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**ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE SOUTH CAUCASUS POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN  
FEDERATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD**

Specialty: 5502.01 – General history

Field of science: – History

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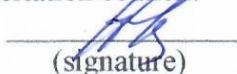
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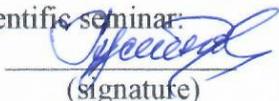
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## I.GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

**Relevance and elaboration of the topic.** The geopolitical role of the South Caucasus from the most ancient times to the present day has been uniquely important, both due to its potential and its geostrategic position. The South Caucasus region, located at the intersection of Europe and Asia, has been an active participant in the transit trade between the two continents, and this position remains to this day. Being at the center of the strategic interests of major world-class and regional powers, this region, which is of special importance due to its geopolitical and geoeconomic weight, is attracting the attention of states that have historically been rivals and are relatively new to the region. The South Caucasus region plays an important role in bringing its hydrocarbon resources, as well as the energy resources of Central Asia in general, to the European market. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the geopolitical turmoil that arose in all areas under its influence did not escape the South Caucasus. After the fall of the USSR, the ethnic conflicts that took place in the Caucasus region created the basis for the influence of the great powers trying to realize their international and regional interests in that area. As a clear proof of this, the Baltic states can be shown, since there is no conflict between them, the influence of foreign forces did not arise, and today these states can stand on an equal level with other states of the European Union. The current conflicts create an opportunity for power centers to emerge in the Caucasus. These power centers include the United States and the European Union, which have an international interest in the region, and Russia, Iran, and Turkey, which have a regional interest.

Although Russia did not fulfill the role of a superpower in the region after the Soviet empire, its influence in the region cannot be denied, because historically Russia was a powerful state in the Caucasus. The United States' international policy in the Caucasus and its cooperation with the independent states of the Caucasus are one of the main factors that worry Russia, and Russia has openly objected to it in certain cases of history. Z. Brzezinski noted that Russia is only a regional state in the region and does not have the status of a

superpower. For Russia, the Caucasus serves as a crossing point with its Asian rivals Turkey and Iran, as well as a gateway to Central Asia and Europe.

As for the USA, its energy policy related to the Caspian Sea was the reason for its strengthening in the Caucasus region. The countries of the Caucasus region, which had just declared their independence, were already a new strategic and geopolitical field for the United States. It was also a real factor to strengthen his policy against his rivals Russia and Iran in the region. Because the USA does not want the reunification of the Caucasus region with Russia, which could make it dependent on Russia in its energy policy and transit route to Central Asia.

As we know, in 1997, the USA declared the Caucasus and Central Asia as a zone of its national interests and a priority issue of its foreign policy. But all political players know that geostrategic success in the Caspian region cannot be achieved without controlling the South Caucasus. It is impossible to make new geopolitical developments in the South Caucasus, which increase the political weight of the region and have a radical impact on the modern international relations system, without taking into account the factor of Russia, which has been active in the region for nearly three centuries, without reckoning with it.

The location of the South Caucasus region between water basins such as the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, as well as states with constant interests in the region such as Russia, Iran and Turkey, makes it a strategic East-West and North-South transport and energy corridor. All these factors have historically turned the region into a battleground for these states. In the last 200 years, the Caucasus region has been under the control of Russia - we would not be mistaken. Even now, Russia pursues a multi-vector policy and uses all means of influence and pressure to keep the South Caucasus under its control, and in some cases it does not even hesitate to intervene militarily. In general, the foreign policy of the modern Russian Federation for the South Caucasus republics is multi-vector. This is mainly related to the different level of relations between Russia and the countries of the region. In the policy with Georgia, we sometimes show rudeness,

strategic alliance with Armenia, and stability with Azerbaijan. All this is happening at a time when NATO's activities are becoming more active in this important geostrategic region, which resembles the powder keg of the world.

There has not been a scientific work in the history of Azerbaijan that directly contains a comprehensive analysis of the Russian factor in the security issue of the South Caucasus region, the problems of military-technical and economic cooperation between the South Caucasus republics and Russia.

A comprehensive study of these issues, while contributing to filling a significant gap in the history of Azerbaijan, can have a positive effect on improving the work of establishing stability in the region, more effective protection of security and human rights, and deepening the constructive cooperation between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Russia for the realization of bilateral and multilateral relations at the appropriate level.

All these issues indicate how relevant the issues covering various aspects in the field of relations of the South Caucasian republics with the Russian Federation are for the science and practice of history.

The relevance of the dissertation topic is determined by the need for a comprehensive analysis of radical changes in the South Caucasus states - Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia - located in the immediate vicinity of the Russian borders.

The topicality of the topic is also determined by the fact that the South Caucasus is still one of the hotspots of the world, where unregulated inter-national and inter-ethnic conflicts continue, there is no socio-political stability in a number of countries, and there are territorial claims. The interests of a number of big states collide in the region, and the region has become a field of competition and mutual struggle between foreign powers. Each of these great powers has its own interests and goals in the South Caucasus.

All these issues stipulate that the study of the role of the Republic of Azerbaijan in this geopolitical space, the importance of the relations of the South Caucasus republics among themselves and in the Caspian region is important.

What has been said determines the relevance of the topic of the current dissertation. The relevance of the issues investigated in the research gives reason to assume that they will be studied by researchers in the future.

Currently, a large number of research works on the geopolitical space of the South Caucasus have been published worldwide. Many works are dedicated to Russia's relations with the republics in this region, the relations of these republics with each other, and the mutual relations of the great powers in the mentioned region. Z. Brzezinski can be mentioned as one of the foreign researchers studying the bilateral and multilateral relations of the republics in the region. In his analytical works, he emphasizes the strategic importance of the Caucasus and suggests Western countries to implement "geopolitical pluralism" taking into account the Russian factor in this region<sup>1</sup>.

However, the Russian factor in the security factor of the South Caucasus region, the issues of military and economic cooperation of Russia with these republics have hardly been investigated. It is true that some of our scientists have touched upon a number of aspects of the events taking place in the region. For example, N.Mammadov<sup>2</sup>, A.Abbasbeyli<sup>3</sup>, K.Mammadov<sup>4</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Бжезинский, З. Великая шахматная доска (The Grand Chessboard) / Пер. с англ. О. Ю. Уральская. – Москва: Международные отношения, – 1999. – 257 с.

