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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Science

**AZERBAIJAN IN RUSSIA-IRAN-TÜRKIYE RELATIONS IN
THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1990s**

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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORK

The relevance and degree of development of the topic. The reconstruction policy (perestroika), initiated by M.S. Gorbachev and led by the Communist Party, which began to lead the Soviet Union in April 1985, failed. Perestroika has left the country in a dilemma, creating a wave of social tensions, political instability and interethnic conflicts. The expansion of the map of ethnic conflicts significantly accelerated the process of disintegration of the Soviet Union. The crisis of August 1991 put an end to reconstruction. In December 1991, the presidents of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus - B. Yeltsin, L. Kravchuk, and S. Shushkevich - declared the collapse of the USSR.

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR created completely new conditions in the region. During a period of intensifying globalization, the South Caucasus was considered a “geopolitical space” that attracted the attention of both international powers, like the United States, and regional ones, including Russia, Iran and Türkiye.

Türkiye, the only natural ally of Azerbaijan in the region, providing limited assistance within the framework of international law, tried to solve its fuel problem by participating in the exploitation of its natural resources, tried to pass a pipeline carrying Azerbaijani oil produced with the participation of Western oil companies through its territory to the world market, sought to retain it as a means of political influence at any time on major powers, to increase its strategic importance, as well as to enter Central Asia through the territory of Azerbaijan.

Russia was not interested in preventing the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which is the main means of pressure, because it did not want to relinquish its sphere of influence in the former USSR and intended to force Azerbaijan to join the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Iran, which has openly expressed great interest in Azerbaijan and sought to reduce the sphere of influence of Russia and Türkiye by gaining a position with the support of pro-religious radical forces, was trying to be one of the mediating countries in the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict. Iran launched its first mediation initiative in

settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in March 1992. However, before the agreement was signed, the Armenian armed forces occupied Shusha on May 8 and Lachin on May 18.

The foreign policy formed around the Russia-Iran-Türkiye geopolitical triangle, which requires great attention in Azerbaijan's international relations and is distinguished by its complexity, had to be developed deliberately. The relevance of the dissertation is the study of the cost of political and economic relations with the traditional geopolitical triangle of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan, and the analysis of its compatibility with national and strategic interests.

The researcher partially touched upon the events that took place on the eve of the collapse of the USSR, focusing on the events of 1991-1995. These were the most difficult, contradictory and very fateful events for the country in the history of modern Azerbaijan. Political-diplomatic and military-strategic failures in the settlement of the Karabakh conflict since the first months, the events of May 1992 and June 1993, which led to two changes of government in a short period of time, and the socio-political and socio-economic crisis that resulted in the occupation of 20 percent of the country's territory, problems not only with Russia and Iran, but also with Türkiye, Heydar Aliyev's return to power, transition to a balanced policy, the attempts of anti-national forces inside and outside the republic to stage two coups, and finally the successful implementation of domestic and foreign policy, oil strategy, etc. after the establishment of political stability in the country since 1995, cover the chronological framework of the study.

Research and analysis of sources and literature show that certain aspects of the interests of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the Caucasus and Azerbaijan have been studied. Although the problems are approached from different perspectives, The full composition, broad essence and diplomatic-political activities of the modern Caucasus strategy have not been comprehensively studied in Azerbaijan in the early 1990s - the most controversial and turbulent period in the modern history of our country - against the background of socio-political events. That is why the in-depth study of the problem in Azerbaijan is very relevant

from a scientific and political point of view. This problem is being studied for the first time in Azerbaijani historiography.

Many sources and literature in different languages have been involved in scientific circulation in order to fulfill the set tasks. Separately, there are scientific articles, dissertations, monographs reflecting the directions and features of the strategic interests of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the region, analyzing the political, economic, military, social and cultural aspects of relations between these countries and Azerbaijan from a historical and political point of view. A research paper on the strategic interests of these countries has not yet been written. From this point of view, there is no doubt that the dissertation is relevant and meets modern requirements.

A large amount of fundamental research¹, analytical materials² and articles³ has focused on various aspects of the research topic, particularly the international situation of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the 1990s, along with its foreign and domestic policies, and relations with the global community.

¹ Qasimli, M.C. Foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2003: [2 volumes] / M.C. Qasimli. - Baku: Mutarjim, - 2015, vol. 1 - 648 p. vol. 2, 640 p.; Qarashova, S.A. USA-Russia: Struggle for the post-Soviet space / S.A. Qarashova. - Baku: Sada - 2018. - 408 p.

² Abdullayev, A.I. Armenian aggression, bitter facts, catastrophic consequences / A.I. Abdullayev - Baku: Publishing house of State Economic University. - 2003, - 114 p.; Azerbaijan-Türkiye relations in the press (1990-1991) / ed: - Baku: OLNPKT, - 2018. - 60 p.; Hajiyev, H.B. Military security of the Caspian region: in the prism of international law / H.B. Hajiyev. - Baku: Zardabi Publishing House LLC, - 2022. - 168 p.; Aras, O.N. Caspian economy and strategy of Azerbaijan / O.N. Aras. - Istanbul: Der publications, - 2001. - 298 p.; Brzezinski, Z.T. Great chessboard. / Z.T. Brzezinski. - Moscow: International relations, - 1999. - 256 p.

³ Abdullayev, R. Moscow-Ankara rapprochement: causes and realities // - Baku: Region plus, - 2006. № 1, - pp. 35-39.; Balayev I.M. Oil strategy of the Republic of Azerbaijan and strengthening of state independence // - Baku. History, human and society. Baku: ADPU. – 2019, №4(27). - pp. 113-123.; Karimova, V.T. The role of England in the formation of the Armenian issue in modern Turkish historiography // V.T. Karimova. - Baku: Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Scientific works, - 2019, №78. - pp. 90-100.

In the works⁴ of Azerbaijani scientists A.Hasanov, O.Sultanov, A.Mammadov, A.Abbasbeyli, M.Gasimov, E.Nasibov, A.Ahmadov, P.Darabadi, R. Novruzoghlu, N.Shakirzade, Ch.Sultanov, A.Ahmadov, the economic, political, and military factors of Azerbaijan's strategic cooperation with Russia, Iran, Türkiye, and other countries were explained, and research was conducted on various aspects of the studied problems, and scientific-theoretical views were expressed. None of these studies specifically analyzed Azerbaijan as an important geopolitical factor at the heart of the traditional geopolitical triangle - Russia, Iran, and Türkiye - that surrounds it as an optimal policy-maker in relations with all three regional powers. The books⁵ of S.Seyidova, V.Aghamaliyeva, K.Ruintan,

⁴ Abbasbeyli, A.N. Turkish-Azerbaijani relations at the end of the XX century (1993-1998) / A.N. Abbasbeyli, A. Tayfun - Ankara, - 1999. - 226 p.; Ahmadov, A.Kh. Azerbaijan's relations with Turkic-speaking countries in international relations (90s of the XX century) / A.Kh.Ahmadov. - Baku: Science and education, - 2009. - 386 p.; Hasanov, A.M. Stages of ethnic cleansing and genocide policy against Azerbaijanis /A.M. Hasanov. - Baku: Zardabi LTD, - 2017. - 400 p.; Sultanov, O.B. Political struggle in Azerbaijan in the late 80s - early 90s / O.B. Sultanov. - Baku: Maarif, - 1995, - 232 p.; Qasimli, M.C. Azerbaijan's foreign policy (concept issues) / M.C. Qasimli - Baku: Mutarjim, - 1997. - 124 p.; Mammadov, A. Struggle for the restoration and strengthening of the independent Azerbaijani state (late 80s - 1997) / A. Mammadov. - Baku: Elm, - 1999. - 669 p.; Nasibov, E.M. Strategic interests of the United States and Türkiye in the Caucasus geopolitical region and the Republic of Azerbaijan / E.M. Nasibov. - Baku: Chirag, - 2006.; Ahmadov, A. Turkish-speaking states in Azerbaijan's international relations (90s of XX century) / A. Ahmadov. - Baku: Science and education / -- 2009. - 386 p., Darabadi, P.G. Geostrategy of the Caspian region and geopolitics of the present / P.G. Darabadi. - Baku: Elm, 2002. - 192 p.; Shakirzadeh, N. Azerbaijan Republic in foreign policy and foreign economic processes (1991-2006) / N. Shakirzadeh. - Baku: Sada, - 2007. - 512 p.; Sultanov, Ch.A. Oil and gas strategies and politics in the XXI century / Ch.A. Sultanov. - Baku: Nurlar, - 2008. - 704 p.

⁵ Seyidova, S.M. Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan and the position of international organizations in the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict / S.M. Seyidova. - Baku: ASPU, - 2014. - 411 p.; Ruinten, S.F. Azerbaijan in the system of political relations with Turkic states / S.F. Ruinten - Baku: Adiloghlu, - 2005. - 236 p.; Mirzazadeh, A.B. Karabakh knot / A.B.Mirzazadeh. - Baku: Azerbaijan Publishing House, - 2012. - 608 p.; Agamaliyeva, V.Sh. Khojaly is a Muslim genocide of the XX century / V.Sh. Agamaliyeva. - Baku: Gunesh, - 2017. - 143 p.

and A.Mirzazadeh describe the events that took place during the period under study, the crimes against Azerbaijanis in Karabakh, and briefly comment on the international aspects of these events and the essence of the Karabakh policy of these countries. S.Ruintan's monograph is devoted only to bilateral relations and covers only a part of the studied problem. The writings of Y. Mahmudov and I. Hüseynova examine Heydar Aliyev's contributions to the integration of the Republic of Azerbaijan into the international community, as well as the country's relationships with both global and regional powers. Meanwhile, A. Mehdiyev's book focuses on the oil strategy that Heydar Aliyev initiated and highlights the roles of Russia and Türkiye in exporting Caspian oil to global markets.⁶

In the monograph of I. Zeynalov covering all periods of the life of the Great Leader Heydar Aliyev, all the stages of the national leader's activities for the sake of Azerbaijan are widely interpreted on the basis of rich factual materials and documents. His multifaceted socio-political and diplomatic activities are fully reflected in the monograph, explaining the essence of the new foreign policy concept founded by Heydar Aliyev, and paying attention to the diplomatic developments towards Russia, Iran, and Turkey.⁷

In analyzing the issue, the works of foreign authors from the West, Russia, Türkiye, and Iran were also examined. Most foreign scholars concluded that the Caucasus, and Azerbaijan specifically, represented a battleground for influence between Russia and Western nations.

⁶ Mahmudov, Y. From the history of Azerbaijani statehood and parliamentary traditions / Y.M. Mahmudov. - Baku: Azernashr, - 2001. - 336 p., Mahmudov, Y. The personality of Heydar Aliyev in the history of Azerbaijan / Y.M. Mahmudov. - Baku: Nurlan, - 2007. - 238 p., Mahmudov, Y. Victory march of Heydar Aliyev's ideas / Y.M. Mahmudov. - Baku: Education, - 2011. - 511 p., Huseynova, I. Heydar Aliyev and the peace process in the Caucasus / I.M.Huseynova. Baku: Çaşođlu, - 2008. - 672 p., Mehdiyev, A. "Contract of the Century": the cornerstone of Azerbaijan's oil strategy / A. Mehdiyev. - Baku: Tur Khan NPB, - 2014. - 248 p.

⁷ Zeynalov I. Heydar Aliyev's Peak in the history of Azerbaijan's National Stateship: The honorable life path of genius person. / I.H.Zeynalov – Baku: Füyuzat, - 2024. – 656 p.

Turkish researcher O. Aras discusses Azerbaijan's oil strategy, economic prospects, and future potential. In his study dedicated to Russia-Türkiye relations, S. Yanar examines the role of the Caucasus within this framework, the historical struggle for influence in the region, and the geopolitical goals of Türkiye and Russia, among other topics. The essence of Türkiye's strategy concerning the South Caucasus states is explained. In the extensive monograph edited by I.Bal, the economic, political, cultural and military aspects of Türkiye's relations with Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan in modern times are examined based on factual evidence. Additionally, articles and theses published by specialists at the "Eurasian Strategic Research Center" in the "Strategic Analysis" journal, along with the works of Baskin Oran, are also included. However, these works primarily analyze the perspectives of Russia and Iran through the lens of Türkiye's strategy, without addressing Azerbaijan's involvement in these relations. Among other Turkish authors, K. Ağacan et al touched on the Turkish-Armenian problems in detail and noted its influence on Türkiye's Caucasian policy, but here they also bypassed the studied problems.⁸

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Russia's interest in Azerbaijan increased significantly. Russian scientists, political scientists, journalists, and research institutes have published several interesting studies devoted to the Caucasus and Azerbaijan politics, the status of the Caspian Sea, the energy problems of the region, and the prospects of participation of Russian companies in the exploitation

⁸ Yanar, S. The hidden power in Turkish-Russian relations: Caucasus / S. Yanar. – Istanbul: IQ Culture and Art Publishing, – 2002. – 256 p., Bal, I. Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. (Improved 2nd Edition) / I.Bal. – Ankara: Nobel Publishing Distribution, –2004. – 994 p., Baskin, O. Turkish Foreign Policy from the War of Independence to Today. Facts, Documents, Comments: [In 3 Volumes] / O.Baskin. – Istanbul: Bağlam Publishing, vol. 1. (1919-1980). – 2002. – 846 p., Baskin, O. Turkish Foreign Policy from the War of Independence to Today. Facts, Documents, Comments: [In 3 Volumes] / O.Baskin. – Istanbul: Bağlam Publishing, vol. 2. (1980-2001). – 2002. – 645 p., Ağacan, K. Georgia in the 10th year of independence: Is it the US's stronghold in the Caucasus? Strategic Analysis // – Ankara: Monthly international relations and strategy research journal, –2001. Vol. 1, month 11, – pp. 32-38.

of the region's energy resources. Among such studies, internal political and economic problems, international situation and foreign economic relations of Azerbaijan are analyzed in the two-volume collection edited by Professor Y. Kozhokin⁹ of the Russian Institute of Strategic Studies (Volume II). The authors touch on the important problems of Azerbaijan for almost ten years. However, the place of Azerbaijan in the foreign strategy of Russia, Iran and Türkiye is given in terms of the interests and position of Russia, biased approach to the issues of structure and development of relations with Iran and Türkiye and preference only on ethnic-religious basis is noticeable.

