

# REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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## ABSTRACT

of the dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

### **ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AZERBAIJANI DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES (LATE 20th - EARLY 21st CENTURIES)**

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# I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

**Relevance and development of the topic.** It is known that Azerbaijanis adapt quickly to local conditions and environment, and despite the difficulties, they can build their living conditions, as they want. They can establish perfect cooperation in all spheres of activity of a rich country like Azerbaijan, whether in the fields of entrepreneurship, crafts, creativity and agriculture. However, compared to other nations, for some reason, our compatriots participate in the socio-political life of the state in a relatively limited way. The vast majority of people value working in science and education. The people of Azerbaijan, who have a high scientific mindset, have always been able to achieve significant results in various fields of science. This feature is not only in our country, in a sense, it can be applied to our compatriots living in different countries of the world. In this sense, it is important to study the activities of our compatriots scattered in almost all parts of the world to get a fuller picture of their way of life and occupation, their attachment to our national and spiritual values, statehood and services in this field.

It is known that the Azerbaijani Diaspora is currently active in all countries. Of course, one of the leading countries is the United States. The work done by our compatriots scattered abroad after the collapse of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in 1920 can be considered the first political activity that formed the basis of the intense activity of the Azerbaijani Diaspora and lobby. More precisely, in the early 1920s in San Remo, then in 1922 in Genoa and London, Azerbaijanis who participated in scientific conferences in Lausanne to defend the national and political interests of Azerbaijan, laid the foundation for lobbying. The establishment of the American Azerbaijani Society in the United States was raised in 1956 by Saleh bey Sheykhzamanli, the head of the counter-revolutionary organization one of the special services during the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.

The activity of our compatriots living in America and

preserving their national values in various fields has become more active since the end of the 20th century. The reason for this was the availability of oil reserves in Azerbaijan, which is one of the other rich resources, which attracted the attention of many developed countries, especially the West and the United States. One of the main means of increasing the geopolitical prestige of Azerbaijan and the most important was the Caspian oil, its quality and quantity. Thus, the “Contract of the Century” signed with 11 major oil companies in Baku on September 20, 1994, provides for the proper distribution of oil from the Gunashli, Azeri and Chirag oil fields in the Azerbaijani part of the Caspian Sea. The incomes have given impetus to the process of modernization of state-owned enterprises operating in the oil sector with advanced technologies. The success of our republic in gaining independence can be attributed to the growing prestige of the Azerbaijani state in the United States, as in other countries. In this regard, it should be noted that independence has been an important event in the activation and lobbying of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in many countries.

It is difficult to count the number of Azerbaijanis who have formed unions, studied or simply lived in the United States, as members of the Azerbaijani Diaspora include citizens of Iran, Turkey and Russia. Currently, there are Azerbaijani Diasporas in Philadelphia, Miami, Washington and even New York, where there are more Azerbaijanis. Azerbaijanis living in different cities apply to the embassy only when there is a need for any legal or consular operation and are fully satisfied with the solution of their problems. Perhaps for this reason or because Azerbaijanis can solve their problems themselves, they do not apply to consulates. In other words, it is impossible to register Azerbaijanis living in the United States, or it is not in the interest of that country to specify this number. For this reason, although the organization of Azerbaijanis living in the United States is completely different from that of other classical Diasporas, such as the Armenian, Jewish and Greek communities, it is commendable that the Azerbaijani community is able to accurately convey development dynamics and national

qualities. The work of the Azerbaijani community over the past three decades has even outpaced the diaspora of other ethnic communities in the United States by 50 to 60 years. The Azerbaijani community, which has made such fundamental progress, has become a voice in American public and political life due to its achievements. Although the Azerbaijani-American Council, the Diaspora organization, as well as the network of Azerbaijanis living in the United States are relatively new, the organization of our compatriots in this country is almost impossible. Diaspora activity has brought new life. In other words, the issue of Karabakh, which is still one of the unresolved issues, occupies an important place in the agenda of new organizations, and other organizations are being informed about it.

It is also an undeniable fact that our national leader Heydar Aliyev has done a lot to unite millions of our compatriots living outside Azerbaijan around a common cause and laid the foundation of this union. Azerbaijanis, organized based on all relevant laws, are able to preserve their national values and traditions, despite various problems. Recently, our compatriots abroad have begun to organize in a national-cultural form in accordance with the requirements of the new historical situation. The country's diaspora is more numerous and active in Russia, the United States, Turkey, Germany and France.<sup>1</sup> In the past, members of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States condemned the 30-year-old occupation of 20 percent of the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan by Armenian separatists, the destruction of historical monuments in the occupied territories, the ecological situation in the region. Petitions were placed to prevent deliberate pollution by these forces, as well as to commemorate the Khojaly massacre and its victims. With the activity of Azerbaijanis around the world, especially our compatriots living in the United States, petitions have been adopted, and the intentions of the aggressive actions of the hostile country in our native lands have been conveyed to the peoples of the world.

The urgency of the research is to study the economic, political,

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<sup>1</sup> Hüseynov, İ. A. Azərbaycanın ABŞ-da tanındılması: maraqlı qrupları və diaspor // - Bakı: Geostrategiya, -2016. №4, - s.40-43.

social and cultural processes associated with the close integration of modern Azerbaijani society into the world community and to show ways to achieve substantial development based on the results obtained.

One of the main indicators of the urgency of the establishment and development of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States (late 20th - early 21st centuries) is the consideration of the diaspora factor as a priority of foreign policy of any state, including Azerbaijan, its political basis and importance. The importance of studying of the issue of the Diaspora phenomenon, its analysis basing on scientific principles, the acquisition of new strategic and tactical criteria are based on very interesting facts. This issue is related to the fact that in the process of national self-awareness it can cover a wider range of areas and become the object of research in domestic and foreign policy or in many fields of science, as well as philosophy, history, international law, ethnopolitology, international relations, political science.

