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**WESTERN ORIENTATION IN THE AZERBAIJAN'S
FOREIGN POLICY**

MASTER THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to study complex nature of the Azerbaijani Foreign policy and to analyze relations of Azerbaijan with other countries in regional and global context in order to determine which countries are more prioritized. The author concluded that the balanced Foreign policy is no longer pursued and its orientation is now changed towards West. The study had also determined the reasons behind the Western orientation. Thesis concluded that Azerbaijan pursues economic integration with the West as well as sustains political dominance in the South Caucasus region.

Keywords: Foreign policy, the South Caucasus, economic integration, international relations.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, based on the sources and literature listed in the appended bibliography. The thesis as submitted is 92 444 keystrokes long (including spaces),
i.e. 55 manuscript pages.

Nigar Farajullayeva

Your signature

Date: 31.07.2012

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INTRODUCTION

“How can I play baseball when I'm worried about foreign policy?”

— Charles M. Schulz, *The Complete Peanuts*, Vol. 6: 1961-1962

As one of the first soviet states gaining independence, Azerbaijan was undergoing intensive changes in its domestic and foreign policies during the last 20 years. Located on the crossroads of important transport routes for Central Asian natural resources such as gas and oil, the country is surrounded by Russia to the north, Iran to the south and Turkey to the west providing possibilities to transport Caspian oil to Europe without passing through Russia or Iran. Azerbaijan deserves special consideration as a pivotal country with the largest population in the South Caucasus. Today this secular state with Muslim majority has close contacts with the Islamic world, while it is simultaneously influenced by neighbouring Christian countries oriented towards Western culture.

The Caucasus-Caspian region has become the epicentre of large-scale events such as Russian-Georgian War of 2008 along with the ongoing conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. In this region, one may observe the clash between local, regional and global political interests of Russia, Western Europe, USA, as well as the powerful nations of the East - Iran, Turkey and other nations aspiring to the role of regional leaders. The growing attention to the region indicates China and Japan. All of this undertakes the Caucasus-Caspian regional system of political relations as geopolitical "locus" of several large-scale projects that require cooperation of the entire continent (Burov 2008).

In connection with the above-mentioned settings in the Caspian-Caucasus region, Azerbaijan found itself in the environment where the traditionally pursued balancing foreign policy could no longer be maintained. Therefore here comes the need for analysis and reassessment of Azerbaijani foreign policy. *The thesis will argue that the focus of the foreign policy of Azerbaijan has shifted towards the West or that foreign policy of Azerbaijan has obtained the Western orientation.* There are two main objectives of this thesis

- to examine the main determinants of the foreign policy of Azerbaijan in order to disclose its context .
- to examine the interactions of Azerbaijan with other countries within the regional and global context in order to determine actual priorities of the state.

To achieve the following objectives it is crucial to take into consideration the level of analysis. This thesis uses the complex approach with understanding of the systemic concept of international interdependency since not every theory may explain certain behavior of the state; therefore author includes its own theoretical framework based on chronological sequence of events than one may refer to as basis of interdependence and interaction between the states in both regional and global context. The relations are to be evaluated from the prospect of Azerbaijan pursuing its own interest (Troianiello 1999).

The author uses empirico-analytical approach for conducting the research. The methodological basis of the thesis consists from primary resources such as Constitution of Azerbaijan Republic, Official speeches of President, along with supplement official agreements and secondary sources, which include scholar works and essays, studies, articles, and interviews regarded to the study of the foreign policy.

Chronological analysis of the problems of this thesis covers the period from 19-21st century since this period had notably influenced the formation of the national identity of Azerbaijanis and subsequently the shaping of the current one.

Given work consists of three chapters. The first chapter namely the Determinants of the Azerbaijan's foreign policy constitutes the theoretical part of thesis. It defines the determinants which influenced foreign policy making and analyzes the contribution of the Russian Empire, the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic, and the Soviet Union along with causes of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on the formation of national identity of Azerbaijanis. Second chapter evaluates the foreign policy-making under the two Presidents; Heydar and Ilham Aliyev. The foreign policy making of two presidents is analyzed within the regional context in order to draw the difference and the shift in foreign policy toward the West. The final chapter looks at the perspectives of the western orientation of the foreign policy by analyzing the relations between Azerbaijan, EU and U.S.

