

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE PLACE OF GEORGIA IN THE FOREIGN
POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE
(1991-2019)**

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I.GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF DISSERTATION

Relevance and degree of studying of the problem.

One of the tasks facing the science of general history of Azerbaijan is to deeply study the Caucasus policy of individual states and make generalizations. The history of the implementation of the Georgian policy of the Republic of Türkiye, which has wide interests in the South Caucasus in 1991-2019, is one of the topics that needs to be researched. A number of factors determine the study of the problem. Turkish-Georgian relations have a rich history. The new conditions in the South Caucasus after the collapse of the USSR had a major impact on the formation and implementation of the goals and objectives of Türkiye's regional policy, including Georgia. Based on its national interests, the Turkish state established relations with Georgia, which is geographically and historically a close neighbor.

For many years, Georgia has played the role of a bridge connecting strategic partner countries in the region. Russia's direct land connection with Armenia, and Türkiye's with Azerbaijan, was carried out through Georgia.¹ Caused by Armenia's military aggression against Azerbaijan, fabricated genocide claims against Türkiye, demand for land, compensation, and the occupation of Kalbajar in 1993, the closure of Türkiye-Armenia borders caused problems. With its favorable strategic position, Georgia played an important role in the establishment of land relations with the Republic of Azerbaijan, the leading country of the South Caucasus, and the newly independent states of Central Asia. The fact that the Republic of Azerbaijan and the countries of Central Asia are reliable countries for the transportation of hydrocarbon resources conditioned Türkiye to maintain close relations with Georgia. Georgia is also of great importance in terms of defense and security of Eastern Anatolia region of Türkiye. Therefore, the

¹ Aydıngün, A., Asker, A. Gürcistan: De Jure Üniter, De Facto Parçalı // Bağımsızlıklarının Yirminci Yılında Azerbaycan, Gürcistan ve Ukrayna Türk Dilli Halklar - Türkiye ile İlişkiler / Ed. İ.Aydıngün, Ç.Balım. –Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, – 2012. –p. 120.

Turkish state considered Georgia as part of its zone of vital interests. It is no coincidence that at the beginning of the 20th century, the founder of the Republic of Türkiye, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, told Simon Mdivani, the first ambassador of Georgia in Ankara, about the importance of the Caucasus and Georgia for Türkiye: *“We have powerful enemies in the West. We especially need strong Caucasians and ...Georgians. We need a strong Georgia. We must work together with Georgia so that other countries of the Caucasus become independent”*.²

So far, a number of research works have been written in Türkiye and Georgia, dedicated to both the past and post-1991 history of relations between the two countries. However, the issues of Georgia's place in Türkiye's foreign policy in 1991-2019 have not been researched in the history of Azerbaijan until now. The content of the research conducted in Türkiye and Georgia is influenced by the political situation in the countries, the views of the researchers, and their political and national affiliations. The research of the third country – Azerbaijan historians on Türkiye's Georgian policy in 1991-2019 allows for a deeper and comprehensive assessment of the realities, problems and prospects in the South Caucasus. Because without knowing the essence of Türkiye's policy in Georgia, it is difficult to correctly assess and draw conclusions about the conflicting processes that took place in the South Caucasus in the studied years.

One of the factors determining the relevance of the study of Türkiye's Georgian policy in Azerbaijan is related to the fact that it is a transit country in the transportation of these energy resources to Türkiye. Speaking about the importance of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan main export oil pipeline, one of the first projects implemented in this direction, Heydar Aliyev, the national leader of the Azerbaijani people, said: *“Of course, it is very important from economic point of view. However, it is not only economic, we believe that the work we do, Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan, is of a political nature. This project and its*

² Güzel, B. Türkiye-Gürcistan sınırında düzensiz göç hareketleri: Doğu Karadeniz örneğinde göçmen deneyimleri: / Doktora tezi. –Ankara, –2019. –p. 13.

*implementation can be a guarantor of peace, tranquility and security in the Caucasus region. This pipeline, this steel pipe will connect Azerbaijan, Georgia and Türkiye more closely”.*³

In-depth research of the problem allows for a correct assessment of the decisive and effective role of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the region in terms of the history of the entire Caucasus and the processes taking place in the modern era. President İlham Aliyev expressed this role of the state of Azerbaijan as follows: *“The development of Azerbaijan, the strengthening of our positions in the region is already a reality. Azerbaijan is the fastest growing country in the world. The economy of Azerbaijan accounts for 75 percent of the economy of the South Caucasus. The financial opportunities created in Azerbaijan allow us to solve any issue in our favor”.*⁴

Türkiye-Georgia relations have directly affected the national security, geopolitical and geoeconomic interests of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has been one of the determining factors in the implementation of Türkiye's policy in Georgia.

The study of the problem is also relevant in terms of providing scientifically based answers to the falsification of Georgia's place in Türkiye's foreign policy and attempts to disrupt the relations between the two countries by Armenian researchers living in Armenia and abroad. Since such attempts are also directed against Azerbaijan, one of the tasks of the historical science is to show their groundlessness.

Therefore, one of the tasks facing the Azerbaijani history science should be to deeply study the policy of the Republic of Türkiye in the South Caucasus, including Georgia.

The beginning of the chronological framework of the dissertation in 1991 is related to the restoration of Georgia's state independence, and the end date to 2019 is related to the changes in the political system of the Republic of Türkiye and the government in Georgia. As it is

³ Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / H.Ə.Əliyev.–Bakı: Azərneşr, c.41. –2012. –p. 208-209.

⁴ Əliyev, İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir: [Çoxcildli] / İ.H.Əliyev.–Bakı: Azərneşr, c.43. – 2017. –pp. 310-311.

known, in 2018, a transition from a parliamentary republic to a presidential republic took place in Türkiye, the post of prime minister was eliminated in political administration, and the authority to form the government was given to the president elected in a national vote. Afterwards, the role of the president in foreign policy issues has increased. After the June 2018 elections, there have been changes in Türkiye's political system and foreign policy. After 2019, a new stage has started in the foreign policy of Türkiye, including the politics towards Georgia. Changes have also taken place in Georgia.

Presidential elections were held in Georgia in October 2018. In December of the same year, the new president took office and 2019 was the beginning of a new era in the history of Georgia, including its foreign policy. This chronological framework allows for a systematic in-depth study of all aspects of Georgia in the foreign policy of the Republic of Türkiye in the new conditions created in the South Caucasus.

