

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

On the rights of manuscript

ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Philosophy Doctor

**MODELS FOR RESOLVING POLITICAL
CONFLICTS: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

Specialty: 5901.01- International Relations

Field of science: - political sciences

Applicant: **Turkhan Raguf Suleyman**

BAKU – 2021

The work was performed at Department of “Diplomacy and modern integration processes” of Baku State University.

Scientific supervisor: Doctor of History, Professor
Ismayil Maharram Musa

Official opponents: Doctor of political sciences, Professor,
Hadi Musa Rajabli

PhD in political sciences, Associate Professor
Leman Zahid Garayeva

PhD in political sciences, Associate Professor
Senan Semender Hasanov

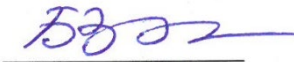
Dissertation Council FD 2.30 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Chairman of the
Dissertation Council: academician



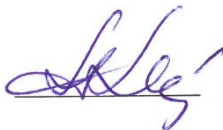
Urkhan Kazim Alakbarov

Scientific Secretary of the
Dissertation Council: Doctor of political sciences,
Professor



Ziyafet Ziya Habibova

Chairman of the
scientific seminar: Doctor of political sciences,
Professor



Adil Mirabdulla Mirabdullayev

INTRODUCTION

Relevance and development of the subject. At present, political conflicts that threaten international security and stability and the numerous problems they create are of particular concern to mankind. Within the framework of modern political research, political conflicts and their solutions are of particular interest both from theoretical and practical aspects. The investigation of models for resolving political conflicts in the new international context and application of the most optimal of them in the settlement of existing conflicts in different regions of the world significantly increases the need for in-depth and systematic research. In this regard, the dedication of the dissertation subject to the comparative analysis of models for resolving political conflicts has sufficient scientific and practical basis.

This important issue has always been reflected in the domestic and foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan, which has been in conflict with the aggressor Armenian state, that has occupied its ancient historical territories for 30 years. Expressing Azerbaijan's position in this regard, national leader Heydar Aliyev emphasized that *“we will never give our territories within the borders recognized by international organizations to anyone”*.¹

Based on all this, we can say that there are many fundamental causes and factors that justify the need for scientific research of the problem. They can also be grouped and expressed as follows:

First, the new world order and international security issues: The view that the system of international relations will enter a new phase after the Cold War, that is, a conflict-free period, was often sounded by many researchers. However, even after the collapse of the bipolar world system, there remains the problem of ensuring international security. As a result, a number of different tendencies arise in the modern system of international relations regarding the emergence and causes of political conflicts. Of course, this situation

¹Heydər Əliyev dövlətçilik haqqında (kəlamlar, sitatlar, aforizmlər) / red. Vəliyev X. – Bakı: “Adiloğlu” nəşriyyatı, – 2008. – s. 17.

also necessitates the scientific development of ways to resolve political conflicts.

Second, the problems of inter-regional unequal development: despite the growth of leading general economic indicators and democratization of political institutions in modern times, international political conflicts continue to escalate due to instability in many countries and unequal development² in the world. Such a situation, in turn, creates a need for relevant scientific research.

Third, the problem of the lack of a conceptual and unified legal framework for conflict solution: as is well known, unless the international community and major powers fight resolutely and fairly against existing separatism, the process will expand and deepen, creating a new territorial, racial, religious, national and others, involves into conflicts. On the other hand, there are tendencies such as the existence of “contradictory” points in the approach to conflict solution among the principles of international law, and in this regard, the lack of consistent, decisive measures in the settlement is revealed. ³ In our opinion, it is necessary to give a sufficient scientific assessment to such thought-provoking issues.

Fourth, the application of existing models to the settlement of other conflicts: the development of effective and optimal forms of peaceful settlement of political conflicts in various regions in modern times remains an important task. On the other hand, not all solution models are optimal and satisfactory. This is because the failure to take into account the state structure (unitary, federal, etc.) when applying any model to the solution of other conflicts creates problems such as the need to change the existing administrative institution (coercion in the transition from one state structure to

² Nominal GDP per capita. IMF Data Mapper. International Monetary Fund: [Electronic resource] / –2020, 30 October.

URL: <https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDPDPC@WEO/OEMDC/ADV EC/WEOORLD>

³ Цуциев, А. Перспективы урегулирования Осетино-Грузинского конфликта в Южной Осетии и вокруг него // Бюллетень Центра социальных гуманитарных исследований Владикавказского Института управления, – Владикавказ: –1999. №2, – с. 113.; Shaw, M.N. International law. Sixth edition / M.N. Shaw. – New York: Cambridge University Press, – 2008. – p. 478.

another). In the context of such problems, the issues of identifying and testing more important and specific aspects of solution models in connection with other conflicts also make it necessary to conduct relevant, continuous scientific and theoretical research.

Fifth, the dynamics of conflicts and the use of the military option in resolving them in international practice: the ineffectiveness of diplomatic negotiations in resolving conflicts, as well as non-implementation of documents adopted by international organizations or specially established mediating bodies. Considering the world experience, we can give a number of examples.

In this regard, due to the non-implementation of four resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council on the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, the Azerbaijani Army under the leadership of President, Supreme Commander-in-Chief Ilham Aliyev successfully realized the military version of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Thus, official Baku realized the UN Security Council resolutions calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian troops from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan. President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev emphasized an important point on the issue: *“As a result, Azerbaijan has implemented these resolutions within the norms of international law. We have restored justice and the norms of international law. We have implemented the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.”*⁴ “Thus, although the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict has already been resolved as a result of the Great Patriotic War, the study of the political aspects of the experience created by this great victory is especially relevant.