D. Furman analyzed the political situation in the region in his research works from 1993-2006 and evaluated the prospects of Azerbaijan's democratic development taking into account its historical development.¹⁰ The author reveals the characteristics of the national consciousness of Azerbaijanis conditioned by cultural and historical specifications. One cannot agree with the author's opinion that Azerbaijan missed the chance to become a democratic state during the period when the Popular Front Party was in power. Russian author A. Zveryev examines the position of world states on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in D. Trenin's¹¹ work entitled "Security Interests and Policy of Russia in the Caucasus Region" (in Russian). K.S. Hajiyev's work "Geopolitics of the Caucasus"¹² (in Russian) is of particular importance in terms of the analysis of geopolitical processes in the Caucasus. The study analyzes the Caucasian policies of the USA, Russia, Iran, Türkiye, and European countries using factual materials, and examines issues such as the status of the Caspian Sea,

⁹ Independent Azerbaijan: New Landmarks: [in 2 volumes] // ed. by E.M. Kozhokin. – Moscow: Russian Institute of Strategic Studies, – vol. 1.– 2000. – 420 p.

¹⁰ Furman, D.E. Return to the Third World: a sad story about Azerbaijani democracy // – Moscow: Svobodnaya Mysl, –1993. – No. 11, – pp. 16-28.

¹¹ Zverev, A. Ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus in 1988-1994, see: Disputed borders in the Caucasus // Ed. Bruno Coppieters. - Moscow: Ves Mir, - 1996. - pp. 10-76., Trenin, D.V. Security interests and policy of Russia in the Caucasus region // Disputed borders in the Caucasus. Ed. Bruno Coppieters. - Moscow: Ves Mir, - 1996. - 103 p.

¹² Hajiyev, K.S. Geopolitics of the Caucasus / K.S. Hajiyev. - Moscow: International Relations, - 2001. - 432 p.

oil and gas production, as well as the influence of the Islamic factor and nationalism in the Caucasus. K.S. Hajiyev highlights the significance of the “southern” direction in Russia’s foreign policy while also asserting that Azerbaijan serves as the leading state in the region. *“Azerbaijan plays a central role in the balance of forces formed in the Caucasus, and in a wider sense in the Caucasus-Caspian region. Baku clearly occupies a leading position both in the region as a whole and in the likely Europe-Asia transport corridor.”* The monographs of the Russian scientist S. Chernyavsky¹³ stand out for their relatively unbiased and fair position compared to the works of other Russian authors. In the monograph, the foreign policy of Azerbaijan in the 90s was approached from a historical-chronological point of view, and geopolitical processes were analyzed. Azerbaijan-Türkiye and Azerbaijan-Iran cooperation and partnership are denied as a result of a subjective approach. The books O. Kuznetsov¹⁴, A. Oleynikov¹⁵ and Sh. Salamov¹⁶ offers some brief comments about Azerbaijan, but they primarily focus on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, Turkish-Armenian contradictions, and the historical context surrounding these issues.

American political scientists Z. Brzezinski and H. Kissenger¹⁷, along with other Western scholars, conducted an in-depth analysis of the geohistorical and geopolitical environment in the Caucasus, particularly about American-Russian relations. Prominent political scientists note that independent, Turkic-speaking Azerbaijan,

¹³ Chernyavsky, S. I. *The New Path of Azerbaijan* / S. I. Chernyavsky. - Moscow: Molodaya Gvardiya, - 2002. - 350 p., Chernyavsky, S. I. *Ten Years of the History of Azerbaijan. 2003-2013* / S. I. Chernyavsky. - Moscow: Flinta, - 2013, 350-400 p.

¹⁴ Kuznetsov, O. Yu. *The Truth about the “Myths” of the Karabakh Conflict* / O. Yu. Kuznetsov. - Moscow: The Past, - 2013. - 216 p.

¹⁵ Oleynikov, A.V. *Turkish trap 100 years later* / A.V. Oleynikov. - St. Petersburg: Jupiter, - 2016. -288 p.

¹⁶ Salamov, Sh.N. *Karabakh. War of ideas. Nationalism-terrorism-genocide* / Sh.N. Salamov. - Tbilisi: Universal, - 2016. - 274 p.

¹⁷ Brzezinski, Z.T. *Grand chess board* / Z.T. Brzezinski - Moscow: International Relations, - 1999. – 256 p.; Brzezinski, Z.T. *Russia in American geopolitics before and after 2014* / Z. Brzezinski, H. Kissinger; ed. O. Selin - Moscow: Rodina, - 2018. - 239 p.

supported by Türkiye, will not allow Russia to exercise a monopoly over the region. However, it turns out that Azerbaijan is of interest to the United States only in terms of depriving Russia of this opportunity. Interestingly, according to American researchers, if Russia wants to strengthen its political and economic position in the region, Azerbaijan should be a priority for Russia.

Former British Prime Minister M. Thatcher also negatively assesses Russia's role in the Caucasus region. "Iron Lady" gives great importance to pipelines: "*Oil and gas are key to relations in the Caucasus, and pipelines in this ethnic gunpowder barrel are necessary not only because of Azerbaijan's vast natural resources but also for the development of the Caspian region's unparalleled energy resources in general.*"¹⁸

The British political scientist G. Winrow¹⁹ tries to study the military-strategic nature of Türkiye's Caucasus policy.

Svante Cornell, Deputy Director of the Central Asia and Caucasus Institute, and editor of the journal Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst, is a well-known expert on the Caucasus region and the author of many monographs and articles on ethnic conflicts in the South Caucasus.²⁰ In his research, S. Cornell analyzes the ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus region and the policies of the United States, Russia, Iran and Türkiye. One section of the work is devoted to Russia's policy in the Caucasus. However, Russia's role in the region is viewed by Western strategists and is subjective.

A prominent Polish historian on the recent history of Azerbaijan, an expert on the Caucasus and Azerbaijan, and a professor at Columbia University in the United States, Tadeusz Swietochowski in his works talks about the national movement in Azerbaijan in the late twentieth

¹⁸ Thatcher, M. The Art of State Administration. Strategies for a changing world / M. Thatcher. - Moscow: Alpina, -2017. – 512 p.

¹⁹ Winrow, G.M. Türkiye and the Caucasus. Domestic interests and security concerns / G.M. Winrow. – London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, – 2000. – 67 p.

²⁰ Cornell, S. Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh: dynamics and prospects for a solution / Azerbaijan and Russia: societies and states / Ed. by D.E. Furman. - Moscow: Summer Garden, - 2001. - 496 p.

century, as well as Russia's Azerbaijani policy.²¹ The author notes that Russia has pursued a violent and aggressive policy towards Azerbaijan. In "Russia and Azerbaijan. In the Book of Changing Borders", he commented on the events in Azerbaijan in the late twentieth century in the Russian-Iranian and Turkish geopolitical triangle, but partially touched on Türkiye and Iran, emphasizing Russia's role in the region.

One of the Iranian authors, A.Ramazanzadeh, tried to characterize Iran's mediation mission in the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. In his research, he analyzes Iran's policy in the Caucasus in the post-Soviet period from a historical point of view. In their various works and articles, A.Maleki, Sh. Chubin, Z.Sepehr, S.Paul and M.Aghazadeh analyzed the political and economic aspects of Iran's policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia after the collapse of the USSR and came to relevant scientific conclusions.²²

The dissertation examines the military, political, economic and strategic interests of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the South Caucasus region, including Azerbaijan, after the collapse of the USSR, in an interconnected way and through the prism of a common approach. One of the scientific novelties of the dissertation is that the struggle of regional states for the region has been studied and analyzed in parallel and in close contact with the processes taking place in Azerbaijan.

²¹ Svyatachowski, T. Russia and Azerbaijan during the borderline transition / (translated from English) - Baku: Khazar University Press, - 2000. - 327 p.

²² Ramezanzadeh, A. The role of Iran as a mediator in the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis // Disputed borders in the Caucasus under. ed. Bruno Coppeters. - Moscow: The whole world, -1996. - pp. 182-198.; Ramezanzadeh, A. Ethnic conflict: internal and international dimensions / A. Ramezanzadeh. - Leuven: Centrum Voor Vredesonderzoek, - 1993. - p. 33.; Maleki, A. Iran and Turan: on the issue of Iran's relations with the states of Central Asia and Transcaucasia // - Lulea: Central Asia and the Caucasus, - 2001. No. 5 (17). - pp.108-116.; Chubin, Sh. The Foreign Relations of Iran: A developing state in a zone of great-power conflict / Sh. Chubin, S. Zabih, P. Seabury. - Berkeley: University of California Press, - 1974. - p. 362.; Agazade, M.M. Azerbaijani-Iranian relations: main directions and features in 1991-2019 (historiographic review) // - Moscow: Bulletin of PFUR University. Series: International Relations 2021 Vol. 21, no. 4, - c. 803-821.

The dissertation is based on a critical analysis and comparison of sources, documents, archival materials and scientific literature in different languages. Research works, monographs, and scientific articles on the policy of Russia, Iran and Türkiye on Azerbaijan have been seriously studied and used. Theses, articles and reports of Azerbaijani and foreign researchers and analysts, materials from scientific conferences, press briefings, and television and radio programs were addressed. National leader Heydar Aliyev's multi-volume work "Our Independence is Eternal" contains official documents on comprehensive relations between Russia, Iran and Türkiye with Azerbaijan, the President's visits to these countries in the 1990s, meetings, reports, speeches, official letters and many other documents. İlham Aliyev's multi-volume work "Azerbaijani oil in world politics" contains documents reflecting the energy policy of the United States, Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the region, the formation of strategic interests in the oil issue, opinions of government officials, etc.²³ Problems of the status of the Caspian Sea are reflected in the works of İlham Aliyev. Thus, the monographs touched upon not only oil production but also energy transportation, as well as the geopolitical landscape of the region.

Volumes II-III of the multi-volume work "Heydar Aliyev and the East" compiled by G.Allahverdiyev and V.Sultanzadeh are an important source reflecting the Azerbaijan-Iran and Azerbaijan-

²³ Aliyev, H.A. Our independence is eternal: [46 volumes] / H.A. Aliyev. - Baku: Azerneshr, - vol. 1. -1997. - 612 s.; Aliyev, H.A. Our independence is eternal: [46 volumes] / H.A. Aliyev. - Baku: Azerneshr, - vol. 2. -1997. - 604 s.; Aliyev, H.A. Our independence is eternal: [46 volumes] / H.A. Aliyev. - Baku: Azerneshr, - vol. 3. -1997. - 479 s.; Aliyev, HA The Way to Independence / HA Aliyev. - Baku: Azerneshr, -1997. - 135 p.; Aliyev, I.H. Azerbaijani oil in world politics: [5 volumes] / I.H. Aliyev. - vol. 1, - Baku: Azərənşr, - 1997. - 478 p.; Aliyev, I.H. Azerbaijani oil in world politics: [5 volumes] / I.H. Aliyev. - vol. 2, - Baku: Azerneshr, - 1997. - 327 p.; Aliyev, I.H. Azerbaijani oil in world politics: [5 volumes] / I.H. Aliyev. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - vol. 3. -1997. - 237 p.; Aliyev, I.H. Azerbaijani oil in world politics: [5 volumes] / I.H. Aliyev. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - vol. 4. -1997. - 262 p.; Aliyev, I.H. Azerbaijani oil in world politics: [5 volumes] / I.H. Aliyev. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - vol. 5. - 1997. - 399 p.

Türkiye relations.²⁴ The authors studied the main aspects of the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan under the leadership of national leader Heydar Aliyev concerning the Eastern countries, including Iran and Türkiye, and took the initiative to summarize the achievements in this direction. The book comprehensively and systematically analyzes the relevant literature, diplomatic documents, and periodicals that reflect all the subtleties and successes of Heydar Aliyev's Eastern policy.