Various aspects of Türkiye's policy in the South Caucasus, including Georgia, have been touched upon in some works of Azerbaijani scholars. In the works of Musa Gasimli⁵, Hasanbala Sadigov⁶, Irada Huseynova⁷, Irada Bagirova⁸, Jamal Arikhov⁹, Rashad

⁵ Qasımlı, M.C. Aprel işğalından sonra Azərbaycanın xarici siyasət fəaliyyətinin Güney Qafqaz respublikaları ilə birləşdirilməsi və xaricdəki nümayəndəliklərin ləğv edilməsi // Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti və müasir dövr məqalələr toplusu. –Bakı: Diplomat, –1999, –pp.45-55; Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasəti (1991-2003): [2 hissədə] / M.C.Qasımlı. –Bakı: Mütərcim, h.1. –2015. –648 p.; Heydər Əliyev və Qafqaz problemləri / M.C.Qasımlı, E.H.Kəlbizadə, G.M.Musayeva, S.İ.Həbibbəyli. –Bakı: Aspoliqraf, –2023. –320 p.; SSRİ-Türkiyə münasibətləri: [İki cilddə] / M.C.Qasımlı. –Bakı: Adiloğlu, –c.1. –2007. –560 p.; –c.2. –2009. –400 p.; Birinci Dünya müharibəsi illərində böyük dövlətlərin Azərbaycan siyasəti: [3 cilddə] / M.C.Qasımlı. –Bakı: Adiloğlu, –p. 2. –2001. –406 p.; Türkiye – Sovyet Sosialist Cumhuriyetleri Birliğı İlişkileri. 1960-1980 / M.Qasımlı. –Ankara: ATAM, –2013. –599 p.; Азербайджан, Армения и Турция в 1920-1994 гг.: реальная история / М.Гасымлы. – Москва: Инсан, –2016. –615 p.; Турция–СССР: от переворота до распада. 1980-1991 / М.Дж. Гасымлы. – Москва: Инсан, –2010. –408 p.

⁶ Sadıqov, H. Rusiya-Türkiyə münasibətlərində Qafqaz problemi. 1787-1829-cu illər / H. Sadıqov. –Bakı: Elm, –1991. –176 p.

Ibrahimov¹⁰, Elnur Kalbizada¹¹, Kamala Aloyeva¹², Shamil Rahmanzade¹³, Murad Asadov¹⁴, Samira Habibbeyli¹⁵ and others¹⁶, a number of information about Turkiye-Georgia relations can be found in

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- ⁷ Гусейнова, И.М. История народов Кавказа / Учебник. –Баку: ЭЛМ ве техсил, –2018, –1248 p.
- ⁸ Bağırova, İ.S. və b. Azərbaycan – Gürcüstan münasibətləri tarixi (XVIII əsr – XXI əsrin əvvəlləri) / İ.Bağırova, Ş.Həmidova, S.Əliyeva, Ş.Rəhmanzadə [və b.] –Bakı: Şərq-Qərb, –2013. –392 p.; Проблемы безопасности на Южном Кавказе – императивы глобализации // Yeni geostrateji münasibətlərdə Cənubi Qafqaz regionunun yeri: beynəlxalq elmi konfrans, –Bakı: Qərb universiteti, –2003. –pp.60-69; Integration Processes in the Southern Caucasus and the great power policy: a historical excursion back to the 20th century // The Caucasus and Globalization, –2007. Vol.1 (2), –pp.89-100.
- ⁹ Аrixov, С. Azərbaycan - Gürcüstan: dostluq münasibətlərinin inkişaf dinamikası (1992-2003-cü illər) / С.Аrixov. –Bakı: Qanun, –2008. –128 p.
- ¹⁰ İbrahimov, R.H. XX əsrin 90-cı illərində Azərbaycan və Gürcüstan respublikaları arasında münasibətlər: / tarix elmləri namizədi dis. / –Bakı, 2007. –192 p.
- ¹¹ Kəlbizadə, E.H. Ahıska türkləri: deportasiyadan Xocalı soyqırımına // Qafqazda deportasiyalar. Respublika elmi konfransı, –Bakı: Mütərcim, –2018, –pp. 86-87; Абхазия – провинция «Великой Армении»? // Наследие, –2021. № 109, –p. 40-44; Абхазия – провинция «Великой Армении»? // Наследие, –2021. № 110, –pp. 46-52.
- ¹² Aloyeva, K. Qara dəniz iqtisadi əməkdaşlıq təşkilatı çərçivəsində Azərbaycan-Türkiyə-Gürcüstan arasında enerji sektoruna əsaslanan regional inteqrasiyanın əsas istiqamətləri // –Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, –2013. № 2, –pp. 437-446.
- ¹³ Rəhmanzadə, Ş. Azərbaycan-Gürcüstan münasibətlərində ərazi məsələləri (Azərbaycanın şimal-qərb bölgəsinin materialları əsasında, 1917-1930-cu illərin əvvəlləri) / Ş.Rəhmanzadə. –Bakı: Aspoliqraf, –2008. –376 p.
- ¹⁴ Esedov, M. Türkiyə-Gürcüstan ticari ilişkilerinde tarım sektorunun etkisi // Türkiyə'de tarım politikaları ve ülke ekonomisine katkıları uluslararası sempozyumu bildirişləri, -12-14 Nisan, 2018, Şanlıurfa. –Ankara, –2019. –pp. 327-338.
- ¹⁵ Habibbeyli, S.İ. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə-Gürcüstan iş birliyi Güney Kafkasya'da sabitleştirici faktor gibi (Azərbaycan'dan baxış) // "Kafkasya'da Barış Arayışları" uluslararası bilimsel sempozyumu, –Gori: Gori Devlet Üniversitesi, –2020, Ekim 28-29. Gori: LEPL, –2021. –pp. 125-140.
- ¹⁶ Ömərov, V.A. Gürcüstan: daxili ictimai-siyasi şərait / V.A.Ömərov, E.H.Kəlbizadə, N.E.Mirzəyeva. –Bakı: Mütərcim, –2018. –169 p.; Ömərov, V.A. Gürcüstan: inzibati-ərazi quruluşu, idarəçiliyi və demoqrafiyası / V.A.Ömərov, E.H.Kəlbizadə, S.İ.Həbibbeyli [və b.] –Bakı: MTM Innovation MMC, –2019. –320 p.;

different historical periods. In these works, the historical roots of relations between the two countries, Georgia's place in Türkiye's South Caucasus policy, trilateral cooperation between Azerbaijan, Türkiye and Georgia, various aspects of energy diplomacy, and participation in integration processes in the region were analyzed.

