modern political trends taking place, to examine the material, political and social factors that led to the emergence of these new political flows;

- To study institutional deficiencies and structural problems in the European Union, the most important integration model in western Europe;

- To analyze how the new anti-elitist and populist political currents have an impact both at the domestic and international levels;

- To determine the importance of these modern political trends within the framework of such concepts as the global world order, economic and political systems, international stability and multilateralism;

- To investigate the prospects of maneuvering in theoretical and practical terms in order to eliminate or reduce the negative consequences of possible threats brought by these new political flows;

- To determine what impacts these political trends in the West have on the Republic of Azerbaijan, which has become an integral part of the international system.

Research methods. When writing the research work, various methods such as systematic analysis, comparative political analysis, theoretical generalization, phased analysis, modeling of political processes, induction and deduction were used. The use of both general and special scientific research methods in the study contributed to its detailed, clear and comprehensive nature. In this dissertation, theoretical and empirical issues were analyzed in a coordinated manner.

The main provisions put into defending the graduation:

- The new political trends in the United States and Western Europe are reactionary, anti-elitist and populist by essence.

- These political trends have a destabilizing effect on both domestic and interstate relations. But they are not a cause, but a symptom of general instability in domestic politics and the global political order.

- By exhibiting a superficial approach, it will be unproductive to prevent these political tendencies against the current status quo or to try to mitigate the negative consequences that they entail. Instead, a

more systematic and comprehensive approach should be chosen, and first of all, the solution of economic, political and social factors that create these political flows should be aimed.

- One of the reasons for the emergence of these trends is the obsolescence of existing domestic and international institutions, the inability to update themselves against the background of a change in the general geopolitical and geo-economic conjuncture in the world, the development of technologies, the emergence of new socio-ideological transformations. Since the modern era brings new trials and challenges, existing structures must also be competent in terms of institutional skills and authority in their management and control.

- Changes in the balance of power in international relations, changes in the previous political order, economic neoliberalism, globalization, exploitative steps of large corporations and transnational companies are among the factors contributing to these systemic problems.

- One of the factors contributing to the emergence of new political trends is the class divisions within the country between the technocratic elite and the common people. If the clash of realities and interests between different segments of the population did not take place significantly, populist and anti-elitist political flows would not have gained such massive support.

- With the gain of support and the seizure of power by Populist political forces, the political significance of such concepts as political pluralism, liberal democracy and equality of rights in international relations may weaken.

- Political actors who traditionally oppose the political line pursued by the United States and Western Europe are trying to destabilize these opportunistic groups in different ways. Since the polarization of society will draw the attention of these countries to internal issues, the continuity of chaos and crises is desirable for those opposition political actors.

- As anti-elitist and populist political forces take a more isolationist and individualistic position in foreign policy, cooperation on international security issues such as climate change, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, immigration crises will weaken against

the background of their seizure of power.

Scientific novelty of the study. So far, no complex, detailed and exhaustive scientific research has been carried out on the chosen topic in Azerbaijan. Reactionary and populist political trends in the XXI century, especially after the economic recession of 2007-2009 and the IDP crisis of 2015, have been studied for the first time at the level of dissertation work. Thus, in the context of the study of the issue, a serious source is presented to the country's scientific doctrine.

The main elements of the scientific novelty of the study are the following:

- The geopolitical and macroeconomic aspects of those political flows polarizing domestic policy in the West, their influence on the principle of multilateralism in international relations and the existing world order have been comprehensively investigated for the first time.

- For the first time, these political innovations were analyzed in detail from the point of view of institutional crises and structural contradictions. Such an approach allows the current status quo to better understand the emerging new political trends.

- The scientific work systematically studied and showed how the volume of influence in the United States in terms of the intervention of the federal government in domestic socio-economic relations is expanded in stages.

- The phenomenon called “culture war” in the United States was first studied in the composition of this scientific work, which explained in detail and gave historical examples of the above-mentioned phenomenon.

- Detailed information on the new multiethnic and multisectarian left-wing populism in the United States is provided in this scientific work.

- In contrast to the traditional conservative-Republican political line in the United States, a new political trend called Trump populism, which supports economic protectionism and the more active intervention of the central government in internal issues, was discussed in detail, and generalizations were made on the basis of facts.

