

THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY IN SOUTH
CAUCASUS IN THE PERIOD OF POWER OF JUSTICE
AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY
(POLITICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSES. 2002-2014)**

Speciality: 5904.01 – political institutions and systems

Field of science: political sciences

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Baku – 2024

The work was performed at the Institute of Law and Human Rights of ANAS

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GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

The relevance of the research and degree of elaboration. The Caucasus has always been of great importance to the leading powers. After the countries of the region had gained independence, the emergence of a new regional system and the development of security risks for regional powers, along with the growth of regional conflicts, necessitated an effective regional policy for Turkey, which is of particular importance in the region. Under the Justice and Development Party (AKP) Turkey's geopolitical interests in the region and its ability to influence regional peace and multilateral relations have a scientific and political basis. These reasons determine the relevance of the research topic and they can be grouped as follows.

Firstly, Based on its strong historical, cultural, ethnic and linguistic ties with the independent republics of the region, Turkey has had the opportunity to become a leading state, making it possible to increase its role both in the region and in the world. This makes it relevant to research the problem from a political point of view.

Secondly, in the first half of the 1990s, the “Turkish model” (secularism, market economy, cooperation and closeness with the West, multi-party system) as an example of a new political, economic and social model was adopted as an attractive model for the Turkic Republics (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan). This proximity was also supported by the United States and the European Union, which did not want the South Caucasus region to fall under Iranian control and Russia to re-enter the region. Energy policy has become more important in Turkey's regional policy in the South Caucasus. From the point of view of oil and gas production in the region and their transportation to world markets, Azerbaijan is also the most suitable transition point for Turkey to enter the Caucasus, a common source of joint investment, a source of energy, and a market where it can sell its products. This makes it necessary to conduct scientific research on this issue.

Third, one of the principles of the AKP policy is to resolve traditional tensions and implement a partnership-based neighborhood policy. The new format formed in the South Caucasus after the 44-Patriotic War has changed Turkey's influence in the region. The Baku-

Tbilisi-Kars railway is one of the main system-building elements of China's "One Belt One Road" project. The presence of Turkish companies for such purposes, the signing of the Shusha Declaration on Allied Relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Turkey, negotiations and tactical steps to open the Zangazur Corridor, the appointment of special envoys in the normalization of bilateral relations between Armenia and Turkey, etc. Such processes once again demonstrate the relevance of the development of Turkey's cooperation with the South Caucasus republics and the relevance of Turkey's policy in the region during the AKP.

All this makes it impossible to solve any important political or geopolitical problem in the South Caucasus without the participation and role of Turkey, and makes it important to study Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus.

When analyzing the degree of development of the problem, the existing scientific literature on the topic is grouped according to various aspects.

The first group reflects the influence of geopolitics on diverse aspects of the main geopolitical theories related to national interests and national security, as well as the influence of the spatial-territorial aspect on national global and regional politics (Z. Brzezinski, T.Andrianova, S.Baburin, S.Huntington, H.Morgenthau, A.Davutoglu and others).¹

In general, in the analysis of events in the region, realistic theories of international relations explain the regional policy of the countries and the relations between the countries of the region in a "big game" emphasizing the strategic and geopolitical elements. This explanation is not enough to explain Turkey's policy towards the region, especially the relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan.

¹ Андрианова Т.В. Геополитические теории XX в. М.: ИНИОН РАН, 1996; Бжезинский З. Великая шахматная доска, М., Международные отношения, 1998, 256 с.; Howard G. E., "NATO and the Caucasus: The Caspian The Caspian Axis," Huntington S. The third wave democratization in the late twentieth century. USA: Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, 366 с.; Morgenthau H. J. Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, Sixth Edition, New York, Alfred A. Knopf. 1985; Davutoğlu A. Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2011, 498 s.; Davutoğlu A. Türkiye Merkez Ülke Olmalı // "Radikal" qəzeti, 2004, 26 Şubat və başqaları.

The work of the second group includes three subgroups. The first subgroup includes works of Turkish and foreign authors such as A.Arslan, M.Bolukbashi, W.Hale, A.Karaosmanoglu and others about the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), transition to a multiparty system in Turkey and the second as step of counter-democratization the next military coup that destroyed the political system.²

The second subgroup is engaged in modern research. In these works on Turkish foreign policy, more attention is paid to the expression of an independent, original opinion.³ The nature of A.Davutoglu's foreign policy, the "self-perception" that defines his fundamental philosophy and identity to which he belongs, as well as the concept of foreign policy in the narrow space of the Cold War, which continues to this day, are considered, analyzed, the need for new perspectives in new spaces is shown.⁴

The third subgroup includes studies by T.Kuzio, N.Yilmaz, S.Kornel, N.Nasibli and others on the geopolitical situation and

² Arslan A. AKP iktidarının sosyal anatomisi: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi milletvekillerinin sosyolojik analizi // Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi Cilt: 4 Sayı: 2 Yıl: 2007; Bölükbaşı M. Milli Görüş'ten Muhafazakar Demokrasiye: Türkiye'de 28 Şubat Süreci Sonrası İslami Elitlerin Dönüşümü // İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırma Dergisi, 2012, Cilt:1, Sayı: 2, s. 166-187; Hale W. 1789'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Ordu ve Siyaset. İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1996; Karaosmanoglu A. Turkey Objectives in the Caspian Region", in Gennady ... of the Caspian Region. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp.151-152 vö b..

