

# **REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

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## **ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

### **THE ISLAMIC FACTOR IN THE MIDDLE EAST POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES (GERMANY, FRANCE, ENGLAND, ITALY) DURING THE ARAB SPRING YEARS**

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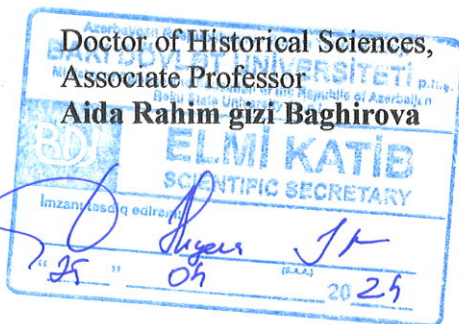
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## **I.GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION**

### **The actuality and the process of development of the topic.**

The study of the Islamic factor in the policies of the major European powers Germany, France, England and Italy towards the Middle East was taken as a basis in the research work, which is distinguished by its relevance. These countries, which are considered the leading states of Europe, are power centers with the potential to direct modern world politics, both individually and as part of the European Union (which included England during the period covered by the topic). In the 90s of the 20th century, the end of the Cold War era led to the emergence of various political and economic systems and organizations consisting of their representatives in the countries of the world. Expanding the concept of security to include external threats as well as internal threats, adding Islam under the name of "terrorist religion" to the list of actors influencing the process of foreign policy determination, led to the understanding of the foreign policy of these countries, especially towards the Middle East from a hostile position. This situation becomes even more complicated after the events of September 11, 2001 and the Arab Spring compared to the Cold War period. The foreign policy and security activities of European countries, especially in relation to the Middle East region, are being studied more in the context of religion.

As a region, researches about the Middle East always maintain their relevance. The geography of the Middle East has played the role of a bridge between the peoples living in Central Asia, the Far East and Europe since the Middle Ages. During the last centuries, the Middle East has been one of the main places of ethnic, national, religious and strategic struggle between the West and the East.

The events of the Arab Spring, covering the chronological framework of the topic, have created problems that have not been possible to overcome until now. The coups in certain countries caused radical terrorist organizations to take over the leadership and the Middle East region, which had just begun to calm down, turned into a

hot pot again<sup>1</sup>. The events of the Arab Spring led to an increase in the number of Muslims immigrating from Arab countries to Europe. The concept of "European Islam", which is more commonly used in the course of events, aims to change Islam according to the western culture in order to create a way of life in which western societies and Muslims are in harmony.

Another reason for the topicality of the topic is the issue of whether Muslims can adapt to European culture, which has become a topic of discussion for many years, which can be considered the power center of Europe. Islam, the second most accepted religion after Christianity, which has spread widely since the conquest of Andalusia in Europe, is still presented as a foreign phenomenon in European societies.

As the resistance to the permanent settlement of immigrants in Europe increased, the cultural differences brought by Islam, the racism that appeared in its modern form, showed itself in a more prominent form. In other words, it led to the emergence of Islamophobia. As a result of the terrorist incidents<sup>2</sup> that occurred in New York in the USA, London and Madrid in Europe in the name of Islam and Muslims, racism and discrimination against the peaceful Muslim population living in Europe has become normal. Especially after the events of September 11, Islamophobia in the Western world has become a problem between civilizations. In this regard, American professor S. Huntington's declaration of the Islamic world as the new enemy of the Christian and Western world<sup>3</sup>, and the statement of former NATO Secretary General W. Claes that "Islamic morality is the greatest threat to Europe"<sup>4</sup> were not accidental.

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<sup>1</sup> Allahverdiyeva, F.M. The impact of Arab spring to political Islam // Hileya: Scientific Bulletin. – Kyiv: - 2020, 159 (11-12), – p.22.

<sup>2</sup> Akdemir, E. 11 Eylül 2001, 11 Mart 2004 ve 7 Temmuz 2005 Terörist Saldırıların Ardından İslam'ın Avrupa'da algılanışı // Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi, - Ankara: - 2009, 8(1), - s.2.

<sup>3</sup> Huntington, S.P. Medeniyetler Çatışması ve Dünya Düzeninin Yeniden Kurulması / - İstanbul: Okuyan Us Yayıncılık, - 2019, - s.448.

<sup>4</sup> Dağ, A. İslamofobia: Hegemonya'yı Derinleştirme ve bir Hegemonya Projesi Olarak Euro-İslam // 1.Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler ve Müslümanlar Kongresi: "Hegemonya-Karşı Hegemonya" – Konya: EKOPI, - 5-7 may, - 2016, - s. s.48-49.

Among the factors that justify the suitability of the research topic, the most important is that the processes experienced in the Middle East and Islamic countries in the last 10 years are at the epicenter of international relations, and the efforts for democracy and modernization are located in international relations. The region and the religious problem reached its peak, causing all the attention of international politics and the region to be focused here. The British Commission on Muslims and Islamophobia, established in 1996 in England, in its report entitled "Islamophobia: a challenge for all of us" published in 1997, emphasized that Islam is different and "other", that it has nothing in common with other cultures, and continues today which has caused the hostility of Islam and religion to reach dangerous dimensions. The brief description of the commission's report states that this hostility is targeting Islam, muslims, and Middle Eastern countries <sup>5</sup>.

In this sense, the main stages and directions of the foreign policy of the leading states of the Middle East in the first period of the Arab Spring and in the following years, the restructuring of state-society relations on legal grounds, the attitude towards the re-formed political and social views, the leading European countries affected by the popular movements in the region was on the agenda of the United States as well. The thesis is dedicated not only to tracing the foreign policy of the United States, but also to a comprehensive investigation of the response of the European Union and the United States to the extreme religious terrorist activities that emerged as a result of the ongoing processes and expanding migration flows. It creates an opportunity to trace the factors that led to the transformation of the Islamic religion as a whole into an international problem within the framework of the Arab Spring, as well as in the Middle East and Europe. The "Common Foreign Policy" prepared by the European Union countries to act jointly in foreign policy and the "European Neighborhood Policy" created to develop political relations with non-

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<sup>5</sup> Canatan, K. İslamofobi ve Anti-İslamizm - Kavramsal ve Tarihsel Yaklaşım, Batı Dünyasında İslamofobi ve Anti-İslamizm, ed. Canatan, K., Hıdır, Ö., / - Ankara: Eskiyei Yayınları, -2007, - s. 23.

member countries in a good sense were delayed in giving the necessary response to these people's movements<sup>6</sup>. In particular, projects such as action plans and economic assistance developed within the framework of the "European Neighborhood Policy" have remained unaffected. During the period of the Arab spring and in the following years, during the period of establishing relations between Europe and the Middle East in a changed format, the analysis of the main directions of European foreign policy and the main factors shaping the course of foreign policy is of both scientific and applied interest. One of the distinctive features of the dissertation work is that the problems listed here are studied in the context of international relations, against the background of global and regional trends.