Turkish researchers have paid special attention to the study of Türkiye's Georgian policy. Mitat Chelikpala, Chabuk Sedat, Selchuk Cholakoglu, Haydar Chakmak, Okan Mert, Serpil Surmeli, Dogan Shafak Polat and others wrote works dedicated to Türkiye's Georgian policy after 1991.

M.Chelikpala approached Türkiye's Georgian policy in the context of the general policy towards the newly independent states.¹⁷ In the author's works, the effects of Georgian, Abkhazian and other Caucasian communities and diasporas in the country's regional politics were analyzed.¹⁸

Ch.Sedat analyzed the relations between the two countries and Türkiye's policy in Georgia in terms of perspectives.¹⁹

S.Cholakoglu's works are dedicated to Türkiye-Georgia relations.²⁰ The author's work, published in 1999, is important in

¹⁷ Çelikpala, M. Bağımsız Gürcistan'ın 20 yılı: başarısız devlet mi, demokratik model ülke mi? // Kafkaslarda değişim dönüşüm. / Der. M.Aydın. –Ankara: Nobel yayınları, –2013. –pp. 65-111; Son Yirmi Yılda Türkiye'nin Azerbaycan, Gürcistan ve Ukrayna'ya Yönelik Dış Politikası ve Bu Ülkelerdeki Faaliyetleri // Bağımsızlıklarının Yirminci Yılında Azerbaycan, Gürcistan ve Ukrayna Türk Dilli Halklar - Türkiye ile İlişkiler / Ed. İ.Aydın, Ç.Balım. –Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, –2012. –pp. 309-402; Türkiye'de Kafkas Diasporası ve Türk Dış Politikasına Etkileri // Türkiye'nin Avrasya Macerası. 1989-2006 / der. M.Aydın. –Ankara: Nobel yayınları, –2008, –pp. 35-71; Çelikpala, M., Veliyev, C. Azerbaycan-Gürcistan-Türkiye Bölgesel İşbirliğinin Başarı Örneği // CİES, Policy Brief, –2015. № 3, –pp. 1-24.

¹⁸ Çelikpala, M. Türkiye'de Kafkas Diasporası ve Türk Dış Politikasına Etkileri // Türkiye'nin Avrasya Macerası. 1989-2006 / der. M.Aydın. –Ankara: Nobel yayınları, –2008, –pp. 35-71.

¹⁹ Çabuk, S. Türkiye-Gürcistan ilişkileri ve Türkiye'nin Takip Etmesi Gereken Politikalar: / Yayınlanmamış akademi tezi. –İstanbul, 2001. –197 s.

²⁰ Çolakoglu, S. Türkiye'nin Gürcistan Politikası / S.Çolakoglu. –Aydın: Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi yayınları, –1999. –180 s.; Türkiye-Gürcistan ilişkileri // TASAM Stratejik Öngörü, –2005. №6, –ss. 29-39.

terms of studying the general picture of mutual relations between the two countries in 1991-1999.²¹

H.Çakmak made a comparative analysis of the political, social and economic life of Georgia on the eve of the collapse of the USSR and the processes during the years of independence.²²

O.Mert studied Türkiye's relations with Georgia in the context of general Caucasus policy.²³

S.Surmeli's research deals more with the history of Türkiye-Georgia relations.²⁴

D.Sh.Polat studied the effects of Türkiye's economic, political and military relations with Georgia and Azerbaijan on regional security and came to the conclusion that the main purpose of its justification for trying to turn the region into a security zone is to form an alliance against threats from the east.²⁵ A number of other factors have been kept in the background by the author as he focuses more on the safety factor.

Bülent Buttanrı's book²⁶ on the importance of the Black Sea in regional politics, Zakir Afshar's, Zafer Tunçalp's works²⁷ on the fate of Ahıska Turks, who have always had an important place in the Georgian

²¹ Çolakoğlu, S. Türkiye'nin Gürcistan Politikası / S.Çolakoğlu. –Aydın: Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi yayınları, –1999. –180 s.

²² Çakmak, H. 1989'dan Günümüze Gürcistan / H.Çakmak. –Trabzon: KTÜ, –1998. –88 s.

²³ Mert, O. Türkiye'nin Kafkasya Politikası ve Gürcistan / O.Mert. –İstanbul: IQ, –2004. –360 s.

²⁴ Sürmeli, S. Kars konferansı ve Gürcistan // 3. Uluslararası Kafkasya tarih sempozyumu (Kars antlaşması ve bölgesel etkileri). –Kars: Kars Kafkas Üniversitesi, –13-15 Ekim, –2012, –ss. 56-64.; Türk-Gürcü ilişkileri (1918-1921) / S.Sürmeli. –Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi yayınları, –2001. –736 s.

²⁵ Polat, D.Ş. Kafkasya'da Türkiye, Azerbaycan ve Gürcistan İttifakının Bölgesel Güvenliğe Etkileri // İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, –2019. №6 (2), –ss. 248-265.

²⁶ Buttanrı, B. Bölgesel Güç Karadeniz / B.Buttanrı. –İstanbul: IQ, –2004. –272 s.

²⁷ Afşar, Z., Tunçalp, Z. Sürgünde 50 yıl. Ahıska türkleri / Z.Afşar, Z.Tunçalp. –Ankara: TMBB Kültür, Sanat ve Yayın Kurulu yayınları, –1994. –145 s.

politics of Türkiye, Ibrahim Tellioglu's research²⁸ on the history of Turkish-Georgian relations were involved in the study of various aspects of the subject.

The works of Georgian scientists were widely used while writing the thesis. Zeynab Bakhturidze²⁹, Guram Machavariani³⁰, Nodar Komakhidze³¹, Giorgi Bagaturia, Teona Dumbadze³², Sofia Petriashvili³³, Valery Modebadze³⁴, Salome Tvalodze and Givi Adeishvili's³⁵ researches are dedicated to Türkiye's Georgian policy and relations between the two countries.