³ Çalış Ş., Dağı İ, Gözen R. Turkey's Foreign Policy Agenda: Identity, Democracy, Power. Ankara, 2001, 322 p. ; Giray S. D. The Impact of the Armenian Question on the Turkish Foreign Policy. New Turkey 60/2014, pp.1-37; Ogan S. Russia's Changing Baku-Ceyhan Policy and Regional Strategic Balances // Insight Turkey. April-June 2002. Vol.4 No.2 P. 95-99. ; Thank you I. Arab Spring, Turkish Foreign Policy and Foreign Perception // Middle East Analysis, 2011, Volume 3, Issue 31-32, p.57-64; Sönmezoğlu F. Turkish Foreign Policy from World War II to the present day, İstanbul, Der Yayınları, 2006, 1060 p. ; Sönmezoğlu F. Turkish Foreign Policy. From World War To Today. İstanbul, 2006, 840 p. ; Tuncer N. Süleyman Demirel. Ali Faik Demir (Ed.), Leaders in Turkish Foreign Policy, Ankara, Bağlam Yayınları, 2007, 653 p. ; Yeşiltaş M, Balcı A. Dictionary of the AK Party Period Turkish Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Map // Information Volume: 23, 2011, p.9-34. ; İlhan U. From the focus on foreign policy to the Middle East reality // Al-Jazeera Turk, 25 December 2014

⁴ Davutoğlu A. Medeniyetlerin Ben-idraki // Divan, Sayı:1, 1997, s.1-53

strategic cooperation.⁵ In order to determine the priorities of Turkey's modern foreign policy, the works of S.Chalish, S.Giray, I.Sagsen, F.Sonmezoglu on Turkish foreign policy were analyzed.⁶

The third group consist of publications of periodicals by Azerbaijani and foreign authors on the history of the formation of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations in modern times, the current situation and prospects for development. This complex work can be divided into 3 parts.

Theoretical and political-practical research reflecting some aspects of Turkish-Azerbaijani relations during the years of independence has been investigated.

The first subgroup comprises issues of Azerbaijani-Turkish relations and energy corridors in the foreign policy of the national leader Heydar Aliyev by prof. A.Gasanov and researches by A.Aslanli.⁷

The second subgroup consist of articles, collections and monographs reflecting Turkey's strategic interests in the South Caucasus region at the present stage and the scientific, political, military-technical, cultural and economic aspects of

⁵ Kuzio T. Geopolitical Pluralism in the CIS: The Emergence of GUUAM,” European Security, vol. 9, no. 2, Summer 2000, pp. 81-114; Yılmaz N. Stratejik Ortaklıktan Model Ortaklığa: Türkiye'nin Bağımsız Dış Politikasının Etkileri, syf;552; Cornell Svante E. “Geopolitics and Strategic Alignments in the Caucasus and Central Asia,” Perceptions, vol.4, no. 2, 1999, pp. 100-125; Nassibli N. Azerbaijan's Geopolitics and Oil Pipeline Issue. Perceptions, Cilt 4, Sayı 4, 2000, s. 114-115.

⁶ Çalış Ş., Dağı İ, Gözen R. Türkiye'nin Dış Politika Gündemi: Kimlik, Demokrasi, Güvenlik. Ankara., 2001, 322 s.; Giray S. D. Ermeni Sorununun Türk Dış Politikasına Etkisi. Yeni Türkiye 60/2014, ss.1-37; Sağsen İ. Arap Baharı, Türk Dış Politikası ve Dış Algılaması // Orta Doğu Analiz, Temmuz-Ağustos 2011, Cilt 3, Sayı 31-32, s.57-64; Sönmezoglu F. II Dünya Savaşı'ndan günümüze Türk Dış Politikası, İstanbul, Der Yayınları, 2006, 1060 s.; Sönmezoglu F. Türk Dış Politikası. Dünya Savaşından Günümüze. İstanbul, 2006, 840 s.