The multiplicity of options for resolving political conflicts and the experience of a successful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict make it necessary to conduct a comprehensive and all-round scientific study of both issues. In our opinion, although

⁴ Ilham Aliyev received the newly appointed UN Resident Coordinator in Azerbaijan: [Electronic resource] / – 2021, 24 August. URL:<https://president.az/articles/52819>

this problem has not been studied systematically and separately, there are some research works on specific issues in the West, Russia, Turkey and Azerbaijan. Therefore, let's take a brief overview at some research on possible options for solving political conflicts.

Thus, the first sociologist to try to combine structural functionalism and conflict theory was L.A.Koser. In this way he defined the functions of conflicts. Along with him, in the works of researchers C.E.Doqerti, R.L.Pfalzgraf studying the phenomenon of conflict and war some theoretical considerations are made.⁵

The work of D.Horowitz, a researcher and specialist in ethnopolitical conflicts, a type of political conflict, is also distinguished by its important scientific assessments. Another western researcher, M.Esman, defended the thesis that political conflicts arise as a result of ethnic pluralism.⁶

As a result of a number of monumental studies, different scientific and political approaches to the relationship between the principles of international law have emerged. The views and research of M.Halperin, D.Schaeffer and B.A.Bozcek are of special importance in this area.⁷

In the classification given in the dissertation, the researches on the solution models in the unitary states were carried out mainly in connection with the concrete regulatory institutions. In this regard, S.Erikson, L.I.Johansson and B.Sundsbaek's research on the Aland Islands, as well as R.Steiner's South Tyrol models, are of

⁵ Coser, L.A. *The Functions of Social Conflict* / L.A. Coser. – New York: Routledge-Taylor & Francis Inc, – 1956. p. 29-31.; Dougherty, J.E. *Contending theories of international relations* / J.E. Dougherty, R.L. Pfaltzgraff. – New York: Harper & Row, – 1990. – p. 189.

⁶ Milton, J.E. *Ethnic Politics* / J.E. Milton. – New York: Cornell University Press, – 1994. – p. 2-3; Donald, L.H. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* / L.H. Donald. – Berkeley: University of California press, – 1985. – 680 p.

⁷ Halperin, M. *Self-Determination in the New Order* / M. Halperin, D. Scheffer. – Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, – 1996.– 178 p.; Bozcek, B.A. *International law: a dictionary* / B.A. Bozcek. – Oxford: The Scarecrow? – 2005. – 427 p.

particular importance and scientific interest⁸. At the same time, American researchers P.King, W.Livingston and L.Swiss tried to determine the general scientific basis of federalism in multicultural societies with a Swiss federation structure.⁹ The British researchers M.Forsays and D.Elazarini's research on the "Confederative Union" model in confederative systems also differ in terms of useful theoretical analysis.¹⁰

There are many scientific researches on the political history of Karabakh in our national historiography. However, when reviewing the scientific literature on the dissertation, priority was given to research that could help to investigate more problem-solving options. In this context, the works of R.Mehdiyev, Y.Mahmudov and K.Shukurov, E.Ahmadov and K.Ruinten are important for their scientific-theoretical and practical values.¹¹

The political history of Karabakh has also been analyzed in the works of Western and Russian researchers. Thus, S.E.Cornel, S.N.Glinka, N.N.Shavrov, S.A.Weems, T.Vaal, and A.M.Skibitsky's

⁸Erikson, S. Sülh adaları. Aland adalarının muxtariyyəti, demilitarizasiyası və neytrallığı / S.Erikson, L.Yohansan, B.Sundbak. – Bakı:– Aysberq MMC, – 2006. – 127 s.; Steininger, R. South Tyrol: A Minority Conflict of the Twentieth Century / R. Steininger. –Richmond: Taylor & Francis Inc, – 2003. – 182 p.

⁹King, P.T. Federalism and Federation / P.T. King. – London: Johns Hopkins University Press, – 1982. – 160 p.; Federalism as an essentially contested concept: a discuss: [Electronic resource] / – 2019, 13 June. URL: <https://www.nigeriaworlds.com/articles/2011/jan/301.html>; Linder, W.S. Democracy. Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies. Third Edition, Revised and Updated / W.S.Linder.–London: Palgrave Macmillan, –2010. –246 p.

¹⁰Forsyth, M. Unions of states: the theory and practice of confederation / M.Forsyth. – New York: Holmes & Meier Pub, – 1981. – 236 p.; Elazar, D.J. Federal systems of the world: a handbook of federal, confederal and autonomy arrangements. Second edition / D.J. Elazar. – Harlow, Essex: Longman Current Affairs, –1994. – 364 p.