During the research of the dissertation work, a large number of primary sources, generalized works, monographs, scientific and analytical articles in Azerbaijani, Turkish, Russian, English, French and Arabic languages were studied and analyzed.

To analyze the institutional approach to Islam in the internal and external policy of the leading European states before, during and after the Arab Spring as a source base of the research, documents, declarations on the relations of the European countries and the EU with the Arab countries, official speeches<sup>7</sup>, of the heads of state regarding Islam and the region, statements, visits of official delegations of states, etc. has found its reflection. While writing the dissertation work, the texts of international and regional structures<sup>8</sup>,

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<sup>6</sup> Qeyd: Avropa Qonşuluq siyasəti çərçivəsində Azərbaycan, Gürcüstan, Ukrayna, Ermənistan, İsrail, İordaniya, Misir, Tunis, Mərkəş və Fələstinin də daxil olduğu 16 ölkə ilə əlaqələr qurulub. Suriya, Liviya və Belarus Qonşuluq siyasətinin əksər strukturlarından xaric edilmişdir. Ünal, M.C. "Arap Baharı" sonrası Avropa Komşuluk Politikasının Geleceği // Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi, - Ankara: - 2017, 16(2), - s. 158.

<sup>7</sup> Chrisafis, A. Sarkozy admits France made mistakes over Tunisia: [Electronic resource] / The Guardian, January 10, 2011. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/24/nicolas-sarkozy-tunisia-protests>

<sup>8</sup> Fischer, J. German Foreign Policy Comes of Age: [Electronic resource] / The New Times, - December 8, 2014. URL: <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/113995/Opinions/german-foreign-policy-comes-of-age>

Official documents of the US Congress<sup>9</sup>, official information from the foreign ministries of Germany, France, England and Italy<sup>10</sup>, official information of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Arab states<sup>11</sup>, the summits of the heads of Arab countries<sup>12</sup> and the texts of economic agreements<sup>13</sup> were used.

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<sup>9</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood's Global Threat: [Electronic resource] / House of Representatives, Subcommittee on National Security, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. – July 11, 2018. URL: <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/GO/GO06/20180711/108532/HHRG-115-GO06-Transcript-20180711.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> Federal Government of Germany. White Paper 2016: On German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr / - Berlin: Federal Ministry of Defence, - 2016, - 144 p; Michou, H. The UK in the Middle East: commercial diplomacy to what end? // FRIDE, Policy Brief, - United Kingdom: - 2012, № 118, - p. 1-5; Nicolas Sarkozy: There are too many foreigners in France: [Electronic resource] / The Guardian, - May 16, 2012. URL: [www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/07/nicolas-sarkozy-too-many-foreigners](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/07/nicolas-sarkozy-too-many-foreigners); Menegaux, C. Guéant: La Hausse du Nombre de Musulmans Pose Problème: [Ressource électronique] / Le Figaro, - 4 Avril, 2011. URL: <https://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/2011/04/04/01002-20110404ARTFIG00660-gueant-la-hausse-du-nombre-de-musulmans-pose-probleme.php>; Ratka, E. Germany and The Arab Spring-Foreign Policy Between New Activism and Old Habits // German Politics and Society, - United States: - 2012, 30 (2), - p. 59-74.

<sup>11</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Arabic Republic of Egypt: [Electron resource] / - 9 September 2021. URL: [www.mfa.gov.eg](http://www.mfa.gov.eg); Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Arabic Republic of Egypt: [Electron resource] / -16 November 2022. URL: [www.mfa.gov.eg](http://www.mfa.gov.eg); Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Arabic Republic of Egypt: [Electron resource] / -30 December 2019. URL: [www.mfa.gov.eg](http://www.mfa.gov.eg)

<sup>12</sup> Defiant Gaddafi vows to fight on: [Electronic resource] / Aljazeera, - May 23, 2021. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/201122216458913596.html>; EU freezes assets of allies of Tunisia's ousted Ben Ali: [Electron resource] / BBC News, - 4 February, 2011. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12370591>

<sup>13</sup> Reuter, A. G8 Zirvesi Yoğun Gündemle Başladı: [Elektronik kaynak] / Deutsche Welle Türkçe – Mayıs 26, 2011. URL: <http://dw.de/p/11Oe2>; Tunisia political crisis deepens after assassination: [Electronic resource] / BBC News, - February 7, 2013. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21366235>; Yemen Country Report, 2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Yemen: [Electron resource] / Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. - 29 May, 2022. URL: <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/yemen/>

The researched topic has not been widely and comprehensively studied in Azerbaijani historiography. The available studies are a small number of monographs, mostly scientific articles, and at the same time teaching-methodical materials level studies devoted to the study of separate aspects of the current research topic. For example, the works of A. Baghirova<sup>14</sup>, the author of a number of books and articles about arab countries, R. Ismayil and N. Akhundova, well-known orientalist scholars, who touched on the political upheavals in the "Arab Spring" countries in their research, were particularly important. The researches of Azerbaijani researchers T. Abbasov, J. Alisganderli, H. Mammadova, T. Orujova, N. Yagublu, which are important for the dissertation<sup>15</sup> include the geopolitical aspects of the Arab Spring, multiculturalism in Europe, Islamophobia, etc. is to clarify the issues.

The books of M.Bakhishov, H.Soltanova and J.Mammadov<sup>16</sup> from the teaching-methodological researches have been important in the issues of the main aspects of the foreign policies of the European states and the geographical definition of the Middle East region.