In addition to their substantial content and socio-political significance, the works referenced in the dissertation addressed the topic within a broader context rather than in isolation. In conclusion, it is important to highlight that the cited literature forms the foundation of the dissertation's source material and has also shaped its ideological direction.

Object of research. The object of research is the relations of the Republic of Azerbaijan with Russia-Iran-Türkiye, which were formed in the first half of the 1990s and have undergone a certain stage of development. Azerbaijan's policy of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the international situation in the early 90s of the XX century, the place of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the new stage, when the unity of strategic goals in the region, the ongoing economic and political changes and the turning point of international conflicts are determined, the position of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, as well as external factors exacerbating the internal political conflict in Azerbaijan are the object of study. The impact of political processes in the Republic of Azerbaijan on political relations in 1991-1995, measures taken to establish social and political stability in Azerbaijan and to establish an equal level partnership with Russia, Iran and Türkiye, the beginning of a new era in this field, the influence of international and regional power centers, as well as Russia, Türkiye, Iran on the formation of the

²⁴ Allahverdiyev, Q.A. Heydar Aliyev and the East. Islamic Republic of Iran: [6 volumes] / Q.A. Allahverdiyev, V.M. Sultanzadeh. –Baku: Ozan, - vol. 2. - 2002. – 452 p.; Allahverdiyev, Q.A. Heydar Aliyev and the East. The Republic of Türkiye: [in 6 volumes] / Q.A. Allahverdiyev, V.M. Sultanzadeh. –Baku: Chashoghlu, – vol. 3. - 2005. - 760 p.

oil strategy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the participation of Russian, Iranian and Turkish companies in the development of oil and gas fields in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea and the radical changes in the policy of regional powers in Azerbaijan and many other issues are the subject of research.

Goals and objectives of the study. The main purpose of the dissertation is to study the scientific-political, theoretical concepts of the strategic interests, scope and characteristics of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the Caucasus, especially in Azerbaijan, formed in the 90s of the XX century based on complex, systematic research and comparative analysis. The following important tasks have been identified to achieve this goal:

- To determine the scientific and theoretical basis for the emergence of the interests of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the region after the collapse of the Soviet Union;

- To study the political, economic, humanitarian, social and military security aspects of the strategic interests of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the region, to determine the scientific and theoretical basis of the existing relations between them;

- Research of geopolitical factors of the existing relations between the policy of Türkiye in the Caucasus and the policy of the Turkic world;

- Defining the role of the South Caucasus republics against the background of events in the region and the general geopolitical environment of the Caucasus;

- Clarification of the geopolitical situation of Azerbaijan in the political processes in the region and the study of the activities of the national leader of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev to determine the geopolitical position of Azerbaijan;

- Investigation of the diplomatic and political activities of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the energy diplomacy of the Caspian region;

- Disclosure of the essence of Russian, Iranian and Turkish diplomacy in resolving conflicts in the region;

Research methods. In the research process, the author used various research methods and techniques. These are the basic

principles of historical science: historicity, objectivity, comprehensive analysis, reliability and accuracy of information. These principles allow us to study historical events in the process of real development and interaction, to conduct a comprehensive analysis and assessment of historical facts. Historiography, which is a traditional principle of historical research, requires a concrete study of social events in the process of development, an in-depth study of the interaction of each element with the other. The structural and functional qualities of Azerbaijan's foreign and domestic policy have been studied with the help of the historical method. The principle of objectivity allows to understand the main values and to consider and analyze the positive and negative events of the historical process. The specific historical-legal events taking place in the country were analyzed by the historical-comparative method. In studying these events, the author used methods such as analogy and extrapolation, and when working with digital indicators, the statistical method. Reliability and accuracy levels of different source groups were determined using the comparative method. The application of problem-chronological and generalization methods allows to assess and summarize the results of Azerbaijan's political, economic, cultural relations and military cooperation with Russia, Türkiye, Iran and countries that have some influence on the region under study.

The main provisions of the defence. The main provisions of the defence are as follows:

- The inevitability of the formation of diplomacy in the foreign policy concept of the newly independent Republic of Azerbaijan, reflecting the geopolitical importance of Russia, Iran and Türkiye, which have traditional interests in the region;
- The necessity of pursuing a balanced foreign policy in the region, consistent with Russia's traditional interests, but without compromising the independence and sovereignty of Azerbaijan, taking into account the geopolitical interests of Türkiye and Iran, which have just entered the region;
- The necessity of establishing cooperation with transnational corporations serving the interests of the world's leading countries to meet Azerbaijan's global problems under national interests, the

country's energy resources have been identified, put into operation and transported to world markets and pursuing a successful foreign policy to align its activities with the regional interests of the traditional geopolitical triangle (Russia, Iran and Türkiye) along with national interests.

Scientific novelty of the research. The research attempts to study the events in Azerbaijan against the background of socio-political and economic processes in the world on the eve of the collapse of the USSR, various aspects of the struggle for independence in terms of a common approach. The geopolitical and geostrategic situation of Azerbaijan, a key state in the South Caucasus and a significant player in regional political processes has been analyzed in detail.

Economic and strategic interests of Russia, Iran and Turkey in the South Caucasus region, including Azerbaijan, are being studied in an interconnected way and through the prism of a common approach. The research primarily focuses on the historical actions of Heydar Aliyev, the National Leader of the Republic of Azerbaijan, in shaping the country's geopolitical stance.

The political dimensions of establishing the Oil Consortium for the development and exploitation of natural resources in the Caspian region, involving Russia, Iran, and Türkiye, were analyzed, along with its potential influence on resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. The study scientifically demonstrates how this policy creates manoeuvring opportunities for Azerbaijani diplomacy, enabling the establishment of equitable relations with major states and encouraging them to make decisions aligned with national interests at various levels.

From 1991 to 1995, the distinct interests of major and regional states in Azerbaijan were examined using a comparative analysis approach, resulting from the structuring and categorization of the gathered materials.

For the first time, new facts and materials were included in the research as a result of the examination of archival documents and periodical press.

Through the study and organization of the gathered materials, the practical aspects of the complex relationships between Russia,

Iran, and Türkiye with regional countries were clarified. Additionally, a scientific and methodological analysis of the theoretical aspects was conducted, highlighting the importance of elevating these relations to a strategic partnership level in the future, particularly regarding Russia and Iran, for Azerbaijan and other stakeholders.

The geopolitical importance of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the implementation of Azerbaijan's foreign policy and the scientific-theoretical and conceptual bases of using their opportunities in the region have been studied.

According to the principles and directions of the foreign policy of foreign states with interests in the region, conflicting and parallel strategic interests have been identified.

After the collapse of the USSR, the place and role of the CIS countries, including Azerbaijan, in the new system of international relations was determined, and the main problems and conflicts in the development of integration in the post-Soviet space were considered.

Finally, some ideas and recommendations, generalizations and scientific results obtained during the dissertation regarding the balanced policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the level of Russia-Iran-Türkiye can be considered as scientific innovations of the research work.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research. The scientific analysis of the socio-political processes taking place in the world and Azerbaijan in the 1990s, and the study of Azerbaijan's foreign policy are of scientific and practical importance. In the current situation, when our republic gained independence and ideological barriers were broken, there are wide opportunities for a comprehensive study of our history. The main task before us is to use these opportunities to re-analyze our recent past and draw the right scientific conclusions. It is the legitimate right of the independent people to describe the history of the people, as it is, in all its realities, and adherence to this goal is both a scientific and a civic duty of our historians. These tasks are a clear example of the practical significance of the presented dissertation.

In recent years, there has been a significant increase in interest in studying and researching the foreign policy of Azerbaijan, which

has gained great international prestige. In the humanities faculties of universities, the international relations of our country are included in the curriculum as an independent subject and a special course. Given the lack of comprehensive research, textbooks and teaching aids that fully reflect the history of international relations in Azerbaijan, the presented research, in the opinion of the author, can help to partially fill the gaps in this area. Another indicator of the practical significance of the dissertation is that this research can be used by teachers and students of humanities faculties of universities, as well as a wide range of readers interested in the modern political history of Azerbaijan.

Approbation and application. Scientific-theoretical provisions on all chapters and sections of the dissertation are published in the author's manuals, methodical materials, monographs and articles, and are reflected in the reports and theses of scientific conferences organized at ASPU, other scientific and educational institutions of the country (Ganja, Nakhchivan), as well as Türkiye (Kars), Ukraine (Odessa), Russia (Moscow, Novosibirsk), Georgia (Tbilisi) and Kazakhstan (Nur-Sultan and Astana).

Name of the organization the dissertation work is carried out. The dissertation was completed at the Department of "Overview of History and Methods for Teaching History" of the Azerbaijan State Pedagogical University.

The structure of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters, 12 paragraphs, a conclusion and a list of references. The total volume of the dissertation is 576873 characters. The introduction consists of 45070 characters, Chapter I – 138310 characters, Chapter II - 161357 characters, Chapter III - 72156 characters, Chapter IV - 80579 characters, and Conclusion - 24276 characters.

MAIN CONTENT OF THE WORK

The first chapter of the dissertation is entitled "**The international situation in the early 90s and the Azerbaijan policy of Russia, Iran, and Türkiye**" and consists of 3 paragraphs.

The first paragraph of the first chapter, entitled "**Economic and political conditions for the entry of the Republic of Azerbaijan into**

a new stage of the system of international relations with Russia, Iran and Türkiye” deals with the formation of a foreign policy that takes into account the economic and strategic interests of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the region, which are part of the traditional and historical geopolitical triangle formed around the state independence of Azerbaijan.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the USSR experienced a period later known as the “stagnation”. In the second half of the 1980s, realizing that the socialist system was in crisis, M. Gorbachev decided that serious reforms were needed in the name of reconstruction to preserve the state and the communist government.

During M. Gorbachev’s rule, the USSR’s public debt reached an astronomical amount - from 13 billion to 113 billion dollars. In 1991, cards were introduced for basic foodstuffs, wine, and tobacco throughout the country, including Moscow.²⁵ The fall in oil prices, which form the basis of exports, has significantly reduced the inflow of foreign currency into the country.

Active defenders of the policy of perestroika, the world powers paid special attention to the introduction of a market economy in the Soviet republics.

Perestroika, which began in the second half of the 1980s, aimed to cosmetically repair its economic base while maintaining the political foundation of society. However, to protect the state from bankruptcy, the Kremlin wanted to prolong its life by inciting ethnic conflicts in various regions and forcing its participants to seek help from Moscow. Without M. Gorbachev’s knowledge, the State Committee for Emergency Situations, which had failed on the night of August 19, was set up. These events have radically changed the balance of power in the country. B. Yeltsin became a national hero who prevented the coup. M. Gorbachev lost almost all his influence.

The last blow to the Union was struck in December 1991. The leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, B. Yeltsin, L. Kravchuk, and S.Shushkevich, gathered at a place called Belovezhskaya Pusha near

²⁵ Filippov, A.V. The latest history of Russia 1945-2006 / A.V. Filippov. Enlightenment, - 2007. - 494 p.

Minsk without warning M. Gorbachev. Here they signed an agreement on the annulment of the 1922 Treaty of Union and the abolition of the USSR.

After the collapse of the USSR, the South Caucasus and independent Azerbaijan faced a new geopolitical reality. The country has become a new strategic interest of countries like Russia, Iran and Türkiye. Russia was determined to uphold its sphere of influence in Azerbaijan, while Iran intensified societal radicalization and established its influence by promoting religious fundamentalism. Meanwhile, Türkiye sought access to energy resources and supported Azerbaijan's independence, fostering connections with Turkic-speaking countries in Central Asia through Azerbaijan and developing its sphere of interest in the region.

The second paragraph, entitled **“Unity of the Strategic Goals of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the Region with the Socio-political Situation in the Republic of Azerbaijan in the Early 1990s”** discusses the extent to which the conflict in the early 1990s met the strategic interests of regional powers. The role of Russia, Türkiye, Iran and European countries with interests in the region should be emphasized.²⁶ After the collapse of the huge empire called the USSR, the three independent states created here - Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia - immediately attracted the attention of the world community. The collapse of the USSR and the loss of control of the region again turned it into a place where the interests of the United States, Russia, Iran, Türkiye and the great powers of Central Asia collided.²⁷

After the collapse of the USSR, the Russian Federation, which considered itself its legal successor, stated that the CIS space was of vital importance to it. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation A. Kozyrev has repeatedly stated that the CIS is a first-tier sphere of influence, covering issues of vital importance to Russia. Our interests in the CIS are a unified army, close economic

²⁶ Nasibov, E.M. Strategic interests of the United States and Türkiye in the Caucasus geopolitical region and the Republic of Azerbaijan / E.M. Nasibov. –Baku: Chirag, - 2006. - 314 p.