¹¹Mehdiyev, R.Ə. Gorus - 2010: absurd teatrı mövsümü / R.Ə.Mehdiyev. – Bakı: Şərq-Qərb, – 2010. – 96 s.;Mahmudov, Y.M. Qarabağ: real tarix, faktlar, sənədlər / Y.M.Mahmudov, K.K.Şükürov.–Bakı: Təhsil,–2009. – 143 s.;Ruıntən, K.F. Ermənistanın Azərbaycana təcavüzü və dünya siyasəti / K.F.Ruıntən. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2008. – 260 s. və başqaları.

works investigates the history of Karabakh, as well as the causes of the conflict.¹²

It should be noted that there is almost no research on the application of world experience in the settlement of political conflicts in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Issues of using models for solving international political conflicts was also studied by I.Musa.¹³ A.Abbasov and H.Khatchatryan expressed their scientific views on some models in their works.¹⁴ E.Shahinoglu's researches provided useful information on relevant models and considered their application to the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.¹⁵

The following grouping can be made in connection with research on specific issues covered by the dissertation:

- political conflicts and NATO peacekeeping operations (K.Mammadov, A.Abbasov);
- Features, formats of diplomatic negotiations, etc. (V.Jafarov, V.Lebedeva, V.Kazimirov);
- Conflicts and human rights in the Caucasus (R.Sevdimaliyev, A.Aslanli);

¹² Cornell, S.E. Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus / S.E.Cornell. – Richmond: Taylor and Francis, –2005. – 480 p.; Глинка, С.Н. Описание переселения армян адербиджанских в пределы России, с кратким предварительным изложением исторических времен Армении / С.Н.Глинка. – Москва: Лазаревых Ин-та вост. яз, – 1831. – 142 с.; Шавров, Н.Н. Новая угроза русскому делу в Закавказье: предстоящая распродажа Мугани инородцам / Н.Н.Шавров. – СПб: Рус. собрание, – 1911. –148 с.; Uimz, S.A. Ermənistan – terrorçu “xristian” ölkənin gizlinləri / S.A.Uimz. – Bakı: Mütərcim, – 2015. – 388 s.; Vaal, T. Qarabağ: Ermənistan və Azərbaycan sülh və savaq yollarında / T.Vaal. – Bakı: İlay MMC, – 2008. – 344 s.; Скибицкий, А.М. Карабахский кризис // «Союз».– 1991. № 7, – с. 4.

¹³Musa, İ.M. Çağdaş beynəlxalq münasibətlər və Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti. Dərslik / İ.M.Musa. – Bakı: Bakı Universiteti, – 2011. – 776 s.

¹⁴ Abbasov, Ə. Qarabağ münasibətlərinin həlli variantları: ideyalar və reallıq / Ə.Abbasov, H.Xaçatryan. – Bakı: AREAT, – 2002. – 44 s.

¹⁵ Şahinoğlu, E. Dağlıq Qarabağ: statusuz status. Dünyanın 10 muxtariyyət təcrübəsi / E.Şahinoğlu. –Bakı: Qanun, – 2010. – 80 s.

▪ Discussions on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict at the OSCE Lisbon and other summits (V.Guluzadeh, T.Hakala).¹⁶

The object and subject of the research. The object of the research is the models for resolving political conflicts, and the subject is the features of these models, the similarities and differences identified as a result of their comparative analysis.

Objectives and tasks of the research. The main purpose of the research is to compare models of political conflict resolution based on the analysis of existing theoretical and conceptual approaches and world experience.

It was considered expedient to group the tasks set in the dissertation in the following three directions:

First, in terms of studying models for resolving political conflicts:

- study and systematization of models of political and legal regulation of ethno-political relations;
- Analysis and comparison of models for the settlement of political conflicts.

Secondly, from the perspective of the ineffectiveness of the negotiations on the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict:

¹⁶ Məmmədov, K.C. NATO-nun sülhyaratma əməliyyatları və tərəfdaş ölkələrinə ştiraksəviyyəsi // “Beynəlxalq münasibətlər, milli təhlükəsizlik, geoiqtisadiyyat və geosiyasətin fundamental və tətbiqi problemləri” elmi-praktiki konfransın materialları, – Bakı: MBM, – 2015. – s. 207-201; Cəfərov, V.B. Danışıqların aparılması texnologiyası. Dərs vəsaiti. / V.B.Cəfərov. – Bakı: Bakı Universiteti, – 2016. – 175 s.; Лебедева, М.М. Технология ведения переговоров / Москва: М.М.Лебедева. – Москва:Аспект Пресс, – 2010. –192с.; Казимиров, В.Н. Нагорный Карабах должен участвовать в переговорах: [Электронный ресурс] / – 2017, 30 сентября. URL:<http://www.vn.kazimirov.ru/k104.htm>; Севдималиев, Р. Этнические конфликты и права человека на кавказе (на примере нагорно-карабахского конфликта) // Центральная Азия и Кавказ, – Швеция: СА&С press, – 2002. №1, – с. 104-114.; Aslanlı, A.A. Ermenistan’ın Azərbaycan Topraklarını İşgali Sorununun Hukuki Boyutu; Azərbaycan’ın Meşru Müdafaа Hakkı Devam Ediyor Mu? // Ermeni Araştırmaları Dergisi, Ankara: – 2003. – № 9, – s. 94-117; Гулузаде, В.М. Лиссабонский саммит ОБСЕ – миф или реальность // Центральная Азия и Кавказ, – Швеция: СА&С press, 1999. № 2(3), – с. 89-97.; Hakala, T. The OSCE Minsk Process: A balance after five years // Helsinki Monitor, – Buffalo: – 1998.v. 9, Issue 1, – p. 5-14.