Like other important laws of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the adopted legal acts “On State Policy on Azerbaijanis Living Abroad”, “Azerbaijani Diaspora”, as well as “Azerbaijanis Living Abroad” open wide opportunities for Azerbaijanis living abroad to organize. The scope of these signed laws covers not only our citizens living abroad, but also the children of our compatriots who left the Azerbaijan SSR for various reasons, as well as citizens of those countries born in the country where they live. Even it applies to people who consider themselves of Azerbaijani origin due to various similarities. In these laws envisage the establishment of the Diaspora, more systematic activities of organizations, appropriate work to address the difficulties they face, the establishment of regular contacts with our compatriots living abroad. Despite the establishment of regular contacts at different times, this issue is also considered during the meetings of the head of state in those countries. Even the head of state always raises this issue as a topical reason in his meetings with the heads of diaspora organizations of different nations, as well as officials of other countries.

In separate chapters and semi-chapters of the dissertation the issues of migration history and diaspora activity of Azerbaijanis are scientifically studied. At the same time, the research work examines the formation of ethnic lobbying in the United States and the issue of the diaspora and the strategy of action, which is one of the main problems of Azerbaijan's foreign policy.

It should be noted that the organizations established by our compatriots living outside Azerbaijan are trying to strengthen the position of the "Azerbaijani Diaspora" in the countries where they live. All valuable achievements or shortcomings in the formation of the Azerbaijani Diaspora are always in the focus of attention of President Ilham Aliyev, a successful follower of Heydar Aliyev's political course, who substantially improves the strategy of progress set by him. This is a moral support for our compatriots living abroad, and even gives a great impetus to the work of building the diaspora.

There is a special explanation of the exact reasons for the urgency of the problem. Thus, a full scientific study of the socio-political life of the United States has not been conducted, only brief information about the activities of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the American elections has been provided. Almost no dissertation work has been written on this issue, and no popular scientific research has been conducted. In addition, there has been no close contact with American law, no scientific work on the history and present of the lobbying system, which can reflect the realities, culture and scientific potential of Azerbaijan in the American media world. Taking into account the above reasons, we intend to conduct a more comprehensive study in this dissertation.

Our compatriots living abroad, their problems, diaspora, lobbying is reflected in the scientific works of researchers of different periods. Information about people who settled in foreign countries for various reasons and later formed into a community and returned to the approximate diaspora is found in the oral and written forms of many nations. It is important to note that despite the historical and political significance of the issue in the country, the United States, the world's most powerful country, has not developed

extensive research on the migration, formation, organization and socio-political activities of the Azerbaijani Diaspora.

In addition to books, the term “Azerbaijani Diaspora” and “lobby” in the United States are used in the dissertation in certain instances, in the analysis of the modern meaning of the problem along with works of the researchers working in foreign countries Bauder, H., Perlmutter, P., Ronald, J.H., Bauböck, R.<sup>2</sup>, and others researches<sup>3</sup> of the researchers working in the Commonwealth of Independent States space - T.Poloskova, N. Shulga, S.A. Sushinsky, Y.U. Platanov were put into circulation for the first time.

The lack of scientific sources and information in this area also makes it necessary to analyze the topic. R.Mehdiyev, V.Arzumanli, V.Habiboglu, M.Seyidbeyli, Ismayilov, I., Z.Aliyev<sup>4</sup> and others from

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<sup>2</sup> Bauder, H. Labor Movement: How Migration Regulates Labor Markets / H. Bauder. –Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. -288p, Perlmutter, P. The dynamics of American ethnic, religious, and racial group life: an interdisciplinary overview / P.Perlmutter. –New York: Greenwood Publishing Group. -1996.-345p, Ronald J.H. Lobbying in America / J. H. Ronald, B.M. Bryson -Salt Lake City: ABC-CLIO, -2009. -201p, Bauböck, R. “Thist “Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Method”s”. IMISCOE Research / R. Bauböck. – Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, -2010. -387 p.

<sup>3</sup> Полоскова, Т.В. Диаспоры в систем международный связей: /автореферат доктора политических наук/ -Москва, 1998. -26 с., Шульга, Н. Формирование политики национального государства по отношению к диаспоре / Н. Шульга. -Москва: Наука, -2002. -176 с., Сушинский, С.А. Лоббирование от «А» до «Я» / С.А. Сушинский. -Ростов-на Дону: Феникс, -2015.- 269 с., Платонов, Ю.П. Этнический фактор. Геополитика психология / Ю.П. Платонов. -Санкт-Петербург: Речь, -2002. -520 с.

<sup>4</sup> Mehdiyev, R. Milli məfkurə, dövlətçilik, müstəqillik yolu ilə: [2 cilddə] / R.Ə. Mehdiyev. -Bakı: XIX YNE, -с.1. -2006. -671 с., Arzumanlı, V. Azərbaýcan diasporu: reallıqlar, qayğılar, problemlər / V.Arzumanlı. -Bakı: Qartal nəşriyyatı, -2001. - 800 с., Həbiboglu, V. Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycan diasporu / V. Həbiboglu -Bakı: Qartal, -2001. -358 s, Сеидбејли, М.Г. Азербайджанская диаспора в России: особенности и тенденции формирования и развития 1988-2007 гг. / М.Г. Сеидбејли. -Баку, 2009. -396 с., İsmayilov, İ. Dünya azərbaycanlıları XX əsrdə (müxtəsər oçerk) / İ. İsmayilov. -Bakı: DHA mətbəəsi, -1997. -270 с., Əliyev, Z.B. Dünya diasporları / Z.B. Əliyev. -Bakı: Qismət nəşriyyatı, -2005. - 349 s.



the works on Diaspora theory, history, formation, organizational structure of the Azerbaijani Diaspora, lobbying, geography of Azerbaijanis in the world and other issues. His works and researchers have played a useful role in the source study of the dissertation.

In Azerbaijan, too, research on the subject dates back to the 1990s. Despite the fact that many articles, researches, interviews and letters from foreign countries have been published in the media over the years, the lack of specific scientific research on this topic shows once again how important the subject is and the need for its political analysis.