- Information about the phenomenon of neo-nationalism has been shared. It has been concluded that it is, in fact, a new form of nationalism based on a kind of civilizational identity.

- Institutional contrasts in the European Union integration model have been widely explained.

- The military, political and economic impact of new political trends in the west on international relations has been studied, forecasts, suggestions and recommendations for the future on the basis of modern realities have been expressed.

Theoretical and practical significance of the study. This dissertation work is an important source in the study of political changes in the USA and Western Europe in the XXI century. The study is important from the point of view of investigating the influence of these political trends not only in domestic politics, but also in the international arena. Therefore, the data from the dissertation work can be used in the activities of state-owned enterprises engaged in foreign policy and international relations.

The analysis and ideas put forward in the study enrich the scientific base for in-depth study of new political trends in those regions. The data from the dissertation can be used in writing generalizing works, conducting courses and classes on the topic at higher educational institutes, conducting subsequent scientific research.

Approbation and application. The research work was carried out at Baku State University. The topic was approved at the Department of “International relations” as a dissertation work for the degree of Ph.D.

The main provisions and scientific results of the dissertation are widely interpreted in the published scientific works of the author. The researcher made Scientific Reports at national and international scientific conferences, symposiums and Sessions held in Azerbaijan and foreign countries.

The structure and scope of the dissertation work are compiled in accordance with the goals and objectives set in the study. The dissertation consists of introduction, three chapters, conclusion and list of used literature. Introduction – 18168 signs, Chapter I –

68455 signs, Chapter II – 77487 signs, Chapter III – 54422 signs, conclusion - 10023 signs, and the total volume of the dissertation is 229524 signs (excluding the list of literature).

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The relevance of the topic is substantiated, the degree of scientific study of the problem is analyzed, the object and subject of research, purpose and objectives, as well as methods are determined **in the introduction of the research**. The main provisions put to defense were presented here along with disclosure of the scientific novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the study.

The chapter of the dissertation **“Formation and development of new political trends in the United States”** consists of two paragraphs. In the first paragraph entitled **“Factors contributing to the emergence of new political trends in the United States”**, the main reasons for the emergence of newly formed political trends in the country are examined. These reasons include the deteriorating material and economic situation of the population, structural contradictions in the country and the conflict of socio-cultural values within the country.

The new political trends in the United States are essentially populist and reactionary, containing masses from both sides of the current political spectrum. Surely it was no coincidence that the majority of people adopted populist, anti-elitist rhetoric. The orientation of tens of millions of people in alternative political directions tells us the fact that there are fundamental reasons and systematic shortcomings that contribute to this.

According to various research, almost more than 40 percent of the population in the country lives paycheck to paycheck ^{9 10}. Official

⁹ De Lea, B. How Many Americans Live Paycheck To Paycheck?: [Electronic resource] / Yahoo Finance. – February 19, 2020. URL: <https://finance.yahoo.com/news/many-americans-live-paycheck-paycheck-190102599.html>

¹⁰ Friedman, Z. 78% Of Workers Live Paycheck To Paycheck: [Electronic resource] / Forbes. – January 11, 2019. URL: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/zackfriedman/2019/01/11/live-paycheck-to-paycheck-government-shutdown/#3d8c8adf4f10>

figures show that although nominal wages have increased since the 1970s to the present day, purchasing power has remained virtually unchanged. Moreover, most significant increases in salaries went to persons holding senior management positions¹¹.

The lack of an effective social protection system in the country manifests itself in various spheres of public life. According to the official report of the White House, about half a million people are homeless¹². From the lack of a health care system that covers everyone, both direct health care costs and insurance payments put hundreds of thousands of people in economic trouble each year.

“Culture war” (culture war) is a conflict between conservative-traditionalist values and supporters of progressive, socially liberal values in the United States. In almost every society there are disagreements and heated discussions at the social level about various values, political decisions and ideas. But the main feature of the cultural wars in America is that these debates over-polarize the country and sharpen socio-political discourse. The main reason for this is that the United States is a newly formed country consisting mainly of newcomers. Although the people who have lived in any region for centuries have gone through innovations and changes over time, there is no such sharp polarization and division as in America, since internal dynamics, national identity and values are established to a certain extent. The fact that America is a society which is young and constantly changing rapidly due to immigration, makes it inevitable that this type of conflict of values will be more radical.