⁷ Birlikdə yeni əsrə doğru. Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidenti Heydər Əliyevin ABŞ-a səfəri. 27 iyul-7 avqust, 1997-ci il, 415 s.; Həsənov Ə. Heydər Əliyevin xarici siyasətində nəqliyyat-kommunikasiya və enerji dəhlizləri məsələsi // Heydər Əliyev ideyaları: XXI əsrdə Azərbaycanın inkişaf yolu. Bakı: Azərbaycan, 1997; Aslanlı A., Həsənov İ. Heydər Əliyev Dönemi Azərbaycan'ın Dış Politikası (1993–2001). Ankara:Platin yayınları. 2005, 170 s.; Aslanlı A. Heydər Əliyev Döneminde Azərbaycan Dış Politikasında Doğal Kaynaklar. 2011

Azerbaijani-Turkish relations.⁸

The third subgroup includes researches of Azerbaijani and foreign authors G.Rzayeva, S.Ogan, B.Sasley, D.Tashchikar, P.Felgenhauer and others on regional projects. According to them, participation in regional projects also parallels the EU's approach to the South Caucasus.⁹

The fourth group consists of works covering Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations.¹⁰

⁸ Azərbaycan Türkiyə əlaqələri son 20 ildə: Uğurlar və imkanlar (məqalələr toplusu). Bakı, 2011, 157 s.; Azərbaycan-Türkiyə müasir əlaqələri: mövcud vəziyyət və inkişaf perspektivləri. Bakı, 2008, 58 s.; Azərbaycan-Türkiyə münasibətlərinin elmi, siyasi, mədəni və iqtisadi istiqamətləri, bugünkü vəziyyət və istiqamətləri. Bakı, 2008, 154 s.; Cahangirli C. Müasir dövrdə Azərbaycan Türkiyə münasibətləri. Bakı, 2006, 109 s.; Cəfərsoy N. Azərbaycan Türkiyə Əlaqələri (1993-2000), 2001, 123 s.; Musayev Y. Hərbi-texniki sahədə Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əməkdaşlığı (1991-2011) // Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əlaqələri son 20 ildə: uğurlar və imkanlar 2011, 158 s.; Asker A. Ermeni Açımlı sonrası Türkiyə Azərbaycan ilişkileri, 21. Yüzyıl Dergisi; Cumhuriyet, Türkiyə-Azərbaycan ilişkilerinin en büyük göstergesi, 26.06.2009; İAV. Türkiyə-Azərbaycan ekonomik ilişkilerinin geliştirilmesi konferansı, İstanbul, 1996, s.50; Oran B. The Turkish Approach to Transcaucasia and Central Asia, in Ole Hoiris and Sefa Martin Yurukel (eds.) Contrasts and Solutions in the Caucasus, Aarhus: 1998, p. 466; Winrow G. M., Turkey and the Caucasus: Domestic Interest and Security Concerns, L.: The Royal Institute of International Affairs Press, 2000. p.58.

⁹ Rzayeva G. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə enerji münasibətləri: çağırışlar və perspektivlər // Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əlaqələri son 20 ildə: uğurlar və imkanlar. ATİB. 2011, 158 s.; Ogan S. Russia's Changing Baku-Ceyhan Policy and Regional Strategic Balances // Insight Turkey. April-June 2002. Vol.4 No.2 P. 95-99; Sasley B. "Turkey's Energy Politics in the Post-Cold War Era" // Middle East of International Affairs, Vol.2, No.4, 1998. PP. 28-39.; Taşçıkır D. Orta Asya'daki Ekonomik Reformlar ve Yeni Büyük Oyun içinde Yalçınkaya (der.) Kars, 2007, pp.233-247; Felgenhauer P. Russian-Turkish Military Relations: much mutual respect, but many misgivings // Insight Turkey, Volume 4 Number 2, 2002, p.41.

¹⁰ Görgülü İ. Turkey-Armenia Dialogue Series: Assessing the Rapprochement Process. Caucasus Institute .TESEV Publication, 2010; Mustafa A. Azərbaycan Türkiyə-Ermenistan Anlaşmasının Neresinde? 2009; Oğuz C. Türkiyə Azərbaycan İlişkileri ve Ermenistan Faktörü, I.b. Ankara, 2010, s. 80; Vəliyev C. Türkiyə-Ermenistan Protokolları: udan kim, uduzan kim? Strateji Araşdırmalar Mərkəzi, Bakı, 2015, 44 s.; Musayev Y. Hərbi-texniki sahədə Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əməkdaşlığı (1991-2011) // Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əlaqələri son 20 ildə: uğurlar və imkanlar. Məqalələr toplusu. © SAM, © ATİB. 2011, 158 s.; Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əlaqələri son 20 ildə: Uğurlar və imkanlar (məqalələr toplusu). Bakı, 2011, 157 s.

Thus, the analysis of the socio-normative and legal-political aspects of the above-mentioned works in the analysis of the literature used in the research shows the importance of closing the gaps in Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus and the importance of working out the chosen problem. Taking into account the mentioned aspect, as well as scientific arguments, factual analysis and logical opinions in the work the dissertation can be considered as the first research work in this field.

Although there is some work on various aspects of the problem, the lack of research in the modern national scientific literature devoted entirely to Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus, reflecting the specificity of the issue, makes it necessary to study the subject comprehensively. This fact, as well as the urgency of the problem, determined the choice of topic, the object, subject, goals and objectives of the research.