Academician Ramiz Mehdiyev's monograph "Through national ideology, statehood, independence" is of great interest.<sup>5</sup> The book considers the theoretical and political issues of interethnic relations in connection with the events in the national sphere in the post-Soviet space. The academician rightly notes that the Azerbaijani state pays special attention to the process of building the diaspora and writes that this tradition was founded by the national leader of the Azerbaijani people Heydar Aliyev and is now successfully continued by President Ilham Aliyev. R.Mehdiyev who writes that efforts to resolve the Karabakh conflict must be intensified; the nature of foreign policy must change; the interests of the country must always be united around lobbying, diaspora building and national issues, was right. Because the role of the lobby and the diaspora factor in the successful implementation of the foreign policy of countries that have gained independence and are in transition is great.

Yagub Mahmudov and Karim Shukurov's book "Karabakh real history, facts, documents" is very important in terms of studying the history of Karabakh.<sup>6</sup> The book contains important facts and documents about the history, territory and borders of Karabakh, as well as the genocide committed by Armenians against Azerbaijanis.

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<sup>5</sup> Mehdiyev, R. Milli məfkurə, dövlətçilik, müstəqillik yolu ilə: [2 cildə] / R.Ə. Mehdiyev. -Bakı: XIX YNE, -c.1. -2006. -671 s.

<sup>6</sup> Mahmudov, Y. Qarabağ real tarix, faktlar, sənədlər / Y. Mahmudov, K.Şükürov. - Bakı:Təhsil, -2005. -377 s.

In addition, they discussed the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the steps taken to resolve it.

Professor, Doctor of Philology, Arzumanli Vagif's book "Azerbaijani Diaspora: Realities, Concerns, Problems" states that the history of the Azerbaijani Diaspora has no deep roots and purposeful and systematic work in this area began after the coming to power of great leader Heydar Aliyev.<sup>7</sup>

Hafiz Pashayev's "Manifesto of an Ambassador", the first ambassador of Azerbaijan to the United States, is important in terms of studying the dynamics of development of the US-Azerbaijani relations in various fields.<sup>8</sup> What strengthens the scientific merit of the works that is the author also a direct participant and performer of the events.

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Sciences, Associate Professor Aliyev Z. in his book "World Diasporas" drew attention to the fact that today the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev successfully continues this policy and expressed his attitude to these areas.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, National Leader Heydar Aliyev is the architect of the concept and strategy of the Azerbaijani Diaspora. Considering this, the dissertation analyzes the problems of lobbying and the diaspora in the context of the activities of the Great Leader Heydar Aliyev.

One of the works cited in the dissertation is the book "Azerbaijani Diaspora: History and Theory" published by the head of the "Azerbaijani Diaspora" department of A.A.Bakikhanov Institute of ANAS, Doctor of History M.H.Seyidbeyli.<sup>10</sup> This monograph covers the activities of our diaspora, its problems, the reasons for their migration, the list of diaspora organizations, the policy of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, National Leader Heydar

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<sup>7</sup>Arzumanlı, V. Azərbaycan diasporu: reallıqlar, qayğılar, problemlər / V.Arzumanlı. -Bakı: Qartal nəşriyyatı, -2001. - 800 s.

<sup>8</sup>Paşayev, H.M. Bir səfirin manifesti / H.M. Paşayev. -Bakı: Şərq-Qərb,- 2007. - 248 s.

<sup>9</sup>Əliyev, Z.B. Türkdilli Xalqların Diasporları / Z.B. Əliyev. -Bakı: Adiloğlu nəşriyyatı,- 2009. - 296 s.

<sup>10</sup>Azərbaycan diasporu: tarix və nəzəriyyə // red. Y.Mahmudov, M.Seyidbəyli. - Bakı: Astroliqraf LTD, -2005. -92 s.

Aliyev, lobbying, and other issues were investigated. Consistent research and analysis by the researcher, especially comparative studies can be considered important.

Doctor of History Seyidbeyli Maryam's research work "Azerbaijani Diaspora in Russia: features and trends of formation and development" was written in the context of historical and modern processes, and some aspects of the problem under study were touched upon and valuable ideas were expressed.<sup>11</sup> Here, too, we consider it important in terms of bringing the subject to the agenda, although the goals and objectives of our research are not involved in the study in full detail.

V.Habiboglu's book "Heydar Aliyev and the Azerbaijani Diaspora" discusses the role of Heydar Aliyev in the development of the national diaspora, who worked tirelessly for the welfare of the Azerbaijani people for many years, and his meetings with our compatriots in different countries, etc. issues are reflected. The author rightly notes in the book that the purposeful work in the field of diaspora building in Azerbaijan is connected with the coming to power of Heydar Aliyev.<sup>12</sup> In his articles "Directions of development of the Azerbaijani Diaspora at a new stage" and "Azerbaijani Diaspora at a modern stage", the author praised President Ilham Aliyev as a worthy successor of this political line, as in all areas, in the field of diaspora building as well.<sup>13</sup>

Certain scientific researches have been conducted in the Republic of Turkey in the field of studying and directing Diaspora building.

In "Political Structure, Lobbying and Foreign Policy in America", A.Teyyar touches on the strategy of lobbying and

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<sup>11</sup>Сейдбейли, М.Г. Азербайджанская диаспора в России: особенности и тенденции формирования и развития 1988-2007 гг. / М.Г. Сейдбейли. -Баку, -2009. -396 с.

<sup>12</sup>Həbiboglu, V. Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycan diasporu / V. Həbiboglu -Bakı: Qartal, -2001. -358 s., s.152.

<sup>13</sup>Həbiboglu, V. Azərbaycan diasporu müasir mərhələdə // Respublika. -2005, 4 yanvar. -s.5; Həbiboglu, V. Azərbaycan diasporunun yeni mərhələdə inkişafının istiqamətləri // Respublika. -2007, 2 yanvar. -s.4.

considers the diaspora as an important element in the establishment of ethnic lobbying.<sup>14</sup>

N.Uslu writes in “Turkish-American relations” about the need to use the opportunities of the diaspora in the course of foreign policy. We also agree with the author’s opinion that “in order to successfully pursue foreign policy in present-day world, the diaspora must be active in local political processes”.<sup>15</sup> In present-day world practice, it is an undeniable fact that Diasporas and lobbies belonging to some nations have the ability to influence the policies of the countries in which they operate and live, and use this influence in the interests of communities and their national states.