1. FOREIGN POLICY DETERMINANTS

The foreign policy of any state is defined by multiple determinants including the level of socio-political and socio-economic development, geographical location, and provision of sovereignty, national interests and many others (Morgenthau and Thomspson 1993). The formation of national interests is a long historic process carried out in a complex of economic, social, national and psychological factors that together determine the content of national historic heritage of the country. Formation of the national interests is often associated in accordance with the geopolitical characteristics, resource capabilities of the state, the level of economic development and the place of the country in the world community (Bertsch 2000). The national interest can not exist independently of consciousness of the carriers; the two have a close connection with the national identity and there can find the reflection in the foreign policy-making of the country. (Harrison and Huntington 2000; Smith 2010).

(Rosenau 1971) identified traditional determinants of the foreign policy-making such as size, level of economic development, type of political regime. (Allison 1971) explains the context of the foreign policy-making as a clash or coordination of the interests of different

groups. According to these statements different interest groups as formal and informal begin to lobbying their own interests in order to achieve the target. Lobbying of the particular interests is often generates corruption of the government institutions and might lead to the wrong foreign-policy decisions since it affects both democracy and economy of the country. Often foreign policy decisions are developed according to the 'Groupthink' concept (Janis 1983). One of the important phenomenon according to the 'Groupthink' is shift of the choice due to the tendency of the group members to make less risky decisions in comparison to the average individual decision of the same group. Another phenomenon in the 'Groupthink' considered with disregard of the information. As a result the group may find itself in self-constructed framework and it may affect the real picture of the problem. One can refer to determinant mentioned by (Richardson 1978) within the confines of psychological approach in order to outline personal characteristics of the leader or group participant who is responsible for the decision making and thus influence the foreign policy. This phenomenon can be applied to the authoritarian style of government where individual or group is responsible for the foreign policy decisions.

(Richardson 1978) defines five theoretical streams which explain the decision making process with regard to foreign policy such as: rational choice, psychology, institutional, systemic and interaction approaches. According to rational choice theory decision making process includes stages such defining the problem, choice of the goal and the best suitable alternatives. Moreover every stage is defined by quality and quantity. In accordance with this (Shelling 1981) emphasizes role of political objectives and national interests while evaluating the rational choice. While systemic approach suggests evaluating foreign policy decision in accordance with the context of international relation and world politics. Along with systemic approach one may consider the *interaction* defined by (Richardson 1978) especially in the context of the conflicts, since aggressive behavior of one state may influence the decision of the other and deteriorate the relations between two states.

Thereby, the text concludes that determinants of the foreign policy has a complex nature and depend on many variables, as well as various level of analysis. These determinants in the context of foreign policy are explained by the fact that each nation-state in the international arena is seeking to realize its own interest. The concept of national interest remains in the category of abstract and subjective notions due to the fact that its parameters are determined by system of values prevailing in particular society and state. (Smith 2010). By application of the above-mentioned layout, we can conclude that the foreign policy of the state can be analyzed through defining its determinants. By defining the determinants it is possible to argue about the nature of orientation in the foreign policy which is reflected in the prioritization of relations with some countries rather than others which is explained by the *interaction* phenomenon. Therefore this thesis is using systemic analysis following the sociology of international relations including the factors of leadership, national identity, economy, political regime national interests, culture, religion, education, economy along with external factors affecting on such as influence of conquerors or global players in the country and in the region.

This chapter serves as a theoretical framework for the following parts of the thesis and is composed in order to trace what determines the current foreign policy of Azerbaijan and from where comes the aspiration to move towards the West. Furthermore the text will specify chronological development of Azerbaijani national identity from the period of the beginning of 19th century until the Sovietization of Azerbaijan in 1991. The chapter covers Azerbaijan's interactions with its neighbors and empires, socio-political and economic development, historic events, education, religious and cultural aspects that influenced the formation of the national identity and respectively finds its reflection in the present foreign policy-making. In addition the chapter provides contributions of thinkers, philosophers, educators and political activists of the indicated period.