<sup>2</sup> Məmmədov, N. Geosiyasətə giriş (İki cilddə) / N.Məmmədov. – Bakı: Azərbaycan, –2011. – 1000 s.

<sup>3</sup> Abbasbəyli, A. Dünya siyasəti (XX əsrin ikinci yarısı – XXI əsrin əvvəlləri) / A. Abbasbəyli. – Bakı: NURLAR Nəşriyyat-Poliqrafiya Mərkəzi, – 2011. –584 səh.; Abbasbəyli, A. Beynəlxalq münasibətlərin proqnozlaşdırılmasının nəzəri problemləri / A. Abbasbəyli. – Bakı: Şirvanəşr, – 2006. –348 s.; Abbasbəyli, A. Müasir dünyanın siyasi mənzərəsi / A. Abbasbəyli. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2008. – 276 s.

<sup>4</sup> Məmmədov, K. Birinci Dünya müharibəsindən sonra Antanta-Osmanlı münasibətləri (1918-1923) / K.Məmmədov. – Bakı, –2008. – 335 s.

H.Soltanova<sup>5</sup>, E.Nasibov<sup>6</sup> and others can be mentioned among those scientists. However, the mentioned problems were not formulated as a specific research object.

Since the geopolitical space of the South Caucasus is large-scale in terms of territory and covers the hotspots of the world, these or other aspects have been included in various research works. V. V. Degoyev studied the domestic and foreign policy of Russia during the reign of V. Putin and touched on the Caucasus issue here<sup>7</sup>. In another work, the Caucasian politics of the great powers and their historical roots were investigated<sup>8</sup>. I.V. Bocharnikov studied Russian-Caucasian relations from the early Middle Ages to the 20th century<sup>9</sup>.

At the beginning of the 20th century, I. Bagirova<sup>10</sup> analyzed the relations between the newly formed states in the South Caucasus, their position towards Russia, and showed that Armenia withdrew from these processes. In the researches of H. Verdiyeva<sup>11</sup>, we see that the Russian Empire did not give up its policy of brute force until the last days. E. Ismayilov's<sup>12</sup> articles examine the conflict between the great powers in

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<sup>5</sup> Soltanova, H.B. Yaxın və Orta Şərq ölkələrinin iqtisadi və sosial coğrafiyası: Dərslük / H.B.Soltanova, C.A.Məmmədov – Bakı: Bakı Universiteti, – 2008. – 304 s.

<sup>6</sup>Nəsibov, E. ABŞ və Türkiyənin Qafqaz geosiyasi regionunda strateji maraqları və Azərbaycan Respublikası / E.Nəsibov. – Bakı: Çıraq, –2000. – 312 s.; Nəsibov, E. Siyasət. I cild / E.Nəsibov. – Bakı: Təhsil EİM, – 2009. – 496 s.

<sup>7</sup> Дегоев, В.В. Большая игра на Кавказе: история и современность. Статьи, очерки, эссе / В.В. Дегоев. – Москва: SPSSL – «Русская панорама», – 2-е издание, расш. и дополн. – 2003. – 512 s.

<sup>8</sup> Дегоев, В.В. Большая игра на Кавказе: история и современность. Статьи, очерки, эссе / В.В. Дегоев. – Москва: SPSSL – «Русская панорама», – 2-е издание, расш. и дополн. – 2003. – 512 s.

<sup>9</sup>Бочарников, И.В. Кавказская политика России в X–XX веках / И.В.Бочарников. – Москва: Экон-информ, – 2013. – 255 с.

<sup>10</sup> Багирова, И. Интеграционные процессы на Южном Кавказе и политика великих держав в исторической ретроспективе XX века //– Кавказ & Глобализация, – 2007, – т. 1 (2).

<sup>11</sup> Вердиева, Х. Переселенческая политика Российской империи на Кавказе // Кавказ & Глобализация, – 2007, – т. 1 (5).

<sup>12</sup> Исмаилов, Э. Центральный Кавказ: от геополитики к геоэкономике / Э.Исмаилов, В.Папава. – Швеция: Sa&CCpress, – 2006. – 208 с.; Исмаилов, Э.

the Caucasus in the modern era. I. Huseinova<sup>13</sup> has conducted research on Heydar Aliyev's role in maintaining peace and stability in the Caucasus, which is part of the Greater Middle East. He showed that Heydar Aliyev, the architect of modern Azerbaijan, as a skilled connoisseur of pan-Caucasian cultural and spiritual values and mentality, performed important activities for the establishment of peace, cooperation and security in the Caucasus, and played an exceptional role in the development of important regional cooperation.

In the works of Azerbaijani researchers, mainly the mutual relations of the South Caucasus states, the internal and foreign policy of the regional states, geopolitical and geoeconomic issues in the South Caucasus region, the production of hydrocarbon resources of the Caspian Sea basin and their transportation to the world market, issues of cooperation between the states of the region with the European Union, the European Union's South Various aspects of Caucasian politics have been investigated.

While preparing the dissertation work, Heydar Aliyev's "Our independence is eternal", "The way of independence. The materials reflected in the "Selected Thoughts" books<sup>14</sup>, including the book "Azerbaijan's Caspian Oil"<sup>15</sup> by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, played an important role. In addition, the speeches and interviews of national leader Heydar Aliyev and President Ilham Aliyev formed the theoretical basis of the research. These fundamental works shed light on many events happening in the region,

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Полухов Э. Противостояние «старых» и «новых» игроков на политической карте Кавказа / Э.Исмаилов, Э.Полухов // Центральная Азия и Кавказ, – Швеция: – 2004. – №4. – с.22-21

<sup>13</sup> Hüseynova, İ. Müstəqilliyimizin təminatçısı / İ.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2003. – 504 s.; Hüseynova, İ. Müstəqil Azərbaycan dövlətinin qurucusu / İ.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Təhsil, – 2004. – 472 s.; Hüseynova, İ. Heydər Əliyev və Qafqazda sülh prosesi: Ali məktəblər üçün dərslik / İ.Hüseynova. – Bakı: Çarşıoğlu, – 2008. – 672 s.