²⁷ Ruinten, K.F. Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan and world politics / K.F. Ruinten. - Baku: Adiloğlu, –2008. - 260 s.

relations, a unique cultural space, common borders and a common Russian language. According to the politician, Russia will protect these interests by all possible means, even the toughest.²⁸

Iran assessed the existence of the Azerbaijani state as a threat to its national interests. Therefore, speaking of the so-called Islamic Union, Iran provided all kinds of material and moral assistance to Armenia. At the same time, Tehran's interests in the Caucasus clashed with those of Russia and Türkiye.

In the early 1990s, the world's geopolitical climate was largely determined by US-Russian relations. When there was a "cold peace", tensions and new "hot spots" in the conflict zones increased.²⁹

The United States recognized the state independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan on December 25, 1991, and established diplomatic relations with it in March 1992.³⁰ First of all, economic factors played a key role in strengthening the political interests of the United States in Azerbaijan. According to the well-known political scientist Z.Brzezinski, economic relations between Azerbaijan and the United States should be expanded as much as possible, as this will strengthen the political role of the United States in Azerbaijan. Economic relations will increase the number of Azerbaijan's friends in the United States and help to alleviate the situation created by some forces within the United States.³¹

The fact that Türkiye is the guarantor of Azerbaijan's independence was also irritating Russia and Iran. Immediately after the signing of the "Treaty of the Century", it became clear that Iran's position coincides with Russia's position on many parameters.

²⁸Russia's new military doctrine and peacekeeping. (November 11, 1992) // Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund № 28, inventory № 19, case № 32, sheet 95.

²⁹ Bal, I. Turkish Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. (Advanced 2. Edition) / I. Bal. - Ankara: Nobel Broadcasting, -2004. - 994 p.

³⁰ Russia's new military doctrine and peacekeeping. (November 11, 1992).

³¹ For example, the "Porter's additin" provided for separate US assistance to Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Mr. Mustafabayli, an adviser to the Russian ambassador to Iran, noted that the Iranian-Russian views are in many respects similar.³²

The territory of the CIS is unequivocally included in Russia's geopolitical sphere of influence, and Russia did not hide that it views Azerbaijan as a zone of strategic interest. Y. Ambarsumov, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Russian Parliament, tried to prove that the former Soviet republics are unequivocally included in Russia's sphere of influence. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation A.V. Kozyrev said that Russia must maintain its military presence in the regions of its interest for hundreds of years³³.

In the first half of the 1990s, Türkiye's interests in the South Caucasus clashed with those of Russia and Iran in almost all areas. Türkiye stabilized the Black Sea region, controlled access to the Mediterranean from there, balanced Russia in the Caucasus and served NATO's southern wing by preventing Islamic fundamentalism. It was Azerbaijan, which took its first fragile, independent steps with the support of Türkiye and the United States behind it, that could withstand pressure from Russia in the north and Iran in the south. This was well understood in Russia and Iran. For this reason, the Moscow-Yerevan-Tehran axis was being formed against Türkiye.³⁴

Armenia entered the period of independence with a strong army based on units of the former Soviet Army on its territory. Armenians skillfully used the situation with the collapse of the USSR to create and strengthen their armed forces.

The third paragraph of the first chapter, titled "**The Role of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the New Historical Context of Economic and Political Changes in the International Sphere and the Nexus of Global Conflicts**," examines efforts to forge optimal relations with

³² Aliyev, G. The place and importance of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan main export pipeline in the foreign policy of Azerbaijan // - Baku: Publication of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan: Theory and Practice, - 2003. – №3, pp. 56-61.

³³ Russia's new military doctrine and peacekeeping. (November 11, 1992).

³⁴ Dugin, A.G. The fundamentals of geopolitics. The geopolitical future of Russia. Think by Space / A.G. Dugin. - Moscow: Arktogeya-center, - 2000. - 928 p.

the countries that form the traditional geopolitical triangle around Azerbaijan, all in the context of rapidly evolving events in the region.

1991 was a turning point in Russia's understanding of the importance of its superpower. Russia's first foreign minister A.V.Kozyrev explained his country's new role in the international arena after the collapse of the USSR: "*We have abandoned messianism and chosen a course of pragmatic development. We quickly realized that geopolitics replaces ideology.*"³⁵ Even B. Yeltsin, speaking in Kyiv on November 19, 1990, said: "*Russia does not want to be the centre of any new empire. Russia has played this role for a long time and knows its destructive nature better than anyone else. What did this role give it? So the Russians became freer, richer and happier? History teaches us that a nation that rules other nations cannot be happy.*"³⁶

To prevent Türkiye from using the collapse of the USSR to provide any potential assistance to Azerbaijan, Marshal Shaposhnikov warned that a "*third world war*" would break out if Türkiye intervened in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.³⁷

With the collapse of the Soviet empire, Iran faced the threat of ethnic conflicts in neighbouring countries. Geopolitically, Iran is part of the Middle East, or more precisely, its eastern gateway. A new region has emerged, which some call the "New Middle East"³⁸ and others "North-West Asia"³⁹. With an area of 7 million square kilometres and a population of 320 million, the region includes

³⁵ Dugin, A.G. International relations (paradigms, theories, sociology): Textbook for universities / A.G. Dugin. - Moscow: Academic project, - 2013. - 348 p.

Ramazani, R.K. Iran's Foreign Policy: Both North and South // The Middle East Journal, – Summer 1992. Vol. 46. №3, –pp. 393-412.

³⁶ Brzezinski, Z.T. Great chessboard. / Z.T. Brzezinski. - Moscow: International relations, - 1999. - 256 p.

³⁷ Correspondence with the Turkish Embassy in Azerbaijan (09.07.1992-17.09.1998) // Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund № 28, inventory № 21, case № 31, sheet 105.

³⁸ Barkey Henri, J. Türkiyes Kurdish Dilemma: [Electronic resource] // – Survival. Vol. 35. Winter 93/94. №4 – pp. 51-701. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00396339308442711>

³⁹ Ramazani, R.K. Iran's Foreign Policy: Both North and South // The Middle East Journal, – Summer 1992. Vol. 46. №3, – pp. 393-412.

Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and Türkiye. On September 6, 1991, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran stated in a letter sent to the Soviet Muslim republics that it was ready to establish comprehensive relations with them.⁴⁰ At the initiative of Iran and with the consent of Türkiye and Pakistan, the membership of the Economic Cooperation Organization was expanded. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan were officially admitted to membership at the first summit of the organization in Tehran in 1992. Iran recognized the state independence of Azerbaijan on December 25, 1991, and established diplomatic relations on March 12, 1992.⁴¹

After the collapse of the USSR, Türkiye recognized the independence of the Caucasus countries one after another.⁴² Considering that the Turkic-speaking republics, which gained independence after the collapse of the USSR, share a common history, language and culture for peace, security, stability and development in Eurasia, on the initiative of Turkish President T. Ozal, on October 30-31, 1992 in Ankara, the first summit of Turkic-speaking countries was held with the participation of the presidents of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Türkiye.⁴³ Despite the existing problems, Türkiye was interested in establishing normal relations with Armenia. In April 1992, the Turkish Ambassador to Moscow Volkan Vural was the first Turkish official, and in August a Turkish Foreign Ministry delegation visited Yerevan.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Letter sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Soviet Muslim Republics. In the name of God. (September 6, 1991) // State Archive of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №411, inventory №47, unit 373, sheet 1.

⁴¹ Documents related to the countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (1995-1996) // Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund № 28, inventory № 21, case № 63, sheet 196.

⁴² Yanar, S. Secret power in Turkish-Russian relations: Caucasus / S.Yanar. – Istanbul: IQ Culture and Art Publishing, –2002. –256 p.

⁴³ Mammadli, N.A. Turkic States of Central Asia and Türkiye / N.A. Mammadli. - Baku: Az.AtaM, - 2005. - 321 p.

⁴⁴ EAdaily / URL: [https://eadaily.com/ru/news/2021/12/16/amerikanskiy-prioritet-](https://eadaily.com/ru/news/2021/12/16/amerikanskiy-prioritet)

On January 10, 1990, a protocol “On cultural and scientific exchange between the Azerbaijan SSR and the Republic of Türkiye in 1990-1992” was signed between the Azerbaijani SSR and the Republic of Türkiye in Ankara.⁴⁵ On October 18, 1989, a 57-member Turkish delegation arrived in Baku. The delegation was headed by the President of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce and Industry A.Coshgun and a representative of the Turkish Soviet Business Council Gökyiğit. On October 19, the issues of establishing relations between Turkish business circles and ministries, committees and associations, cooperation in light, local industry, agro-industrial complex, electrical engineering and tourism were discussed at the Gulustan Palace. An Azerbaijani government delegation led by Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR Hasan Hasanov paid an official visit to Türkiye on September 14-19, 1990. They were received by the President of the Republic of Türkiye Turgut Ozal⁴⁶ and Prime Minister Yıldırım Akbulut.⁴⁷ The issues of development of Turkish-Azerbaijani relations in connection with the protocols dated January 10, 1990 “On the development of economic and trade relations between the Azerbaijan SSR and the Republic of Türkiye” were considered at the talks and meetings.⁴⁸ On October 23, 1990, the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR adopted a resolution on “Development of transport, communication, trade and other economic relations between the Azerbaijan SSR and the Republic of Türkiye”.⁴⁹ The preparation and successful holding of the Trade and Industry Fair of the Republic of Türkiye in Baku on April 22-26, 1991 were the first steps in the beginning of cooperation

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⁴⁵Safarov, P.Sh. The early 90s of the XX century in the foreign policy of Azerbaijan and Turkey //–Baku: News of the Pedagogical University, 2018. v.66, №3, – pp.159-166.

⁴⁶ Azerbaijan-Türkiye diplomatic relations in the press (1990-1992) / Ed: - Baku: OLNPKT, - 2018. - 160 p.

⁴⁷ Azerbaijan-Türkiye diplomatic relations in the press (1990-1992). P. 82.

⁴⁸ Azerbaijan-Türkiye diplomatic relations in the press (1990-1992). P. 83.

⁴⁹ Decree of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR (October 23, 1990) // State Archive of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №411, inventory No. 47, unit 315, sheet 4.

between the two countries.⁵⁰ Although the visit of Turkish President Turgut Ozal to Baku in March 1991 created certain conditions for the development of relations within the USSR, these relations were still limited. The visit of the Prime Minister of Türkiye S. Demirel to Baku in April 1992 laid the foundation for the development of multifaceted relations between the two countries on a new basis.⁵¹

The second chapter of the dissertation is entitled **“Azerbaijan-Russia, Azerbaijan-Türkiye, Azerbaijan-Iran relations at the initial stage of building an independent state (the early 90s of the XX century - the first half of 1993)”** and consists of three sub-chapters.

The first paragraph, entitled **“The position of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict”**, reflects the socio-political procedure in the world and in the region during the historical period of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, the factor in the approach of the states of the region to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict from their interests.

Several forecasts about the national composition of the USSR, the growing weight of the Turkic peoples and the Islamic factor worried the Western world. However, once the socio-economic, intellectual, cultural and spiritual development of the Turkic peoples in the USSR reached a significant level and their representatives were elected members of the Politburo and even headed the USSR government, there was no doubt about the seriousness of this factor.⁵² The center sought to maintain its presence and sphere of influence at all costs by creating hotbeds of national conflict in regions of significant geopolitical importance.⁵³ M.Gorbachev’s economic

⁵⁰ Letter from the Chairman of the Presidium of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Azerbaijan SSR H. Huseynov to the Prime Minister of the Azerbaijan SSR H. Hasanov (April 11, 1991) // State Archive of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №411, inventory No. 47, unit 367, sheet 1.

⁵¹ Karimova, B.T. The role of England in the formation of the Armenian issue in modern Turkish historiography // - Baku: Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. Institute of History, Scientific works, - 2019. №78. - pp. 90-100.

⁵² Azerbaijan Republic (1991-2001) / Edited by R.A. Mehdiyev. - Baku: Azerneshr, - 2001. – 360 p.

⁵³ Safarov, P.Sh. International situation and foreign policy of Azerbaijan in the first

adviser A.Aganbekyan said at a meeting in Paris in November 1987 that Karabakh is more connected to Armenia than to Azerbaijan, which spurred the “miatsum” movement in Nagorno-Karabakh.

After the collapse of the USSR, the independent Armenian state raised terrorism to the level of state policy and began close cooperation with Dashnaksutyun, ASALA and other Armenian terrorist organizations. Such criminal terrorist groups organized against Azerbaijanis and Turks include “Urartu”, “Dro”, “Vaan Avanesyan 31” and others. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Armenia, in 1990 there were several groups in Armenia uniting more than 10,000 militants.⁵⁴

Towards the end of the 1980s, the center of anti-Azerbaijani propaganda shifted from the Middle East, France and the United States to Moscow. Various actions and provocations were prepared against Azerbaijan, information falsifying the history of Karabakh and our people was disseminated, and activities organized for the defence of Armenian positions at the international level were coordinated. One of the ideologues of the Armenians in Moscow, G.Staravoytova, wrote: “Although the Armenians, a small Christian nation, were subjected to genocide like the Jews, they fought against the Muslim blackmail.”⁵⁵

The conflicts of 1988-1994 arose against the background of the weakening and collapse of the USSR. National elites were able to motivate their people to fight for sovereignty, and getting out of Moscow’s control became their priority.⁵⁶

Declaring the agreements signed in the early 1920s unfair, the Armenian nationalists were preparing various plans to seize Azerbaijani lands and annex Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.⁵⁷ The

half of 90s / P.Sh. Safarov. - Baku: ASPU publication, - 1999. 117 p.