The object and the subject of the research. The object of the study is the policy of the Republic of Turkey in the South Caucasus during the period of the AKP, and the subject is the nature and mechanism of influence of Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus, aimed at the security and development of the region.

Goals and objectives of the research. The main purpose of the study is a relatively complete and comprehensive study of the policy of the Republic of Turkey aimed at ensuring security, stability and cooperation in the South Caucasus.

To achieve the goal of the study, efforts were made to solve the following tasks:

- Researching the coming to power of the ruling Justice and Development Party and the theoretical issues of Turkish foreign policy during its reign - the Euro-Atlantic alliance, "strategic depth" and "zero problems with neighbors", as well as the existing problems created by the "Arab Spring";

- Formation of the South Caucasian policy of Turkey, implementation mechanisms and analysis of the main directions and priorities of this policy;

- Study the features of cooperation between Turkey and the republics of the South Caucasus, possible prospects, as well as potential sources of conflict;

- Analysis of the degree of Turkey's participation in regional projects in the South Caucasus, to determine the nature of its involvement in regional geopolitical processes;

- Analysis of Turkey's relations with Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia in the context of regional security in the South Caucasus, as well as in the context of the national security of the South Caucasian republics and Turkey;

- Showing the place and role of Turkey in the context of the military-political situation in the South Caucasus region, the processes leading to their change, the possibility of objective and subjective dependence, foreign interference and their consequences, as well as the Turkish Republic of the "Armenian" issue in relations between the European Union and the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in Turkish-Russian relations and the study of possible prospects for cooperation.

Research methods. The reports and speeches of the national leader Heydar Aliyev and his worthy political successor, President Ilham Aliyev, statements made at press conferences, as well as works published in different languages and in different years are of particular source study significance.

The study used a variety of literature and regulatory framework, including international legal acts. The methodological basis of the dissertation research is the system-political approach, the combined use of special methods and the analysis of information processes. A system of methods covering event-analysis, content-analysis, comparative, empirical, structural-functional, historical-logical and institutional analysis, an integrated approach, general scientific, specific scientific, interdisciplinary scientific methods, along with socio-methodical methods of data collection and research in studies based on these approaches were applied and relevant scientific results were obtained.

The main provisions of defence.

1. Features of the evolution and formation of the geopolitical position of the state have a direct impact on the improvement of its regional policy, the definition of methods and mechanisms for its implementation;

2. Analysis of the past and present components of the process of formation of the geopolitical position of the state:

- accurately analyzes the political, economic, etc steps of the state in relation to its regional neighbors;

- predicts the most likely scenarios for the further development of the situation;

- makes it possible to neutralize the negative consequences of the policy of any of the states of the region and more reasonably formulation of the content of measures to protect security and stability in the existing region.

3. The development of Turkey's strategic relations with Azerbaijan, the leading state of the South Caucasus is on the rise;

4. Turkish-Armenian relations are influenced by the Armenian lobby;

5. Turkey's Georgian policy, Georgia's geostrategic position and active participation in energy projects have increased its importance as a transit country;

6. Turkey's balanced policy in international relations contributes to peace in the South Caucasus and the integration of the region into Europe.

Scientific novelty of the research. The scientific novelty of the dissertation research lies in the first systematic, comprehensive study of the problem in the political science of Azerbaijan.

- Studied the coming to power of the ruling Justice and Development Party, systematized approaches to the theoretical issues of Turkish foreign policy during its reign, the Euro-Atlantic alliance, "strategic depth" and "zero problems with neighbors", as well as the existing problems created by the "Arab Spring" were analysed and criticized.

- The mechanism of influence on the formation and implementation of Turkey's policy towards the South Caucasus region was revealed, the main directions and priorities of this policy were analyzed;

- Studied the features, possible prospects for cooperation between Turkey and the republics of the South Caucasus, as well as sources that could cause a potential conflict;

-The Turkish factor and the degree of its participation in energy cooperation and regional projects in the South Caucasus are analyzed,

the nature of Turkey's involvement in regional geopolitical processes is determined;

- Turkey's relations with the republics of the South Caucasus were studied in the South Caucasus both in the context of regional security and national security;

- The place and role of Turkey in the context of the military-political situation in the South Caucasus region, the processes leading to their change, the possibility of objective and subjective dependence, foreign intervention and their consequences are being studied.

- The activity of Azerbaijan in Turkey's foreign policy directed from strategic cooperation to strategic partnership, as well as from alliance to economic partnership was analysed;

- Turkey's foreign policy analyzes Georgia as a model of integration and was the effects of the Russian-Georgian war on Turkey.

- The Armenian issues in the foreign policy of Turkey were studied, the “Armenian” issue in the relations of the Republic of Turkey with the European Union was analyzed.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research. The materials and results of the study can be used to study the regional aspects of the system of international relations. The comments, considerations and opinions expressed in the study, the results obtained can help determine the directions of new research in the future in connection with this problem and its individual aspects.