<sup>14</sup> Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cildə] / H.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərnaşr, – c.1. – 1997. – 612 s.; Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqillik yolu. Seçilmiş fikirlər / red. Ə.Nəsonov. – Bakı: Azərbaycan Universiteti, –1997. – 136 s.

<sup>15</sup> Алиев И. Каспийская нефть Азербайджана. МОСКВА: Известия, 2003. <http://elibrary.bsu.az/yenii/ebookspdf/N7zKutJD.pdf>

explain the reasons for the events happening around the South Caucasus region, the Caspian Sea basin, and the objective relationship between the energy security strategies of many interesting power centers, including Russia and Western states, and their foreign policy activities.

The author widely used the works of Azerbaijani scientists Y. Mahmudov<sup>16</sup> and I. Huseynova<sup>17</sup>. During the research, the works of Russian scientists A.D. Chiganok<sup>18</sup>, I.V. Bocharnikov<sup>19</sup>, B.A. Isayev<sup>20</sup>, V.A. Kolosov<sup>21</sup> and others published on the relevant topic were referred to. Western authors Z. Brzezinski<sup>22</sup>, M. Williams<sup>23</sup>, F. Fernandez-Armesto<sup>24</sup>, S. Holdar<sup>25</sup> and other studies formed the theoretical basis of the dissertation. From the works of Georgian researchers - authors G. Zurabashvili<sup>26</sup>, V. Ramishvili<sup>27</sup>, V. Mgaloblishvili<sup>28</sup>, M.

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<sup>16</sup> Mahmudov, Y. İrəvan xanlığı / Y.Mahmudov. – Bakı: Azərbaycan, – 2010. – 463 s.

<sup>17</sup> Гусейнова, И. История народов Кавказа / И.Гусейнова. – Баку: Тахсил, – 2006. – 604 с.; Гусейнова, И. Историческая энциклопедия Кавказа / И.Гусейнова. – Баку: Чашыюглу, – 2010. – 956 с.

<sup>18</sup> Цыганок, А.Д. Война 08.08.08. Принуждение Грузии к миру / А.Д.Цыганок. – Москва: «Вече», – 2011. – 288 с.

<sup>19</sup> Бочарников, И.В. Кавказская политика России в X–XX веках / И.В.Бочарников. – Москва: Экон-информ, – 2013. – 255 с.

<sup>20</sup> Исаев, Б.А. Геополитика: Учебное пособие / Б.А.Исаев. – С-Пб.: Питер, – 2006. – 384 с.

<sup>21</sup> Колосов, В.А. Геополитика и политическая география: Учебник для вузов / В.А.Колосов, Н.С.Мироненко. – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2002. – 479 с.

<sup>22</sup>Бжезинский, З. Великая шахматная доска (The Grand Chessboard) / Пер. с англ. О. Ю. Уральская. – Москва: Международные отношения, – 2009. – 280 с.

<sup>23</sup> Williams M. To Pass On a Good Earth: The Life and Work of Carl O. Sauer. University of Virginia Press, – June 24, – 2014, – 288 p.

<sup>24</sup> Fernandez-Armesto F. Civilizations: Culture, Ambition, and the Transformation of Nature. – London: Free Press; First Edition edition, – 2001. – 560 p.

<sup>25</sup> Holdar S. The Ideal State and the Power of Geography. The Life-work of Rudolf Kjellen // Political Geography Quarterly. 1899. – vol. 11. – № 3. – p. 307-325.

<sup>26</sup>Зурабашвили, Г. Южный Кавказ на пути к Европе // Центральная Азия и Кавказ. Швеция, – 2004, – №4(34). – с.31-35

<sup>27</sup> Рамишвили, В. Армяно-грузинский спор: Джавахети или Джавахк? // Кавказ & Глобализация, – 2007, – т. 1 (5). – с. 15-25.

<sup>28</sup> Мгалоблишвили В.И. Отношения Грузии и США: ретроспективный анализ и ситуация на современном этапе. <http://pglu.ru/upload/iblock/87a/v.i.->

Gachechiladze<sup>29</sup>, from the works of Armenian authors Ch. Aghayan<sup>30</sup>, M. Nersisyan<sup>31</sup>, R. Yeganyan and N. Shahnazaryan<sup>32</sup>, G. Minasyan<sup>33</sup>, H. Khachatryan<sup>34</sup> and M. Grigoryan<sup>35</sup> works were used.

The author has studied official documents, reports of international organizations about the countries of the region, speeches and speeches of political leaders, various scientific works and articles, information from foreign periodicals and mass media in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Russia and other countries. The course and results of the Second Karabakh War were also analyzed by the author, and in this analysis, the statements, interviews and reports of international analytical centers were mainly referred to by the heads of state of Azerbaijan, Russia, Turkey and Iran.

**The object and subject of the research.** The object of the research work is Russia's relations with the South Caucasus states.

The subject of the research work is to approach all these relations from the perspective of the Republic of Azerbaijan and to investigate

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<sup>29</sup> Мариам Гачечиладзе. Грузинская диаспора в России и грузино-российские отношения. Исследовательский отчет. Caucasian House. 2016. 76 с.

[http://regional-dialogue.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Diaspora-ru-](http://regional-dialogue.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Diaspora-ru-PDF.pdf)

[PDF.pdf](http://regional-dialogue.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Diaspora-ru-PDF.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> Агаян, Ц.П. Роль России в исторических судьбах армянского народа / Ц.П.Агаян. – Москва: Наука, – 1978. – 311 с.

<sup>31</sup> История армянского народа древнейших времён до наших дней / Под ред. проф. М. Г. Нерсисяна.–Ереван: Издательство Ереванского университета, – 1980. – 454 с.

<sup>32</sup> Еганян Р., Шахназарян Н. Трудовая Миграция из Армении. Ереван – 2005. OSCE Office in Yerevan – Migration Literature Review <https://www.osce.org/ru/yerevan/25947?download=true>

<sup>33</sup> Минасян Г. Армения, российский форпост на Кавказе? - Ifri. Russie.Nei.Vision№27 fevral, 2008. [https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifri\\_rnv\\_minassian\\_armenie\\_russie\\_rus\\_fevr2008.pdf](https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifri_rnv_minassian_armenie_russie_rus_fevr2008.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> Khachatryan H. Russian Investments in Armenia: Their economic background and possible political impact. The journal Central Asia-Caucasus Institute.