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<sup>14</sup> Bağirova, A. Ərəb baharı: Gözləntilər və reallıqlar. – Bakı: Heroqlif, – 2007. – 168 s.; Bağirova, A. İraqın xarici siyasəti (1968-2003). – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2003, – 500 s.; İsmayilov, R. Axundova, N., Bağirova, A., Ərəb ölkələrinin çağdaş tarixi: I hissə: Asiyanın ərəb ölkələri. – Bakı: Xəzər Universiteti nəşriyyatı, – 2013. – 400s.

<sup>15</sup> Əlisgəndərli, C. Ərəb baharı: Geosiyasi və Geoiqtisadi maraqların qarşılıqlı təsiri / – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri. – 2013. №4, – s.263-272; Əlisgəndərli, C. Ərəb baharı (Analitik baxış). “Ərəb baharı” kontekstində Türkiyə və İran / – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri. – 2014. №1, – s.163-168; Məmmədli, H. Bir daha “Ərəb Baharı” haqqında: [Elektron resurs] / NewTimes, Anatical Information, - Dekabr 12, 2012. URL: <http://newtimes.az/az/relations/1188>; Orucova, T. Qərbi Avropada multikulturalizm və islamofobiyanın qarşılıqlı əlaqəsi: [Elektron resurs] / Geostrategiya, -Aprel 4, 2021. URL: <https://www.geostrategiya.az/news.php?id=144>; Yaqublu, N. Yaxın Şərqdə demokratiya niyə uğursuzluqla nəticələnir: səbəblər və amillər: [Elektron resurs] / Geostrategiya, - Dekabr 16, 2020. URL: <https://www.geostrategiya.az/news.php?id=109>

<sup>16</sup> Baxışov, M.Ə. İtaliyanın yeni və müasir tarixi. / – Bakı: 3 sayılı Bakı Mətbəəsi ASC, -2018, -s.119.; Baxışov, M.Ə. Fransanın yeni tarixi dərs vəsaiti, Bakı: Şirvan-nəşr, 2013.- 100 s.; Baxışov, M.Ə. Almanıyanın yeni tarixi. Dərs vəsaiti. / – Bakı: Şirvan-nəşr, 2008.- 104 s.; Soltanova, H., Məmmədov, C; “Yaxın və Orta Şərq ölkələrinin iqtisadi və sosial coğrafiyası”, / – Bakı: Bakı Universiteti, -2008. -303s.



In the process of researching the subject, researches from *Turkish historiography* by A. Hüseyin, M. Özcan, T. Kışlakçı, A. Cıngı<sup>17</sup> etc. studies were also used.

In the process of researching the subject, Western authors B. Lewis, M. S. Kramer, M. Bianco, A. Teril, L. Anderson and others<sup>18</sup> have written about the policy of European states in the Middle East, the events that led to the events of the Arab Spring, the Islamic factor in the foreign policy of the West and the Arab Spring perspectives of European states, the books and articles analyzed were also used.

While examining the research work, Russian authors V.A. Sadovnichij, A.A. Akayev, A.V. Korotayev, S.Y.U. Malkov, M.V. Sapronova, M.J. Schumacher, K.M.Truccev and others<sup>19</sup> attention has

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<sup>17</sup> Hüseyin, A. Batının İslamla Kavgası / - İstanbul:Pınar Yayınları, -2017. -144s.; Özcan, M. Arap Baharı ve Sonrası İslami Hareketler Yol Ayrımında / - Konya: Çizgi kitapevi, - 2017, - 166 s.; Kışlakçı, T. Arap Baharı / – İstanbul: İlimyurdu yayıncılık, – 2013. – 248 s.; Cıngı, A. Ortadoğunun öfkesi ve Batıda ırkçılık; Arap Baharı - Avrupa Sağı-Etkileşimler / - İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları, - 2011, - 112 s.

<sup>18</sup> Lewis, B. The Middle East. 2000 Years Of History From The Rise Of Christianity to the Present Day. / - New York: Orion Publishing Co- 2019, - 448 p.; Lewis, B. What Went Wrong?: Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response. / - New York: Oxford University Press, - 2002, - 192 p; Lewis, B. What Went Wrong?: The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East. / - New York: Harper Perennial, - 2003, - 208 p.; Kramer, M. Physik als Abenteuer: Band II: Wärmelehre und Mechanik / - Hamburg: Kallmeyer, -2016, - 271 b.; Baring, E., Cromer, E. Political and Literary Essays, 1908–1913, The Government of Subject Races. Edinburgh Review 207 (1908): / Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, - 2010, - 277 p.; Terrill, A. Arab Threat Perceptions and the Future of the U.S. Military Presence in the Middle East / - Strategic Studies Institute (U.S.): Department of the Army, - 2016, - 120 p.; Anderson, L. Arab Democracy: Dismal Prospects // World Policy Journal, - Duke University Press: - 2001, 18 (3), Fall, - p.53-60; Anderson, L. Demystifying the Arab Spring- Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya / Foreign Affairs, - Canada: -2011, 90 (3), – p.2-7.

<sup>19</sup> Садовничий, В.А. Акаев, А.А., Коротаев, А.В., Малков, С.Ю., Моделирование и прогнозирование мировой динамики. / - Москва: ИСПИ РАН. – 2012. – 359 с.; Сапронова, М.В. Становление новой государственности на Арабском Востоке. Международные процессы. // Том 13. - Москва: - 2015. 3(42), - с.26-39; Шумахер, М.Дж. Шредер, П.Дж., Способствует ли внутривосточная нестабильность терроризму? Global Evidence эпохи арабской весны (2011–2014 гг.). // Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, - Chicago: – 2021. 44 (1), - с. 44-72;

been paid to his works in order to investigate and analyze the current political situation and social situation in Middle Eastern countries..

Iranian scientist H. Dabashi, American political scientist B. R. O'Gorman Anderson, N. Daniel, arab thinkers A.A.Mawdudi, A. Soroush, founder of Tunisia's Al-Nahda party R. Al-Ghannouchi are among the authors whose researches we especially benefited from in writing the dissertation<sup>20</sup>.

During the research, along with those who agree with democracy, the opinions of representatives of the meeting against democracy were compared, the opinions of 20th century Arab thinkers, along with the opinions of historians, politicians, orientalist opinion representatives and analysts of European and American origin, were analyzed and criticized.

Internet resources, analytical summaries posted on various websites, documents of international organizations and news agencies were widely used during the research of the dissertation work.