During the research of the dissertation from the publications of the State Committee for Work with Diasporas of the Republic of Azerbaijan, annual report documents, scientific articles and publications of the “Azerbaijan Diaspora” department of A.A.Bakikhanov Institute of History of ANAS, library, archive materials, reports and publications of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were used.

As can be seen, although the problem has been studied in the above-mentioned aspects, in general, this subject has not been widely analyzed in the political science of Azerbaijan, only to a certain extent in certain articles and books. Considering that Azerbaijani researchers have not thoroughly studied the problem, we can say that the dissertation presented is one of the first works in the country dedicated to a comprehensive study of this problem in the field of history. Recently, a number of state measures have been taken in the country on the problems of diaspora building and its formation, and these state documents have been widely used in the dissertation.

**Object and subject of the research work.** As the main object of scientific research, how the Azerbaijani Diaspora was established and developed in the United States, the features of the history of the

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<sup>14</sup>Tayyar, A. Amerikanın siyasi yapısı: Lobiler ve Dış politika / A.Tayyar. – İstanbul: AlfaYay, -2009. -327s.

<sup>15</sup>Uslu, N. Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri / N. Uslu. -Ankara: 21. Yüzyıl Yayınları, -2000. -101 s.

formation of the Diaspora, the mechanism of lobbying and development trends are studied as a subject.

**Aims and objectives of the research.** The **main purpose** of the research is to determine the organization of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States, to emphasize the effectiveness of the work done by this organization in the Azerbaijani-American relations. At the same time, the most painful place for the Azerbaijani people is to properly convey the realities of Nagorno-Karabakh to the American public. The basis of this issue is to analyze the state-diaspora relations, as well as diaspora policy at the appropriate level and to identify development prospects. In this regard, it is possible to indicate the **tasks** obtained from scientific research and to be kept in mind during the research:

- To explain and define the essence of the concept of Diaspora and the theory of Diaspora,

- To show the stages of development of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States and the realities that may affect the Diaspora during this period,

- To study the activities of our compatriots in the United States as special interest groups, socio-political institutions and lobbying activities;

- To clarify the history of migration of Azerbaijanis to America and the reasons for it;

- To develop and preserve the ethnic identity, national values and traditions of our compatriots in American society, to study the role of diaspora organizations and religion;

- To study the experience of ethnic lobbyists in the United States and the history and modernity of lobbying theory,

- To show the functions of the state in this field by defining the main directions of the state policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, analyzing the policy of diaspora building,

- Investigate the promotion and propaganda of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the United States.

**Research methods.** In the research analysis of political and historical materials on the subject, the method of historical-

chronological, analytical-typological, idea-artistic analysis was taken into account, and the principles of history and modernity, time and space were followed. The research also approaches the opinions of authors with different scientific and political views in the context of that historical period, evaluates the political and ideological tendencies reflected in this or that material, as well as to find an objective direction from different scientific positions, as well as attempts to identify a new direction. Books and sources in Azerbaijani, Russian, English and Turkish were used in the analysis of the events, the opinions of various authors were expressed and the author's own opinions were given. In addition to all this, the problem-chronological method was used in writing the dissertation. There were also critical approaches to the use of literature and sources in different languages (Azerbaijani, Turkish, Russian, English) while researching the subject. Summaries were made at the end of each chapter.

**The main provisions of the defense are as follows:**

- The process of formation of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States after the Second World War was organized by the American Azerbaijani Society took organizational form with the establishment;

- The restoration of Azerbaijan's independence in 1991 increased the activity of our compatriots living in the United States and working in various fields, and was an important event in their involvement in lobbying;

- On the initiative of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev, the First Congress of World Azerbaijanis was held in Baku in November 2001, and the State Committee for Work with Azerbaijanis Living Abroad was established in 2002, and the approval of the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan "On state policy in relation to Azerbaijanis abroad" on February 21, 2003 defined the main goals and directions of the activity of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States;

- The activities of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States are multifaceted, and its organizational structures use various

propaganda tools to convey the truth about Azerbaijan to US society and government agencies.

**Scientific novelty of the research work.** Several scientific innovations in the implementation of the researched scientific work are also confirmed. Thus, since this subject has not been comprehensively studied in the historical-scientific aspect in the history of Azerbaijan, it is given in the following precise provisions as a scientific innovation in the dissertation:

- The process of settlement of our compatriots in the United States, the first history of migration, the historical periods of integration into American society were studied there for the first time.

- For the first time, the existing problems in this area were studied in terms of historical and national statehood approach, the social composition of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States was determined.

- The directions and forms of cooperation of the Azerbaijani Diaspora with other Diasporas and more precisely with the United States were studied;

- A sociological survey was conducted in the United States and for the first time the answers were analyzed and reflected in the dissertation;

- The issue of diaspora in foreign policy has been studied from the historical-political aspect;

- The position of the United States in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the activities of the diaspora and our lobby, which can have a stronger impact on it, have been studied and various necessary proposals and recommendations have been made.

- The activities of the Diaspora living in the United States during the 44-day Victory War were analyzed.

For the first time, a scientific-historical analysis was conducted on the basis of Azerbaijani and American materials on this topic, and certain recommendations on foreign policy and statehood were given based on the results obtained.

**Theoretical and practical significance of the research.** The facts and information that form the basis of the dissertation, the results obtained can be evaluated in the conduct of lectures and seminars, in a generalized form in many scientific and scientific-pedagogical fields. However, in order to improve lobbying activities, it is possible to develop strategies for the relevant institutions and diaspora organizations, using the provisions of the dissertation.

**Approbation and application of the work.** The main content of the dissertation is reflected in a number of articles, local and international conference proceedings. The dissertation was discussed twice time in the “Azerbaijan Diaspora” department of the Institute of History of ANAS. Seven scientific articles and two conference materials on the subject were published in Azerbaijan, Ukraine and the Britain.