The analysis of geopolitical and economic processes in the South Caucasus can be used to expand the scientific and theoretical base of state policy, as well as for studying the development of the South Caucasus region by university students, lecturing on the problem. The results and recommendations of the study can be used both in the theoretical and practical and in the methodological part of the problem, in training and organizing the activities of political actors.

Approbation and application. The provisions reflecting the main content of the dissertation are represented in the author's articles published in Azerbaijan and abroad, speeches and reports at national and international conferences.

Name of the organization where the dissertation work is carried out. Institute of Law and Human Rights of ANAS

Structural sections and total volume of the dissertation (with symbols). The dissertation consists of an introduction, 2 chapters, 9 paragraphs, results and bibliography. Introduction - 17337 signs, Chapter I - 115306 signs, Chapter II - 139121 signs, Conclusion - 14073 signs. The total volume consists of 285,837 characters.

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The introduction substantiates the relevance of the research topic, analyzes the degree of development, defines the object and subject of research, goals and objectives, methods, scientific novelty, provisions to be protected, theoretical and practical significance of the work.

The first chapter of the dissertation, titled *"Dominance of the Justice and Development Party: Theoretical Issues of Turkey's Foreign Policy and Its Influence on the Politics of the South Caucasus Countries"*, consists of 5 subchapters. The first half of the chapter, titled *"Rise to Power of the Justice and Development Party (AKP)"*, analyzes the 1980 military coup and its impact on Turkish political life, the rise of the political Islamic movement, and the February 28th coup. It is argued that one of the main reasons for the military coup of the 1980s was the politicization of many sectors of society and the polarization of various ideologies. The country experienced a kind of ideological confrontation during the Cold War. Such "right" (nationalist) and "left" (socialist) divisions have deepened in power structures, universities, bureaucracies, the media, and even sports clubs, and the political and ideological struggle between these forces is taking place on the streets created a chaotic situation by infecting in the form of animals. This situation is aimed at ending the chaos in the country, overthrowing the government of Suleiman Demirel as prime minister, dissolving parliament and banning political parties.

The semi-chapter analyzes civil power-army relations in Turkey - the influence of the Turkish Armed Forces on the political life of Turkey was neutralized during the AKP, and civil power-army relations were formed during this period. The beginning of a new phase of democratic and successful economic policy in Turkey is explored with the 2002 parliamentary elections, which were won by the AKP.

Disagreements between innovators and traditionalists led to the formation of the Saadet Party led by Rechai Kuta in July and the Justice and Development Party led by chairman of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Recep Tayyip Erdogan in August.

The second half of the chapter is entitled "***General Theoretical Foundations of Turkey's Foreign Policy under the AKP***". This half of the chapter deals with the traditional course of Turkish foreign policy: the Euro-Atlantic alliance, a new approach to this policy, "strategic depth" and "zero problems with neighbors", as well as an analysis of problems and critical approaches in the exam with new course "Arab Spring". It is stated that Turkey, as a democratic, secular and muslim country that has allied relations with the West in a new era, is considered by the United States as a "model" in relations with the countries of the region "Middle East" image. An analysis of Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle East states that Turkey's foreign policy is based on certain values and principles, and not on the realities of the region. As a result, it is noted that at the time of the study period, the concept of "strategic depth" did not achieve its goals or, although it reached a certain period of time, it did not hold them for a long time. The "zero problems with neighbors" policy could not prevent a new problem at a time when complex processes like the "Arab Spring" were going on.

At the same time, the subsection explains the concept of "self-perception" ("ben-idrakı"), which is the essence and nature of Turkey's foreign policy. It is shown that the foreign policy of people who have gained "self-consciousness" is based on self-confidence.

The third subsection is entitled "***Turkey's Influence on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan***". The position of Turkey in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, energy cooperation with Azerbaijan and the Turkish factor in regional projects are analyzed. It is noted that due to the interference of international actors in Turkish-Azerbaijani relations, as well as the different political views of the changing powers in Azerbaijan (1988-1993), bilateral relations have become unstable. It is noted that under the leadership of National Leader Heydar Aliyev and his worthy political successor, President Ilham Aliyev, the strategic partnership deepened, an active policy was pursued to further develop relations with Turkey, and relations between

the two countries took into account regional factors. Important agreements on the national-Azerbaijani-Turkish strategic partnership were signed. The opening of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, the purpose of which is to deliver Azerbaijani natural gas to Turkey and to international markets through Turkey, is part of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars project, the purpose of which is to connect Turkey and Azerbaijan (Central Asia and China with Europe) by rail, the importance of fast cargo transportation is analyzed. It is noted that Recep Tayyip Erdogan's repeated statements about the impossibility of Turkey's silence in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, his firm statement that the border gates will not be opened without solving this problem, are the main indicators of Turkey's value for Azerbaijan. It is noted that this proven itself in the active participation of the Turkish media in the 44-day Patriotic War in providing our army with modern weapons, political and moral support for our country, as well as in conveying the truth about realities of Azerbaijan to the whole world, in the resolution of post-war conflicts, demining our liberated territories, rehabilitating our veterans and providing them with psychological support, etc..