The chronological framework of the thesis is the years of the Arab Spring. When analyzing the foreign policy and Islamic factor between European countries and Arab countries, the period from December 2010 to October 2011, when the events of the Arab Spring began, was taken as a basis. At the same time, in order to clarify the essence of the processes more correctly, as well as to understand correctly the emergence of the Islamic factor in the foreign policy of the leading European states, the events that took place in previous periods were also touched upon, after the events of September 11, 2001, attention was also paid to the Islamophobia "discussions" that

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Труевцев К.М. Жасминовая революция в Тунисе. // Системный мониторинг глобальных и региональных рисков. – 2013. 4 (1), - с. 365–386.

<sup>20</sup> Dabaşı, H. Arap Baharı: Postkolonyalizmin Sonu (çev., Eser, A.T.) / - İstanbul: Sümer Yayıncılık, - 2015. – 350 s.; Anderson, B. Hayali Cemaatler. Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması, çev. İskender Savaşır / - İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, -2020, - 272 s.; Daniel, N. Islam and the West: The Making of an Image / - England: Oxford, Oneworld Publications, - 2009, - 472p.; Ahmad, İ. Demokrasi ve İslam // İslâmi Araştırmalar Dergisi, - Ankara, - 2012, 23(2), - s.79-89; Sürüş, A. Maksimum ve Minimum Din / - Ankara: Fecir Yayınları, 2002, - 176 s.; Ghannouchi, R. From Political Islam to Muslim Democracy: The Ennahda Party and the Future of Tunisia // Foreign Affairs, - America: -2015. 95(5), - p.58-67.

intensified during the "fight against terror" campaign in Europe and the United States..

**Object and subject of research.** The object of the dissertation is the Islamic factor in the Middle East policy of the leading European states Germany, France, England and Italy.

The subject is the Islamic factor in the Middle East policy during the Arab Spring of the aforementioned states. That is, the characteristics of the Islamic factor in the Middle East policy of Germany, France, England and Italy; The place of Islamophobia in the domestic and foreign policy of European countries; The process of influence of Arab spring events on political Islam; the place and role of the Islamic factor in the regulation of the bilateral and multilateral relations of the leading European states in the studied period, the dynamics of relations with the countries of the Middle East.

**Research goals and objectives.** The main goal of the research is to examine the Islamic factor in the Middle East policy of Germany, France, England and Italy, one of the leading European countries, based on an objective analysis of sources and literature. Based on this, the following specific tasks have been set in order to achieve the goal of the dissertation work:

- Collect, systematize and analyze authoritative sources and literature on the problem in different languages;
- Determining the interests of European countries in the Middle East region during the Arab Spring;
- To examine the impact of Islamist movements and Muslims on European foreign policy during the Arab Spring;
- To determine the geography of centers of organization against Islam and Islamophobia trend in European countries, including the world;
- To compare and analyze the general management system and the individual situation of the regions captured by Islamist movements and groups during the uprisings;
- Study the failed changes and new conflicts during the Arab Spring revolutions based on the facts of historical sources;

- To examine the activities of public political organizations and communities operating in the Middle East and North Africa at that time regarding political Islam;
- To examine the actions of European countries against refugees and illegal immigrants in their territories and in other regions;
- To determine the political and economic approach of European countries to the Middle East and Islam during the Arab uprisings;
- To analyze the information, articles and news of the press agencies operating in Europe at that time regarding political Islam and democracy in a historical-factual context;
- To analyze the international legal processes and discussions related to the region in the period after the Arab Spring, to analyze the articles of multilateral and bilateral agreements on countries and to study the process of implementation of agreements;
- Determining the effects of socio-political processes on the Muslim population in Europe, both during the years of the revolution and in the first years after the revolution;
- To study the participation of Muslims in the struggle for democracy;
- To look at the historical aspect of the events in order to clarify the policies of the European states during the Arab Spring;
- To clarify the effects of the measures taken regarding Islam in Europe, on the outcome of the struggle in the Arab countries;
- To analyze the activities of leading European countries and official organizations related to Islam and the Middle East;
- To study and analyze the socio-political and socio-economic life of Europe during the research period, based on research and facts.

**Research methods.** The objective historical approach based on the complex critical and comparative analysis of the materials of the primary sources presented and involved in the research and the facts, considerations, and literature in the research constitutes the methodological basis of the dissertation. It should be noted that this research, which includes the synthesis of historical and political approaches, is interdisciplinary in nature, using general historical methods, including comparative analysis, critical analysis, systematic analysis, and statistical methods. The theoretical-methodological basis

of the research is based on the chronological principle, which allows to follow the development and characteristics of the investigated problems at different stages of their historical development.

**The main provisions of the defense these are:**

1. In general, the sharp manifestation of the Islamic factor in the foreign policies of the leading states of the world, including Europe, occurred as a result of the events of September 11, 2001, and even the "Arab Spring" itself appeared as a part of this process;

2. The Arab Spring was caused by geopolitical factors. Internal causes actually acted as a fertile ground for events initiated by external influences;

3. As a result of the events of the Arab Spring, the increase in migration movements has caused the Islamic factor to be felt more prominently in the foreign policy of the leading European states;

4. The European states, which stated that their goal was to "replace authoritarian regimes with democratic regimes", in the mentioned period, actually looked at the region as an important strategic point in order to ensure the security of their Eastern borders, and then to gain a superior position in the power race between them;

5. In relation to the countries covered by the Arab Spring, the leading states of Europe, despite saying that their goal is to "support the democratic changes that are taking place", bring chaos and disorder to these countries with their policies;

6. The Middle East policy of the leading European states in the studied period is part of the struggle for influence among the great powers, which has been slightly modified taking into account the new characteristics of the time;

7. As it was historically, today the Islamic factor in the foreign policy of the leading states and the promotion of Islamophobia are one of the forms of geopolitical struggle.