**Name of the organization where the dissertation work is performed.** It was implemented in the “Azerbaijani Diaspora” department of A.A.Bakikhanov Institute of History of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, after full approval, discussed by the employees of the department and submitted to the Defense Council.

**The total volume of the dissertation.** The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, each consisting of two subchapters, a conclusion and a list of references. Introduction: number of signs - 24.911, Chapter I: - 96.017; Chapter II: - 59.702; Chapter III: - 96.742, conclusion: - 11.824. In general, the work (excluding the list of references) consists of 289.325 signs. The total volume of the research is 161 pages.



## II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the “Introduction” part of the research, the relevance of the topic is substantiated, the degree of development of the problem is investigated, the goals and objectives, methods, main provisions of the defense, scientific novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the research are defined, its approbation and application are considered, and the name of the organization where the work is performed and the volume of the dissertation are indicated.

Chapter I of the dissertation is entitled **“History of the migration of Azerbaijanis to the United States and the organization of the diaspora”** and consists of two subchapters. The first subchapter is entitled **“History of the migration of Azerbaijanis to the United States and the formation of the Diaspora”**, which deals with the concepts of “Azerbaijani”, “Tatar”, the essence of the concepts of “diaspora”, “lobby”, “migration”, “emigrant”, 3 models of the diaspora approaches, the history of Azerbaijani migration to the United States is analyzed.

It is noted in this subchapter that the word “diaspora” is also taken from the Greek word “diaspora” in the book “International Cultural Relations”. The literal meaning of this word is “disintegration, scattering, spreading”. The “Soviet Encyclopedia of Azerbaijan” notes that when it is necessary to attribute the meaning of this concept to the human factor, it is thought that “a large part of the people, the ethnic community is outside the country where they live”. From the point of view of meaning and logic, such an understanding of the concept of “diaspora” can be considered the most optimal option.<sup>16</sup> Based on various literature and information provided by the periodicals, it can be noted that the history of the penetration of the word diaspora into society in the sense we explain is very old.

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<sup>16</sup>Новрузова, Г.Т. Азербайджанская диаспора Российской Федерации: проблемы исторической демографии (1989-2002 гг): / диссертация доктора философии по историческим наукам/ -Баку, 2010. -176 с., s.42.

The author points out that the Azerbaijani Diaspora should be approached not as an interesting form of culture, but as a main or leading institution. When we talk about the Diaspora, we see its activity on the basis of three main stages. The first and most important of these are secular Diasporas that influence secular processes, including the Jewish, Chinese and Armenian Diasporas. Then there are the Indian minorities in Africa and Asia and the border minorities who have a special role to play in bilateral relations. As an interesting example, the Lezghins living on the borders of Azerbaijan and Russia, the Danes living in Germany and the peoples living on the border between Denmark can be divided into three categories, on the basis of which they can confirm their coexistence.<sup>17</sup>

As the first of the Azerbaijani Diaspora, one of the leading countries in the world, the relations between the United States can be approached from different angles. Thus, our country, on the basis of its national interests, at the same time concludes and expands relations with diaspora communities and organizations with leading forces and potential, as well as with developed countries. It is the US-Azerbaijani relations that are developing dynamically based on these criteria. During the more than thirty years of independence of our republic, cooperation with the United States alone has played an important role in its foreign policy priorities.

According to the research, it can be said with certainty that the majority of Azerbaijanis living in different parts of the United States are our compatriots who migrated from South Azerbaijan (Iran). In general, the majority of the Azerbaijani Diaspora is Azerbaijanis migrated from Iran (As they left the country due to various political processes in Iran, serious disagreements arose between them). This settlement originally began in Turkey in 1970, and the vast majority of our compatriots from Azerbaijan have settled in the United States since 1991, sometimes in groups, families, and sometimes individually. The result of this settlement was able to have a different

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<sup>17</sup>Əliyev, Z.B. Dünya diasporları / Z.B. Əliyev. -Bakı: Qismət nəşriyyatı, -2005. - 349 s., s.19.

impact on the composition and socio-economic activities of our diaspora in this country.<sup>18</sup>

The organization of the Azerbaijani Diaspora strengthened rapidly in the United States, as in many selected countries after the Second World War, and its period of political activity began to expand. Azerbaijanis, who migrated from the South and the North, and even from Turkey in small numbers, began to show great interest in political activity, perhaps due to the severity of the problems they faced and their miserable lifestyles. For this reason, the creation of the “Azerbaijan” society by our compatriots who emigrated to the United States from Turkey for the first time in 1947 was a very important historical event. One of these events, and perhaps the most important, was the “Azerbaijan” society in New York, which operated under the leadership of Saleh bey Sheykhzamanov.<sup>19</sup>

It is noted that currently Azerbaijani government agencies pay special attention to bilateral relations with the United States. The relations established on an equal footing serve to further expand Azerbaijan's relations with Western countries. Relations with the United States, which seeks to pursue certain economic interests in the region, are in the interests of Azerbaijan, which aims to attract foreign investment, integrate into the world economy, implement regional projects of global importance, increase the country's financial revenues and so on.

At the end of the subchapter, generalizations were made and several conclusions were reached.

The second subchapter of this chapter entitled as **“The establishment and activities of Azerbaijani diaspora organizations in the United States”** is dedicated to the history of the establishment of Azerbaijan-US relations, the establishment of Azerbaijani diaspora organizations in the United States and the main directions of their activities here.

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<sup>18</sup>Hüseynov, İ. A. Azərbaycanın ABŞ-da tanındılması: maraqlı qrupları və diaspor // - Bakı: Geostrategiya, -2016. №4, - s.40-43, s.41.

<sup>19</sup>Azərbaycan diasporuna dövlət qayğısı: [4 cilddə] / red. N.Ibrahimov. -Bakı: Çarşıoğlu, -c.2. - 2006. - 212 s., s.65.