⁵⁴ Mirbashiroghlu, E. Modern terrorism and the problem of international security / E. Mirbashiroghlu. - Baku: Science and Education, - 2017. - 80 p.

⁵⁵ Chernyavsky, S.I. New way of Azerbaijan / S.I. Chernyavsky. -Moscow: Young Guard, -2002. -350 p.

⁵⁶ Zverev, A. Ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus in 1988-1994, see: Disputed borders in the Caucasus // Ed. by Bruno Coppeters. - Moscow: The whole world, -1996. - pp. 10-76.

⁵⁷ According to the Moscow Treaty signed in 1921, the city of Kars, which the Armenians considered to be their own, was given to Türkiye. According to the Kars

Armenian population of Karabakh sent thousands of individual and collective letters to Moscow expressing their desire to unite with Armenia and held a campaign to collect signatures. The comprehensive support of the Armenians and the strong Armenian diaspora abroad played an important role in fairly dressing the “struggle” of the Armenian separatists in Karabakh. L.Ter-Petrosyan, one of the leaders of the “Karabakh” Committee, said in an interview with the Times in 1988: *“Even if we achieve our goal, this movement must continue as an expression of the will of our people.”*⁵⁸

Ponamaryov, deputy chairman of the commission that drafted the last constitution of the USSR in 1977 and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said at one of the commission’s meetings that he had received numerous letters from Armenians about annexing Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. At that time, Heydar Aliyev managed to remove the issue from the agenda by talking to L. Brezhnev.⁵⁹

During the years of socialism, the Nagorno-Karabakh region had a higher level of development than other regions of Azerbaijan. According to statistics, in 1970-1986, the growth of industrial output in the country was 3 times, and in Nagorno-Karabakh - 3.3 times.⁶⁰

As the Russian diplomat and poet A.S.Griboedov wrote *“Armenians always own the land they entered for the first time”*⁶¹, Armenians tried to seize Azerbaijani lands at any cost. The Sumgayit incident, organized by Armenian nationalists with the help of supporters of the central government and the support of the USSR KGB, created an opportunity to spread artificial rumours about

agreement of that year, the Nakhchivan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was to be established within Azerbaijan. According to the Lausanne Treaty signed in 1923, Türkiye-Armenia was removed from the agenda once and for all.

⁵⁸ Mammadov, E.C. Twenty years later / E.C. Mammadov. - Baku: Mutarjim, - 2008. - 204 p.

⁵⁹ Mammadov, N.R. Karabakh region of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1970-1985 / N.R. Mammadov. – Baku: Europe, - 2017. - 328 p.

⁶⁰ Qasımlı, M.C. Foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2003: [2 volumes] / M.C. Qasımlı. - Baku: Mutarjim, - vol. 1. –2015. - 648 p.

⁶¹ Griboedov, A.S. Essays: [4 volumes] / A.S. Griboedov. - Moscow: Pravda, - vol. 2. –1971. - 376 p.

“suffering Armenians” around the world, overshadowing the main motive of Armenians - “Greater Armenia”.

After the events in Sumgayit, the bloody anti-Turkish movement organized by the government and the leaders of the “Karabakh movement” in Armenia expanded. Starting from the winter of 1988, ethnic cleansing against Azerbaijanis began in Armenia. 40897 Azerbaijani families and 185519 Azerbaijanis were forcibly deported, as well as deprived of housing and property.⁶²

In March 1988, additional Soviet troops invaded Yerevan. The “Karabakh” Committee headed by future President L. Ter-Petrosyan has been established in Armenia. On July 12, the session of the Council of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region decided to leave Azerbaijan and join Armenia.⁶³ On the same day, the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR declared this act illegal. Continuous rallies began in Baku on November 17. O.Sultanov notes: “... *the rally started in the Academy of Sciences ... then ... was replaced by a 19-day square epic*”.⁶⁴

By arresting several national movement leaders in Baku and Yerevan, Moscow sought to take control of the situation. In January 1989, G.Pogosyan, a staunch nationalist secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Regional Committee of the Communist Party, was dismissed. On January 13, 1989, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree “On the application of a special form of government in the NKAR of the Azerbaijani SSR.”⁶⁵ Management functions have been transferred to a new body - the Special Management Committee (SMC) headed by A.Volsky, sent from Moscow.

⁶² Ibayev, V.A. Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the context of international law / V.A. Ibayev. –Baku: Elm, – 2006. – 696 p.

⁶³ Chernyavsky, S.I. Azerbaijan’s New Way / S.I. Chernyavsky. - Moscow: Young Guard, –2002. - 350 p.

⁶⁴ Sultanov, O.B. Political struggles in Azerbaijan in the late 80s and early 90s / O.B. Sultanov. - Baki: Maarif, - 1995. - 232 p.

⁶⁵ Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On the Establishment of a Special Form of Management in the NKAO in the Azerbaijan SSR” (January 13, 1989) // State Archives of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №411, inventory No. 56, Unit 1, List 4.

In protest of the violence against the Azerbaijani population in Nagorno-Karabakh, residents of Baku and other cities and regions flocked to the squares and held protest rallies. Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Y. Primakov, who was sent to Baku by M. Gorbachev, held various meetings and tried to turn the situation in Moscow's favour. On the night of January 19-20, Soviet troops entered the city with heavy equipment and committed a bloody massacre. According to official data, 131 people were killed in Baku and the regions of the country, including 117 Azerbaijanis, 6 Russians, 3 Jews, and 3 Tatars, and 744 people were injured. 400 people were arrested, 4 people were missing, 25 servicemen were killed and 283 people were injured.⁶⁶

The rebels, formed by the State Committee for Emergency Situations on August 19-21, 1991, were unable to stand up to the democratic forces. Democratic forces in Azerbaijan also opposed the SCES. However, A. Mutallibov made a serious political mistake in defending the SCES.⁶⁷ On August 30, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan issued a special statement "On the unconstitutional coup d'état of the reactionary forces on August 19, 1991."⁶⁸

H. Aliyev openly protested against the forces working to preserve the empire, first of all, the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and on July 19, 1991, he left the Communist Party.⁶⁹ On August 26, 1991, the activity of the Azerbaijan Communist Party was suspended in the territory of the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic. At the request of Moscow, A. Mutallibov decided to hold presidential elections immediately. In the presidential elections held on September 8, 1991, A. Mutallibov was allegedly elected the first President of the

⁶⁶ Jamal, S. Karabakh in the administrative-political system of the Russian Empire in the 19th - early 20th centuries // Karabakh (International Azerbaijan Journal), - 2005. No. 2-3, - p. 47.

⁶⁷ Statement of Azerinform // Baku worker. - 1991. August 23, - p. 1.

⁶⁸ ARSS statement on the unconstitutional coup d'état of the reactionary forces on August 19, 1991 (August 30, 1991) // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №2941, list № 1a, case № 260, sheet 1.

⁶⁹ To the party organization of the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR // Azadlig newspaper. - July 26, 1991. - p. 8.

Republic of Azerbaijan with 98.5 percent of the vote.⁷⁰ Democratic forces have called for a boycott of the election. The Supreme Assembly of the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic annulled the presidential elections in the territory of the Autonomous Republic. About 30 percent of voters in Baku did not come to the polls. However, the election results were falsified and A. Mutallibov was “re-elected” president.⁷¹

On August 8, 1991, residents of the last Azerbaijani village in Armenia, Nivadi, were expelled from their lands. During 1988-1991, 230,000 Azerbaijanis were expelled from 185 Azerbaijani villages and other settlements in Armenia. 13,000 houses, 165 collective and state farm property, and cattle were looted, 225 people were killed and 1,154 were injured.⁷²

At the request of the democratic forces, the Declaration on the restoration of the state independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan was adopted on August 30, 1991.

On October 9, 1991, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan adopted the Constitutional Act “On the Armed Forces of the Republic of Azerbaijan”⁷³, and on October 18, 1991, on the state independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Heydar Aliyev was elected chairman of the Nakhchivan Supreme Assembly on September 4, 1991.⁷⁴

The threat of moral degradation was real in the Russian army, which completed its military mission in Karabakh after 1991. The

⁷⁰ Message of the Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the results of the elections of the President of the AR // Baku Worker. - September 18, 1991. - p. 1.

⁷¹ History of Azerbaijan in the XX century. Textbook for universities. / Gen. ed. by Prof. T.T. Veliyev. – Baku: Education, - 2009. - 560 p.

⁷² Mustafazadeh, T.T. From the “Armenian issue” to Armenian terrorism / T.T. Mustafazadeh. - Baku: Turkhan. NPB, - 2016. – 140 p.

⁷³ ARSS decision on the entry into force of the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the Armed Forces of the Republic of Azerbaijan” (October 9, 1991) // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №2941, list № 1a, case № 263, sheet 1.

⁷⁴ History of Azerbaijan: [7 volumes] / Ed. by T.B. Qaffarov. - Baku: Elm, - vol. 7. - 2008. - 688 p.

remaining 366th Russian servicemen in Khankendi were dispersed. The Armenian servicemen of the regiment seized all the weapons and joined the military units of the NKR.⁷⁵

On September 21-22, 1991, B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev visited Baku, Khankendi and Yerevan and offered their mediation services in resolving the Karabakh conflict. The continuation of the peace settlement took place on September 23 in Zheleznovodsk with the participation of B. Yeltsin, N. Nazarbayev, A. Mutallibov, L. Ter-Petrosyan, the Armenian and Azerbaijani communities of Nagorno-Karabakh. The communiqué signed here provided for the withdrawal of troops from the conflict zone, the gradual return of the local population, the return of hostages, the opening of communications, and the immediate start of negotiations on the settlement of the conflict.⁷⁶

Russia was trying to maintain its geopolitical image. The agreement on collective security signed in Tashkent on May 15, 1992, pursued these goals. The agreement was signed by ten countries - Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Russian Secretary of State G.Burbulis and Defense Minister P.Grachev visited Yerevan to discuss collective security issues with Armenia at a time when the APF was threatening Armenia and the situation in Nakhchivan was tense. This meant that Russia would not leave Armenia alone.⁷⁷

Iran also launched its first mediation initiative in settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in March 1992. On May 6-8, 1992, Chairman of the Parliament of the Republic of Azerbaijan Y. Mammadov, President of Armenia L. Ter-Petrosyan and President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani met in Tehran and a joint declaration on restoring stability in the region based

⁷⁵ Kasatov, A. Not her own. Russian army abroad // –Moscow: Capital, –1992. –№ 48, - pp. 1-4.

⁷⁶ Vaal de, T. Karabakh. Armenia and Azerbaijan between world and war / T. de Vaal. – Moscow: Political Encyclopedia, - 2003. – 391 p.

⁷⁷ Safarov, P.Sh. International situation and foreign policy of Azerbaijan in the first half of 90s / P.Sh. Safarov. - Baku: ASPU publication, - 1999. 117 p.

on the principles of international law and the UN Charter was signed.⁷⁸ However, before the declaration was finalized, on May 8, the Armenian armed forces occupied Shusha, and on May 18, Lachin.⁷⁹

As soon as Azerbaijan gained independence, it began to pay special attention to diplomatic and political relations with Türkiye. Starting from January 1990, various agreements on the development of economic and trade relations between Azerbaijan and Türkiye began to be signed. Türkiye, which first recognized the independence of Azerbaijan on November 11, 1991, established diplomatic relations with our country in January 1992. Official Ankara has made significant diplomatic efforts within the UN and the OSCE to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. In May 1993, Türkiye, together with the United States and the Russian Federation, developed a special plan for the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. However, this diplomatic activity was limited to telephone conversations with US President Bill Clinton, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, French President Francois Mitterrand, appeals to the then OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Sweden, and the OSCE Minsk Group Chairman, Italy.⁸⁰

The Republic of Azerbaijan, which declared its independence in 1991, appealed to international organizations, the United Nations and the world community, stating that the principles of democracy, freedom and equality are the main strategic path and expressed its desire to join the United Nations. On March 2, 1992, Azerbaijan became a member of the United Nations.⁸¹ The UN Security Council supported the efforts of the OSCE and Russia (UN Security Council

⁷⁸ On the meeting of the Presidents of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Armenia (May 8, 1992) // Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №28, inventory № 21, case № 15, sheet 313.

⁷⁹ Mirbashiroghlu, E. Modern terrorism and the problem of international security / E. Mirbashiroghlu. - Baku: Science and Education, - 2017. - 80 p.

⁸⁰ De Pau F. Politics of Türkiye in the Caucasus // Disputed borders in the Caucasus under. ed. Bruno Coppiters. – Moscow: The whole world, – 1996. – pp. 199-212.