There are different opinions regarding the determinants of the foreign policy of Azerbaijan.(Altstadt 2002) refers to emergence of Azerbaijan Democratic Republic of 1918

stating that it had played significant role in shaping of the current national identity concerned with democratic development in accordance with western model of democracy. (Swietochowski 1985) as one of the specialist on Soviet Caucasus, emphasizes the role of the Russian conquest in Azerbaijan as a road towards modernization in a Muslim society, and the emergence of corruption and bureaucracy. One may describe socio-political environment as well as development of the political party system in Azerbaijan as one of the main indicators which have shaped foreign policy priorities towards western civilizations. (Shaffer 2002 and Ismailzade 2006) refer to the economic boom which started from signing the Contract of the Century in 1994 and has played significant role in westernization of the Azerbaijan in economic terms since it connected Azerbaijan with number of Western energy firms and changed the life of its citizens.

Yet other scholar as (Suleymanov 2001) argues that the stay under Soviet Union has not affected the identity as severely as it was expected. (Tokluoglu 2005) explains that Azerbaijani identity and foreign policy had a close contact and religious affinity with Turkey since two share the same language and culture. Foreign policy of Azerbaijan was also referred to as pipeline diplomacy and explained as a “strategic commodity” by (Bahgat 2011). He explained oil and gas of Azerbaijan as a tool the country uses in order to regulate relations with other countries. Another approach is found by (Waal 2003). He points out the role of Nagorno Karabakh Conflict with Armenia which played an important role in shaping the national identity along with search of recognition of territorial integrity in the West to return the occupied territories. (Cornell 2011) emphasizes the importance of leadership of Azerbaijani presidents such as Abulfaz Elchibay and Heydar Aliyev in early 1990s as a main drive behind every ideological and political transformation that affected the formation of the foreign policy in the long-term.

1.1 DEVELOPMENT OF AZERBAIJANI NATIONAL IDENTITY UNDER THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Azerbaijan has gone through various changes in the course of its history. Before the text will analyze the origins of the Western aspirations it is vital to point out that Azerbaijan has been under Arabic, Persian, Ottoman, and Russian rule over the past few decades. (Cornel 2011) calls Azerbaijan a “laboratory” where Western and Islamic cultures are being developed and the same time preserving its own traditions. Azerbaijanis are officially celebrating Novruz Bayram (Iranian New Year), as well as the New Year according to Gregorian calendar, and Qurban Bayramı (Islamic New Year).¹

The steady process of “westernization” on the territory of Azerbaijan started in 19th century. The applied concept of “westernization” within the content of this thesis is suggested as the adoption of values of the Western world through Russia. The 19th century started for Azerbaijan with invasions by Alexander I of Russia. He was considered to be a “westernizer” therefore this period played an important role in the further development of Azerbaijan in this direction (Petro 1995).

Goyushov, Caffee and Denis (2010) refer to the Russian conquest as a ‘driving force behind every significant ideological transformation in Azerbaijani society’. The 19th century turned out to be a crucial time of territorial changes for Azerbaijan since Russo-Persian war officially ended in 1828 and Azerbaijan was divided into Northern and Southern parts between Russia and Iran. Southern part had remained within the Iran and Northern became part of Russia (Shaffer 2002). Accordingly, the northern part of the country became a subject of Russian influence during the next 90 years that have contributed to the formation of new philosophical streams opposite to the previous Persian thinkers mainly advocating philosophy of Shia Islam. (Simon, Matar and Bulliet 1996). However, (Cornell, 2006, p.11) writes that:

¹ Nicholas Awde, 1999. *Azerbaijani-English/English-Azerbaijani Dictionary and Phrasebook* (Hippocrene Dictionary & Phrasebook). Edition. Hippocrene Books.