It is noted that since 2011, 8 meetings of the Turkish-Azerbaijani High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council have been held, agreements on cooperation in all areas have been signed between the two countries, and the Shusha Declaration on allied relations between the two countries in 2021 was signed.

In general, the analysis allows us to conclude that Azerbaijan is Turkey's most reliable partner in energy projects in the Caucasus, and this will continue to be the case. Support for Azerbaijan from the Turkish people, society and government has never diminished, has continued to grow and continues to grow. The new state of relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey in the energy sector should be based on the joint use of alternative energy sources in a new era. In this area Azerbaijan needs Turkey's rich experience and technologies, and Turkey needs Azerbaijan's alternative energy resources.

The fourth subsection is devoted to ***"Turkey's role in shaping Georgia's foreign policy"***. It examines support for Turkey after the Rose Revolution and cooperation between Turkey and Georgia in regional projects. Turkey and Georgia have the same economic interests in transporting Caspian energy resources to the West. The political side

of successful energy cooperation was studied, alternative energy projects were analyzed, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline transporting Azerbaijani oil to the Western market, along with regional economic ties, contributed to the development of relations in these countries. It was decided that the strategic points make Georgia interesting in the projects.

As a result, it is noted that the political significance of regional projects for Georgia far exceeds the economic benefits. This reflects, first of all, the strategic choice of the country. Georgia's determination to side with the West is also important in terms of guaranteeing Western support. As a sign of political support, Georgia is currently the largest recipient of aid and grants in the Caucasus.

In accordance with the Association Agreement signed in 2014, the EU is a trading partner of Georgia, and the total volume of trade between them has continued to grow in recent years. This gave impetus to the further development of trade relations between Turkey and Georgia. The figures, which are statistical comparisons ultimately show that Turkey dominated Russia's economic relations with Georgia in previous decades.

The fifth subsection analyzes *“Turkey's influence on Armenia's foreign policy”*. The issues of the Armenian diaspora and the so-called “genocide”, as well as “football diplomacy”, the concluded protocols and the final inefficiency, various reasons for the tense Armenian-Turkish relations in the region and the factors that determine the problematic approach to relations with Turkey were analyzed. Although Turkey was treated relatively condescendingly during the Ter-Petrosyan era, during the presidencies of Robert Kocharian and Serzh Sargsyan, a radical nationalist policy was pursued towards Turkey, as well as to satisfy the Armenian diaspora to Turkey and ardent support for Armenian separatism in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, both presidents regarded as a source of internal legitimacy, these issues are the main priority areas of this single period: strengthening and institutionalizing relations with Armenians abroad; development of relations with major powers, especially Russia, and the country's integration into the global economic system; it is defined as achieving a solution to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict within the framework of Armenia's national interests.

In the course of the analysis of the Armenian diaspora and the so-called “genocide”, the main factors shaping both the domestic and foreign policy of Armenia and the possibilities of their influence, the main activities of specially selected Armenian diaspora organizations, the main goals were analyzed. Frozen relations with Armenia are analyzed against the backdrop of the elimination of traditional tensions and the implementation of the neighborhood partnership policy, which is one of the principles of the policy pursued by the AKP after coming to power in Turkey. It is noted that the sharp differences in the approaches of both sides to the normalization of relations are one of the key elements that further complicate the process. Diplomatic efforts in 2008, called "football diplomacy", played an important role in the discussion of issues and once again revealed Armenia's unconstructive approach to these issues. In general, as a result of Russia's serious political, economic and military pressure on Armenia, the protocols were "frozen" without discussion in the Armenian parliament, as a result of which President Sargsyan postponed the discussion of the protocols, thus diplomacy was ineffective.

The second chapter of the dissertation is entitled *"Formation of the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey towards the South Caucasus"*. This chapter explores the topic in 4 subchapters. The first half of the chapter discusses *"The role of internal political factors in Turkey's penetration into the South Caucasus and the assessment of the South Caucasus in Turkey's foreign policy"*. Accordingly, the unique representation of Turkey in the political context of the Turkic states, the special importance of the South Caucasus in Turkey's security, the different attitude of state bodies and various ministries of Turkey, leading to inconsistencies in Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus and the main role of Turkey's Foreign Ministry in this process, a number of leading situations are commented in Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus, forming the so-called "official line".

The Turkish Foreign Ministry qualifies its activities not as conflict, but as actions aimed at cooperation, and insists that the Caucasus be the object of a comprehensive partnership: working with various international organizations to peacefully resolve any dispute is an active sponsor of initiatives in the region. Turkey supported the relevant reforms to support the economic and political independence of

the newly sovereign states of the South Caucasus, refrained from military intervention in the processes in the South Caucasus and sought to abandon bilateral defense obligations.