Türkiye's Georgian policy has been one of the objects of research in Russian history. In this regard, the works of Alexander Dugin³⁶,

²⁸ Tellioglu, İ. XI-XIII. Yüzyıllarda Türk-Gürcü İlişkileri / İ.Tellioglu. –Trabzon: Serander yayınları, –2009. –165 s.; Orta Çağ'da Türk-Gürcü münasebetlerini şekillendiren faktörler // 38. İcanas Uluslararası Asya ve Kuzey Afrika Çalışmaları Kongresi, Doğubilim Çalışmaları, Bildiriler, VI, –10-15 Eylül, 2007, –Ankara, –2009. –ss. 3077-3089; Türkiye'de gürcü tarihi ve kültürü ile ilgili araştırmalar // Türk-gürcü ilişkileri: tarih ve çağdaşlık / Ed. İ.Tellioglu, R.Kavrelişvili. –Trabzon: Gündüz, –2017. –ss. 63-85.; Tellioglu, İ., Kavrelişvili, R. Orta Çağda Türk-Gürcü ilişkileri / İ.Tellioglu, R.Kavrelişvili. –Gori: Gori Eğitim Üniversitesi, –2019. –528 s.

²⁹ Бахтуридзе, З.З. Внешняя политика Грузии в контексте развития международных отношений на постсоветском пространстве: / Дис. на соискание ученой степени д. п. Н./ –Санкт-Петербург, 2016. –316 с.

³⁰ Мачавариани, Г.Г. Внешняя политика Грузии на Южном Кавказе (1991-2016) / дис. на соискание ученой степени к.и.н. / –Москва, 2017. –187 с.

³¹ Komahidze, N. Yakın Geçmişte Türkiye-Gürcistan İlişkileri // Mamuli, –1997. №. 3, –ss. 13-16.

³² Bagaturia, G., Dumbadze, T. Managerial Strategies for Georgian-Turkish Economic Relation // Journal of Business, –2013. №2 (2), –pp. 23-31.

³³ Petriashvili S. Where is the Black Sea Region in Turkey's Foreign Policy? // Turkish Policy Quarterly, –2015. Vol. 14, № 3, –pp. 105-112.

³⁴ Modebadze, V., Sayın, F.M., Yılmaz, R. Georgian – Turkish Relations since the Breakdown of Soviet Union // Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi, –2014. Cilt 4, Sayı 1, –pp. 359-369.

³⁵ Tvalodze, S., Adeishvili, G. Georgian-Turkey trade relations – Challenges and Opportunities // Konrad Adenauer Foundation, –2016. –46 p.

³⁶ Дугин, А. Основы геополитики. Геополитические будущее России / А.Дугин. –Москва: Арктогея, –1997. –352 p.

Sergey Goncharenko³⁷, Andrey Degtyev, Adlan Margoyev, Aleksey Tokarev³⁸, Nina Belyakova³⁹ and others were used in the research work.

While writing the thesis, the works of scientists and researchers of other countries related to the problem were also used. The works of Z.Brzezinski⁴⁰, S. Kornel⁴¹, K. Wakizaka⁴² were important in this regard.

During the research, the works of authors of Armenian origin from Armenia or living abroad dedicated to the Georgian policy of Türkiye were also studied. Among such authors, the names of L. Aleksanyan⁴³ and A. Yeghizaryan⁴⁴ can be mentioned. They try to search for problematic issues in the relations between the two countries, falsely exaggerate them, and explain Türkiye's Georgian policy as aggression. These works are biased and aim to disrupt Turkish-Georgian relations, so they are far from being of scientific importance.

While writing the thesis, a number of sources were studied. Archival materials, signed documents, collections⁴⁵ and other

³⁷ Гончаренко, С.Н. Черноморское экономическое сотрудничество: первые 25 лет / С.Н.Гончаренко. – Москва: Ин-т Европы РАН, –2018. – 114 p.

³⁸ Дегтев, А., Маргоев А., Токарев А. Экономика Грузии в пространстве противоречий региональных держав // Вестник МГИМО, –2016. №2(47), – pp. 219-233.

³⁹ Белякова, Н.С. Роль и место Черноморского региона во внешней политике Турецкой Республики на современном этапе: / Дис. на соискание ученой степени к.п.н./ – Москва, 2015. –249 p.

⁴⁰ Brzezinski, Z. The grand chessboard. American Primacy and its geostrategic imperatives / Z.Brzezinski. Washington: SA5IC Books. –1997. –215 p.

⁴¹ Cornell, S.E. Small Nations and Great Powers. A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus / S.Cornell. –London: Routledge, –2000. –480 p.

⁴² Wakizaka, K. Türkiye'deki gürcü ve çerkes diasporasının gözüyle Abhazya meselesi ve kimlik sorunu: / Yüksek lisans tezi / –İstanbul, 2012. –157 p.

⁴³ Алексанян, Л.М. Грузия во внешней политике Турции на современном этапе: / Дис. на соискание ученой степени к.п.н. / –Москва, 2019. –180 p.

⁴⁴ Егиазарян, А. Грузия: структурные проблемы экономики и турецкая экономическая экспансия (1994-2007) /А.Егиазарян. –Ериван-Москва: Regnum, –2007. –86 p.

⁴⁵ Gümrü, Moskva və Qars müqavilələri (Azərbaycan, türk, rus və fransız dillərində) / Naхçıvan Muxtar Respublikası Ali Məclisi. –Naхçıvan: Əcəmi, –2004. –138 s.

sources reflecting various aspects of the relations between Türkiye and Georgia have been put into scientific circulation. In order to study the peculiarities of the Georgian policy of Türkiye, the works, memoirs, speeches of individual statesmen were used in the research work.⁴⁶

Official statements on the implementation of Türkiye's Georgian policy, the position of governments, and the meetings held are given in government programs, collections and reports published by Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other state bodies. Issues of cooperation between the two countries in trade-economic, energy and other fields are collected in documents and information published by the Ministry of Economic Development of Georgia for different years.

Some materials of the Electronic Archive of Official Documents of NATO, the Archive of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, and the National Archive of Georgia were included in the research.

In research materials on the official websites of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, TRACECA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Türkiye, the Embassy in Tbilisi, the Consulate in Batumi, the Justice and Development Party, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, and the National Statistics Office the relating to the issues of cooperation between Türkiye and Georgia in a multilateral format were also used.

Information about Georgia's position in Türkiye's foreign policy was also reflected in mass media. Articles and news materials

⁴⁶ Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cildə] / H.Ə.Əliyev.–Bakı: Azərnaşr, c.18. –2006. –552 s.; c.23. –2008. –480 s.; c.41. –2012. –488 s.;

Əliyev, İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir: [Çoxcildli] / İ.H.Əliyev.–Bakı: Azərnaşr, c.43. – 2017. – 400 s.;

Шеварднадзе, Е. Когда рухнул железный занавес. Встречи и воспоминания / – Москва: Изд. Европа, –2009. –428 с.

of the mass media of Azerbaijan, Türkiye, Georgia and Russia were included in the research.