The second paragraph of the first chapter, entitled “**New political trends in the United States and their analysis**”, analyzes in detail the characteristics, content and effects of new political trends that guide the political-social and economic discourse in the country. This paragraph deals with three modern political currents that have had a major impact on US domestic politics: Trumpist populism,

¹¹ Desilver, D. For Most U.S. Workers, Real Wages Have Barely Budged In Decades: [Electronic resource] / Pew Research Center. – August 7, 2018. URL: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/08/07/for-most-us-workers-real-wages-have-barely-budged-for-decades>

¹² The State Of Homelessness In America // White House, The Council of Economic Advisers. – Washington, D.C. – 2019. – 40 p. (p.1)

modern left-wing populism inspired by Burney Sanders, and the Alternative Right-Wing current.

“Trumpist populism” is a common expression used to describe new right-wing populist political trends that began to gain prominence after Donald Trump's rise in American politics. This new wave of populism differs from traditional conservative and right-wing politics in the United States. Standard American conservatism is built on the ideas of small government, economic individualism in domestic matters, and supports American exceptionalism¹³. D. Trump, on the other hand, supported economic protectionism, promised to implement new infrastructure and construction projects that would be funded by the state, and build a health care system that would cover everyone, rather than allowing market forces to determine economic dynamics. He was also critical of US military interventions abroad¹⁴.

There are many differences between the populism and other populist trends promoted by D. Trump. The new right-wing trend, which he inspired, is of the opinion that the main culprits of the socio-economic difficulties faced by the common people are mainly immigrants, religious and ethnic minorities. This trend accuses them of replacing the traditional white population, which benefited the most from the economic successes achieved in the second half of the twentieth century and also accuses the elite of colluding with immigrants and minorities in the process. Supporters of this trend are also in a high-profile position about the demographic change in the country: they argue that the huge influx of immigrants received by the country from different parts of the world in recent decades will change the national and cultural identity of society¹⁵.

The main person in the United States who has recently mobilized left-wing populism, popularized it and gave it a new direction has been Burney Sanders. Burney Sanders aimed to unite

¹³ Levinson, S.V. *American Conservatism: NOMOS LVI*. / S.V. Levinson, J.Parker, M.S. Williams. – New York: NYU Press, – 2016. – 446 p. (p.2; p.24; p.197; p.270)

¹⁴ Herbert, J. *The Ordinary Presidency of Donald J. Trump* / J. Herbert, T. McCrisken, A. Wroe. – London: Palgrave Macmillan, – 2019. – 242 p. (p.33-35; c.98)

¹⁵ Wong, J.S. *Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change*. – New York: Russell Sage Foundation, – 2018. – 154 p. (p.15-33)

communities of different ethnos, religions, races and affiliations, wanted to form a new multiethnic coalition and create a new class consciousness. This political current links social justice (elimination of discrimination against blacks, women, immigrants and other minorities) to economic justice. In addition, he supported the adoption of even sharper rhetoric by political forces that described themselves as Social Democrats and leftists.

The Alternative Right is a far-right political current that promotes white supremacy and ideas of neo-Nazism. The Alternative Right movement emerged as a protest against the Conservatives in America and the standard-normative right-wing political line. Complaining that the Republican Party and the Conservatives in general were not strict enough, the more radical right-wing mass wanted to create an “alternative” political trend, resulting in an alternative right.

One of the main reasons why the Alternative Right caused so much excitement and became famous is that presidential candidate Donald Trump in 2016 was associated with this movement. The most specific of the accusations is that the famous right-wing Breitbart media executive Stephen Benno, who once promoted this trend, is one of Donald Trump's close associates. S. Bennon. He was elected the official head of D. Trump's presidential campaign, and then worked as the Chief Strategist of the White House and Trump's adviser¹⁶.

To date, many people associated with the Alternative Right have committed various terrorist acts and resorted to violence. According to estimates, between 2014 and 2018, various cases of violence were recorded by persons affected by Alternative Right ideology, as a result of which 43 people were killed and 67 received various injuries¹⁷.