**Scientific novelty of the research.** In the presented dissertation work, for the first time in historiography, the topic "Islamic factor in the Middle East policy of European countries during the Arab Spring" was comprehensively and systematically studied as a separate problem from a scientific and theoretical point of view. During the research, primary sources on the subject, including extensive historical

literature, were examined in detail and the following scientific innovations were obtained:

- The dissertation is the first research paper to comprehensively examine the Islamic factor in the Middle East policy of the leading European countries, Germany, France, England and Italy, in the context of international and regional relations, based on the Arab Spring events;

- On the basis of a comprehensive, critical and objective analysis of the source and literature, the form, strategy and tactics of the view of Islam prevailing in different periods of European countries' policies towards the Middle East were investigated, and the place, development dynamics and evolution of Islam in the characteristic features of the bilateral and multilateral relations of the Western countries were revealed;

- On the example of the power system of the Middle Eastern countries, during the years of the Arab Spring events, social movements in the Middle East and democratic speeches formed on the basis of political Islam were analyzed from the perspective of European foreign policy and approach to the Middle East;

- Within the cultural boundaries, ethnic, religious and sectarian differences were analyzed in the countries where the Arab Spring was violently experienced;

- The main characteristics of Islam in solving the regional problems of European countries were investigated based on the principles of religion and political approach;

- The social nature of the evolution of the foreign policy concepts of Germany, France, England and Italy in relation to Islam is revealed, and the struggle to become a leading state and regional power center in the Middle East and Muslim societies is presented against the background of geopolitical and regional processes;

- The impact of the events of the Arab Spring and internal factors on the formation of Europe's view of Islam has been investigated.

**Theoretical and practical significance of research.** The main provisions and scientific results of the dissertation are of theoretical and practical importance. The final scientific results obtained in the research work can be used in the conduct of research and writing of

generalized works related to the attitude of the leading European countries Germany, England, France, and Italy to Islam in the framework of the Middle East policy during the Arab Spring events and in the following years.

**Approbation and application.** The main scientific propositions and conclusions put forward in the dissertation are reflected in the scientific articles published by the author in Azerbaijan and abroad, and in his reports at various scientific-practical conferences and symposia. The author wrote 6 articles, 3 theses and spoke at 7 symposiums.

**Name of the organization where the dissertation work is carried out.** Dissertation work was performed at Baku State University, Faculty of History, Department of History of Turkic Peoples.

**The total volume of the dissertation with a sign, indicating the volume of the structural units of the dissertation separately.** Dissertation work consists of introduction, 3 chapters, 7 sub-chapters, conclusion and list of used literature. Introduction - 33,567, Chapter I - 63,516, Chapter II - 54,625, Chapter III - 97,217, Conclusion - 11,082, the total volume of the dissertation consists of 288,845 characters.

## II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the **Introduction** part of the research, the relevance of the topic is justified, the level of study of the problem and the source science base are analyzed, the theoretical and methodological issues are clarified, the object and subject of the research, goals and objectives are defined, the scientific novelty and practical importance of the work are indicated.

The first chapter of the dissertation is called "**Theoretical-conceptual issues of the Arab spring on the historical and geographical level**" and consists of three paragraphs. The first sub-chapter entitled "**Middle East and Arab Spring Phenomenon Concepts**" examines general ideas and concepts about the Middle East and the Arab Spring. Many other definitions have been given for

the region called the Middle East, taking into account the political, geographical, economic and cultural differences. On the other hand, the Middle East is defined more through political evaluation<sup>21</sup>. Until 1855, the concepts of near and far east did not refer to a specific region. The use of these terms during the Crimean War in the middle of the 19th century led to a significant change in the vocabulary. In the 19th century, the Russian Empire entered a more aggressive phase in foreign policy, becoming militarily active against both the Ottoman Empire and China. At this time, the British government also stood against the Russians and as a result, the Crimean War. In the 19th century, during this war, the British government began to use the new terms "Middle East" and "Far East" which gave specific regional meanings. The concept of the Middle East, on the other hand, was the term used by the French for the lands of the Ottoman Empire until the beginning of the 19th century.

The Arab Spring, both as a popular uprising and the first time the peoples of the Middle East stood for democracy in an organized form, showed a revolutionary character for the first time in its results. Before the Arab popular movements were called the "Arab Spring", they were first called the "Jasmine Revolution" because the events were thought to be limited to Tunisia. After the spread of the uprisings in Egypt and Libya, and the progress of the event by expanding the sphere of influence, the Arab world began to be referred to as the "Arab Spring". The process that ended with Bin Ali fleeing the country on January 14, 2011 is often referred to as the "Jasmine Revolution"<sup>22</sup>. As the process progressed, the name "Arab Spring" began to be pronounced, as the Jasmine Revolution expanded its boundaries and this definition was unsatisfactory. This name was also said to be inspired by the "Prague Spring"<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Elpe, T. Arap Baharı Kapsamında Avrupa Birliği'nin Ortadoğu Politikası / YLT. Gazi Üniversitesi, 2017, - s.27.

<sup>22</sup> Koçak, K.A. Mısır: Demokratikleşme Yolunda İki Adım İleri Bir Adım Geri // Yaşama Dergisi, -İstanbul: - 2013, (23), - s.24.

<sup>23</sup> Tekek, M. Arap Baharı ve Nedenleri: [Elektronik kaynak] / - Kasım 28, 2012. URL: <https://www.tuicakademi.org/arap-bahari-ve-nedenleri/>



In the second sub-chapter entitled "**Geography of the Arab Spring and the Strategic Importance of the Region**", the geography of the events of the Arab Spring, especially Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria from the Middle Eastern countries where the events were violently experienced is examined and in the context of the strategic importance of the region, trade and transport corridors, energy resources, natural gas and oil factors are investigated. Issues related to the strategic importance of Europe in relation to this region are analyzed.

The Middle East region is a strategically important gateway for major countries such as England, France, America, Germany and Russia at the intersection of three continents. It connects the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea and the Suez Canal to the Indian Ocean through the straits. In addition to this important feature, the Middle East has been the scene of major religious-based conflicts and political rivalries throughout history. After the First World War, the peace and tranquility of the region was disturbed and turned into a region of crises and wars <sup>24</sup>.

In the third sub-chapter called "**Causes of the Arab Spring**", the factors that led to the beginning of the Arab Spring events are grouped and analyzed as corruption, unemployment, human rights, national wealth and the oil factor, the majority of young people in the society, mass media, political and social. Also, the factors that caused the occurrence of events were studied as historical-cultural factors and external factors, and their consequences were also explained. It was noted that as a result of the research, the first noticeable factor is that all the countries that joined the rebellion are far from democracy.