Object and subject of the research. The object of the research is to study the place of Georgia in the foreign policy of Türkiye in 1991-2019. The subject of the study is the factors that influence Türkiye's policy in Georgia and determine mutual relations, its main goals, the formation and development of this policy, the influence of the Azerbaijani factor on it, political-diplomatic relations, security and defense issues, Azerbaijan-Türkiye-Georgia trilateral military cooperation, Türkiye's approach to the problem of separatism in Georgia, implementation of trade-economic cooperation, energy, transport-communication policy, cultural-humanitarian and multilateral cooperation.

Aim and tasks of the research. The main purpose of the research is to study the place of Georgia in the foreign policy of the Republic of Türkiye in 1991-2019, the formation of Georgian politics, development stages, characteristic features, and a comprehensive and systematic study of its effects on other countries of the region. In order to achieve the main goal, the following specific tasks have been defined:

- To study the goals and characteristic features of the Georgian policy of Türkiye in the studied chronological framework;
- Determining the importance of Georgia for Türkiye's South Caucasus policy;
- To study the historical and contemporary factors that brought Türkiye and Georgia closer together;
- To study the formation of the Georgian policy of Türkiye, the history of its implementation, the directions and stages of political-diplomatic relations;
- To study the implementation of Türkiye's security and defense policy towards Georgia;
- To study the establishment, implementation and results of Azerbaijan-Türkiye-Georgia trilateral military cooperation;
- Studying Türkiye's position on separatism in Georgia;
- To analyze the trade-economic cooperation of Türkiye in

Georgian politics in historical-chronological context, to show its importance for the parties;

- to study and evaluate the benefits of political, defense, security and economic cooperation between the two countries on a multilateral basis.

Research methods. Historical-geographical, historical-political, historical-economic, historical-cultural, systematic, complex approaches were taken as the basis for writing the thesis. Analysis, comparative analysis, and critical analysis methods were applied during the study of events and processes. While studying the economic policy of Türkiye in Georgia, mathematical methods were used during the analysis of statistical data. In addition to the mentioned methods, other general research methods accepted in the science of history were also applied.

Basic provisions for defense. The following provisions are defended in the thesis work:

- In 1991-2019, the Republic of Türkiye formulated and implemented Georgian policy in accordance with the new geopolitical conditions;

- In the studied years, the Republic of Türkiye formed political, security, defense, economic, energy, cultural, humanitarian and educational mechanisms of regional cooperation in the tripartite format of Türkiye-Georgia-Azerbaijan. This has led to the strengthening of relations between the two countries and the increase of economic, military-political and cultural influence of Türkiye on Georgia. The Republic of Türkiye and Georgia are important countries for each other;

- In the studied chronological framework, Türkiye, which has an active trade, economic and investment policy, tried to expand its participation in the Georgian economy. Naturally, inequality existed in bilateral trade and economic relations, and Türkiye had a dominant role in the trade cycle. Such situation arose from the size of the countries' territorial and economic resources, as well as the difference between the levels of economic development;

- Türkiye-Georgia economic cooperation is closely related to energy interests. Türkiye has tried to become an energy corridor between Europe and Asia, to assume the role of the main country in the transit of hydrocarbon resources of neighboring oil-rich countries to Europe, and it has succeeded. Armenia's policy of hostility and aggression towards Türkiye and Azerbaijan has turned Georgia into an important country and one of the main partners in the region. Cooperation has influenced the strengthening of state independence and socio-economic development of Georgia;

- Unlike some other countries, the Republic of Türkiye did not use the issue of the repatriation of Ahiska Turks to Georgia as a political tool against this country. On the contrary, it created favorable conditions for Georgia to gradually solve this issue by providing the opportunity for Ahiska Turks to live in its territory;

- The state of Türkiye has actively implemented multilateral cooperation in Georgian politics. The countries assessed the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization as an important multilateral mechanism for the development of bilateral relations;

- Türkiye-Azerbaijan-Georgia tripartite cooperation mechanism strengthened Türkiye's authority in the South Caucasus and prevented the increase of pressure and threats on Azerbaijan and Georgia by other countries with interests in the region. In this regard, bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of military security has been important.

Scientific novelty of research. The scientific novelty of the work is primarily related to the setting of the problem. The scientific innovation of the research work is specifically reflected in the following:

- For the first time in Azerbaijani historiography, the place of Georgia in the foreign policy of the Turkish state has been comprehensively studied in the chronological framework covering the years 1991-2019. It was concluded that Türkiye's active policy towards Georgia was based on its national interests and was aimed at

strengthening its position in this country and in the South Caucasus as a whole;

- The strengthening of Türkiye's influence on Georgia has led to the weakening of this country's relations with Russia, and the strengthening of relations with Russia has led to the weakening of relations with Türkiye;

- The unique characteristics of Türkiye's attitude to the issues related to Adjara and Abkhazia were revealed, and parallels were drawn between the steps taken in the direction of supporting the territorial integrity of Georgia and protecting the rights of the peoples of the region, which are connected to Türkiye by historical ties;

- The role of the Georgians living in this country and the Turkish people living in Georgia, including Azerbaijanis, in the establishment, formation and implementation of Türkiye's Georgian policy was evaluated with comparative analyzes conducted in the context of historical processes, and the unique aspects of Türkiye's approach to the issue of the repatriation of Ahiska Turks to Georgia were determined. It was concluded that Azerbaijanis living in Georgia have become an effective factor in the relations between this country and Türkiye in the studied years;

- The steps taken towards the realization of the idea of creating a "Turkish corridor" along the Borchali (Kvemo-Kartli) - Samtskhe-Javakheti-Ajaristan line were analyzed;

- The reasons for Türkiye's growing economic and political influence in Georgia have been determined;

- The importance of Türkiye in the establishment and implementation of cooperation in the field of energy in Georgian politics was analyzed, it was shown that energy transit issues were the primary factor determining the development direction and level of relations in 1991-2019;

- The establishment, implementation and results of cooperation in the field of culture and humanitarianism between the two countries have been studied and shown to bring mutual benefit;

- Contributions of Türkiye-Azerbaijan-Georgia tripartite mecha-

nism to development and stability in the South Caucasus have been determined.