⁸¹ Seyidova, S.M. Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan and the position of international organizations in the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict / S.M. Seyidova. - Baku: ASPU, –2014. - 411 s.

Resolutions 822/29 April 1993/, 853/29 July 1993/, 874/14 October 1993/).⁸²

However, the UN Security Council on the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict did not impose diplomatic sanctions on any of the warring parties. On March 24, 1992, at an emergency meeting of the OSCE Council of Ministers in Helsinki, a decision was made to establish the Minsk Group to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.⁸³

The second paragraph of the second chapter, entitled “**External factors of the escalation of the political conflict in Azerbaijan in the early 1990s**”, focuses on the role of the Russian and Iranian factors in the aggravation of the situation on the front.

On October 3, 1991, at a meeting of the President and leaders of democratic forces, a decision was made to establish a National Council. On November 26, the Supreme Soviet revised the law on the National Council. A number of articles restricting its powers have been amended. Based on parity, a National Council was established, consisting of 25 representatives of the “democrats” and 25 representatives of the former nomenklatura.⁸⁴

On December 8, 1991, the presidents of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus signed an agreement establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).⁸⁵

In January-February 1992, Karkijahan, Geybali, and Malibeyli fell into the hands of the enemy. The siege of Khojaly and Shusha was getting narrower. On the night of February 25-26, 1992, Armenian troops, with the active support of the 366th Regiment of the former 4th Army, based in Khankendi, attacked Khojaly after intense artillery

⁸² Abdullayev, E.I. Nagorno-Karabakh problem in the field of international law / E.I. Abdullayev. - Baku: Education, - 2004. - 216 p.

⁸³ Abdullayev, E.I. Nagorno-Karabakh problem in the field of international law. P. 98.

⁸⁴ Sultanov, O.B. Political struggle in Azerbaijan in the late 80s and early 90s / O.B. Sultanov. - Baku: Maarif, - 1995. - 232 p.

⁸⁵ Kalbizadeh, E.H. Military-security relations between Armenia and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Actual problems of Caucasus studies / E.H. Kalbizadeh. – Baku: ASCAU printing house, - 2021. - 280 p.

training. Almost all of the city's remaining population was killed or taken prisoner. The Khojaly massacre became one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century.⁸⁶ The Khojaly tragedy increased political tensions in the country. At the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet on March 5-6, A.Mutallibov admitted his mistakes and was forced to resign.⁸⁷

On May 8, 1992, as soon as the meeting between the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia ended in Tehran with the mediation of IRI President A. Rafsanjan, the news of the occupation of Shusha by Armenians came.

On May 14, 1992, an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet began with a pre-arranged scenario to bring A.Mutallibov back to power. The next day, opposition forces seized the presidential palace. On May 18, I. Gambarov, one of the leaders of the Popular Front Party, was elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan without an alternative.⁸⁸

The third half of the second chapter, entitled **“The impact of political processes in the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1992-1993 on relations with Russia, Iran and Türkiye,”** deals with the dramatic events that took place in the socio-political life of the country in 1992-1993, as well as on the Karabakh front, and the direct and indirect participation of Russia, Iran and Türkiye in these processes.

As a result of the elections held on June 7, 1992, on an alternative basis, the chairman of the Popular Front A.Elchibey was elected President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

According to Russian media, in August 1992, as a result of a general mobilization in the “NKR”, an army of 30,000 highly capable fighters was formed.⁸⁹

⁸⁶Agamaliyeva, V.Sh. Khojaly is a Muslim genocide of the XX century / V.Sh. Agamaliyeva. - Baku: Gunesh, - 2017. - 143 p.

⁸⁷ Transcript of the extraordinary session of March 5, 1992 // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund 2941, list, sheet 1.

⁸⁸ Transcript of the National Assembly of May 15-16, 1992 // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №2941, list No., case No., sheet 1.

⁸⁹ Let the soldiers sleep a little // Moscow News. - June 6, 1993. - pp. 2-3.

On June 12, 1992, the Azerbaijani army launched a large-scale attack in Aghdara. In July-August, national army units, and volunteer groups from the Tartar and Aghdam regions liberated the Aghdara region and the Goranboy region from enemy hands and managed to significantly narrow the “corridor” between Armenia and Upper Karabakh. By the end of August, Azerbaijani army units were able to liberate 40 percent of Upper Karabakh.

On September 3, 1992, the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom M.Thatcher arrived in Baku to attend the signing of an agreement between the Government of Azerbaijan and British Petroleum and Statoil on the development of the Chirag and Shah Deniz fields.⁹⁰

The issue of Azerbaijan’s accession to the CIS was discussed three times in the country’s parliament: in 1991-1992 when A.Mutallibov was in power⁹¹, in the summer of 1992, during A. Elchibey’s tenure, and in the autumn of 1993, after Heydar Aliyev returned to the country’s leadership.

The command of the Azerbaijani army was planning a large-scale offensive operation in northern Karabakh in January 1993. The attack of the 1,200-strong corps led by the field commander S.Huseynov failed as a result of provocation.⁹²

In mid-February 1993, a plan drawn up by the Armenian leadership decided to expand the Lachin corridor. On March 26, an attack was launched on the Kalbajar region from Zod and Vardenis directions of Armenia.⁹³ On April 2, a state of emergency was declared in the country. On April 3, Kalbajar was occupied.

⁹⁰ Mammadov, A. Struggle for the restoration and strengthening of the independent Azerbaijani state (late 80s - 1997) / A. Mammadov. - Baku: Elm, - 1999. - 669 p.

⁹¹ Statement of the press service of the Republic of Azerbaijan // Azerbaijan newspaper. - 1992, December 15.- p. 2.

⁹² Seyidova, S.M. Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan and the position of international organizations in the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict / S.M. Seyidova. - Baku: ASPU, -2014. - 411 p.

⁹³ Transcript of the meeting of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated April 27, 1993 // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №2941, list № 1, case № 191, sheet 130.

The failure of the United States, France and Russia to take a consistent position in the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict encouraged Armenia to become even more shameless and to challenge international and regional organizations.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference was the only organization that unequivocally condemned Armenia's aggression. In April 1993, the XXI Conference of OIC Foreign Ministers called Armenia an occupying power and demanded the liberation of the occupied territories. Moreover, since June 1992, the supply of electricity to the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic has been suspended by Armenia, the movement of trains has been completely cut off, and the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic has been blocked. However, Heydar Aliyev successfully managed Nakhchivan in very difficult conditions. In March 1992, after negotiations with S. Demirel, food, seeds and necessary equipment were sent to Nakhchivan. Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic has joined the Turkish electricity network. The "Hope" bridge was opened between Nakhchivan and Türkiye. Nakhchivan also began to receive electricity from Iran.⁹⁴ On October 16, 1992, 91 influential intellectuals of Azerbaijan - scientists, teachers, journalists, lawyers, doctors, politicians, and workers - officially appealed to Heydar Aliyev to lead the Salvation Movement through the "Voice" newspaper. The New Azerbaijan Party (NAP) was established in Nakhchivan on November 21, 1992, under the leadership of Heydar Aliyev.⁹⁵

The culmination of the ongoing socio-political tensions in the country in early 1993 was the closed session of the Milli Majlis on February 19, 1993. The Defense Minister resigned. S.Huseynov, who was dismissed from the command of the 2nd Army Corps by the order of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief dated February 22, 1993, due to the failure in Aghdara, arrested the members of the government commission sent to Ganja.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ History of Azerbaijan in the XX century. Textbook for universities. / Gen. ed. by Prof. T.T. Valiyev - Baku: Education, - 2009. - 560 p.

⁹⁵ Mirbashioghlu, E. Modern terrorism and the problem of international security / E. Mirbashioghlu. - Baku: Science and Education, - 2017. - 80 p.

⁹⁶ Reference of the deputy investigation commission investigating the events in

On the night of June 4, 1993, the republic's leadership began to implement the "Flood" plan. About 3,000 troops and powerful military equipment were sent to Ganja to quell the military uprising. A total of 80 people were killed and 135 were injured. 1,200 fighters, the republic prosecutor were taken hostage by the rebels. The situation was aggravated on June 5-6 when government troops began to side with the rebels.⁹⁷ On June 8, A.Elchibey appealed to his compatriots to restore civil peace.

On June 9, H. Aliyev arrived in Baku. In the current situation, on June 13, the chairman of the Milli Majlis I.Gambar was forced to resign.⁹⁸

The third chapter of the dissertation is entitled **"Azerbaijan's Transition to a Balanced Foreign Policy and a new stage in relations with Russia, Iran and Türkiye in the second half of 1993-1995"**.

The first paragraph, entitled **"Measures taken to establish social and political stability in Azerbaijan and to establish an equal level partnership with Russia, Iran and Türkiye"**, discusses the new government's efforts to achieve radical changes in foreign policy, especially in the direction of Russia, Iran and Türkiye.

On June 15, 1993, Heydar Aliyev was elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan.⁹⁹ On the night of June 18, President A. Elchibey left Baku for Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic, where he was born. On June 24, the Milli Majlis of the Republic of Azerbaijan decided that A.Elchibey could not fulfil his duties as President of the Republic of Azerbaijan and that his powers would be transferred to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev.

Ganja (July 7, 1993) // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. kFund № 2941, list № 1, case №153, sheet 12.

⁹⁷ Chernyavsky, S.I. New way to Azerbaijan / S.I. Chernyavsky. - Moscow: Young Guard, - 2002. - 350 p.

⁹⁸ Transcript of the meeting of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated June 13, 1993 // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund № 2941, list № 1, case № 204, sheet 1.

⁹⁹ Transcript of the meeting of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated June 15, 1993 // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund № 2941, list № 1, case № 205, sheet 1.

Serious political events were also taking place inside the country. S.Huseynov established a military office in Ganja. Here, together with former Defense Minister R. Gaziyeu and A. Humbatov, who overthrew the government with the help of military units in Lankaran on June 15, he prepared plans to aggravate the situation on the frontline, create political panic, overthrow the head of state and bring A. Mutallibov back to power.

On August 7, the establishment of the “Talysh Mughan Republic” in the southern region of Azerbaijan was announced. The “government” of the separatist organization appealed to Russia, Iran, Belarus and the United Nations to recognize it.

In the fierce battles for Aghdam, S.Huseynov’s groups took a spectator position. On July 23, after 43 days of fighting, the city of Aghdam collapsed. On August 25, Jabrayil and Fuzuli, and on August 31, Gubadli regions were occupied. With the fall of Zangilan on October 27, the regions of Azerbaijan located south of Karabakh were occupied.¹⁰⁰ 200 kilometres of the former state border between the USSR and Iran came under the control of the separatist Nagorno-Karabakh regime. A large “buffer zone” has been established in the east of Karabakh.¹⁰¹ The emergence of such a situation coincided with the plan to create a security zone around the “NKR” proposed by Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev to the Azerbaijani leadership in April 1992. Despite all this, the country's new leadership was determined to revise the policy towards Russia and Iran.

The next paragraph, entitled **“Transition to a balanced policy in relations with Russia, Iran, Türkiye and the beginning of a new era in relations with these countries”** discusses the transition to a balanced diplomacy with regional states based on parity in the country’s foreign policy concept after Heydar Aliyev’s return to big politics in June 1993.

The visit of the Azerbaijani delegation led by Heydar Aliyev to Moscow on September 5-8, 1993 marked the beginning of a balanced

¹⁰⁰ Mammadov, A. Struggle for the restoration and strengthening of the independent Azerbaijani state (late 80s - 1997) / A. Mammadov. - Baku: Elm, - 1999. - 669 p.

¹⁰¹ Chernyavsky, S.I. New way to Azerbaijan / S.I. Chernyavsky. – Moscow: Young Guard, –2002. - 350 p.

diplomatic policy between the Russia-Iran-Türkiye triangle, which had traditional geopolitical interests in the region.¹⁰²

During the talks with H. Aliyev, Russian President B. Yeltsin, Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov, Russian Council of Ministers Chairman V. Chernomyrdin, Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev, Defense Minister P. Grachev and other officials, the sides stressed the need to improve Azerbaijani-Russian relations. The parties stated that they should use all opportunities for the development of relations between the two countries in the political and economic spheres, and make mutual efforts to expand joint activities and cooperation in the region and internationally.¹⁰³

Iranian Foreign Minister A. Velayati appealed to UN Secretary-General B. Ghali and condemned him for not stopping the Armenian aggression. During the official visit of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran A. Rafsanjani to Baku on October 28, 1993, “Memorandum on the Principles of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Iran”, “Memorandum on Simplification of entry and exit with ordinary foreign passports”, and “A protocol on political consultations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Iran”.¹⁰⁴

Since mid-1993, Turkish President S. Demirel supported the Azerbaijani leadership’s balanced policy between the Russia-Iran-Türkiye triangle.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Statement of the Acting President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Chairman of the ARSS H.A. Aliyev // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund № 2941, list № 1, case № 152, sheet 1.