The presence of social media can also be considered a major factor in the start and growth of the Arab Spring. Even some scholars (Lotan, Graeff, Ananny, Gaffney, Pierce, and Boyd) claim that social media has the power to incite and sustain protest and rebellion using information. Social media played a major role in fueling hope for a democratic transition and during the events of the Arab Spring. Social media, as a means of global communication, provided an opportunity

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<sup>24</sup> Karadağ, R. İsrail-Ortadoğu-Amerika / - İstanbul: Truva Yayınları, -2020, - s.212.

to coordinate opposition groups and create solidarity among people <sup>25</sup>. Leaders in Arab countries tried to control people's access to social media, then many authoritarian leaders completely shut down internet services and 3G networks in their countries<sup>26</sup>. There was an internet blackout in Libya, but despite this, social media was very influential in spreading news of what happened during the demonstrations to other countries, as Libyan mainstream media did not report the truth about the process<sup>27</sup>. Egyptian protesters used social media and the internet more during the Arab Spring. In particular, they sent messages to Mubarak on Twitter with the hashtags "#Get!", (#Leave!)<sup>28</sup>.

The second chapter of the dissertation is called **"The Islamic factor in the regional policy of the leading European states against the background of the current situation in the Middle East before the Arab Spring"** and consists of two subchapters. In the first subchapter **"The place of Islam in the political system of the Middle East countries"**, the views of the nations of the region on Islam, Islamist movements, Arab nationalism and political ideologies are analyzed, especially the countries where the Arab Spring occurred more violently than the Middle Eastern countries. The main vectors of the foreign policy during the Cold War period and the policy of the period after the events of September 11 are analyzed, dedicated to the comprehensive investigation of the reaction of the European Union and the United States, including the leading states of Europe, to the

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<sup>25</sup> Wolfsfeld, G. Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First / E. Segev, T. Sheaffer, // The International Journal of Press/Politics, - Jerusalem: - 2013, 18(2). -p. 117.

<sup>26</sup> Yenə orada - p. 120.

<sup>27</sup> Beaumont, P. The truth about Twitter, Facebook and the uprisings in the Arab world: [Electronic resource] / - May 23, 2011. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/25/twitter-facebook-uprisingsarab-libya>

<sup>28</sup> Roberts, T. Emotion, Values, and Religion: The Struggle for Legitimacy in Post-Conflict Arab Spring States: / Post-Conflict Justice-Final Draft. / - Williamsburg, 2013. – p.14.

emerging extremist religious terrorist activities and migration movements as a result of the processes taking place<sup>29</sup>.

In the second sub-chapter "**Islamic factor in the policy of Germany, France, England and Italy towards the Middle East on the eve of the Arab Spring**", the role of Germany, England, France and Italy, which are considered to be the leading countries in Europe, in the political life of both the West and the East and the historical course of modernization in the Middle East are discussed separately and main directions are studied. It is also analyzed from various aspects how and for what purpose they used the Islamic factor throughout history in the policy towards the Middle East.

In the post-Cold War era, the dominant idea in the Middle East was to create unity and fight other world powers. For this purpose, the idea of pan-Arabism was put forward in the Middle East. Pan-Arabism is the belief that the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Middle East should be united under a single nation-state rather than divided states<sup>30</sup>.

European countries such as France, England, Italy, and Spain have had colonies in the Middle East region in the past. Therefore, the political, economic and social conditions in the Middle East affect both the security and economic interests of Europe<sup>31</sup>.

Although Germany's history of the Jewish genocide and the relations it established with Israel after World War II had a bad effect on the Arab people, compared to other Western countries, it was more positively evaluated that it did not come from an imperial past such as France and England<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Özer, A. 11 Eylül, Bölünen Dünya, Hantington Ve Çatışma / Toplum Ve Demokrasi, - İstanbul: - 2009, 3(5), - s.191-210.

<sup>30</sup> Öztürk, T.E., Dünden Bugüne Pan-Arapçılık ve Arap Baharı: Yeni Bir Pan-Arap Uyanış Mı? / Akademik Orta Doğu: Altı Aylık Orta Doğu Araştırmaları Dergisi, - İstanbul: -2012, - s. 125.

<sup>31</sup> Dagcı, K. The EU's Middle East Policy and Its Implications to the Region // - Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations, - Yalova: - 2007, Vol 6, Issue: 1&2, - p.179.

<sup>32</sup> Perthes, V. Relations to the Arab World, Germany and The Middle East Interest and Options, / - Berlin: Heinrich Böll Foundation in Co-Operation with Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, - 2002, -p.129-130.

Laws were passed in Italy allowing Muslims to join the National Fascist Party, specifically the Society of Muslim Lictors. These reforms enabled the creation of Libyan military units in the Italian army, consisting of thirty thousand local Muslim soldiers. The invasion of Libya by the Italians was watched with great interest and attention by the Muslims of South Africa<sup>33</sup>.

The third chapter of the dissertation is called **"The Islamic factor in the regional policy of the leading European states during the Arab Spring"** and consists of two subchapters. In the first subchapter entitled **"Change (modernization), attempts at democratization and Islam in the countries covered by the Arab Spring"**, democratic values and the Islamic factor are analyzed separately in terms of both negative views and positive approaches. Political institutions in Islam, secularism, comparison of **"Natural law"** and **"Islamic law"**, the role of Political Islam during the Arab Spring are studied.

In the 20th century, the Near East became one of the centers where Islamic thought was revived and defended. In particular, the dissatisfaction of the ideologies of nationalism and communism in the line of modernization opened the way for the progress of Islamic thought. Suffering from economic injustice, political conflicts and moral corruption, the people of the Middle East began to look for a solution in Islam<sup>34</sup>.

Islam is a religion that combines politics and faith and has both secular and political aspects. As the perception of Islam changed, the terms "political Islam", "fundamentalism", "radical Islam", "Islamism" began to be used to analyze and criticize the violent actions of political groups. Although there is no consensus on the conceptual use of the term, all trends that aim to change or completely abolish the established political system within the framework of Islamic rules are called "Political Islam". In the geography of the Middle East, which

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<sup>33</sup> Çabuk, M. Senusilik Ve İşgalcilere Karşı Kuzey Afrika'da Osmanlı - Senusi İş Birliği //Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi,-Kahramanmaraş: - 2019, 16 (1), - s.226.