The second chapter of the dissertation work, **entitled “Content and characterization of new political trends in Western**

¹⁶ Hawley, G. Making Sense of the Alt-Right. – New York: Columbia University Press, – 2017. – 232 p. (p.127-129)

¹⁷ Hankes, K. and Amend, A. The Alt-Right is Killing People: [Electronic resource] / Southern Poverty Law Center. – February 5, 2018. URL:<https://www.splcenter.org/20180205/alt-right-killing-people>

Europe”, consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph of the chapter, entitled **“The reasons for the emergence of new political trends in the region”**, comprehensively analyzes the reasons for the emergence of new political trends in Western Europe. The reasons for the emergence of new political trends in Western Europe in modern times are diverse and multifaceted. These include institutional and structural deficiencies in the European Union, the region's largest model of integration, along with demographic change, immigration crises, and concerns about indigenous peoples' loss of ethnic and cultural homogeneity. The European Union is a very unique structure: it is not a typical Interstate Organization, nor is it a federation or confederation, but it contains both Federative and Confederate elements in itself. Although it has top-national (supranational) powers in many matters, it is not a top-national structure in the full sense. Such a confusing, complex and generally inharmonious nature of the EU leads to the inability to function effectively in the long run, facing large-scale crises, and to a decrease in the productivity of intra-union partnerships¹⁸.

Recent refugee crises and religiously motivated terrorist attacks have also led to populist and nationalist political movements gaining great support throughout the continent. These events served as catalysts for the spread of Eurosceptic and antielite atmosphere. According to UN figures in 2015-2018 more than 1 million 600 thousand IDPs arrived in Europe¹⁹. Public unrest and tensions arose due to the large influx of people of completely different nationalities and cultures to the continent. Several unpleasant incidents caused by immigrants have been among the most discussed topics in the media and social media networks.

In particular, since 2015, some radical extremist organizations and individuals led by ISIS have committed terrorist attacks in many

¹⁸ Yaqublu, N. Avropa İttifaqındaki institusional ziddiyyətlərin regionun destabilizasiyasındaki rolu // 1 Millet, 6 Devlet, Ortak Medya (Türkçe konuşan ülkelerin medya platformu) Uluslararası Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Kongresi, – Bakı: İksad Global, 2021, – s. 330-335. (s.330-331)

¹⁹ The Council of the European Union: 1952-2012 : Sixty Years of Law- and Decision-making / ed. Council of the European Union. General Secretariat. – Brussel: Publications Office of the European Union, – 2013. – 45 p. (p.13)

parts of Europe. These events have increased social tensions and created insecurity for immigrants.

Summing up, the growth of bureaucracy, the complex and sometimes overlapping institutions of authority, structural dualism, the growing immigration factor and the growing concern of the local population about the loss of ethnic homogeneity as a result of demographic change, the changing global and regional political-economic environment led to a decrease in efficiency in the EU, which is the largest model of regional integration.

The second paragraph of the second chapter, entitled **“Features and forms of manifestation of new political trends in the region”**, provides information about the political trends of neo-nationalism and the new right-wing populism, which became popular in Western Europe in modern times and managed to attract large masses of people to their side, and how they manifest in different states of the continent.

Neo-nationalism is a kind of populist nationalism based on the ideas of civilization. The rhetoric of neo-nationalist political groups is indirectly phobic (xenophobic, Islamophobic, Sinophobic, etc.) and they usually justify these phobias with economic arguments. For example, they attribute the cause of unemployment and low wages to immigrants, along with that they attribute general economic stagnation to neoliberal economic practices and globalization. They imply in their speeches, though not directly, that such characteristics as “Whiteness”, “Christianity”, “Westernism” are desirable and ideal.

The phenomenon of neo-nationalism emphasizes that the peoples of Europe belong to a common historical and cultural heritage and past, carry similar ethnic and racial characteristics, and calls for the strengthening of “European, Christian and Western” solidarity.