¹⁰³ Statement of the Acting President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Chairman of the ARSS H.A. Aliyev. P. 196.

¹⁰⁴ Department of Constitution and Legislation Memorandum “On Principles of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Islamic Republic of Iran” signed in Baku on October 23, 1993 // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund № 2941, list № 9, case number, 119 pages, sheet 4.

¹⁰⁵ Transcript of the meeting of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the attitude to the CIS dated September 3, 1993 // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund № 2941, list № 1, case № 220, sheet 24.

In November 1993, the Armenians launched intensive attacks on all fronts but encountered resistance. On December 19, National Army units entered the territory of the Khojavend region. On December 21, the Azerbaijani army attacked along the entire front. On January 5, 1994, the Horadiz settlement and 22 villages were liberated from the enemy. Our army liberated a part of Jabrayil region, many villages and settlements of Kalbajar and took control of the part of the Kalbajar-Lachin road up to the tunnel.¹⁰⁶ Operation “Murovdagh”, which was successfully launched in Kalbajar in February 1994, ended in defeat. On March 16, 1995, a 25-year agreement was signed between Russia and Armenia in Moscow. According to this agreement, Russian military camps in the Republic of Armenia were given the status of military bases.¹⁰⁷

At a briefing held by the Russian Foreign Ministry on April 5, it was stressed that the settlement of the conflict could consist of three stages. In the first stage, the cessation of hostilities and a ceasefire are essential. Then, during the military operations, the troops must be withdrawn from the occupied territories, communications must be activated, and the refugees must return. It is expedient to hold political talks on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh only in the third stage. The final document of the Bishkek meeting was signed on May 9. The ceasefire came into force on May 12, 1994.¹⁰⁸

In the summer of 1994, the Minister of the Interior ordered the release of the Special Forces (SF). R.Javadov refused to fulfil the order. The Minister annulled the order on the instructions of Heydar Aliyev.¹⁰⁹ At the end of September, R.Gaziyev, A.Humbatov and

¹⁰⁶ Mammadov, N.R. The realities of Nagorno-Karabakh: genocide, terror, deportation, occupation (XX century) / N.R. Mammadov. - Baku: Education, - 2009. - 272 p.

¹⁰⁷ Dadashova, R.B. Cooperation of the Republic of Azerbaijan with permanent members of the UN Security Council / R.B. Dadaşova. - Baku: ASCAU printing house, - 2021. - 344 p.

¹⁰⁸ Mammadov, N.R. The realities of Nagorno-Karabakh: genocide, terror, deportation, occupation (XX century) / N.R. Mammadov. - Baku: Education, - 2009. - 272 p.

¹⁰⁹ Chernyavsky, S.I. New way of Azerbaijan / S.I. Chernyavsky. -Moscow: Young Guard, -2002. – 350 p.

others were abducted from The Ministry of National Security detention centre. R.Javadov refused to disarm and demanded the convening of a session of the Supreme Soviet. Meeting with H. Aliyev, R.Javadov stated that they did not agree with the decision to release Special Forces and were forced to defend themselves. On October 7, control over Ganja was restored. Unsupported rebels surrendered. About 100 rebels were arrested.¹¹⁰ S.Huseynov was removed from the post of Prime Minister, his title of “National Hero” was abolished and a criminal case was filed against him under the article “Treason”.¹¹¹

However, R. Javadov did not give up his ambitions. On the night of March 12-13, 1995, in Baku, Javadov’s group armed and began to gather at their bases. Bloody clashes took place in Gazakh and Agstafa. R. Javadov demanded the resignation of H. Aliyev and R. Guliyev. Otherwise, he threatened them with bloodshed.¹¹² On March 16, Javadov’s supporters were disarmed in Gazakh and Agstafa. At 9 am on March 17, the rebels raised a white flag in Baku. Injured R. Javadov died. Political stability was established in the country.

In the third paragraph of the third chapter entitled “**Emergence of new approach trends in the diplomacy of Russia, Iran and Türkiye regarding Azerbaijan**”, the author talks about the emergence and strengthening of positive trends towards our country in the diplomacy of all three states.

Arriving in Baku on January 3, 1994, Commander of the Border Troops of the Russian Federation A. Nikolayev proposed to jointly protect the Azerbaijani-Iranian and Azerbaijani-Turkish borders with Russia. Heydar Aliyev said that there were no problems within the indicated borders, noted that the Azerbaijani-Armenian border is more dangerous for Azerbaijan, and stressed the importance of a

¹¹⁰ Svyatachowski, T. Russia and Azerbaijan during the borderline transition / (translated from English) - Baku: Khazar University Press, - 2000. - 327 p.

¹¹¹ Decision of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan on Prevention of Coup Attempt in the Republic of Azerbaijan and Strengthening the Azerbaijani Statehood (March 22, 1995) // Archive of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund № 2941, list № 1, case № 313, sheet 10.

¹¹² On measures to prevent coup attempts in the Republic of Azerbaijan and to strengthen the statehood of Azerbaijan. // Azerbaijan newspaper. - 1995, 28 March. - p. 1.

comprehensive solution to the border issue between the two countries, among other issues.¹¹³

In July and September 1995, during the meetings of the Azerbaijani Ambassador to Iran A.Safarli with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister M.Vaizi and Azerbaijani Foreign Minister H.Hasanov with the Iranian Ambassador to Baku A.Bigdeli, the desire to maintain good neighbourly and friendly relations was emphasized. At the same time, the parties stated that it is unacceptable to publish articles in the press of both countries that harm the establishment of friendly neighbourly relations between the neighbouring states.¹¹⁴

In 1993-1995, great progress was made in the development of economic, political and cultural relations between Türkiye and Azerbaijan. In a short time, Türkiye took second place in Azerbaijan's foreign trade turnover. The volume of trade turnover was 250 million US dollars. About 800 Turkish companies were operating in Azerbaijan. 500 million dollars have been invested in the country. In 1995, Türkiye accounted for 45.6 percent of investments in foreign companies and joint ventures in Azerbaijan.¹¹⁵

After the ceasefire between Azerbaijan and Armenia was announced in 1994, the H-50 corridor, which connects the airspace of Türkiye to Armenia, was reopened. Türkiye wanted to settle the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by softening its relations with Armenia and reducing the tension created by some Western countries around it.¹¹⁶

The fourth chapter is entitled “**The Participation of Russia and Türkiye in the International Oil Consortium Established in the**

¹¹³ Shakirzade N. Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The Republic of Azerbaijan in Foreign Policy and Foreign Economic Processes (1991-2006). / N. Shakirzade - Baku: Sada, - 2007. - 512 p.

¹¹⁴ Correspondence of the Republic of Azerbaijan with the Islamic Republic of Iran (1993-1997 years) // Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Fund No. 28, list No. 21, case No. 38, - 122 sheets.

¹¹⁵ Ağacan K. Georgia in the 10th Anniversary of Independence: Is it the US's stronghold in the Caucasus? Strategic Analysis // - Ankara: Monthly International Relations and Strategy Research Journal, - 2001. v.1, month11, - pp.32-38.

¹¹⁶ Marifli A. M. Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in Azerbaijan-Türkiye relations: late 1980s - early 2000s / A. Marifli, - Baku: Elm, - 2020. - 304 p.

First Half of the 90s for the Oil Strategy of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Development of Hydrocarbon Resources of the Caspian Sea and the Iranian Factor”.

The paragraph of this chapter entitled **“Influence of International and Regional Power Centers, as well as Russia, Türkiye, and Iran on the Formation of the Oil Strategy of the Republic of Azerbaijan”** gives a brief overview of the history of the country’s oil industry, international and regional interests around Baku oil.

Oil is one of the main factors determining world geopolitics. The early 1960s are considered the beginning of a new stage in the history of the struggle for oil. In 1960, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed, uniting 13 oil countries.¹¹⁷

With the declaration of Azerbaijan’s independence in 1918, our people became the owners of their wealth for the first time in their history. However, to legalize the seizure of Baku oil from Azerbaijan during the Soviet era, the Labor and Defense Council passed a resolution on August 11, 1921, banning Azneftkom from exporting Baku oil to international markets.¹¹⁸

During 1941-45, Azerbaijan supplied the country with 75 million tons of oil, 22 million tons of gasoline and other oil products.¹¹⁹ In 1949, a fountain on the high seas, 100 km from Baku, in the then-unique oilfields of Oil Rocks, marked the beginning of a new phase of offshore oil production.

In the summer of 1991, the US company Amoco won the tender for the exploitation of Caspian oil. The consortium included Unocal, McDermott, and Ramco, as well as the British Petroleum-Statoil alliance. On October 1, 1992, agreements were reached with the British Petroleum-Statoil alliance for the Chirag and Shah Deniz fields, and later with the Pennzoil-Ramco alliance for the Gunashli

¹¹⁷ RIA / URL: <https://ria.ru/20110608/385802164.html>

¹¹⁸ Muradaliyeva, E.B. Earth blood-oil of Azerbaijan and history / E.B.Muradaliyeva. - Baku: Mutarjim, - 2005. - 256 p.

¹¹⁹ History of Azerbaijan in the XX century.

field.¹²⁰ In May 1993, the process of preparing final documents for the Gunashli, Chirag and Azeri fields was completed.

With the coming to power of Heydar Aliyev in the summer of 1993, Azerbaijan's domestic and foreign policy, including the oil strategy, became more expedient. In February 1994, J. Major and Heydar Aliyev signed an intergovernmental agreement on oil reform in London. Under the agreement, the United Kingdom and Azerbaijan acted as guarantors of British Petroleum and SOCAR's obligations.

The second paragraph is entitled **“Participation of Russian, Turkish companies in the development of oil and gas fields in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea and the Iran's approach”**. This section discusses the involvement of relevant companies from Russia, Türkiye and Iran, along with two oil companies in the Euro-Atlantic space, in exploration and production in the Azerbaijani section of the Caspian Sea.

After three years of negotiations on September 20, Azerbaijan signed an oil deal called “Contract of the Century” worth \$ 8 billion with a consortium of Western companies, including British Petroleum, Amoco, Unocal, Pennzoil, Ramco, McDermott, Turkish Petroleum and Russia's LUKoil.¹²¹

Representative of the Russian Federation S.Pugachin was present at the signing of the agreement, but on September 22, Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev also made an official statement that the agreement was illegal and that the Russian government would not recognize it. LUKoil, representing Russia, had a 10 percent stake in the deal and 2.5 percent in revenue sharing, and LUKoil was the third oil company to make a profit from the deal except for the Azerbaijani side.¹²²

Iran was also interested in the agreement. In November 1994, Azerbaijan promised to ensure Iran's participation in the “oil deal” to

¹²⁰ Qasimli, M.C. Foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2003: [2 volumes] / M.C. Qasimli. - Baku: Mutarjim, - Vol. 1. – 2015. - 648 p.

¹²¹ Sultanov, Ch.A. Oil and gas strategies and policies in the XXI century / Ch.A. Sultanov. - Baku: Nurlar, - 2008. - 704 p.

¹²² Safarov, P.Sh. International situation and foreign policy of Azerbaijan in the first half of 90s / P.Sh. Safarov. - Baku: ASPU publication, - 1999. 117 p.

“calm it down”. However, in April 1995, Iran’s participation in the oil consortium was removed from the agenda under pressure from the United States, and its share was given to Türkiye and the US company Exxon. Receiving the Charge d’Affaires of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Baku M.Tahiri on April 21, 1995, H.Aliyev stated the inviolability of the Azerbaijani-Iranian friendship and stressed that Iran could be involved in this field in the future. The Iranian side was informed that Azerbaijan is interested in the joint development of the Shah Deniz field.

Türkiye also played an important and unique role in Azerbaijan’s oil strategy. Türkiye was trying to get its share of oil reserves and transport oil to the Mediterranean coast. The head of Botas, Gokhan Yardim, said that the Baku-Ceyhan project is not only an economic but also an unprecedented political issue.¹²³ In March 1993, the first agreement on the oil pipeline was signed between the governments of Azerbaijan and Türkiye. Azerbaijani crude oil (and, in the long run, also Kazakhstan oil) was to be transported via this pipeline to the port of Ceyhan.¹²⁴ During the visit of the Prime Minister of Türkiye T.Chiller to Azerbaijan in April 1995, an agreement was signed to increase Türkiye’s share in the International Oil Consortium from 1.75 percent to 6.75 percent.¹²⁵

On October 9, 1995, the Government of Azerbaijan and AIOC decided to export primary Caspian oil to the world market in two directions: 1. Western route: an oil pipeline to the Georgian port of Supsa on the Black Sea coast; 2. Northern route: an oil pipeline from Chechnya to the Russian Black Sea port of Novorossiysk.

In a joint statement signed by Turkish President S. Demirel and Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev on December 8, 1995, noting

¹²³ Aliyev, I.H. Azerbaijani oil in world politics: [5 volumes] / I.H. Aliyev. - Baku: Azerbaijan, - vol. 4. - 1997. - 262 p.