The author points out that the process of migration of our compatriots to America and other countries is connected with the exact facts and several important issues. The collapse of the political power of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in 1918-1920, the Second World War in 1941-1945, the Iranian Islamic Revolution, the collapse of the USSR and the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan (October 18, 1991) then the emigration of our compatriots to other developed European countries, especially to the United States, increased significantly.

The settlement of new generations of our compatriots in America is considered to be the last decisive stage in the formation of the Azerbaijani diaspora. The number of our compatriots in the United States is more than 1 million, and most of them are settled in the central, northern and southern parts of the United States. At present, many organizations and associations have been established to jointly and effectively address the problems arising from the activities of world Azerbaijanis living abroad in the form of the national diaspora.

According to research and official sources, it can be said with certainty that today in Europe, North and South America, the CIS and a number of countries, in fact, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Norway, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, in Finland, Estonia, Poland, the United Arab Emirates, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Turkey and the United States more than 460 Azerbaijani communities have been established. The establishment of modern Azerbaijani communities and associations deserves to be assessed in the form of the success of the process of building a modern diaspora in our country. This number is growing every year, and if we take into account the small number of members of small organizations here, it is clear that Azerbaijanis living in all countries are organized according to their numbers.

Following the appointment of Fuad Muradov, Chairman of the State Committee for Work with the Diaspora, we can mark the beginning of a new era in the activities of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States. At present, the steps taken to implement various

programs and projects, to organize our compatriots serve the joint activity. It is necessary to emphasize the need to ensure coordination of our compatriots, the great importance of the activities of the Houses of Azerbaijan, where it may be expedient to establish the House of Azerbaijan in the near future.

We can witness the coordination of the activities of Azerbaijani diaspora organizations in the United States during the 44-day Victory Day of Azerbaijan. For example, our compatriots participating in the event organized by the Azerbaijan Center reflected the solidarity of world Azerbaijanis in this country; the public attention of Americans was drawn to the terrorist acts committed by the occupying Armenian army in Ganja, the killing of civilians, especially minors.

At the end of the subchapter, generalizations were made and a number of conclusions were reached.

Chapter II of the research, which consists of two subchapters, is entitled **“Ethnic lobbying in the United States, the formation of the Azerbaijani lobby”**. The second subchapter, entitled **“Formation of the Azerbaijani lobby in the United States”**, is devoted to the essence of the concept of lobbying, its main features, the history of the Azerbaijani lobby and lobby organizations in the United States and their activities.

This subchapter notes that the concept of lobbying has been noted and generalized in the scientific literature as an important event in the political as well as in the economic process of the state. It can be referred to as the activity of directly or indirectly influencing government agencies to represent the interests of those involved in any process. In this case, there is a need for a process of clarifying the general essence obtained. First of all, when we say an institution, we mean officials. Moreover, it depends on them whether a decision is made or not. In this case, the exact number of people is not considered. For example, a group of deputies, a member of the government, or a high-ranking official in the administration.

The author notes that when the so-called Azerbaijani lobby is mentioned, most of them focus only on the post-independence period. It is safe to say that historical acts and facts from the

beginning of the past period have served our lobby's attention. After the collapse of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1920), the political situation of our compatriots scattered abroad can be called a lobby. In accordance with the activities of Alimardan bey Topchubashov in Genoa and London in 1922, at the Lausanne Conference in 1923, the political situation of Rasulzadeh, J.Hajibeyli, and later Azerbaijanis working for Radio Liberty can be assessed as lobbying.<sup>20</sup> During that period, law regulated lobbying and the concept of lobbying was not mentioned in scientific and legal acts.

The formation of the Azerbaijani lobby depends, first of all, on the activities of the diaspora. There are countries in Europe, as well as in the world, where the diaspora organizations are very strong. They have already established themselves as lobbies in those countries and have the ability to protect and represent the national values of Azerbaijan at a high level. However, there are countries where compatriots living there are still unable to unite in the diaspora. Of course, in such countries there can be no such talk not only about the improvement of lobbying, but also about its existence as a diaspora.<sup>21</sup>

At the same time, the activity of the Azerbaijani lobby should be a necessary moment in the life of our diasporas, and this issue should be implemented at the state level to confirm that a number of steps in this direction have taken place in the context of recent events. Despite the entry into force of Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act, financial assistance to Azerbaijan has increased over the past three years since 1993 and has been raised to the same level as humanitarian assistance to the Caucasian republics. Through non-governmental communities, the United States has provided invaluable assistance and grants to local NGOs to promote democracy in the country. Companies such as "Exxon Mobil",

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<sup>20</sup>Azərbaycan diaspor təşkilatları üçün sənədlər və məlumatlar toplusu / red.N.Ibrahimov. -Bakı: Şirvanəşr, -2008. -308. s., s.193.

<sup>21</sup>Niyazov, X. Dünya Azərbaycanlıları mütəşəkkil qüvvəyə cevrilir // Azərbaycan. -2006, 24 may. -s.6.

“Amoco”, “Chevron”, “Unocal” and “Pennzoil” have begun to make large long-term investments in the Azerbaijani economy. Industry, agriculture, communications, investment in medicine and other areas strengthens Azerbaijan’s geopolitical position and economic situation. It can be seen that well-known political scientists and commentators have welcomed the activities of the Azerbaijani lobby in the American media.

The second subchapter of this chapter is entitled “**Social survey of Azerbaijani Diaspora members and organizations in the United States**”. During the study, it was decided to conduct a sociological survey to find out the nature of the problem among people who moved from Azerbaijan to the United States. The survey was mainly aimed at those who joined the emigration that began after the collapse of the USSR and lived in the United States. Therefore, within the framework of this process, a sociological survey consisting of the following questions was sent to our compatriots working in various scientific and educational institutions in the United States and was answered by 100 people.

It is noted that, first, a survey was conducted among Azerbaijanis living in the United States. Azerbaijanis living in California, Maryland, Washington, Alabama, Pennsylvania and other states and cities took part in the survey. It was decided to use a ready-made registration form as the initial form of the survey. It should be noted that the survey was conducted in the form of e-mail, Facebook and Odnoklassniki social networks, Skype and e-survey. At the end of the subchapter, conclusions were drawn based on the answers of the respondents.