Theoretical value and the practical significance of the study. The research has a scientific-theoretical importance in terms of studying the history and implementation of the South Caucasus policy not only of Türkiye, but also of big and regional states. The main provisions and conclusions of the dissertation work can be used:

- in the future scientific research works dedicated to the Georgian policy of Türkiye;
- in the preparation of generalized works, textbooks and tutorials;
- in lectures and seminar sessions in higher schools;
- Training of specialists who will participate in the implementation of the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Georgia and Türkiye;
- Specialist training in the centers of Caucasus studies, Turkish studies, and Georgian studies.

Approbation and application. The main content of the dissertation is reflected in the author's articles published in prestigious scientific journals of different countries and local journals recommended by the High Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Reports on the provisions of the dissertation work and the obtained scientific results were made at international and national level scientific meetings in Azerbaijan (Baku, Nakhchivan), Türkiye (Kars, Izmir, Istanbul), Georgia (Gori).

The name of organization where the dissertation work was carried out. Dissertation work was performed at the Department of General History of Ganja State University.

The total volume of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters divided into paragraphs, a conclusion, a list of references, appendices and a list of abbreviations. The total volume of the research text is 278,640 symbols (excluding references and abbreviations). The introduction part is 26 thousand 217, Chapter I

- 51 thousand 834, Chapter II - 106 thousand 443, Chapter III - 80 thousand 873, Conclusion - 13 thousand 273 symbols.

II. THE MAIN CONTENT OF DISSERTATION

In the introduction, the relevance of the topic is substantiated, the state and degree of study are analyzed, a review of sources and literature is given, object and subjects, aims and tasks, methods, main provisions for defense, the degree of novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the study are defined. Here, the approval and application of the work, the name of the organization where it was carried out, the volume of the structural sections of the dissertation are indicated separately, and the total volume of the dissertation is indicated with symbols.

The first chapter of the dissertation is called "**Factors influencing the Georgian policy of the Republic of Türkiye**" and consists of two paragraphs. It is clear from the issues studied in the first paragraph, called "**The place of historical connections in mutual relations**", that the Caucasus region, which has been subject to many invasions throughout history, has been a passageway for empires, great powers and nations. Georgia, which has access to the open seas due to its geographical position in the Caucasus, has become a competitive arena of states and empires that are constantly fighting for its strategic importance and geopolitical position. Georgia was part of the Russian Empire and the USSR for nearly two centuries.

The presence of numerous Turkic peoples, including Azerbaijanis, in the historical lands of the Caucasus, including Georgia, and the fact that this area is a junction point with Central Asia, has increased Türkiye's interest in the region. Türkiye respected the state independence, territorial integrity and internal affairs of the regional countries, including Georgia, and tried to establish good relations and create an environment of cooperation by adhering to the principles of mutual respect and good neighborliness.

In the second paragraph of the first chapter called "**Factors and main objectives determining the policy of Türkiye in Georgia**", factors and main objectives determining the policy of the Republic of Türkiye in Georgia were examined. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the restoration of state independence of the South Caucasus republics, the Republic of Türkiye began to play an active role in regional processes. Relations with the South Caucasus, including Georgia, formed one of the main directions of Türkiye's foreign policy. Türkiye has seen its foreign policy towards Georgia as an integral part of the unified Caucasus policy. Georgia's favorable geographical location has played an important role in Türkiye's economic relations with Azerbaijan and other countries of the Turkic world. Georgia is a favorable economic base for Türkiye.

As a result of the conducted research, it was concluded that the position of Georgia in Türkiye's foreign policy and the establishment of relations between the two countries are influenced by historical past, geographical proximity, mutual political, security, trade, economic, energy interests, diaspora and etc. factors, cooperation was carried out in different directions.

The second chapter of the dissertation, called "**Political diplomatic, security and defense issues in Georgian policy of Türkiye**", consists of three paragraphs divided into subsections. In the first paragraph called "**Bilateral political-diplomatic relations**", the first steps in the relations, the creation of the contract-legal base, the Azerbaijani factor in Türkiye's Georgian policy and the issues of tripartite political cooperation were studied.

It is possible to divide the Georgian policy of Türkiye in 1991-2019 into three main stages according to its characteristic features. In the first stage, covering the years 1991-2001, relations in the political field developed on a rising line. 2001-2013 is the second stage of Türkiye's policy in Georgia. At this stage, Türkiye's Georgian policy became more active, the number of mutual visits between the two countries increased, political, economic and cultural relations intensified. The development of political relations

has given impetus to the development of relations in other areas. In the third stage, covering the years 2013-2019, relations were developed on the basis of the past, although no serious innovations were observed in Türkiye's politics compared to previous years.

Türkiye has continued to approach Georgia as a close and friendly country. Georgia's political stability has responded to Türkiye's interests. A strong and problem-free Georgia in the Caucasus was perceived as a guarantee of maintaining peace in the region and strengthening its political influence for Türkiye. As stated by Turkish researcher Necip Torumtay, the independent state established in Georgia has been a reliable friend for the further development of political, economic and cultural relations between Türkiye and the Caucasus.⁴⁷

The second paragraph of the second chapter is called "**Security and defense issues**". The role of Türkiye in strengthening Georgia's security and defense capabilities has been emphasized here. The issues of Azerbaijan-Türkiye-Georgia trilateral military cooperation were also studied.

Türkiye has tried to establish Türkiye-Georgia-Azerbaijan cooperation in the South Caucasus region, not only in terms of economic and political, but also military and security. Increasing the defense capacity of Georgia and ensuring its security are directly related to the security of energy and transport routes passing through the territory of this country.

In the studied years, Türkiye's military aid was aimed at reorganizing the Georgian army in accordance with NATO standards, and providing material and technical equipment. For this purpose, various projects were implemented by Türkiye, the Joint Education Center for Peace and Turkish Armed Forces academies, schools and training centers prepared personnel for the Georgian army. Conducting trainings for gendarmerie forces and border

⁴⁷ Torumtay, N. Değişen Stratejilerin Odağında Türkiye / N.Torumtay. –İstanbul: Milliyet yayınları, –1996. –p.198.

guards of Georgia is one of the important directions of bilateral cooperation.