¹²⁴ The Great National Assembly of Türkiye. Foreign policy. A brief review. Folder: Azerbaijan-Turkish relations (1992-1994) // Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №828, list № 31, case № 18, sheet 214.

¹²⁵ Official visit of Tansu Chiller to Azerbaijan. Folder: Azerbaijan-Türkiye relations // Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Fund №28, list № 21, case № 18, sheet 214.

that the parties were satisfied with the decision of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the oil consortium to export primary oil from the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea to the world market in two directions, the parties reaffirmed their desire to divert the main oil pipeline to the Turkish port of Ceyhan.¹²⁶

The third paragraph is entitled **“Radical Changes in the Azerbaijani Policy of Regional Powers Caused by the Oil Strategy Implemented by Heydar Aliyev”**. This section discusses the successful oil policy pursued in Azerbaijan, which has increased its strategic importance and prestige not only in the region but also in the world.

The Azerbaijani and Russian delegations also discussed the transportation of oil on the Baku-Novorossiysk route. On July 11, 1997, a tripartite economic agreement was signed between the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Energy and SOCAR and the Chechen company UNCO. According to the document, the oil was to be transported via the Baku-Grozny-Tikhoretsk-Novorossiysk oil pipeline through Chechnya.¹²⁷

In 1994-1995, Iran took several diplomatic initiatives to resolve the Karabakh conflict. The Azerbaijani government accused Iran of actively assisting Armenia. Iran, which only supported Azerbaijan verbally, and spoke of the “Muslim Brotherhood”, was constantly developing its political and economic relations with Armenia.

Azerbaijani-Turkish relations have been developing steadily. On May 5, 1997, Azerbaijan and Türkiye signed a Declaration on deepening strategic cooperation.¹²⁸ During the visit of Turkish Foreign Minister I. Cem to Azerbaijan in September, Türkiye also undertook the issue of Azerbaijan’s integration into NATO. In 1998, Türkiye ranked first among Azerbaijan’s foreign trade partners. Türkiye accounted for 21 percent of Azerbaijan’s trade turnover with foreign countries.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new sovereign states created a fundamentally new environment. These

¹²⁶ Turkish President Suleyman Demirel’s official visit to Azerbaijan has ended // Azerbaijan newspaper. - 1995, 12 December. - p. 1, 2, 3.

¹²⁷ Mehdiyev A. The contract of the century: the cornerstone of Azerbaijan's oil strategy / A. Mehdiyev. - Baku: Turkhan NPB, - 2014. - 248 p.

¹²⁸ Azerbaijan-Türkiye: friendship, brotherhood, strategic cooperation // Azerbaijan newspaper. - № 94 –1997, 13 May.– p. 1-2.

conditions were characterized by the trans-nationalization, globalization of the world economy, the new division of military-economic power centres, in general, a fundamental change in the situation of the Caspian region in the world, and the role, and the importance of the new independent states.¹²⁹

Conclusion. After the transformation of the South Caucasus into an independent region in the 1990s, the strategic interests of the states in the region began to take shape. The main directions of the conflict of strategic interests in the South Caucasus can be defined as follows: USA-Russia, USA-Iran, Türkiye-Russia, Türkiye-Iran. Armenia was inclined to Russia. Although Azerbaijan showed a strong inclination towards Türkiye in the first years of independence, it was manoeuvring between Ankara and Moscow.

By grouping the above, the following conclusion can be reached:

1) Time changes, history changes, but the geographical reality and geopolitical situation around Azerbaijan does not change. As long as Azerbaijan exists, it is forced to consider this factor in its foreign policy concept, feeling the influence of the geographical and geopolitical triangle of Russia, Iran and Turkey around it.

2) The incompetent foreign policy of the government in power at the beginning of the 1990s, not being able to properly assess the current reality, and naively leaning only towards Turkey and, in turn, the West, denying the factor of Russia and Iran, led to the escalation of events in the country, around Nagorno-Karabakh, Russia, Iran against Azerbaijan, It led to the creation of the Armenian axis, the occupation of lands and the country's almost civil war.

3) Only as a result of the efforts of Heydar Aliyev, who returned to power at the request of the people, the foundation for the establishment of political stability in the country was laid, a ceasefire was achieved at the front, and a new foreign policy concept was developed.

4) Heydar Aliyev laid the foundations of economic reforms and oil strategy, which are the guarantors of the future development of the country. Along with all interested parties representing major countries,

¹²⁹ Aliyev, I.H. Caspian oil of Azerbaijan / I.H. Aliyev. - Moscow: Izvestia, -2003. - 712 p.

Russian and Turkish companies were also involved in the production of oil and gas resources of the Caspian Sea, and a general agreement was reached with Iran.

5) Azerbaijan, which is considered the farthest point of Eastern Europe, has signed partnership agreements with different European states and structures, and has become a member of various institutions. Contacts with the United States have intensified. At the same time, as a part of the Eastern and Muslim world, Azerbaijan has established relations with the countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, including the Arab world, in addition to great countries such as China and India.

6) Such diversified and multipolar foreign policy concept allowed Azerbaijan to turn Russia and Iran from rivals to partners, or at least stable neighbors, without harming relations with Turkey, its traditional ally.

7) In 1993-1995, Azerbaijan began to conduct a balanced foreign policy between the geopolitical triangle of Russia, Iran, and Turkey represented by these three states of the region. prevented the conversion.

It should be noted that the 44-day victorious Karabakh war in September-November 2020 and the November 9 trilateral (Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia) declaration ending it formed a new Baku-Ankara-Moscow geopolitical line. The dissertation also gave a number of recommendations about the future prospects of the foreign policy concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Dissertasiyanın mövzusu ilə bağlı müəllifin aşağıdakı əsərləri dərc olunmuşdur:

1. 90-cı illərinin birinci yarısında Azərbaycan Rusiya, İran, Türkiyə münasibətlərində. Tezis. Ali pedaqoji məktəblərdə Humanitar və ictimai elmlərin tədqiqi və tədrisinə dair II Respubilka elmi konfransının materialları. Bakı, 27-28 aprel, 1997-ci il. s. 135.

2. 90-cı illərdə Azərbaycanın beynəlxalq vəziyyəti və xarici siyasəti. Metodik vəsait. Bakı, 1999, 117 səh.

3. 90-cı illərin ikinci yarısında Azərbaycanda siyasi sabitliyin bərqərar olması və Rusiya, İran, Türkiyə ilə münasibətində tarazlaşdırılmış siyasətə keçilməsi. Məqalə. Nəsrəddin Tusinin 800 illik yubileyinə həsr edilmiş Respublika elmi konfransının materialları. Bakı, 2-3 aprel 2001-ci il. s. 35-37.

4. Азербайджан-Россия: на перекрестке веков. Мəqalə.

ADPU-nun xəbərləri, Bakı, 2003. № 1-2 s. 359-363.

5. Azərbaycanın neft strategiyasının formalaşmasında Rusiya-İran-Türkiyə amilinin təsiri Məqalə. ADPU-nun Xəbərləri, Bakı, 2007, №6, s.107-111.

6. Azərbaycan-qərb əməkdaşlığı və İran-Rusiya alyansı. Məqalə ADPU-nun Xəbərləri, Bakı, 2008, № 6 s. 107-111.

7. Azərbaycan Respublikası Rusiya, İran və Türkiyənin geosiyasi maraqlarında. Monoqrafiya. Bakı 2011-ci il, Elm və təhsil, 264 s.

8. Азербайджан в российско-иранско-турецких отношениях в первой половине 90-х годов XX века. Статья. Научные Итоги 2011 года: Достижения, проекты, гипотезы, Сборник материалов I Международной научно-практической конференции, Новосибирск: Издательство, 26 декабря, 2011, с.43-46.

9. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin əvvəllərində İranın regiondakı strateji məqsədlərinin Azərbaycan da ictimai-siyasi vəziyyətə təsiri. Məqalə Gəncə Dövlət Universiteti, Gəncə, Elmi Xəbərlər, 2012, №3, s.77-83.

10. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin I yarısında Rusiya, İran və Türkiyənin beynəlxalq münasibətlər sisteminə Azərbaycanın daxil olmasının iqtisadi-siyasi şərtləri. Məqalə. Tarix və onun problemləri, Bakı, 2015, №4. s.207-213.

11. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin əvvəllərində Azərbaycanda ictimai siyasi vəziyyət və Rusiyanın regiondakı strateji maraqları. Məqalə. Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət., 2015. 2 (13), s. 46-54.

12. I Dünya müharibəsi ərəfəsində rus-erməni hərbi-siyasi birliyinin yaradılması. Məqalə. Beynəlxalq elmi konfransın materialları, Naxçıvan, 5-6 iyun 2015 s.320-323.

13. Нагорно-Карабахская проблема и энергетическая стратегия Азербайджана во взаимоотношениях с Россией, Ираном и Турцией в первой половине 90-х гг. XX в.Статья Кавказ и Мир, Тбилиси, 2016. №21,с.77-80.

14. Rus-erməni müttəfiqliyi və Xocalı faciəsi. Məqalə. Azərbaycan Milli EA. Tarix İnstitutu Elmi əsərlər, Bakı, 2017. c. 67 s.26-35.

15. Азербайджанская Республика в геополитическом треугольнике: Россия-Иран-Турция в первой половине 90-х гг. XX в. Статья Південно український національний педагогічний університет імені К.Д. Ушинського, Одесса, 2017, Выпуск – 6.

c.40-43.

16. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin I yarısında Azərbaycan Rusiyanın Cənubi Qafqaz strategiyasında. Məqalə. Naxçıvan Dövlət Universiteti Elmi əsərləri, ictimai elmlər seriyası, Naxçıvan, 2018, №6(95), s.81-85.

17. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin əvvəlləri Azərbaycan Türkiyənin xarici siyasətində. Məqalə. Pedaqoji Universitetin Xəbərləri, Bakı, 2018, c.66, №3, s.159-166.

18. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin birinci yarısında Azərbaycan İranın xarici siyasət strategiyasında Məqalə. Azərbaycan Milli EA. Tarix İnstitutu Elmi əsərlər, Bakı, 2019, №78. s.159-167.

19. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin I yarısında Azərbaycan Respublikasının Rusiya, İran, Türkiyə ilə Xəzərin enerji ehtiyatlarının işlənməsi sahəsində əməkdaşlığı. Məqalə.Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət, Bakı, 2019, №1(24) s.56-64.

20. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin birinci yarısında Azərbaycan Respublikasının Rusiya, İran, Türkiyə ilə regional və beynəlxalq təşkilatlar çərçivəsində əməkdaşlığı: problemlər, maraqlar və ziddiyyətlər. Məqalə. Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri, Humanitar elmlər seriyası, Bakı, 2019, №3, s.129-140.

21. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin I yarısında Azərbaycanda geosiyasi maraqları bərqərar etmək uğrunda Rusiya-İran-Türkiyə rəqabəti. Məqalə Gəncə Dövlət Universiteti. Elmi Xəbərlər, Gəncə, 2019, №1. s.284-288.

22. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin əvvəllərində Qarabağ münaqişəsi və ölkədəki ictimai-siyasi vəziyyət Azərbaycan Respublikasının Rusiya, İran və Türkiyə ilə hökumətlərarası– parlamentlərarası müzakirələrində. Məqalə. Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət, Bakı, 2019, №4(27) s.21-31.

23. Азербайджанская Республика в отношениях с России с Турцией в первой половине 90-х гг. XX в. Статья. 5th International Social Research and Behavioral Sciences Symposium, Tbilisi, 11-12 October, 2019 c.221-226.

24. Азербайджанская Республика в центре геополитического треугольника «Россия-Иран-Турция» в первой половине 90-х годов XX века Статья Современная научная мысль, Москва, 2019, №3 с.178-185.

25. Армяно-азербайджанский конфликт и нефтяная политика

Азербайджана во взаимоотношениях с Россией, Ираном и Турцией в первой половине 90-х гг. XX в. Статья V Международной научно-практической конференция. Наука и образование в современном мире: вызовы XXI в., Нур-Султан: 10-12 декабря, 2019 г. с.135-138.

26. XX əsrin 90-cı illərinin birinci yarısında Azərbaycan-Rusiya münasibətləri: problemlər və ziddiyyətlər Məqalə. Tarix, insan və səmiyyə, Bakı, 2020, №1(28), s.123-135.

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28. Азербайджанская Республика в отношениях с Россией, Ираном и Турцией в первой половине 90-х гг. XX в. Статья Вопросы истории, Москва, 2020. №4, с.174-183.

29.Армянская фальсификация законов СССР и международных принципов в 1988-1991 гг.Статья.Вестник Бакинского Университета.Серия гуманитарных наук. Баку, 2022.№1, с.96-104.

30.Армянская манипуляция законами и принципами. Статья.Конференция Международного Карабахского Форума “Арсак:история и современность”была инициирована и организована Организацией Освобождения Карабаха при поддержке Государственного комитета Азербайджанской Республики по работе с диаспорой 6 декабря 2021 года в Баку.Баку:Адилъоглы,-2022.- с.131-139.

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