The new right-wing populist trend on the European continent has emerged mainly as a reaction to institutional contradictions and structural deficiencies in the European Union. The main goal of the modern right-wing populist trend is the withdrawal of powers from the Union and re-granting them to member states. But the question of which powers are returned to what extent varies from state to state. In Great Britain, this led to the country's departure from the European

Union, and in Italy it was marked by the seizure of power by political forces adopting the same or similar political ideas. In Germany and France, although the populist forces failed to seize power, they managed to win over a significant part of the population, forcing the ruling parties to change their policy.

The third chapter of the dissertation work entitled **“Modern political processes in the West in the context of world politics”** consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph, entitled **“The impact of modern political trends in the United States on global politics”** analyzes in detail the effects of new political trends in the United States on global politics.

The new populist political currents in America had many different effects on the international plane. Economic-political uncertainty increased as political groups exhibiting populist rhetoric appealed more to emotions than to rationalism. Under such conditions, sudden drops and rises were observed in the stock market, stocks and financial markets in general, with the occurrence of new events that could not be predicted²⁰.

After D. Trump's election to power, his more unilateral foreign policy and the controversial withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty increased tensions in international military relations. As political forces exhibiting populist rhetoric followed a more isolationist political line and put their own individual interests at the forefront, in recent times the principle of multilateralism in international relations has weakened, cooperation has been undermined on collective security issues such as immigration crises, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological weapons, pandemics, climate change.

Regional and global integration did not gain importance, and the effectiveness of international institutions was put in doubt, since populist forces preferred not multilateral agreements, but separately mutually concluded agreements. D. Trump's decision to withdraw from the World Health Organization and the Paris Climate Agreement

²⁰ When Trump tweets, the whole financial world catches a cold [Electronic resource] / The Irish Times. URL: <https://www.irishtimes.com/business/personal-finance/when-trump-tweets-the-whole-financial-world-catches-a-cold-1.4017253>

are the clearest examples. In addition, his abandonment of the The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action agreement on Iran's nuclear program has reduced global confidence in the military-political sense.

During D. Trump's presidency, some regional powers tried to fill the gap created by the US pursuing a more isolationist and unilateral foreign policy. Thus, the process of moving the global political order from unipolar to multipolar has gained an incentive. The radical anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant stance of alternative right and Trumpist populism has led to the spread and normalization of this type of rhetoric in international relations. Leaders in different countries of the world have already considered it acceptable to make openly racist statements.

As a result of the popularization of new populist trends in the United States, the political platform and personal relations between leaders in place of the official doctrine played an even more important role in interstate relations. Donald Trump's friendly relations with Boris Johnson, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Jair Bolsonaro, and his cold, controversial relations with Emmanuel Macron and Justin Trudeau have played a major role in political decision-making processes.

A new left-wing populist political trend led by Burney Sanders and Trumpist populism led to the strengthening of the phenomenon of economic nationalism in international relations (especially in the Western Hemisphere). One of the greatest effects of Trumpist populism in international relations is the normalization of the election to power of persons who are considered unconventional, informal, who do not belong to the technocratic political class. Various examples can be cited: in Armenia, the populist politician Nikol Pashinyan seized power, and in Ukraine - the comedic actor Volodymyr Zelensky. In the Philippines, in 2016, Rodrigo Duterte, known for his extraordinary performances and style, was elected president.

After the rise of Burney Sanders in U.S. politics, the radical populist political line he promoted has made a splash in many parts of the world. In the West in particular, political powers that call themselves left-wing and socio-liberal have taken on sharper political rhetoric and have taken a more anti-corporatist stance.

The alternative right-wing political trend has also had great repercussions in other parts of the world. Influenced by the alternative right political trend, many political forces organized and began to take an active part in political life. An example is Generation Identity, which operates in France, Italy, Austria and the United Kingdom²¹.

The direct influence of new political trends in the United States on Azerbaijan was not so noticeable. However, the Armenian lobbyists, actively operating in U.S., tried to attract American politicians to their side, exaggerating their Christian identity due to the fact that the Azerbaijani population is Muslim.

The second paragraph of the third chapter of the dissertation entitled **“The place of modern political trends in Western Europe in the international arena”** comprehensively analyzes the influence of political trends in Western Europe on global politics and the Republic of Azerbaijan, which has its own place in international relations.