<sup>35</sup> Marianna Grigoryan. Armenia: Russia Puts Squeeze on Migrant Workers. –New York, 2014. <https://eurasianet.org/node/68078>

and analyze the relevant issues based on the interests of the country.

**The goals and objectives of the dissertation.** The purpose of the dissertation is to reveal the subject of the research, to determine the characteristics of the traditional and new ways of security for the South Caucasus states, to show the role and importance of Russia and the Western states in ensuring peace in this geopolitical space, to analyze the initiatives of individual states, and to evaluate their practical importance.

In order to achieve the stated goals, the following main tasks were defined and performed:

- To determine the degree of security threats in the South Caucasus;
- To show the role and importance of the Russian Federation in settling conflicts in the region;
- To analyze the initiatives of Turkey, Iran and Western countries in ensuring security and peace in the South Caucasus region;
- To study the development dynamics and main directions of Russian-Azerbaijani relations;
- To show the agreement and differences of opinion arising in the positions of Azerbaijan and other states of the South Caucasus in the approaches to ensuring security with international organizations.

**Research methods.** The theoretical basis of the dissertation work is primarily the conceptual provisions put forward by the national leader Heydar Aliyev and the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev on the subject, as well as fundamental scientific works that study international relations and various aspects of this system of relations. The methodological basis of the research work is made up of universally accepted general and special scientific methods in the science of history. Comparative, structural-functional, historical-problem, systematic, formal-logical and other scientific methods were widely used in the research work. According to the author, the structural-functional approach allows to show the mutual influence of various structures as well as Russia and other big states. Based on the history-problem formulation of the issue, the dynamics of influence on the situation in the region is reflected in the dissertation. The content analysis method made it possible to take into account the essence of the

studied processes.

As the main methodological basis of the research, the scientific paradigms arising from the requirements of the current period and reflecting them have been focused on. All this made it possible to honestly determine the main scientific premises of the research, to apply the correct research methods, and to effectively evaluate the obtained results.

**Source database of research.** Archive materials (Political Documents Archive of the Affairs Department of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan<sup>36</sup>, the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan<sup>37</sup>, the electronic archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation<sup>38</sup>), the acts of the Caucasian Archeographic Commission<sup>39</sup>, the decision of Russia's rule in the Caucasus - a collection of 12 volumes of documents printed in honor of the 100th anniversary of the annexation of Georgia to Russia<sup>40</sup>,

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<sup>36</sup> Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin İşlər İdarəsinin Siyasi Sənədlər Arxivi, Fond №1, siyahı №1, iş №23, vərəq –2; Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin İşlər İdarəsinin Siyasi Sənədlər Arxivi, Fond №1, siyahı №1, iş №24, vərəq –7; Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin İşlər İdarəsinin Siyasi Sənədlər Arxivi, Fond №1, siyahı №1, iş №18, vərəq –14; Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin İşlər İdarəsinin Siyasi Sənədlər Arxivi, Fond №1, siyahı №3, iş №10, vərəq –18; Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin İşlər İdarəsinin Siyasi Sənədlər Arxivi, Fond №1, siyahı №33, iş №27, vərəq –2

<sup>37</sup> Azərbaycan-Rusiya 1992-2012. Sənədlər toplusu / Azərbaycan Respublikasının Xarici İşlər Nazirliyi; Rusiya Federasiyasının Bakıdakı Səfirliyi. – Bakı: Qoliaf, – 2012. – 776 s.; Azərbaycan Xarici İşlər Nazirliyinin Arxivi, Fond №26, siyahı №19, iş № 580, vərəq –7; Azərbaycan Xarici İşlər Nazirliyinin Arxivi, Fond №26, siyahı №19, iş № 951, vərəq –4

<sup>38</sup> Двусторонние договоры. – Москва, 2001 [http://www.mid.ru/foreign\\_policy/international\\_contracts/2\\_contract/-/storage-viewer/bilateral/page-207/46758](http://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/international_contracts/2_contract/-/storage-viewer/bilateral/page-207/46758)

<sup>39</sup> Акты, собранные Кавказской археографической комиссией. [В 12 т.]. – Тифлис, т. 2. –1868. – 1246 с.

<sup>40</sup> Утверждение русского владычества на Кавказе: К столетию присоединения Грузии к России. 1801-1901: [в 12 томах]. / Под рук. нач. Штаба Кавк. воен. окр. ген.-лейт. Н.Н. Белявского, сост. в Воен.-ист. отд. под ред. ген.-майора Потто. – Тифлис: тип. Я.И. Либермана: 1901-1908. [Гражданское управление Закавказьем: от присоединения Грузии до наместничества вел. кн. Михаила Николаевича: Ист. очерк / Сост. В.Н. Иваненко]. т.12. – 1901. – 527 с.

Volumes 42<sup>41</sup> and 45<sup>42</sup> of the complete collection of the works of V. I. Lenin, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR - a collection of documents related to foreign policy (1917-1941)<sup>43</sup>, bilaterally concluded between the Russian Federation and the countries of the South Caucasus (Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia) agreements on cooperation in defense, cultural and economic fields, as well as periodicals, statistical indicators, reports, social surveys, statements of heads of state and other officials form the source base of the research.

**The main provisions of the defense..** The main propositions of the dissertation research defended are as follows:

1. The newly independent states of the South Caucasus are in the process of being established, they are developing their strategies, and they are looking for a balance of interests among themselves, with Russia and other states.

2. The importance of the relations of the Republic of Azerbaijan with the Russian Federation is determined by the political and economic importance of the role that this northern neighbor of the country traditionally played and continues to play in the South Caucasus and Caspian region.

3. The South Caucasus region, where Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia are located, has played the role of competition and conflict between players such as Russia, Turkey and Iran on an effective and powerful imperial scale in the recent and distant past.