<sup>34</sup> Hüseyin, A. Batının İslamla Kavgası / - İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, -2017. -s.121.

was formed under the control of Europe and the United States, every form of Islam was suppressed from the system as anti-secular<sup>35</sup>.

There are three main approaches in the Islamic-democracy debate<sup>36</sup>. These approaches are "Islam is compatible with democracy", "Islam is incompatible with democracy" and "Islam requires democracy". According to another classification, Islamists have three main approaches to democracy: those who deny the faith, those who reject the method and those who accept it<sup>37</sup>. In general, these classifications can be reduced to two main approaches: "Islam is compatible with democracy" and "Islam is incompatible with democracy". Looking at the sides of the issue, it seems impossible to fully prove the claims of any of them. Although there are various debates and reasons about whether Islam is compatible with democracy, it is possible to find representatives of this concept both among Muslims and in the Western world.

Those who think that Islam is incompatible with democracy can be divided into two categories. According to the first category, democracy is a polytheistic regime and acceptance of democracy leads one to apostasy. According to the second category, even if there is no polytheism, democracy should not be used methodically<sup>38</sup>.

After the Iranian Islamic Revolution, the concept of fundamentalism began to be used to explain the thoughts that existed in the Islamic world. Islamic fundamentalism, opposed to modernization, is used as an attempt to return Islam to its original form. As a result of socio-economic crises experienced in Islamic countries, the intermingling of the people, the consciousness of collective action, the emergence of various ideologies as a result of changes in the international world in the 19th and 20th centuries,

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<sup>35</sup> Allahverdiyeva, F.M. Modernləşməyə reaksiya olaraq siyasi İslamın təşəkkülü / – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri. – 2022. №4, – s.92.

<sup>36</sup> Koyuncu, A.A. Dört Farklı Perspektiften İslam Demokrasi Tartışmaları // İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi, - İstanbul: - 2015, 4 (3), - s. 710.

<sup>37</sup> Çapık, K. Sevimsiz Kavram, Demokrasi / Umran Dergisi, -İstanbul: - 2014, №240, -s.58.

<sup>38</sup> Yənə orada – s.59.

modernization, rebellions against the government, urbanization are considered to be the main factors in the emergence of Radical Islam<sup>39</sup>.

In the second sub-chapter called **"The influence of the Arab Spring on the Islamic factor in the Middle East policy of the leading European states"**, the institutional approach of Germany, France, England and Italy to the events of the Arab Spring, the perspectives of the Arab Spring using the Islamic factor were analyzed..

The lack of democracy in the Middle East and the Arab world posed a security threat to the West. Although many European countries justified their democratization efforts, the focus on Muslims in the growing number of planned and organized terrorist incidents in the world made Muslims appear as potential terrorists. Thanks to such propaganda work, xenophobia prevailed in the society. Over the years, Muslim immigrants who immigrated to Europe did not want to remain in the status of guest workers and wanted to benefit from the citizenship status in a form consistent with European human rights, which brought the representatives of these two different societies face to face. Seeing themselves as individuals of the country they live in and demanding the protection of their rights brought up the existence of the Muslim problem in the West. It was at this point that having to live with Muslims became a concern for a large number of Europeans. This concern was intensified by the terrorist incidents and gave way to the fear of Islam<sup>40</sup>.

The concept of Islamophobia, which means fear of Islam, was first used in 1991 and it came up again after the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001. Today, Islamophobia refers to the legalization of hostility and discrimination against Muslims, based on fear arising from lack of study of Islam and general ignorance of Muslims and Islam<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Manaz, A. Siyasal İslamcılık: Dünyada Siyasal İslamcılık / - İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık. – 2008, – s. 98-112.

<sup>40</sup> Allahverdiyeva, F.M. Ərəb baharı fonunda Avropada İslamafobiyanın təşəkkülü / - Naxçıvan: Elmi Əsərlər– 2023. №1, – s.203.

<sup>41</sup> Özer, A. 11 Eylül, Bölünen Dünya, Hantington Ve Çatışma / Toplum Ve Demokrasi, - İstanbul: - 2009, 3(5), - s.191-210.

Germany's Middle East policy is shaped around security, political and economic interests. A security concern was the massive influx of illegal immigrants into Europe due to Europe's geographical proximity to the region. On the other hand, potential risks arising from regional conflicts, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction also cause concern. Politically, he favors calm on the Arab and Israeli fronts. Germany's economic concerns stemmed from the desire to export energy to regional markets without problems and to create unhindered access to energy resources <sup>42</sup>.

According to the British writer Karen Armstrong, "Islamophobia" is a historical phenomenon that has been going on since the Crusades. September 11th does not reflect the spirit of Islam. The problem is not with religions, but with politicians <sup>43</sup>. Islamophobia was on the rise in France after 9/11, especially with the Arab Spring process. As both anti-immigrant and anti-Islam sentiments grew in Sarkozy's administration, the Arab Spring led to persecution and attacks against Muslims. "*No to the Islamization of Alsace-Lorraine!*", "*Islam out of the Louvre!*" in a mass demonstration held on the streets of Paris on November 10, 2012. while chanting such slogans, right-wing groups condemning "*Islamic fascism*" showed great interest in the demonstration <sup>44</sup>.

Although Islam and Muslims are not a problematic issue for Italian politics, the aftermath of 9/11 and the Arab Spring have led politicians to become increasingly involved in the daily lives and practices of Muslims. The Italian state's security and anti-terrorist policies prevent it from adopting laws that involve processes related to Islam. From 2005 to 2017, policies shaped by security concerns and the fight against terrorism treated Muslims as internal enemies rather

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<sup>42</sup> Kazleh, M.A. Determinants of German Foreign Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict // - Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika, - Ankara: - 2008, 4(13), - p. 120-121..

<sup>43</sup> Keukeleire, S., Delreux, T., The Foreign Policy of the European Union (The European Union Series, 134) / - New York: Springer Publication, -2014, - p. 220.