The last chapter of the dissertation is entitled “**USA-Azerbaijani relations and the Azerbaijani diaspora**”. This chapter also consists of two subchapters. The first subchapter, entitled “**Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict in US-Azerbaijani Relations**”, examines the history of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the historical roots of Armenian aggression, analyzes the activities of the Armenian lobby, which based on lies, and discusses Nagorno-Karabakh problem as an

important aspect of Azerbaijani-US relations. The damage caused by Section 907 to the US-Azerbaijani relations was shown; the activities of Azerbaijani Diaspora organizations in the United States in this direction were studied.

The author points out that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is one of the most important issues of the last decade as one of the important aspects of Azerbaijan-US relations. Thus, the United States was closely involved in the settlement of the conflict as a member of the Minsk Group. Azerbaijan always hopes for the active role of the United States in the process. In terms of resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the Washington co-chair of the OSCE Minsk Group, often spoke in accordance with the position of the Azerbaijani side on the inadmissibility of the status quo.

However, despite these efforts, the activities of the OSCE Minsk Group have been completely ineffective, and in recent years, in general, have stalled. As a result, on September 27, 2020, in response to the provocations committed by Armenia, the Azerbaijani army led by Supreme Commander-in-Chief Ilham Aliyev achieved a historic victory in the 44-day Karabakh war and released the occupied territories. During the war, the United States maintained its neutral position, worked to achieve a ceasefire between the parties, and although a ceasefire agreement was reached, Armenia soon violated the agreement, which was ineffective. In the post-conflict period, it would be expedient for the United States, one of the world's largest states, to participate in the normalization of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, the restoration of the zone released from the occupation, the full opening of communication lines in the region and the restoration of peace and security in the South Caucasus.

The second subchapter of the last chapter is called **“Diaspora policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan”**.

It is noted in the subchapter that the proclamation of the State Independence of Azerbaijan to the whole world on October 18, 1991 also caused great joy to our compatriots living abroad. The independence of Azerbaijan made the Republic an equal member of



the world. The newly independent state has begun to take serious steps to establish important relations with the Azerbaijani diaspora in all foreign countries. The Republic of Azerbaijan, as a key component of the modern system of international relations, has become actively involved in various areas, understanding the existing political values in this system. The number of articles, books and TV programs published in the media about the problems, legal protection and organization of our compatriots living abroad has increased. In particular, attention to the Azerbaijani Diaspora has increased at the state and public levels. The process of in-depth study of the Azerbaijani Diaspora in higher and scientific institutions has begun. The concept of lobbying was born. There is a basis for the close participation of our compatriots living abroad in the state-building work carried out in the Republic and in other economic and political issues in parallel with the Azerbaijanis living in the country. December 31 was declared the Day of Solidarity of World Azerbaijanis on the initiative of Heydar Aliyev and the decision of the Supreme Assembly of the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic dated December 16, 1991. The National Council of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan completed the approval of the expedient decision of December 31 of each year, such as the solidarity of Azerbaijanis living in the world, on December 26.

The author points out that the work done over time has given its results. Azerbaijanis, who come to their homeland regularly, began to increase their role in the economic development of the country. The number of our diaspora representatives studying in higher education institutions has increased. With the influx of investment into the country's economy, the lobbying structure began to take shape abroad.<sup>22</sup>

It is known that one of the highest goals of our state is to protect the national spiritual unity and especially the solidarity of Azerbaijanis living all over the world. Highly appreciating this unity and solidarity, our Great Leader Heydar Aliyev signed the necessary

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<sup>22</sup>Azərbaycançılıq dünya azərbaycanlılarını birləşdirən və onlara kimliyini tanıdan milli ideologiyadır // Palitra. -2010, 29 dekabr. -s.5.

documents to mark December 31 as the Day of Solidarity of World Azerbaijanis. Noting some of the most important signatures signed by Heydar Aliyev on behalf of independent Azerbaijan, we can witness the invaluable contribution of the Great Leader to the people of Azerbaijan. Thus, the Law on State Policy on Azerbaijanis Living Abroad, the establishment of the State Committee for Work with the Diaspora, the holding of the I, II, and III Congresses of World Azerbaijanis and its adoption of dozens of important decisions, once again, it was due to Heydar Aliyev's care for the homeland. The decisions taken by the Great Leader were also very important steps in establishing comprehensive, useful, intensive and consistent relations with our diaspora, which has great potential, and every Azerbaijani want to fight for greater deeds and become a useful citizen of our country.<sup>23</sup>

The President of Azerbaijan, Mr. Ilham Aliyev, has always stated in meetings on diaspora activities that only nations with strong diaspora communities can achieve significant success in foreign and domestic policy. It is known that the representatives of a state with such a great power in the world should be worthy of it by all criteria and should always protect the interests of their state. At the same time, they must be able to promote their art, language, history and culture at the appropriate level, achieving a decent and timely solution to national problems. All the time, as well as today,

**In the Conclusion** the research was summarized and generalized based on which theoretical and practical proposals and recommendations were made. At the same time, the author concluded that:

- On the whole, research on the formation, development and current situation of the Azerbaijani Diaspora shows that the Azerbaijani Diaspora is currently active in all countries, including the United States. The work done by our compatriots scattered abroad after the collapse of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic in 1920 is rightly considered the foundation of the Azerbaijani Diaspora

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<sup>23</sup>Həbibəoğlu, V. Heydər Əliyev və Azərbaycan diasporu / V. Həbibəoğlu -Bakı: Qartal, -2001. -358 s., s.15.

and lobby. Azerbaijanis who participated in scientific conferences in Lausanne in early 1920 in San Remo, in 1922 in Genoa and in London to defend the national and political interests of Azerbaijan were able to lay the foundation for lobbying.