4. The leaders of Russia and Turkey believe that national interests in the South Caucasus region can be ensured only by making joint efforts and taking each other's interests into account. Besides, based on the geographical and historical facts, both states consider themselves to

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<sup>41</sup> Ленин, В.И. Полное собрание сочинений: [в 55 томах] / В.И. Ленин. – Москва: Издательство политической литературы, – т. 42. – 1970. – 633 с.

<sup>42</sup> Ленин, В.И. Полное собрание сочинений : [в 55 томах] / В.И. Ленин. – Москва: Издательство политической литературы, – т. 45. – 1970. – 730 с.

<sup>43</sup> Министерство Иностранных Дел СССР. Документы Внешней Политики СССР. т. 1. – Москва: Государственное Издательство Политической Литературы, – 1958. – 805 с.; Документы внешней политики. 1940–22 июня 1941. Т. XXIII: В 2 кн.—Кн. 1. Январь –октябрь 1940. – МОСКВА: Междунар. отношения, – 1995. – 752 с.

be the guarantors of the security of the mentioned region, actors responsible for the establishment of stability and peace in the Caucasus.

5. The Georgian-Russian war took place between two states, but it also affected other neighboring states - Azerbaijan and Armenia. Since the South Caucasus is a region with different political, economic and cultural characteristics, the impact of the war did not affect the region as a whole, but affected the states located in this geographical region individually at different levels.

6. After the events of 2008, the Republic of Georgia had political, geopolitical and economic risks as a transit state. It is extremely difficult to gain the trust of Georgia as a transit state, and it is impossible to fully restore this trust.

7. While Russia defends the joint ownership and collective use of the Caspian Sea by emphasizing both international law and environmental concerns, it actually tries to protect its influence on the borders of the former USSR and not to lose its strategic advantage. Another goal that Moscow wants to achieve is to turn the Caspian Sea into a disputed and dangerous region, prevent the entry of Western investment into the region, and realize the energy production and transit monopoly of the region through its national companies.

8. Armenia, whose borders with Turkey were closed in 1993, was able to get rid of the blockade only thanks to Russia and Iran. This country signed a strategic cooperation agreement with Russia in 1997. With V. Putin's coming to power, this was developed in the CSTO, and later in the Eurasian Union, which is considered its logical continuation, and turned into a strategic alliance. Armenia decided to join the CSTO after the parliamentary tragedy in 1999. Until that time, if Armenia made independent statements, even a little, and tried to make maneuvers in the direction of the West, later this state began to build its foreign policy entirely within the framework of Moscow's interests.

9. In modern times, the solution of political disagreements usually depends on the establishment of mutually beneficial economic cooperation. After a long period when Russia-Georgia economic relations were practically destroyed, there is a chance to establish a new system of mutual relations between these two countries in the economic sphere on a geo-economic and geopolitical basis.

**The scientific novelty of the research.** The scientific novelty of the study is that for the first time, the history of cooperation between the states of the South Caucasus region and Russia, the most modern and recent past in terms of security, economic, and military relations was studied, and economic analysis and political analysis were presented in a related manner.

Specifically, the following new **results** were obtained in the study:

- the relations between Russia and the South Caucasus republics were investigated within the framework of the general security policy, and the problems existing in this system of relations were indicated;

- The development dynamics of Russian-Azerbaijani relations were analyzed and the main directions of these relations were determined;

- issues of security cooperation with states showing interest in the region were studied;

- the factors influencing the policy of the country's administration in the region were investigated;

- Forecasts on the future prospects of Georgian-Russian relations were presented.

- Economic, political, military-technical relations between Russia and Armenia were analyzed

**Theoretical and practical significance of the research.** The research materials and its main propositions can be used in future research on the topic. The materials, conclusions and provisions of the dissertation work can be used by experts dealing with history, ethnography, geopolitics problems in the field of international relations.

The results, provisions and materials of the research work can be used in the development and teaching of political science, geopolitics, conflict science, world and regional politics, security, regional studies and other general and special courses.

Dissertation materials are used in advanced courses, in international relations courses for higher and secondary schools and history faculties, as well as in history, philosophy, political science, culture, ethics, religious studies, journalism, psychology and other socio-humanitarian faculties of this specialty, separate sections can be

used in processing.

The research work can be used in the teaching of history, international relations, and in the preparation of textbooks.

The results of the dissertation can be used in author's lectures on history and international relations in all faculties of BSU, in many faculties of other universities, and in conducting seminars.

**Chronological framework of the researched work.** The chronological framework of the dissertation covers issues of cooperation and peace from 1990 to 2022. In the research work, the road to independence and its achievement after 1989, the chronological reflection of the peace and cooperation measures carried out until the most modern period, the Second Karabakh war and its consequences are reflected in the research work.

**Approbation and application.**

The main content of the dissertation and the main conclusions of the research are reflected in the published scientific articles and electronic articles on the topic. 7 articles containing the main provisions and results of the presented work were published in scientific journals, including 2 published abroad, his speeches were reflected in the materials of 3 local and foreign scientific-practical conferences.

**Name of the organization where the dissertation was carried out.** The thesis was held at the department of “History of the Caucasian peoples” in Baku State University.

**The total volume of dissertation.** The dissertation consists of an Introduction, three chapters, ten subchapters, Conclusion, Literature used.

Introduction 21440, Chapter I 44550, Chapter II 99608, Chapter III 84645, Conclusion 9577, bibliography 42210. As a whole, the dissertation is viewed from 303911 characters.

## **II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION**

In the introduction, the relevance of the researched topic is justified, the degree of scientific investigation of the problem is analyzed, the subject, goals and tasks of the research, as well as methods are defined, scientific novelty, theoretical and practical importance are explained. The historical roots of Russia's South Caucasus policy are

examined in Chapter I of the dissertation. This chapter consists of two sub-chapters.

**In the first subchapter**, the period from the Caspian campaign of Peter I of Tsarist Russia to the February revolution of 1917 was given. Here, as a result of the Georgievsk Treaty, the annexation of Kartli Kakheti to Russia and the pressures on the Georgian royal family before and after this unification, the placement of Armenians in the South Caucasus due to the Turkmenchay and Kichic Gaynarja treaties, the relocation of Armenians, the ethnic map of Georgia as well as Azerbaijan was changed, from Armenians to both Azerbaijanis and Georgians. used against, the Russian Empire's policy of discrimination against the Muslim peoples of the South Caucasus, the issues of terrorist activities of the Armenian organizations Dashnaksutyun and Gnchak in the region at the end of the 19th century.