<sup>44</sup> Menegaux, C. Guéant: La Hausse du Nombre de Musulmans Pose Problème: [Ressource électronique] / Le Figaro, - 4 Avril, 2011. URL: <https://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/2011/04/04/01002-20110404ARTFIG00660-gueant-la-hausse-du-nombre-de-musulmans-pose-probleme.php>

than as normal citizens and potential partners. However, in January 2017, the Minister of the Interior A. Alfano, announced the creation of another advisory body, “the Council for Relations with Italian Islam”, with the mission of improving the integration of Muslims in the country and stated that the purpose of the council is to help Muslim immigrants, Italians or to ensure greater integration into society, to prevent extremism, to train imams, to give consent to the construction of new mosques. The Council, consisting of academics and experts in the field of Islamic culture, should provide recommendations on integration issues every month <sup>45</sup>.

The conclusion reached in the semi-chapter was that throughout history, European states have used Islam for their own purposes, whether in domestic or foreign policy. The use of the religion factor as the main means of hostility towards the Middle East, strengthening the judgments against the terrorist attacks and increasing the anti-Islamic voices, proves the correctness of this approach once again. It provides an opportunity to follow the foreign policy of the Middle East and Europe, as well as the Islamic religion as a whole and the factors that caused it to become an international problem within the framework of the Arab Spring.

In the **Conclusion** part, the following conclusions were reached regarding the tasks set before the research:

1. Islam, which is an important factor in state administration and domestic politics is at the center of the international agenda, not only as a religion, but also as a political ideology, especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

2. When considering the factors that led to the Arab Spring, the influence of internal factors as well as external factors on the process clearly showed that any kind of political change in the Middle East is the next game of the West.

3. As a result of the events of the Arab Spring, along with the integration of religion into politics, the increase in mass migration

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<sup>45</sup> Faytre, L. İtalya İslam’a bir güvenlik sorunu olarak yaklaşıyor: [Elektronik kaynak] / Analiz: -Mayıs 5, 2022. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz-haber/italya-islam-a-bir-guvenlik-sorunu-olarak-yaklasiyor/1280721>



movements towards the west, in turn, had a significant impact on the political life of the Middle East in relations with Europe. The events of the Arab Spring and the emergence of new terrorist groups in the region make it impossible to use Islamophobic expressions when commenting on the events in the Western media. The main issue at the center of the sociological studies conducted on the spread of Islam and Muslim identity problems in Western Europe is "Islamophobia", that is hostility to Islam.

4. The debates about the compatibility of the concepts of democracy and civil society formed in the West with the essence of the Islamic religion, whether they have a place in Islam or not, showed that organization is necessary to instill the idea that Islam and modern life can continue together.

5. The wave of revolutions initiated by Muslim societies for democracy in the Middle East caused Germany to reformulate its regional policy within the framework of security, economic and political interests. In Germany, many political and social steps were taken regarding the formation process of Islamophobia and Muslims. After the consequences of the Arab Spring spilled over into Germany and the number of Muslim immigrants jumped, the conflicting statements of politicians about whether Islam should be part of Germany or not, according to their positions, actually stem from the fact that they never wanted to see Islam and Muslims as part of Germany. Thus, while they are gaining confidence in their political abilities, the German people's fears about Islam and Muslims are intensifying.

6. Since the end of the 20th century, the issue of French Islam, which has become the main topic of internal policy discussion in France, especially after the events of the Arab Spring, the French Islam project aims to create a modern, national Islamic model based on the idea of revising or nationalizing Islam. The novelty of the events of the Arab Spring and the fact that Islamist groups are active in the political arena in the geographies dominated by France indicate that anti-Islam debates will remain relevant in French politics.

7. The concept of European Islam, which emerged as a result of the events of the Arab Spring, which is considered as a continuation

or a part of the "Greater Middle East Project", is an operation carried out to make the lives of Muslims living in Europe easier, to reduce Islamophobic actions in everyday life and to protect their identity against Muslims living in Europe is displayed.

**The following articles, theses and conference materials covering the content of the dissertation were published:**

1. Ərəb Baharının kölgəsində müsəlman cəmiyyətlərin iqtidar sınağı // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2019. – № 3, – s. 314-318.
2. The Impact of Arab spring to Political İslam // – Kyiv: Гілея: науковий вісник. – К. : «Видавництво «Гілея», 2020. – Вип. 159 (№ 11-12). – Ч. 1. Історичні науки, – с. 21-25.
3. Modernləşməyə reaksiya olaraq siyasi İslamın təşəkkülü // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2022. – № 4, – s. 92-96.
4. Fransanın oryantalist İslam anlayışı: Fransız İslam düşüncəsinin təşəkkülü // – Gəncə: AMEA Gəncə Bölməsi, Xəbərlər Məcmuəsi, “İctimai və humanitar elmlər” seriyası, -2023, №1, - s. 105-110.
5. Alman İslam anlayışının nəzəri-tarixi aspektləri // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri Humanitar elmlər seriyası, – 2023. – № 1, – s. 153 – 164.
6. Ərəb Baharı Fonunda Avropada İslamafobiyanın Təşəkkülü // – Naxçıvan: Naxçıvan Universiteti Elmi əsərlər, – 2023. №1, – s. 202-209.
7. Ərəb Baharı illərində İngiltərənin Liviya siyasəti // Davamlı İnkişaf və Humanitar elmlərin aktual problemləri. Respublika konfransının materialları – Bakı: 2019. – s. 14-16.
8. Ərəb Baharının qadın haqqlarına təsiri // International Conference on Gender Problems & Modern Azerbaijan, – Baku: 2019. – p. 17-20.
9. Ərəb Baharının başlanmasında dini hərəkətlərin rolu // International Euroasia Congress on Scientific Researches and Recent Trends-VII, – Baku: 2020. Vol.3, – s. 1-7.
10. The Role of the demographic situation in the Arab countries in the beginning of the Arab spring // 5. International Paris Conference on Social Sciences Proceedings book, – Paris: 2021. – s. 603-608.

**11.** Regional təhlükəsizlik kontekstində: Yaxın Şərqdə din və demokratiya münasibətləri // “Beynəlxalq Münasibətlərin Aktual Problemləri” adlı Respublika elmi konfransı Məruzələrin tezisləri, - Bakı: 2019. – s. 174-177.

**12.** Avropa ölkələrinin Arap Baharı yaklaşımı // İnternational Euroasia Congress on Scientific Researches and Recent Trends-V, - Bakı: 2019. – s. 36-38.

**13.** Ərəb Baharının başlanmasında dini hərəkətlərin rolu // Euroasia Congress on Scientific Researches and Recent Trends-VII, - Bakı, 2020, - s. 606-607.

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