The third paragraph of the second chapter is called "**Problem of separatism in Georgia and Türkiye**". The state of Türkiye supported the resolution of the issues of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali within the framework of the territorial integrity of Georgia. In the processes that took place after 2008, Türkiye defended the territorial integrity of Georgia. Despite all pressure attempts pursued a policy of developing relations with Georgia

The third chapter of the dissertation is entitled "**Trade-economic, energy, transport-communication, cultural and humanitarian cooperation**" and consists of four paragraphs. In the first paragraph, called "**Trade and Economic Cooperation**", it is mentioned that after the restoration of state independence, Türkiye played the role of an economic breather for Georgia. In 1992, goods were exported from Türkiye to Georgia at the cost of 11 million 616 thousand dollars, and in 1993 34 million 513 thousand dollars were exported⁴⁸, in 2014, the trade volume between the two countries reached a total of 1.67 billion dollars.⁴⁹

One of the areas of cooperation was Turkish investments in Georgian economy. Turkish companies started investing their funds in Georgia. Between 1997 and 2010, the total value of investments from Türkiye to Georgia was 682.3 million dollars. In 2017, 27 Turkish companies with a capital of more than 1 million dollars operated in Georgia. In addition, about 500 small and medium-sized Turkish companies have worked in this country.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Yeniden yapılanma sürecinde Türk cumhuriyetleri ve İslam ülkelerinin sosyo-ekonomik yapıları ve Türkiye ile ilişkileri / –İstanbul: Kalibre grafik, –1998. –pp. 424-425

⁴⁹ Köylü, M.K. Türkiye'nin Güney Kafkasya ülkeleri ile finansal bağları ve bölgedeki ticari varlığı // İİSBF Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, –2017, Aralık. Cilt 4, Sayı 7, –p. 27

⁵⁰ Karapınar, M. Gürcistan Hedef-Pazar-Ürün analizi / M.Karapınar, M.Leylioğlu, Ö.Uzundumlu. –Erzurum: Megaofset, –2017. – p. 11.

The two countries also cooperated in agriculture, communications, banking and other fields.

The second paragraph of the third chapter is called "**Energy and transport-communication policy**". It is clear from the research of the history of cooperation in the field of energy and transport that these were the main factors determining the nature of the relations between the two countries. Türkiye has strengthened its position in the economy of Georgia. Energy, which is one of the main areas of mutual economic activity, has determined the mutual dependence of the two countries. As a transit country, Georgia has become one of the central states of regionally important energy projects. Analyzes show that the fact that Georgia is a transit country in most of the projects implemented by Azerbaijan and Türkiye has formed an environment of continuous cooperation between Türkiye, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the fields of energy, transport and communication.

The TRACECA project has boosted the development of transport between Türkiye, Georgia and Azerbaijan and increased Türkiye's influence in the South Caucasus market. Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan main export oil, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum gas pipelines, Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway and other transnational transport and communication projects solve the problems of providing energy, transnational transport and corridor needs of Türkiye and Georgia, and as an international energy-transport hub, it has increased the reputation of all three countries, including Azerbaijan, in the world.⁵¹

It is clear from the analyzes carried out in the third paragraph of the chapter called "**Cultural and humanitarian relations**" that in the studied years, Türkiye has managed to establish close cooperation with Georgia in the humanitarian and cultural fields. TİKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) played an important role in the implementation of the humanitarian aspects of Türkiye's Georgian policy. In order to promote Türkiye in Georgia and contribute to the

⁵¹ Əhmədov, N. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə: bir ananın iki övladı: Türkiyə Cümhuriyyəti-95 // Xalq qəzeti. – 2018, 28 oktyabr. – p.4.

economic and social development of this country, the Coordination Office of TİKA, established in Tbilisi, implemented many projects in 1994-2019. Since its establishment, the office has provided implementation of more than 700 projects in education, science, culture, health, agriculture and other fields in Georgia. Such activities have increased Türkiye's reputation among the Georgian population.⁵²

Türkiye also used the Muslim and Turkish factor in humanitarian cooperation with Georgia. In the regions inhabited by the Turkish population, Türkiye has advantageously applied its religious influence in the areas inhabited by ethnic, non-Turkish but Muslim groups such as the Ajars. Türkiye supported the repatriation of Ahıska Turks to Georgia.

The fourth paragraph of the third chapter is called "**Implementation of multilateral cooperation**". In the studied years, cooperation in the multilateral form has taken a special place in the policy of Türkiye in Georgia. One of the organizations where such cooperation was established and implemented was the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). Within the framework of the BSEC, Türkiye and Georgia increased relations in trade and economic development, banking and finance, communications, energy, transport, agriculture and agro-industry, health and pharmaceuticals, environmental protection, tourism, science and technology, exchange of statistical data and economic information, customs and other border agencies, cooperation between people, organized crime, illegal circulation of drugs, weapons and radioactive materials, all kinds of terrorist acts and fight against illegal migration. BSEC has been a tool for Türkiye to ensure close relations with Georgia.

Scientific-theoretical summaries of the dissertation work are given in the **Conclusion**. It was concluded that the relations between the Turkish and Georgian peoples, which have an ancient and rich history, were determined by geography, neighborhood and historical

⁵² TİKA dünyası / Ankara: T.C.Başbakanlık, –2012, Haziran. –pp. 34-39.

processes. There were times when the states that were established in different periods of history in the territories of Türkiye and Georgia established friendly neighborly relations or, on the contrary, fought and waged wars against each other.

Although states such as Tsarist Russia and Germany tried to use Georgians against the Ottoman state at different times, the Turkish and Georgian peoples maintained friendly neighborly and friendly relations. The negotiations between the Democratic Republic of Georgia and the Ottoman state, as well as the relations between the Republic of Türkiye and the Georgian SSR in the following years, show this.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the end of the Cold War, the restoration of Georgia's state independence, and the collapse of the USSR made it possible for Türkiye to establish direct relations with this neighboring country. Georgia has had a special place in Türkiye's South Caucasus policy since 1991. Türkiye was one of the first countries to recognize the state independence of Georgia.

Türkiye's broad interests in the South Caucasus are determined by the fact that numerous Turkic peoples live in the historical lands of the Caucasus as a whole, including Georgia, and that the region is a junction connecting Türkiye with Central Asia. Türkiye respected the independence and territorial integrity of Georgia and tried to create an environment of mutually beneficial cooperation.

In 1991-2019, Türkiye tried to strengthen its influence in the South Caucasus by implementing its geopolitical and geoeconomic interests. Trade-economic, energy, cultural, humanitarian cooperation between Türkiye and Georgia has been established and implemented. "Soft power" policy has been one of the main mechanisms used in the years under review.