- identifying the causes, stages and consequences of the conflict;

- investigating the negotiation process and the causes of the current ineffectiveness and revealing Armenia's constant non-constructive position;

- Legal and political characterization of the solution models proposed by the OSCE Minsk Group; Their assessment from the prism of ensuring Azerbaijan's territorial integrity;

Third, in the context of the need for a military solution to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict:

- Study of the problems of application of international experience in the use of the military option in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and the conclusions drawn;

- Assessment of the geopolitical and military situation in the region against the background of the intensification of Armenian provocations on the eve of the Patriotic War;

- Analysis of the new geopolitical situation in the region as a result of Azerbaijan's victory in the 44-day Patriotic War.

Research methods. Regarding the research methods used in the investigation of the issues covered by the dissertation, the following can be emphasized:

- Scientific research of theoretical and practical issues of political conflict resolution options was carried out with a systematic approach and comparative analysis methods;

- The application of models for resolving political conflicts to the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict has been explored through logical-critical assessment and useful polemics;

- The generalization of the scientific results of the dissertation was carried out by the method of rational-objective approach to the problems.

The main provisions of the defense:

1. The causes of international political conflicts in modern times are different and changeable. In this situation, it is difficult to find solutions, and the problem remains as a potential threat.

2. Political conflicts are increasing against the background of problems of inter-regional unequal development. As a result of a number of external factors and the “dual approach” policy, the issue of developing a unified model for resolving political conflicts is very complicated.
3. There are successful and flawed models of international political conflict resolution. Therefore, existing regulatory options do not always create successful examples.
4. The process of long-term negotiations on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict was characterized by its complexity, as the mediators tended to maintain the status quo. Due to the position of the aggressor Armenia, the situation was further aggravated by the ineffectiveness of the talks.
5. The “activities” of the OSCE Minsk Group, including France, which is pro-Armenian in the context of a peaceful settlement of the conflict, did not yield any results. The implementation of UN Security Council resolutions was purposefully “forgotten.”
6. For a number of reasons the application of political conflict resolution models to the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict was not possible. As a result, the experience of a successful military solution to the conflict is of particular scientific and political interest.

Scientific novelty of the research. In the dissertation:

- Clarification of inter-principle and inter-terminological “relations-contradictions” in international law in determining the final political status of conflict zones;
- Constitutional-contractual solution models of political relations are classified and systematized in accordance with the forms of state structure;
- An important issue, such as the illegal settlement by Armenia in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, was characterized as a new situation and problem in the conflict;

- The political and diplomatic results of the April fightings, as well as the victory of Gunnut, were involved in the scientific community and evaluated;
- Models of political settlement that are more or less consistent with the timely settlement of the conflict have been analyzed separately and comparatively;
- The right to use military options in resolving the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and the military-political consequences of the 44-day Patriotic War were thoroughly investigated and new geopolitical-diplomatic realities were analyzed.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research. The dissertation research is of great theoretical and practical importance in many respects. Thus, in terms of benefiting from its materials and scientific results, the following should be emphasized:

- The findings of the study provide a basis for identifying new areas of scientific research on this issue;
- The scientific research can be used in writing textbooks, teaching aids and programs, monographs, as well as scientific works on “Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan”, on the subject of “Conflictology”, etc. on the problems of international relations and foreign policy in Azerbaijan.

Approbation and application. The main results of the research are reflected in the author’s scientific articles and conference reports published in Azerbaijan and abroad.

Name of the organization where the dissertation work was carried out. The research was carried out at the Department of “Diplomacy and Modern Integration Processes” of Baku State University.

The structural sections and the total volume of the dissertation with symbols. The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, eight paragraphs and a bibliography. Introduction consists of 21012; Chapter I - 60485; Chapter II - 95137; Chapter III - 62071; and the conclusion of 8440 characters. The total volume of the dissertation consists of 249061 characters.

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The **first chapter** of the research – “**Characteristics of key models for resolving political conflicts**” - consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph, “**Scientific-political and international-legal bases of solution models**”, considers modern scientific views on the settlement of political conflicts and raises a number of issues: **a)** different approaches to the concepts of “political conflict”, “international political conflict” and “international conflict” and their causes; **b)** problems of legitimacy in international law related to political conflicts¹⁷; **c)** problems of classification of political conflict resolution models, etc.

While considering the terminology of international relations, it appears that the concepts of “political conflict”, “international political conflict” and “international conflict” have undergone conceptual changes and transformations in different periods of history. In this sense, we can say that over time political conflicts have naturally been divided into internal and external (international) conflicts. With the establishment of national-states in the system of international relations, more and more states or unions of states began to play the role of subjects of international political conflicts. Therefore, starting from the 21st century, the causes, participants, content and nature of international conflicts have changed with the requirements of the new era, and the process has become more politicized.

Also the issues of grouping options for resolving political conflicts according to various indicators are investigated in the paragraph. Possible solutions to the problem existing in political practice and international law have been analyzed.