The policy of the Turkish Foreign Ministry to prevent the resumption of Russia's influence in the South Caucasus, the reasons for Ankara's concentration in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and efforts to expel Azerbaijan from Russia are being investigated. The next diplomatic initiative of Ankara is analyzed - the Caucasus Stability Pact, aimed at maintaining lasting peace and stability in the South Caucasus as a mechanism for preventing regional conflicts, and the reasons for its failure.

The business and trade deals between Turkey and the countries of the region, the attempts of the so-called "Armenian lobby" of the Turkish business community to increase trade between Turkey and Armenia and open the borders are commented. It is concluded that business groups and ethnic lobbies, including a number of ministries were skeptical about the official line of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and due to differences between groups that influence the decision-making process Turkey has not always been able to have a coherent strategy in the Caucasus.

The assessment of the South Caucasus in Turkey's foreign policy notes that the South Caucasus, The South Caucasus, which deals with both external energy and security, is also a region where foreign policy is difficult due to an unstable and confrontational environment. The protocols signed in 2009 and the unconstructive suspension of the protocols by Armenia did not go unnoticed in Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus. In Turkish-Azerbaijani relations, both countries have made efforts to resolve the protests that erupted after the 2010 protocols. Although a number of changes in Turkey's policy in the Caucasus as a result of Russia's intervention in Georgia in August 2008 were manifested to one degree or another, it can be said that in 2010 there was no significant partnership between the two countries and the former line continued. Georgia's geostrategic position and active participation in energy projects have further enhanced its importance as a transit country, and Turkey has proposed a Platform for Stability and Cooperation in the Caucasus, taking steps to resolve the problem in a timely manner. Turkey's energy dependence on Russia has been cited

as a key factor influencing policy in the Caucasus. Various factors of Turkey's inability to become a leader in the post-Soviet space are analyzed. Although the issue of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity has delayed the implementation of these projects, the completion of the projects can be considered a success in terms of Turkey's Caucasian policy.

The second subchapter, titled "*Azerbaijan in Turkish Foreign Policy: Strategic Cooperation*", clarifies the concepts of strategic relations, strategic cooperation, strategic partnership in foreign policy, reveals its features and sources, favorable conditions for establishing strategic relations between global powers and regional actors in the geopolitical struggle for the South Caucasus after the end of the Cold War are analyzed. As an example that clarifies this situation, the Turkish-Azerbaijani partnership, which is a complementary union, is analyzed. It is alleged that in such an alliance, Azerbaijan counted on providing the necessary support from Turkey in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, and this goal was achieved during the 44-day war. Long-term interests are expected in Azerbaijani-Turkish cooperation. This policy, begun under Heydar Aliyev, continues today.

In the sub-chapter, the Agreement on Strategic Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (2010) and the reasons for the success of strategic cooperation, a number of important documents on energy cooperation between the two countries (2010), The Summits of the Heads of State of the Turkic-speaking countries are comprehensively analyzed. The participation of the President of Turkey in the opening of the Fizuli International Airport on October 26, 2021, the laying of the foundation of the Zangezur corridor, the signing of important documents and similar steps are a message to the world community about the possibility of peaceful coexistence of peoples through economic cooperation and progress.

From Alliance to Economic Partnership: An analysis of regional projects and energy security shows that Azerbaijan, pursuing a balanced foreign policy, has pursued an active policy since independence to further develop relations with Turkey and deepen strategic partnership. The policy of creating a basis for fruitful cooperation in various areas of mutual cooperation is shown, the importance of regional projects for Turkey is analyzed.

The third subsection is entitled "*Georgia in Turkey's foreign policy: an integration model*". It is noted that the importance of cooperation with Georgia for Turkey is due to the importance of Georgia in the transportation of energy resources in the Caspian basin. Based on a more active and broad concept of analyzing Turkey's participation in regional projects, the main principles of the foreign policy of the AKP are explained, which provides for cooperation with the region and neighboring countries in the name of stability and prosperity. The subsection analyzes the great benefits of regional economic projects for both countries.

The sharp difference in Turkish-Russian relations with the countries of the region during the consequences of the Russian-Georgian war for Turkey, The Caucasus Platform for Stability and Cooperation launched by Turkey in 2008 is analyzed as a guarantor of Turkey's interests. It is noted that this platform is the guarantor of Turkish interests in two directions. First, given the large-scale regional projects, Turkey does not want stability and security in the region to be fragile. In this sense, the Caucasus Platform for Stability and Cooperation offers a forum for resolving local conflicts and disputes through discussions and diplomacy. As a result, such an initiative serves to reduce tension in the region, strengthen regional ties and initiatives, and strengthen stability. Secondly, instability in the region does not allow Turkey to become a global energy and transport hub. In this sense, the Caucasus Platform for Stability and Cooperation complements the idea that Turkey is a safe harbor.