Türkiye-Georgia political-diplomatic relations have created a foundation for high-level development of cooperation in other fields. Türkiye was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with Georgia.

A contractual framework of cooperation in various fields has

been created. Georgia and Türkiye have become partners. Relations between the two countries in the political sphere formed the basis for the high level development of relations in other spheres, and economic interests conditioned the establishment and development of political relations. Georgia has acted together with Türkiye and Azerbaijan in almost all regional economic projects, especially in energy and transport.

After the 2008 war, Türkiye has become an important regional ally for Georgia, which prefers to develop its relations with NATO and the European Union, since its relations with Russia have reached the breaking point.

In 1991-2019, it is possible to divide Türkiye's Georgian policy into three stages according to many specific features: in the first stage, covering the years 1991-2001, relations in the political field developed in an upward direction. In the years 2001-2013, the second stage of Türkiye's policy in Georgia, especially after the Rose Revolution, Türkiye's policy became more active, political, trade-economic, cultural and humanitarian cooperation between the two countries expanded further. In the third stage, covering the years 2013-2019, there were no serious innovations in Türkiye's policy compared to the previous ones, but the cooperation was continued on the basis of the formed contractual framework.

Cooperation in the fields of security and defense has taken a special place in the Georgian policy of Türkiye. Türkiye attached great importance to political stability in Georgia and involved the Georgian government in active cooperation in the military field. One of the main reasons for Türkiye's attention to Georgia in the field of military and security is that it plays the role of a country that ensures the safety of pipelines which transport hydrocarbon resources extracted in the Azerbaijani sector of Caspian Sea to Türkiye.

The Azerbaijan factor strongly influenced the formation and implementation of Türkiye's Georgian policy. Therefore, Türkiye tried to establish Türkiye-Georgia-Azerbaijan cooperation in the

South Caucasus region not only in terms of trade, economy and politics, but also in terms of military and security.

Several agreements and contracts in the field of military cooperation have been signed between the two countries. Türkiye's military assistance aims to increase the combat capability of the Georgian army, meet the need for trained personnel, train special and state armed units, and provide material and technical support.

Türkiye opposed separatism in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali, supported peaceful resolution of conflicts within the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia, and did not recognize separatist organizations.

Close cooperation between the two countries has been carried out in the trade and economic sphere. Economy has been one of the main factors determining the development tendencies of Türkiye's policy in Georgia.

Oil and gas pipeline projects have greatly increased the strategic importance of Georgia for Türkiye. Hydrocarbon resources from the landlocked Caspian region have been transported to Turkish and European markets through BTC main export oil and BTE gas pipelines. Energy, which is one of the main areas of cooperation, has conditioned the mutual dependence of the two countries. As a transit country, Georgia has become one of the important states of regionally important energy projects.

The two countries have effectively cooperated in the field of transport and communication. The TRACECA project has boosted the development of transport between Türkiye, Georgia and Azerbaijan and increased Türkiye's role and influence in the South Caucasus. BTC main export oil, BTE gas pipelines, BTK railway and other transnational transport and communication projects not only solve the problems of meeting the energy, transport and corridor needs of Türkiye and Georgia, but also serve as an international energy and transport hub of all three countries, including Azerbaijan increased its reputation and strengthened its positions.

After the victory of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the 44-day Patriotic War of 2020, the new geopolitical conditions created in the region have allowed the emergence of proposals for cooperation on a large scale. Regional cooperation in the proposed 3+3 format (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Türkiye, Russia and Iran) has promised prospects for the countries. However, due to separatism in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region, official Tbilisi did not accept this format.

One of the projects that increased the geopolitical importance of Georgia for Türkiye was the BTK railway project. The implementation of the project contributed to the restoration of the Silk Road, the expansion of economic relations between Georgia and the Turkic states, as well as European and Asian countries.

Cooperation in the fields of culture and humanitarianism has taken a special place in the policy of Türkiye in Georgia. Türkiye has opened language courses and cultural centers in Georgia. Cultural cooperation has helped bring closer the Turkish and Georgian peoples.

The cooperation between the two countries was also established and implemented in a multilateral format. In this regard, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization played a unique role.

The main content of the dissertation is reflected in the following scientific articles and theses of the author

1. Türkiyə-Gürcüstan sərhəd qapısı // International Euroasia Congress on Scientific Researches and Recent Trends-V, – Baku, –December 16-19, –2019, Vol. 2, – pp. 170-179.
2. Gürcüstanın iqtisadi baxımdan Türkiyə üçün əhəmiyyəti // Proceedings book of International Asian Congress on contemporary sciences-IV, –Baku: Khazar University, –June 26-28, –2020, – pp. 201-206.
3. Türkiyə Respublikası və Gürcüstan arasında müdafiə və təhlükəsizlik sahəsində əməkdaşlıq // Naxçıvan Universiteti Elmi əsərləri, –2020. № 4, – p. 182-189.
4. Türkiyə Respublikasının yaranmasının Şərqdə əhəmiyyəti // AMEA akademik Z.Bünyadov adına Şərqsünaslıq İnstitutu. Şərq xalqlarının I qurultayı. 1920. Şərq xalqları 100 il əvvəl və bu gün Beynəlxalq Elmi Konfransı, –Bakı, –2020. –p. 119-121.
5. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə-Gürcüstan arasında enerji əlaqələri // Proceedings of the international scientific conference on “Science and education in the 21st century: theory and practice”, –Kars: Elger, –February 20-21, –2021. – pp. 222-226, **(Türkiyə)**.
6. Türkiyə və Gürcüstan arasında münasibətlərin tarixinə qısa baxış // Gənc tədqiqatçı, –2021. VII cild, №1, – pp.288-296.
7. Türkiyə və Gürcüstan arasında münasibətlərin tarixinə qısa baxış // Gənc tədqiqatçı, –2021. Cild VII, №2, – pp. 226-234.
8. Türkiyə-Azərbaycan və Türkiyə-Gürcüstan ekonomik-ticari işbirliyinin bölgə jeopolitiğine etkileri // Yeni Türkiyə dergisi, – 2021, Eylül-Ekim. Sayı 121, c. 2, – pp.180-188, **(Türkiyə)**.
9. Türkiyə-Gürcüstan münasibətlərini şərtləndirən amillər // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, –2021. №1, – s. 119-123.
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