The second paragraph of the first chapter, “Models of settlement of political conflicts in the world practice according to the state structure” investigates the options for establishing ethno-

¹⁷Цуциев, А. Перспективы урегулирования Осетино-Грузинского конфликта в Южной Осетии и вокруг него // Бюллетень Центра социальных и гуманитарных исследований Владикавказского Института управления, – Владикавказ: – 1999. №2, – с. 113.

political relations on the basis of a constitutional agreement. In our research, the issues of classification and systematization of solution models in accordance with the forms of state structure were considered. According to the classification, the following models were studied in depth in the dissertation: **a)** “territorial federalism” in the federal state structure; **b)** “community federalism” inherent to a federal state. Here, the experiences of many countries where both solution models are more justified - Switzerland, Canada, Russian territorial federalism¹⁸ and Belgian community federalism¹⁹ models - are analyzed in depth; **c)** “confederative union”. Examples of this model are more historical and are almost never used today. However, the study of such historically existing models was considered expedient; **d)** “national public administration”. As a typical example of a unitary state structure model is considered here the Aland Islands in Finland, South Tyrol and Trieste in Italy, and Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland²⁰; d) models with other characteristics; Examples of such models are Dayton (Chechnya), Cyprus, Ulster, “Kosovo Regulation”, “Associative

¹⁸Switzerland's Constitution and Federalism: [Electronic resource] / – 2019, 5 June. URL://<http://swiss-government-politics.all-about-switzerland.info/>; Levesque R. For an Independent Quebec: [Electronic resource] / – 2019, 5 March. URL:<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/canada/1976-07-01/independent-quebec>; Государственный Совет Республики Татарстан. Декларация о Государственном суверенитете Татарской Советской Социалистической Республики: [Электронный ресурс] / – 2018, 18 сентября. URL:// <http://www.gossov.tatarstan.ru/dokument/deklaracia/>

¹⁹Why did Belgium never fall apart into Flanders, Wallonia, and a German-speaking Belgian country?:[Electronic resource] / – 2019, 5 May. URL:<https://www.quora.com/Why-did-Belgium-never-fall-apart-into-Flanders-Wallonia-and-a-German-speaking-Belgian-country>.

²⁰The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. The special status of the Aland Islands: [Electronic resource] / – 2019, 11 June. URL: <https://um.fi/the-special-status-of-the-aland-islands>; Mayr, W. The South Tyrol Success Story. Italy's German-Speaking Province Escapes the Crisis: [Electronic resource] / – 2019, 5 January. URL: // <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/the-south-tyrol-success-story-italy-s-german-speaking-province-escapes-the-crisis-a-713438.html>; Trieste. Italy. Encyclopaedia Britannica: [Electronic resource] / – 2019, 5 March. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Trieste-Italy>

State”, “Territorial Exchange”, “Common State” and others. Taken into account the possibility of some use of these models in the settlement of some conflicts, a number of key points have been investigated.

The general conclusions drawn on the issues studied in the first chapter of the research can be summarized as follows: in modern times, the regulation of relations between the state and national minorities living in its territory must be based on norms of international law; In this context, the principle of “territorial integrity of states” must be taken into account; at the same time, it is unacceptable to allow uncertainty and double interpretation in approaching the principles of international law; Although some positive international experience has recently been gained in resolving political conflicts, significant differences between the political and legal framework and resolution mechanisms in this area create problems in conflict resolution.

The **second chapter** of the dissertation (“**Ineffectiveness of diplomatic negotiations on the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict**”) covers three paragraphs. The **first paragraph** of the chapter is entitled “**The emergence and consequences of the conflict**”. Here, our important scientific conclusions obtained as a result of research in two areas can be expressed in the form of summaries and theses with the following classification:

1. *A generalized statement of the causes of the problem created artificially for independent Azerbaijan.*
 - a)) The important geostrategic position of Karabakh and its formation of points of conflict and intersection of interests of the great powers;
 - b) b) the problem of not establishing the geography of Azerbaijan as a single political space;
 - c) establishment of the Nagorno-Karabakh (Daghlig Garabagh) Republic without any reasonable, objective and legal grounds;
 - d) Carrying out an “ethnic cleansing” policy and administrative-territorial changes against Azerbaijanis in Armenia and the

former Nagorno-Karabakh during the Soviet government and independence.

2. *Analysis of the results and different chronology of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict based on some theories of international relations and certain decisively important events.*
 - a) The conflict has existed since the end of the First World War. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the situation changed dramatically and the conflict escalated to a military level. In the dissertation, the conflict is conventionally divided into six stages. Characteristics of each of these stages was shown;
 - b) The crimes committed by Armenia against the Azerbaijani people at the last stage, including “ethnic cleansing” and genocide, were emphasized. Thus, on February 26, 1992, genocide was committed in Khojaly, the entire population being Azerbaijani, and 613 residents, including 63 children, 106 women and 70 elderly people, were killed with incredible cruelty;
 - c) On the whole, experience shows that the prolongation of the negotiation process by one or another party by imitation, as well as sharp disagreements in a contentious and tense situation, leads to a rapid return from the settlement phase to back (military confrontation). In this regard, the events of recent years in connection with the Karabakh conflict are particularly distinguished;
 - d) The results of the First and Second Karabakh Wars, the new military-political-diplomatic situation created by them, the material and moral damage of the wars are among the issues considered separately and comparatively in the dissertation.
 - e) The issues of conducting research on the material and moral damage inflicted by Armenia on Azerbaijan after the liberation of Karabakh as a result of the great victory and taking appropriate legal steps were also involved in the research.

In the **second paragraph** of the **second chapter**, “**Analysis of the negotiation process on the settlement of the conflict**” the

features of the peace process are illuminated; both branches of the political method used in international practice in conflict resolution - the format of diplomatic negotiations and the institution of mediation - are considered; approaches and tactical methods are studied in the context of discussions on conflict resolution; Negotiations on the conflict analyze the tendency of “open” and “secret” diplomacy and “negotiations for the sake of negotiations”.