In conclusion, although Turkey failed to limit Russia's political influence in the South Caucasus, it became Russia's largest trading partner after the war, capturing Russia's trade positions in Georgia. At the same time, Turkey was able to maintain economic cooperation with Russia and make it a major trading partner.

The fourth subchapter is entitled "*Armenia in Turkey's Foreign Policy*". It is noted that Turkey's relations with Armenia are formed against the backdrop of both bilateral and regional relations and this approach is determined by the principles on which the policy of the AKP in the South Caucasus is based. An analysis of the problem of "genocide" in Turkey's foreign policy shows that this problem has an internal and external component, manifested mainly in the Turkey-

Armenia path, as well as EU membership. None of the additional conditions required from Turkey are specified in the Copenhagen Criteria and are related to the situation. Therefore, Turkey rejects these conditions and states that it is incorrect to assess relations with Armenia outside of Turkish-Azerbaijani and Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. Positive changes in relations after the Second Karabakh War confirmed this once again.

When studying the "Armenian" issue in relations between Turkey and the European Union during the AKP, it was noted that the future status of Turkey was also the subject of heated discussions in the European Parliament. The accession of 80 million country to the EU can fundamentally disrupt the existing division of political forces, since the structures of the EU are based on the population of a particular country. Ankara can have a strong influence, and this is not what the European "heavyweights" want. In this context, the "Armenian issue" can be used, on the one hand, to prolong Turkey's integration into the EU, and on the other hand, as one of the incentives for future reforms in various areas of the country. Turkey's balanced policy in the Ukrainian-Russian war shows that it is the more expected and more constructive force in the region, even if it is not a member of the EU.

The involvement of non-regional forces in regional politics is carried out and will be carried out regardless of the state of Armenian-Turkish relations. An additional impetus to these processes can be given by the normalization of relations between countries. Negotiations on the entire range of issues are the only effective and possible tool for the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations. Although the liberation of Azerbaijani lands is aimed at normalizing the situation in this direction, achieving success in other aspects depends on the political will of the leaders of both countries, the internal and external situation.

As a result of the research, the results were summed up, generalized, the main provisions and conclusions were formed. It is concluded that the South Caucasus remains an arena of ideological, economic and geopolitical rivalry between Turkey, Russia, the USA, Europe and Iran. Turkey's policy in the South Caucasus during the AKP period is a proactive policy, defined not by the concept of "security threat", but by the concept of partnership based on the logic of "winner-winner". By becoming a donor in the international arena due to its

economic power, Turkey has further strengthened its image in the South Caucasus, acquiring a more effective acting reputation and strengthening its “soft power”. The South Caucasus plays a key role in transforming Turkey as an energy corridor country and a terminal country where energy needs are met. Turkey's support for Azerbaijan's 44-day Victory Day is important.

The main provisions of the dissertation are reflected in the following published scientific works of the author:

1. After the May 27 military coup in the Army-Politics relationship Transition to democracy in Turkey // *Civilization*, 2014, №11, p.240- 247
2. Justice and Development Party government and Turkey's foreign policy theoretical issues // *History and its problems*, 2015, №1, p.224-233
3. Armenian Church and terrorism (ideological aspects) // *Problems of international law and integration (scientific-analytical and practical journal)*, 2015, № p.107-117.
4. Strategic depth: a theoretical review of Turkish foreign policy // *Journal of Qafqaz University*, 2015, №2, p.232-244
5. The weight of Turkey in the formation of Georgia's foreign policy // *"Ethnosocium"*, Inter. Izd., 2016, №8, p.160-168
6. Issues of the Armenian Diaspora and the so-called genocide // *Civilization*, 2016, №4, p.130-139
7. A new approach to Turkish foreign policy: "strategic depth" and "zero problem with neighbors" course. // *III Symposium on International Studies of the Turkic World*, Nigde, April 2017, p.333-340
8. General theoretical frameworks of foreign policy of Turkey in period of party rule justice and development (JDP). // *Modern Views in Science*”, LII International Scientific conference, New York, september 17, 2019, p.95-98
9. Turkey's position on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. // *AUL*, “Actual problems of international relations”, Republican scientific conference, Baku, october 25, 2019, p.403-406

10. Turkey-Azerbaijan: from Strategic Cooperation to Strategic Partnership. // Web of Science, Politicus, 2020, p.103-109
11. "General Theoretical basis of Turkish foreign policy during the rule of the Justice and Development Party", The Academy of Public Administration, Baku, June 03, 2021, p.272-277

The defense of dissertation will be held on “29” February 2024 at 13:30 at the meeting of the Dissertation council BED 2.30/1 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.

Address: 74 Lermontov Street, Baku

Dissertation is accessible at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Library.

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 the required addresses on _____, 2024.

Signed for publication: 22/01/2024

Paper format: A5

Volume: 37275

Circulation: 20