**The second subchapter** covers the period from the October coup of 1917 to the collapse of the USSR. In this sub-chapter, along with the relations between the independent republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, which emerged in the South Caucasus after the fall of the Russian Empire, and Soviet Russia, which does not want to recognize them because it considers them its own territory, and which wants to restore the former borders of the Russian Empire with the slogans of communism, socialism, and internationalism, "indivisible Russia" The attitude of Denik's government, which threatened to invade the South Caucasus under the slogan, was also discussed, and cooperation between Azerbaijan and Georgia against this common enemy was shown<sup>44</sup>.

Disagreements between the Bolsheviks on the issue of the status of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia occupied by Soviet Russia, the intensification of disputes on this issue on the eve of the formation of the ZSFSR, strong protests that began among the Bolsheviks of Georgia, on the eve of collectivization and the creation of collective farms, unlike other allied republics, in the republics of the South

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<sup>44</sup> Багирова, И. Интеграционные процессы на Южном Кавказе и политика великих держав в исторической ретроспективе XX века //– Кавказ & Глобализация, – 2007, – т. 1 (2).

Caucasus a more prudent policy has been investigated. Also, the plans of the USSR, England, France, and Germany, which were the main players of that time, about the South Caucasus, on the eve of and during the Second World War, were given.

In the post-World War II period, Azerbaijan's stepmother attitude compared to neighboring Georgia and Armenia is shown with statistical indicators, and the consequences of M. Gorbachev's "reconstruction" policy, which opened the arms of the separatists, are analyzed.

After the collapse of the USSR, especially after H. Aliyev and E. Shevardnadze came to power, joint resistance of Azerbaijan and Georgia against Russian pressures was shown.

**The second chapter of the thesis** is called "**The Russian factor in the security issue of the South Caucasus region**". The chapter consists of four sub-chapters. **In the first subchapter** devoted to "**Russia's role in the conflicts in the South Caucasus and the resistance of the independent republics of Azerbaijan and Georgia to its policy**", the Russian Federation resorted to all means to keep the former union republics within its sphere of influence, using the ethnic conflicts that arose in the post-Soviet space, the already independent ones indirect pressure on these states is analyzed. It is known that since Russia came to the Caucasus, it treated Armenians with special sympathy and made all kinds of concessions to them. The conflicts of Nagorno-Karabakh and Abkhazia prove that the special attitude of the Russian central government towards Armenia was in return for what they did against the Caucasian peoples throughout history. On the eve of the erasure of the former Soviet Union from the political map of the world, the Armenians assumed the role of a political tool to prevent the independence aspirations of the South Caucasus republics. In other words, whatever services this nation provided to the great powers in the previous times, it again began to carry out that mission masterfully. In the semi-chapter, it is noted that the current goal of Russia's Caucasus policy is to limit the threats to its historical, political, military and economic interests in the Caucasus and the activities of the West and Turkey, partly Iran, in the Caucasus, which threaten these interests, to eliminate the tendencies of the new states towards its rivals, to create an independent Central Asia. to prevent the formation of regional

cooperation or an uncontrolled Caucasian cooperation in any way and to force the newly formed states to take into account the interests of Russia.

In the next **subchapter** - "Russia's competition and cooperation with Turkey and Iran in the South Caucasus", the relations of Azerbaijan's northern neighbor with the other two big states of the region were analyzed. Here it is shown that after the election of V. Putin as President in Russia and R.T. Erdogan as Prime Minister in Turkey, a new phase of bilateral relations has begun, allowing the two countries to move from mutual cooperation to a comprehensive partnership. As a result, in 2001-2011, mutually beneficial partnership relations developed between Russia and Turkey, and practically all fields - political, economic, military-technical, trade, cultural, etc. covered. However, especially in the economic and technological fields, as well as in the direction of expanding tourism, cooperation was developing more actively. The meetings of V. Putin and R.T. Erdogan held in Ankara in August 2009 should be specially emphasized. At this meeting, the parties signed a large package of documents that led to a historic event, including an agreement on cooperation in the field of atomic energy, as well as preparations for conducting negotiations on the more serious and important "Southern Corridor" gas pipeline and "Samsun-Ceyhan" oil pipeline projects. issue was discussed.

The half-chapter also analyzes Iran's relations with the states of the South Caucasus region. There are no serious disagreements in these relations. Iran exhibits more friendly and friendly neighborly relations with Armenia, then with Azerbaijan, where there are facts that unite and divide both sides, and in third place with Georgia, with which it has rather difficult and ambiguous relations.

**The third sub-chapter, which deals with the Russian-Georgian war in August 2008 and its impact on the security of the region, examines the causes and consequences of the August war.** In 1993, Georgia agreed to keep four Russian military bases on its territory. In exchange for this agreement, Russia had to support official Tbilisi in Georgia's struggle with the separatist forces of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. In 1993, this South Caucasus country became a member of the CIS and the Collective Security Treaty Organization as a result

of Russia's assistance to Georgia in regaining control over South Ossetia and Abkhazia. But only six years later, Georgia completely changed its mind and left the Collective Security Treaty Organization in 1999. At the same time, Russia began to make demands for the removal of military bases from the territory of Georgia.