The specifics of the negotiations on the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict are multilateral, almost rich in a number of tactical methods found in world practice, and in this regard, the process requires special research. It should be noted that the format of the OSCE Minsk Group was thoroughly analyzed during the research, and the need and stages of the formation of the mediation institution were highlighted in many aspects. In particular, manipulation of the “parties to the conflict” in the negotiations, the notion of “two sides” or “parties”, as well as issues such as the naming of the conflict, are indicative of the extreme politicization of the problem.²¹

All mediation initiatives from the initial stage of the conflict to date and diplomatic negotiations in their context are studied separately. Here is also described the theoretical and practical, destructive and constructive aspects of the proposed options for resolving the conflict. It also characterizes the specific interests and positions of the parties on individual issues.

The **third paragraph** of the **second chapter** – **“Solutions proposed by the OSCE Minsk Group: legal and political assessment”** - deals with the settlement models officially proposed by the mediators to the parties of the conflict. During the research of the proposed models, the paragraph was divided into the following items and a research was conducted accordingly: 1) “Package solution”. 2) The “step-by-step solution”. 3) “Common state”. 4) “Framework document”. The following can be distinguished in terms

²¹Vaal, T. Qarabağ: Ermənistan və Azərbaycan sülh və savaşı yollarında / T.Vaal. – Bakı: İlay MMC, – 2008. – s. 266.

of the theoretical and legal basis of these four documents and the possibility of their timely application:

a) “Package solution” or “package” is a tactical method used in diplomatic negotiations. In this case, all disputed issues are interconnected and offered to the parties within a single package. Officially announced on July 18, 1997, this first plan is called the “Comprehensive agreement on the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict”. According to that document, the territory of Karabakh inhabited by Armenians was to be given high self-government powers within Azerbaijan. However, giving such a status to the territory could not be considered completely acceptable for Azerbaijan. The plan was rejected because it worried the inter-government opposition and the so-called “structure” in Armenia;

b) The “step-by-step solution” plan was a tactical method considered in the framework of cooperation in diplomatic negotiations. Unlike the “package solution”, its implementation could go through several stages. The “step-by-step solution” plan for the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, submitted by the Minsk Group co-chairs on December 2, 1997, was officially called the “Agreement on the cessation of the Nagorno-Karabakh armed conflict”. Unlike the previous plan (“Package solution”) the new project provided for a two-stage solution of the conflict. The status issue, which the parties could not agree in any form, could be postponed to the second stage. Although both presidents agreed with the document, the replacement of L.Ter-Petrosyan with R.Kocharyan hindered the implementation of the plan;

c) With the failure of the previous two plans due to the position of Russia and Armenia, a new draft - the “Common State” plan - was submitted to the parties on November 7, 1998. The plan envisaged for the creation of a so-called “NKR” in Azerbaijan, a unitary state, and the transition to a confederate system. Although the proposal was accepted by Armenia without delay, Azerbaijan rightly did not agree at all even to discuss the document;

d) In 2006, the new American co-chair of the Minsk Group, Matthew Bryza, made a special statement at the meeting of the OSCE Permanent Meeting in Vienna. The official name of this

document, announced on behalf of the other co-chairs, is the Memorandum of Solidarity on the Principles of the Settlement. This was the last model proposed by the OSCE for the settlement of the conflict. This plan was amended several times by the mediators. As a result, on the eve of the OSCE Foreign Ministry meeting on 27 November 2007, the Co-Chairs' package of proposals (the Madrid Document) was presented to the Foreign Ministers of both countries. After lengthy discussions, on 10 August 2009, the Madrid Principles were proclaimed in a joint statement by the Co-Chairs. This 6-point document also called for a step-by-step settlement of the conflict. In all discussions on the plan, Armenia again took a non-constructive position.

On the whole, our conclusions on the negotiation process, which differ in their complexity, are grouped in the second chapter of the dissertation as follows: most of the relevant diplomatic approaches and tactical methods in world practice have been tested in the negotiation process²²; persistent inefficiency has fueled periodic, heated debates over the Minsk Group's mediation mission; The implementation of four UN Security Council resolutions (822, 853, 874 and 884) on a just settlement of the conflict seemed to have been "forgotten"; This situation, that is, the ineffectiveness of the negotiations that lasted for thirty years, conditioned the military restoration of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity.

The last, **third chapter** of the dissertation is entitled "**Factors determining the military settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, international legal and moral bases**". The **first paragraph** is entitled "**Opportunities to benefit from international experience in conflict resolution: challenges and conclusions**".

First of all, here the issues of application of models for resolving political conflicts in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict at one time were considered. However, this does not mean that it was possible or necessary to apply all the models used in

²² Лебедева, М.М. Технология ведения переговоров / Москва: М.М.Лебедева. – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2010. –с. 102-105.

resolving political conflicts. In our research, more fair, compromise options that were considered appropriate by Azerbaijan at the time were considered. The results of our research in this area can be assessed as follows:

1) *Possibility to use Aland, Trieste and South Tyrol models.* All three models have already been used in unitary states. From this viewpoint, the possibilities of using them could have seem more realistic. Thus, in the case of the application of the Aland model, the former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region could be given the right of self-government within the Republic of Azerbaijan. To the point, the counter-arguments that exclude the possibility of using the model were also examined separately in the paragraph. There was an exchange of views in official and unofficial circles on the application of the Trieste²³ and South Tyrol models to the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict as well.

2) *Opportunities and problems of using the Tatarstan model.* This model, which attracts attention in international scientific and political circles, mainly has the characteristics of a federal state system. This required a different approach for the Republic of Azerbaijan, which is a unitary state structure. From this viewpoint, the use of the model in the dissertation is not considered in a complex way, but on separate indicators and the relevant points are clarified.