- In a broader sense, one of the direct and urgent tasks of each of the Azerbaijani Diasporas is to achieve official recognition by the world community of the atrocities committed by Armenia against Azerbaijan and the realities of the Khojaly genocide. It is an undeniable fact that as a result of the activities of diaspora organizations, the Khojaly genocide was officially recognized in 2019 due to events held in Tennessee, Arkansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and other states. Later, Azerbaijanis living in the United States were able to place a petition on the official website of the White House to recognize the occupation of Azerbaijani territories and the Khojaly genocide, war crimes, as well as the victims of the tragedy by USAN and President Barack Obama's administration. On the 22nd anniversary of the Khojaly genocide, various campaigns were held in major cities of influential countries on the project "Justice for Khojaly!" and direct initiative of Leyla Aliyeva, Vice President of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, Chief Coordinator for Intercultural Dialogue of the Youth Forum of the Islamic Conference.

- The high level of organization of this organizational work and the serious struggle against the Armenian lobby, where necessary, once again showed that the Azerbaijani Diasporas together have become a more organized force. Despite all this, the work of the international propaganda campaigns of the Azerbaijani Diaspora to convey the truth about the acts of terror and genocide against Azerbaijanis and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict to the world community is partially satisfactory, but, as he said, there is still work to be done.

- As a result of the investigation of the facts, it became clear that not only the so-called "Armenian genocide", "Section 907", but also the Turkish Diaspora, along with the Azerbaijani Diaspora, receive various appeals on Cyprus and "Kurdish" issues. Like other

major countries, the United States hosts exhibitions and conferences promoting Azerbaijan, and popular newspapers and magazines publish positive articles about the realities of Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijani Diaspora. Along with the commemoration of the Khojaly genocide and January 20, the Day of Solidarity of World Azerbaijanis on December 31, Novruz holiday, May 28 Independence Day, and other national holidays are also celebrated with great enthusiasm. Even in various US universities, students in diaspora organizations are encouraged to learn about the realities of Azerbaijan from students of other nationalities, as well as high-level work is being done to deliver it to the teaching staff. One of the factors influencing the expansion of all these processes was the presence of Azerbaijani Diaspora organizations together with the Americans in the events of September 11, 2001. There is already widespread support for the position of Azerbaijani Diaspora organizations in American political and official circles. Positive opinions that Azerbaijan was right in all cases were the result of the far-sighted policy of National Leader Heydar Aliyev, who often went to the United States for official meetings, and then President Ilham Aliyev. One of the main goals of such meetings was the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, and all the meetings provided advice on the work done by the Azerbaijani Diaspora in this direction, if necessary.

- The positive points shown in the dissertation should not allow us to conclude that there are no problems in the Azerbaijani Diaspora in the United States and everything is developing properly. Indeed, there are many problems and shortcomings in this regard. Diaspora activities are so dynamic that previously weak activities in this area have not been able to overcome these problems and shortcomings. However, over time, as the diaspora policy strengthens, there are not enough opportunities to address these issues in a timely and adequate manner, or our existing capacity is not enough. Therefore, we must do our best to make effective use of the resources and opportunities at our disposal, and to involve more people in our society who are inclined to diaspora policy in this process. Only then will our diaspora policy be more successful. That is, in the current situation,

non-governmental organizations operating in Azerbaijan, a number of political parties should increase their interest and attention to diaspora policy. Azerbaijan, unlike other countries, should only focus on solving internal problems and deal only with this issue. The biggest task facing Azerbaijan today is the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, which should be addressed by various non-governmental organizations, government agencies, all socio-political organizations, as well as diaspora organizations operating in Azerbaijan as a separate item. Only then will our activities in the direction of the diaspora become larger and mass. The number of political parties should increase their interest and attention to diaspora policy. Azerbaijan, unlike other countries, should only focus on solving internal problems and deal only with this issue. The main task facing Azerbaijan today is the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, which should be addressed by various non-governmental organizations, government agencies, all socio-political organizations, as well as diaspora organizations operating in Azerbaijan as a separate item. Only then will our activities in the direction of the diaspora become larger and more massive.

**The following articles of the author is reflected in the main content of dissertation:**

1. ABŞ-da Lobbizm təcrübəsi və Azərbaycan lobbisi // -Bakı: Avrasiya Universiteti, Sivilizasiya,- 2014.- s.113-118.
2. Azərbaycançılıq ideologiyası Avrasiyaçılıq və Multukulturalizm kontekstində // Qafqaz Universiteti, Gənc tədqiqatçıların IV Beynəlxalq elmi konfransı,-Bakı: -2016. №2,- s.1665-1667.
3. ABŞ-a Azərbaycanlıların mühacirəti və diasporun formalaşdırılması // -Bakı: “Turizm və qonaqpərvərlik tədqiqatları” beynəlxalq jurnal,- 2016.- s.170-182.
4. "Azadlığa Dəstək" Aktı və Azərbaycan-ABŞ münasibətləri // -Bakı:“Gənc tədqiqatçı” jurnalı,-2017. III Cild, №1,- s.220-223.
5. Azərbaycanın ABŞ-da tanınması: maraq qrupları və diaspor // -Bakı:“Geostrategiya” jurnalı,-2016. №5 (35),- s.40-43.
6. Heydər Əliyev: Azərbaycançılıq ideologiyası və Azərbaycan

diasporunun fəaliyyəti // -Bakı: “Dövlət idarəçiliyi” jurnalı - Nəzəriyyə və təcrübə,-2016. №3 (59),- s.265-274.

7. Современный этап и перспективы азербайджано-американских отношений // -Киев: "Гилея: научный вестник, выпуск,-2018.132 (№5),- с.123-126.

8. Müasir dövrdə Azərbaycan və türk diaspor təşkilatlarının birgə fəalliyəti // Bakı Dövlət Universiteti, “Dünya azərbaycanlıları: tarix və müasirlik” mövzusunda Gənc tədqiqatçıların III Beynəlxalq elmi konfransı,- Bakı:- 2018.- s. 57-58.

9. Activities of the Azerbaijan diaspora in Turkey // -London: Conflict and peace in international Politics: Issues, Actors, Approaches, IJOPEC Publication, - 2020, №1.- s.145-154.

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