The author shows that in the summer of 2008, relations between Georgia and South Ossetia became acute again. As a result, there was a skirmish between the armed forces of Georgia and South Ossetia near Skhinvali. South Ossetian authorities organized the evacuation of most of the population to North Ossetia. Armed military units were ordered to be in a state of high combat readiness. In parallel with these processes, official Tbilisi began to withdraw its troops from the central regions of the country. Georgian troops began bombing Skhinvali in the night of August 8 to restore the territorial integrity of the country, and about three hours later tanks attacked the city. On August 12 - the fifth day of the war, the President of the Russian Federation, D. Medvedev, made a decision to stop military clashes and ensure peace. Yarımfəsildə qeyd edilir ki, ərazisində döyüşlər gedən Gürcüstan müharibənin ən çox mənfi təzahürləri ilə üzləşən ölkə oldu. Bu dövlət Cənubi Osetiyada suverenliyini nəinki bərpa edə bildi, üstəlik öz ərazilərini də itirdi və bu ərazilər müvəqqəti olsa da, rus hərbiçilərinin nəzarəti altına keçdi. Yarımfəsildə avqust müharibəsinin nəticələrinin Azərbaycana və Ermənistana olan mənfi təsiri ilə bağlı da təhlillər aparılmışdır.

**The last chapter of Chapter II - "Russia's position and mediation mission in the Second Karabakh War"** deals with mediation issues of Russia, which is the co-chair of the Minsk Group, in the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. As it is known, the efforts of the OSCE Minsk Group, co-chaired by Russia, France and the United States, towards the resolution of the conflict from 1992 to September 27, 2020 (i.e., the start of counter-offensive operations by the Azerbaijani armed forces along the entire front) it didn't work. During this period, the Turkey-Azerbaijani-Israel alliance against the Russia-Armenia-Iran alliance had already started to form in the region. It was these alliances that showed the world community that the problem is not based on religious conflict as Armenia wants to present.

In the half-chapter, Russia's position during the 44-day Second

Karabakh War and after the November 10 declaration, the issues of the mediation mission were examined. According to the agreement signed with the end of the 44-day war, Russia received the right to maintain a military contingent on the territory of Azerbaijan even under the status of peacekeepers (there are 23 observation posts in the control area of Russian peacekeepers, and four additional posts monitor the safety of movement along the Lachin corridor) and partially achieved the goal.

The semi-chapter notes that this mediation was necessary for Russia to restore its damaged international reputation, to show that the control mechanism of events in the post-Soviet space is still in hand. Also, the part of the transport corridor, which is supposed to be opened in paragraph 9<sup>45</sup> of the Armistice declaration, passing through the territory of Armenia, has increased its influence in this direction by passing directly under the control of Russia.

In general, if we look at the statements made by the Western countries, especially France, during the war, it seemed that Azerbaijan's choice of mediator among the co-chairs of the OSCE was not great, and it was not known in which direction the events would develop if Russia was kept out of the game. Because if we pay attention to the root of the conflict, it was not realistic to solve this problem created under the direct control of Russia without its participation. An example of this is the Paul Goble plan, which was discussed from 1992 to the beginning of the 2000s and failed due to Russia's efforts.

**The third chapter of the scientific work is called "Cooperation between Russia and the South Caucasus states in the military-technical and economic sphere".** The first sub-chapter entitled "Importance of the energy and transport corridor passing through the South Caucasus in the economic and political interests of Russia" provides information about the energy and transport corridors passing through the South Caucasus. The author presents the characteristic features of these corridors, analyzes their distinctive features and also the main principles of their implementation. In

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<sup>45</sup>Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti, Ermənistan Respublikasının baş naziri və Rusiya Federasiyasının Prezidentinin Bəyanatı: [Elektron resurs] / Bakı, noyabr 10, 2020. URL: <https://president.az/az/articles/view/45923>

addition to being of great geostrategic importance in the context of the location of the South Caucasus in a geographically favorable position, the geo-economic importance of the region is no less. The Caucasus is a profitable source of raw materials for countries with strong economies, including Russia. Azerbaijan's hydrocarbon resources have always been a priority issue of great importance for Tsarist Russia and later for the Soviet Union. Of course, Russia is jealous of oil and gas pipeline routes that are implemented without its participation and bypassing Russian territory, and the desire to gain a dominant position increases the value of the South Caucasus for Russia.

As a tool of pressure against the Central Asian states and Azerbaijan in the strategic issue of the energy corridor, Russia's main goal is to influence the prices, at least to a certain extent, by controlling the point where energy resources will be exported.

In the semi-chapter, it is noted that the status problem of the Caspian Sea is one of Russia's means of influencing the oil of the Caucasus, which sometimes leads to tension between the Caspian states - Azerbaijan-Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan-Iran. The problem of the status of the Caspian Sea arose due to the fact that the allied republics located on the Caspian coast and included in the former USSR gained independence in 1991 and began to extract their hydrocarbon resources.

On the whole, Russia did not make significant corrections in the traditional Caucasian policy, but had to carry out transformations only due to the necessity of certain strategic changes. It is clear that Russia, which has lost its sea connection to the West with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and the main part of its connection to the Black Sea with Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova, will not agree to let the Caucasus completely fall out of its hands. It is obvious that Russia cannot fully control the events observed in the region in today's complex international situation - when heavy economic sanctions are implemented against it.

The second sub-chapter of the chapter entitled "Military-technical and economic relations between Azerbaijan and Russia" analyzes the main directions of mutual relations between the two countries and it is noted that as a result of the successful foreign policy implemented by Heydar Aliyev starting in 1993, relations between Azerbaijan and

Russia based on strategic partnership began to be established. After

V. Putin was elected as the President of the Russian Federation, a new page was opened in Russian-Azerbaijani relations. On January 9, 2001, the President of Russia paid an official visit to Azerbaijan for the first time. During the visit, the "Baku Declaration on the Principles of Ensuring the Development of Security and Cooperation in the Caucasus" and the Declaration on the Principles of Cooperation in the Caspian Sea were signed<sup>46</sup>.

The author notes that reliable relations between Azerbaijan and Russia are a factor of stability in the region, and military cooperation between the two countries meets the interests of both parties. Despite the conflict between its close ally Armenia and Azerbaijan, Russia has not only stopped military cooperation with Azerbaijan, but continues to expand it. In 2017, the delivery of modern military equipment to Azerbaijan continued. Weapons, ammunition and other military-technical equipment arrived from Russia. The new set of combat vehicles was delivered in accordance with the agreement on military-technical cooperation between the two countries. This military equipment - a large number of shells, rockets and other military equipment is designed for accurate destruction of combat vehicles, engineering installations, manpower and other objects with appropriate rocket-artillery systems.