3) *There are other theoretical or practical solutions that have certain characteristics but do not meet certain classifications.* The “Associated State”, “Common State”, “Synthesis version”, “Cyprus precedent”, “Dayton (Chechen version)”, “Kosovo model”, “Ulster regulation” and others. can be shown as an example. It examines the attempts of great powers to accept the de facto existence of status in the context of their national interests as a “de jure” (“Kosovo experience”) under certain favorable conditions and times, and shows the dangerous prospects of this. The impossibility of using such models at one time was unequivocally emphasized.

²³ İlham Əliyev Brüsseldə “Euronews” telekanalına müsahibə vermişdir: [Elektron resurs] / – 2018, 08 dekabr. URL: <https://president.az/articles/2500>

Conflicts in the post-Soviet space are still distinguished by dynamism and militarization. Thus: in unresolved conflicts, there is always the danger of the actualization of the military element and its reactivation; One of the main methods of resolving conflicts in international practice is the military option; the use of military force is a right of self-defense in the context of the importance of ensuring territorial integrity; therefore, the Republic of Azerbaijan has always retained the right to liberate its territories recognized by the international community by military means. As a result, the impossibility of using the above solution models also led to the Patriotic War.

A very important and special period is investigated in the **second paragraph of the third chapter, entitled “Geopolitical and military situation in the region on the eve of the Patriotic War”**. Here is touched on Armenia’s policy of illegal settlement in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan and assessed the issue in many ways. It is also noted in the research that this situation continued in Armenia during the rule of Nikol Pashinyan, and all this had a negative impact on the negotiation process.

Moreover, the dissertation deals with the policy of illegal settlement, relevant documents of international organizations, international agreements to which both countries have acceded, etc. The legal responsibility of the Armenian state was noted. The Azerbaijani side also paid constant attention to this situation, from time to time raised issues before the relevant international and regional organizations, and demanded that they comment on the problem²⁴.

Another issue examined in this paragraph is the political and diplomatic consequences of the April fightings. The analysis of the April fightings, which are of special importance for Azerbaijan, reveals a number of interesting points: **a)** the assessment of the famous Kazan meeting in 2011, which ended in failure, as the last serious attempt in diplomatic negotiations in recent years; **b)** official

²⁴ Süleyman, T.R. *Azərbaycanın işğal olunmuş ərazilərində qanunsuz məskunlaşma: hüquqi və siyasi aspektləri // Tarix və onun problemləri*, – Bakı: 2015. №1, – s. 244-245.

Baku's preference for military demonstration tactics of armed forces immediately after the Kazan meeting; **c)** Personnel, structural reforms and activities aimed at raising the military-national spirit in the Ministry of Defense; **d)** Violation of the ceasefire by Armenia, armed clashes, and other processes from January 2014 to April 2016, led to the beginning of a serious military confrontation. As a result of the four-day April fightings, Azerbaijan liberated a number of villages and strategic heights for the first time since the ceasefire. Gunnut victory in 2018, which is a continuation of the April victory, is also involved in the research here.²⁵

The **last paragraph** of the **last chapter** of the dissertation entitled **“Political and diplomatic results of the Patriotic War of Azerbaijan”** is dedicated to the analytical explanation of the political and diplomatic issues of the Second Karabakh War. Issues such as the instability since the April 2016 war and the subsequent denial of the possibility of a peaceful solution to the conflict in Armenia were considered, and the situation before the Second Karabakh War was analyzed. As a result, the following works were done to investigate the 44-day Patriotic War, which began on September 27, 2020:

a) Liberation of 4 settlements and 286 villages of 5 cities²⁶ (Jabrayil, Fuzuli, Zangilan, Gubadly and Shusha) before the tripartite agreement until November 10, 2020, and the clearing out of 3 districts (Aghdam, Kalbajar and Lachin) by Armenians after the known declaration and Lachin issues related to the corridor were clarified;

b) official and unofficial data on the losses of both sides in the war were compared;

²⁵ Günnüt zəfəri: [Elektron resurs] / – 2019, 08 aprel.
URL:<https://mod.gov.az/az/pre/23254.html>

²⁶ Azerbaijani cities, settlements and villages liberated from occupation: [Electronic resource] / – 2020, 20 November.
URL:<https://mod.gov.az/en/news/azerbaijani-cities-settlements-and-villages-liberated-from-occupation-11189.html>

c) the attitudes, positions and roles of world powers and a number of organizations on the issue on the eve of the liberation of our lands from occupation, were analyzed. In particular, the role of the OSCE Minsk Group members, including Russia and Turkey in the new geopolitical situation was highlighted. Why the war started in 2020, the reasons for the change in Russia's position, pro-Armenian position of France, the expansion of Turkey's active activities and opportunities to interfere in the process were taken into account. Turkey's political and moral support to Azerbaijan was especially criticized.

d) The factors that led to the full control of the territories of Azerbaijan, the details of the known ceasefire declaration and new geopolitical realities were studied. An attempt was made to analyze the presence of Russian peacekeepers in the region for at least 5 years and, accordingly, the future policy of Azerbaijan.

e) Azerbaijan's systematic approach to domestic and foreign policy on Karabakh after the victory in the Patriotic War was analyzed. The new geopolitical results created by the Shusha Declaration signed by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and the President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan on June 15, 2021 in Shusha have been studied. The political goals of the Karabakh and East Zangazur economic regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan established by the Decree of President Ilham Aliyev dated July 7, 2021 were considered.