Since Western Europe was one of the founders of the liberal world order after the Second World War and played a great role in spreading the ideas of democracy, political pluralism and tolerance, it was a great surprise that xenophobic, one-sided and biased tendencies here became popular on a large scale. Modern right-wing populism in western Europe has contributed to the weakening of existing international institutions in the region led by the European Union and the strengthening of Euroscepticism. Under such circumstances, the likelihood of rekindle old intra-regional enmities has increased.

The emergence of such a crisis in the countries of this region, which have become the main exporters and defenders of such ideas as democracy and liberalism in international relations, has strengthened the positions of political actors opposing the West. In particular, Russia has tried to change the existing liberal and anti-Russian positional political systems by supporting right-wing, populist and neo-nationalist forces on the continent.

²¹ What is Generation Identity? : [Electronic resource] / Al Jazeera. – December 10, 2018. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/10/what-is-generation-identity>

The strengthening of neo-nationalism and new right-wing populism trends in western Europe has led to a decrease in the importance of such topics as political and economic pluralism and minority rights in international relations. New political trends have led to the phenomenon of global “non-liberalization”, as a result of which the phenomenon of “non-liberal democracy” (illiberal democracy) has spread in international relations.

One of the main consequences of the new political trends in western Europe is the strengthening of such trends as localization instead of globalization in international relations, sharp politicization instead of moderation in socio-political discourse, polarization instead of reaching consensus in decision-making.

One of the main ideas promoted by modern nationalist and right-wing populist political forces in the West is the idea of “civilization”. The civilizational factor has become even more important in international relations due to the fact that these political trends have gained great support and become relevant in Europe. As an example, a clear manifestation of these trends can also be clearly seen in a joint statement released by Russia and China a few weeks before the start of hostilities in Ukraine on February 4, 2022. This statement emphasized the importance of the idea of civilization several times.

The impact of new political trends on the continent has also made itself felt in relation to Azerbaijan. At the time of the political changes, the racist and Islamophobic political forces in France and Germany have used the Karabakh conflict for their political purposes and have openly and provocatively taken steps to support the Armenian occupation. The provocative visits and statements made by many European politicians, who are considered right-wing populists and nationalists, to the occupied territories have seriously damaged Azerbaijani-European relations.

Traditional political parties in Europe, influenced by the populist atmosphere inside, considered it necessary to make changes in their positions. Instead of a more moderate political line, as before, they took various steps to please the right-wing populist political forces. One of them is the recognition by the French Senate of

Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent republic during the war in 2020²². Undoubtedly, such aggressive statements and rhetoric from France have created tension in Azerbaijani-French relations. The Republic of Azerbaijan has rightly had to respond to this in different ways. The strengthening of biased anti-Azerbaijani propaganda in France also overshadowed the activities of the OSCE Minsk Group, which is co-chaired by this country, and raised reasonable doubts about its objective inability to provide justice.

In the **Conclusion** part of the dissertation, the research was summed up, on the basis of generalizations, recommendations of theoretical and practical importance were put forward. Thus, new political trends in the United States and Western Europe have a destabilizing effect on international relations. The vast majority of them are anti-globalists, anti-elitists, reactionaries and populists. These political trends have exacerbated public discourse and led to the polarization of society in different regions. Since history is rich in examples of authoritarianism of similar political movements over time, these forces are often seen as a threat to political pluralism, liberal democracy and freedom of speech. Looking at the general picture, it would be more correct to see the innovations taking place not as a cause of political instability, but as a symptom. For this purpose, the factors that create these political innovations and protest trends must be thoroughly addressed.

²² Turkish Parliament condemns France for recognizing Nagorno-Karabakh as 'republic': [Electronic resource] / Daily Sabah. – November 27, 2020. URL: <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/diplomacy/turkish-parliament-condemns-france-for-recognizing-nagorno-karabakh-as-republic>

The main content of the dissertation is reflected in the following scientific works of the author:

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The defense will be held on “__” “_____” 2024 at “_____” at the meeting of the Dissertation Council FD 2.30 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

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Dissertation is available in the library of the Academy of Public Administration 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.

The abstract was sent to necessary addresses on “__” _____ 2024.

Signed for print: 17.04.2024

Paper format: A5

Volume: 39866

Number of hard copies: 25