The subchapter shows that Azerbaijan is interested in maintaining the traditional friendly neighborly and partnership relations while maintaining a balanced political course in its relations with Russia. The biggest threat to the relations between the two countries is the military aggression of Armenia, a military-strategic ally of Russia, on the territory of Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation's interest in protecting the status quo in this conflict.

**The third sub-chapter of this chapter is called "Armenia as an outpost of Russia in the South Caucasus".** Here, the problems of the resettlement of Armenians to the Caucasus by Russia and thus the establishment of a strong alliance between these two peoples from the

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<sup>46</sup> Azərbaycan Xarici İşlər Nazirliyinin Arxivi, Fond №26, siyahı №19, iş № 580, vərəq –7

19th century are presented, and it is shown that the tense relations of Armenians with the local peoples in the region, tsarism and later the USSR, which continued this policy, against the Turkish-Muslim population. as a result of the electoral and persecution policy, including the most active use of Armenians in carrying out genocides and deportations against Azerbaijanis, the South Caucasus region has become one of the regions where ethnic and national conflicts have arisen and expanded.

The subchapter emphasizes that the Russian-Armenian alliance is conditioned by several factors. Mainly due to the fear of Turkey and Azerbaijan, Armenia, which is a member of organizations such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization and the Eurasian Union under the leadership of Russia, has sacrificed its economic and political independence, although it has received investments, fuel and weapons at discounted prices. However, Russian economists themselves admit that these investments in Armenia are made not because they are economically profitable, but because of geopolitical interests<sup>47</sup>.

The researcher believes that despite close cooperation and concessions, Armenia could not get a guarantee from the Collective Security Treaty Organization under the leadership of Russia that this organization would help it in case of a war with Azerbaijan. This can also be called a diplomatic victory of Azerbaijan. Because even though our country did not join this organization, by establishing bilateral relations with its member states, it was able to limit Armenia's maneuverability in both the military and economic fields and neutralize it. In this matter, the close friendly relations between the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and the heads of states that are members of that organization played an important role.

According to the author, the participation of only Russia among the co-chairs of the Minsk Group in the November 10 Declaration declaring the end of the 44-day war, the deployment of Russian peacekeepers in Karabakh during the post-war period, and the

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<sup>47</sup> Российская Академия Наук. Институт Экономики. Социально-экономическое развитие постсоветских стран: Итоги двадцатилетия / Под общей ред. Л.Б.Вардомского. – Москва: ИЭ РАН, – 2012. – 400 с.

participation of Turkish and Russian military personnel in the Joint Monitoring Center for monitoring the ceasefire prove that the West wants to resolve this conflict, and the plans to strengthen in the Caucasus have not been fulfilled. It should be emphasized that the other two co-chairs of the Minsk Group, the United States and France, which have the authority to resolve the conflict directly, did not participate in this process. Russia fulfilled its mission as an independent mediator and organized the signing of the tripartite statement on November 10.

The last sub-chapter of the third chapter - "Future prospects of Georgian-Russian relations" talks about the possibility of establishing a new system of mutual relations between these two countries in the economic sphere on a geo-economic and geopolitical basis after a long period of practically destroyed Russian-Georgian economic relations.

It is noted in the work that although there were political difficulties between Russia and Georgia in the 90s of the 20th century, economic relations were expanding. Thus, during this period, more than 90 bilateral intergovernmental agreements were signed, including agreements on the development of trade and economic cooperation, on free trade (1994), and on the elimination of double taxation (1999)<sup>48</sup>.

The author believes that during the reign of E. Shevardnadze in Georgia, relations between Russia and Georgia were relatively more stable. Georgian President E. Shevardnadze, who was defeated in Abkhazia in 1992-1993, understood that he could settle the problem of territorial integrity only peacefully. Therefore, he necessarily used the help of Russian peacekeeping forces in the hope of solving this problem.

The semi-chapter expresses the idea that relations between Russia and Georgia, which were actually completely severed as a result of the August war, are being restored over time. Mutual rapprochement in bilateral relations affects almost all spheres of life. However, there are

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<sup>48</sup>Соглашение между Правительством Российской Федерации и Правительством Грузии об избежании двойного налогообложения и предотвращении уклонения от уплаты налогов в отношении налогов на доходы и имущество от 4 августа 1999 года.  
[https://base.spinform.ru/show\\_doc.fwx?rgn=6650](https://base.spinform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=6650)

still no diplomatic relations between the two countries. On August 21, 2018, the Ministry of Justice of Georgia applied to the European Court of Human Rights against Russia. In the interstate lawsuit "Georgia against the Russian Federation", it is required to determine Russia's responsibility for the violation of a number of articles of the European Convention on Human Rights by Russia.

**In Conclusion** of the dissertation work, the author summarizes all proposals, as well as puts forward theoretical and practical recommendations based on the work done.

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

1. Cənubi Qafqaz siyasətində enerji resursları bir amil kimi // Azərbaycan Təhsil Nazirliyi doktorantların və gənc tədqiqatçıların XIX Respublika elmi konfransının materialları, – Bakı, 2015. – s. 319-323.
2. Armenian-Turkish relation and geopolitical position of South Caucasus // İnternational scientific journal Law and politology. Moldova, Chisinau: -2015,- mart,- № 29.- s, 56-60.
3. Rusiya geosiyasətində Qafqazdan keçən enerji dəhlizinin əhəmiyyəti // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2015. № 4, – s. 280-285.
4. Rusiya Federasiyasının Ermənistan ilə hərbi-iqtisadi əlaqələri // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2016. № 4, – s. 249-253.
5. Müasir dövrdə Azərbaycan-Rusiya əlaqələri // Qafqaz böyük sarsıntılar şəraitində: Tarixi təcrübə, müasir dövr və perspektivlər. Tezislər,- Bakı -2017.- s. 42
6. Gürcüstanla Rusiya arasında iqtisadi əlaqələr // – Bakı: Dirçəliş – XXI əsr, – 2017. № 183, – s. 160-166.
7. Müasir dövrdə Rusiya-Gürcüstan əlaqələri // – Bakı: Geostrategiya, – 2018. № 2(44), mart-aprel, – s. 62-64.
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- avqust, – s. 121-124.
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