The generalizations and results of the third chapter can be summarized as follows: the application of the solution models used in international practice to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict always required a different approach; as with any solution model, it was impossible to apply it fully to the settlement of the conflict; according to most experts, only progressive elements of the models could be used; In this case, a number of different features and reasons that distinguished the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict from others had to be taken into account; at any stage of the settlement process, Azerbaijan always retained the right to "use force and armed force"; There were a number of important events leading to the military settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict; At the

same time, the international legal and moral bases of the Great Patriotic War enabled Azerbaijan to achieve its goal.

The “**Conclusion**” of the dissertation concludes the scientific research. Scientific and theoretical conclusions related to the research are summarized. Further more, proposals and recommendations of scientific and practical value are made. Thus, in the end, the author concludes that: although some experience has been gained in resolving political conflicts in modern times, for some reason these models do not provide sufficient and directly applicable examples; Although models for the settlement of international political conflicts have certain political and legal bases and mechanisms, issues such as the lack of a single legal framework and the “abundance of documents” remain a serious problem in this area; official Baku did not accept the proposals on the application of the studied political solution models to the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict within the framework of international law; Azerbaijan has gained experience in resolving the conflict by military means when the opportunities for a peaceful settlement of the conflict are exhausted; Under the leadership of President, Supreme Commander-in-Chief Ilham Aliyev, Azerbaijan’s economic-military-political power and the April victory and the Patriotic War achieved its goal of resolving the conflict and completely rejected the discussion of some solution models that were never acceptable, including status proposals.

At the end of the military phase and in the current political-diplomatic phase, post-conflict relations are taking place between the two countries. Azerbaijan has successfully launched important projects aimed at the rapid revival of Karabakh and Western Zangazur, liberated from Armenian occupation.

The main content of the dissertation is reflected in the following scientific works of the author:

1. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan münaqişəsinin nizamlanmasına dair danışıqlarda yanaşmalar və taktiki üsullar // – Qafqaz Universiteti

Gənc Tədqiqatçıların Birinci Elmi Konfransının materialları. – 2013-cü il. – 26-27 aprel. – № 1. – s. 176-177.

2. Qarabağın dağlıq bölgəsi ilə bağlı Ermənistan-Azərbaycan münaqişəsi // Bakı Slavyan Universiteti, Azərbaycanşünaslığın Aktual Problemləri IV Beynəlxalq elmi konfransının materialları. – 2013-cü il. – 01-04 may. – № 4. – s. 524-528.

3. Etnosiyasi münaqişələrin həllində muxtariyyət məsələsinə dair // – AR-nın Təhsil Nazirliyi və ADU, Doktorantların və gənc tədqiqatçıların XVIII Respublika Elmi konfransının materialları. – 2013-cü il. – 19-20 dekabr. – № 38. – s. 515-517.

4. Azərbaycanın işğal olunmuş ərazilərində Ermənistanın məskunlaşma siyasəti: problemlər və yanaşmalar // – Azərbaycan Respublikasında miqrasiya siyasəti və insan hüquqları beynəlxalq konfransının tezislər toplusu. –2014-cü il. –10 aprel. – № 1. – s.150.

5. Türkiyə Ermənistan yaxınlaşma siyasəti: Azərbaycanın çıxarları və pozisyonu // – Süleyman Demirel Universiteti Küresel sorunlar və çözüm arayışları. 2. Uluslararası Davraz Kongresi. Isparta, Türkiyə Cümhuriyyəti. – 2014. –29-31 mayıs. –№ 2. – s. 1329-1354.

6. Unitar dövlətlərdə muxtar ərazi problemləri: baxışlar və mövqelər // – Bakı Dövlət Universitetinin “Beynəlxalq hüquq və inteqrasiya problemləri” elmi jurnalı. – 2014. – № 3 (39). –s. 352-355.

7. Dağlıq Qarabağ probleminin həllinə dair diplomatik danışıqların xüsusiyyətləri: formatlar, yanaşmalar və üsullar // – Bakı Dövlət Universitetinin “Beynəlxalq hüquq və inteqrasiya problemləri” elmi jurnalı. –2014. – № 4 (40). – s. 367-377.

8. Azərbaycanın işğal olunmuş ərazilərində qanunsuz məskunlaşma: hüquqi və siyasi aspektləri // – BDU-nun “Tarix və onun problemləri” elmi jurnalı. – 2015. – № 1. – s. 244-248.

9. Исторические корни Армяно-Азербайджанского конфликта: Политическая и правовая оценка // – International scientific journal Law and politology. Chisinau, Moldova.– 2015. – No. 32. – p. 75-81.

10. Beynəlxalq hüquqda etnosiyasi münaqişələrin həllinə dair nəzəri yanaşmalar // – Bakı Dövlət Universitetinin “Tarix və onun problemləri” elmi jurnalı 2019. –№ 1. – s. 216-219.

The defense will be held on 30 November 2021 at 11⁰⁰ at the meeting of the Dissertation Council FD 2.30 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Address: AZ 1001, Baku city, Lermontov str., 74.

The dissertation is accessible at the library of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Electronic versions of dissertation and its abstract are available on the official website of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The abstract was sent to the required addresses on 29 October 2021

Signed for print: 28.10. 2021

Paper format: A5

Volume: 40420

Number of hard copies: 20