“Azerbaijan led in many of the most spectacular advances in the Muslim world: the first school for girls, the first western-style theater plays, the first opera, and the first democratic, secular republics in the world of Islam are all claimed by this small country – even before the Soviet Union’s domination of the Caucasus implemented state-sponsored atheism and secularization. In the post-Soviet sphere, Azerbaijan has again been standing out by the consensus on secularism that has reigned in the country’s political life, and the absence of strong political movements advocating a dominant role for religion in political life.”

(Swietochowski 2004) refers to the transition of Northern Azerbaijan under Russian rule in 19th century as segue to the European power. Furthermore, he indicates the emergence of local unique Azerbaijani intelligentsia as a result of contact between “European and traditional Muslim civilizations.” The period of Russian stay in Azerbaijan had contributed to upraise of the “Enlightenment”. The period of “Enlightenment” began with a reference to modernism by such a prominent Azerbaijani thinker as Mirza Fatali Akhundov (Ahmad, Campbell and Algar 1984). Later we see the beginning of development of the press which is emphasized by the issuance of the first newspaper in 1875 called “Ekinchi” at the discretion of Hasan bey Zardabi in Azerbaijani language. It was the first newspaper published in Russia in the Turkic language (Altstadt 1992). Aside from the fact that Persian language had a great impact on formation of Azerbaijani literature, the Turkish language which was brought by Oghuz Turks in XI century in Transcaucasia remained as the most spoken language on Azerbaijani territory up till now. In 1906, magazine called “Molla Nasraddin” was published in Azerbaijan at the initiative of Jalil Mammadguluzadeh. He was a proponent of critical realism and influenced the development of democratic press (Turkish Studies Association 1995). Another well-known Azerbaijani writer and scholar Abbasgulu Bakikhanov was writing under the influence of cultural values of the Eastern Muslim, European and Russian spirit (Tyrell 2001).

Economical prosperity is associated in Azerbaijan with one of the most famous philanthropist and industrial magnate of that time Zeynalabdin Taghiyev. He was mentioned in Brockhaus and Efron which was considered the most detailed encyclopedia in Europe. During the same period Zeynalabdin Taghiyev was famous for developing architecture of Baku, since he was inviting European specialists to build various constructions in the city including his palace (Leeuw 2000). ‘He joined forces with his competitors the Nobel brothers to help build the Baku–Batumi kerosene pipeline’ (Vassiliou 2009). Period of “Enlightenment” had also influenced development of the education. Azerbaijani educationist Seyid Azim Shirvani opened Russian–Azeri school in Shamakhi city where main attention was paid on study of secular sciences as well as Azerbaijani and Russian languages. Instead of teaching students Sharia law he was introducing poems where he mentioned “do not tell me I am Muslim” (Ibrahimov 1969). Referring to these lines helps us to see that besides Sharia law he expected students to learn outside of religious views. The above-mentioned influential thinkers and writers had shaped pro-western sentiments among population and contributed to further formation of Azerbaijani intelligentsia generally prevailing in the capital city of Baku.

1.2 THE FIRST AZERBAIJANI DEMOCRACY

For Azerbaijanis, especially for today’s opposition forces, this short-lived Azerbaijan Democratic Republic remained in a memory as dream of an ideal model of state. At the beginning of the Russian Revolution in 1905 one can observe the emergence of Azerbaijani nationalist proponents. The most powerful representative of the Azerbaijani nationalism was Mammad Amin Rasulzade. As an influential pan-Turkist and pan-Islamist Rasulzade laid basis for the formation of national autonomy and democracy in Azerbaijan. Mammad Amin Rasulzade is still remembered and quoted among politicians of Russia, Turkey and Georgia. One of his famous slogans in favor of Azerbaijani independence was: ‘The flag once raised will never fall’ (Goltz 1999). Rasulzade was featured on the obverse of the Azerbaijani 1 000 Manat banknote

of 1993-2006 (CBAR). Among Azerbaijani society Rasulzade is remembered as one of the main founders of a short-lived Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1918-1920), as well as the first bearer of opposition ideas. In 1911 he established a secret organization called “Musavat” which later formed into political party. This organization turned out to be the leading opposition force in Azerbaijan up till now (Goltz 1999, Conrell 2011, Shaffer 2002).

Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR) is considered as the first democratic and secular parliamentary republic in the Islamic World (Robbers 2006). Parliament of ADR was rated as a supreme body of a state power and was elected on the basis of free and proportional representation. Seats in the parliament varied among Russian, Polish, Armenian and Jewish minorities that allows us to refer to the presence of multiculturalism. Expansion of women’s suffrage and provision of the same political rights to men and woman was one of the most significant achievements by Parliament in the country with a Muslim majority (Alstadt 1992, Shaffer 2002, Swietochowski 2004). However, ADR could not complete its ambitious plan on creation of the first Democratic Muslim country in the Caucasus, since the 11th Red Army of Bolsheviks entered Azerbaijan in 1922 and the country was incorporated to the Soviet Union for the next 70 years.

1.3. SOVIETIZATION OF AZERBAIJANIS

Impact of Sovietization of Azerbaijan started from propaganda and inculcation of the communist values by the Soviet rule and blurred existing differences between Azerbaijan and other Caucasian republics. It made out of Baku the international capital and created a feeling of a certain unity between Caucasian Republics (Said and Graman 2000). During this time Azerbaijan and Georgia developed future background for economic and political cooperation and had good relations.

(Leeuw 2000) indicated that in 1930 Azerbaijan experienced “oil boom and production was boosted’ while up to ‘70% of requirements of the Red Army was provided by Baku’. On the one hand construction of new factories, schools, libraries, subways and academies positively

affected the architecture, education and economy of Azerbaijan and on the other hand this period brought with itself corruption and formation of clan societies which still exists in the country.

Sovietization affected the modern Muslim national identity of Azerbaijani's since communism inhibited national liberation movements. Azerbaijan had moved away from secular Turkish related identity and traditional religious activities. Repressions of opposition forces along with suppression of nationalism led Azerbaijanis towards national identity crisis. If before Azerbaijanis were associating themselves with Turks or Caucasian Turks now they were considered as *one of* the Caucasian folks. Sovietization of Azerbaijan is associated with redefining national identity of Azerbaijanis. (Alstad 1992) points out that during 1930s Lenin was afraid that Azerbaijanis would get overly attracted to Kemalist ideology. Therefore ethnicity in the passport was forced to change from Turkish to Azerbaijani. Change of the alphabet from Latin to Cyrillic was following reform after the change of ethnicity. (Swietochowski 1989) refers to later period of 1940s where Soviet power tried to use Azerbaijani identity by supporting separatist movement in Iran (South Azerbaijani part). As a result in Tabriz was created one year-lived People's Government but eventually failed.

On the one hand construction of new factories, schools, libraries, subways and academies positively affected the architecture, education and economy of Azerbaijan and on the other hand this period brought with itself corruption and formation of clan societies which still exists in the country. However, Heydar Aliyev², who was appointed to the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee of Azerbaijan Communist Party by Leonid Brezhnev during the period of Soviet anti-corruption campaign and later by Yuri Andropov as a First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of USSR (Sakwa 1998) stated:

“That system had advantages. By using the possibilities, I strived for the development of Azerbaijan. For example, since 1970-1980 I have the increased the production of grapes up to ten times, from 200 thousand tons to 2 million tons per year. Due to this fact, of

² 3rd President of Azerbaijan Republic (10 October 1993 — 31 October 2003)

course, Azerbaijan was enriched. Unfortunately, during the transition period of 1988-1989 a lot from what we created was destroyed. First hit was when Gorbachev began anti-alcohol campaign and started to cut down plantations. Later on, after becoming an independent state we have lost that economic integration which was during Soviet Union.”

It is quite likely that these words implied an interrupted connection with Russia by Abulfaz Elchibay³. He came to power after two unsuccessful attempts of the first president of independent Azerbaijani Republic Ayaz Mutalibov.⁴ Elchibay as a non-communist pan-Turkish dissident and member of the National Front was democratically elected by people who lost all hope after crisis and war with Armenia over the Nagorno-Karabakh region where Azerbaijan lost 20 percent of its territory. There are various views regarding the cause of the conflict. In Azerbaijan if the ones consider that the conflict was to happen in any case since ethnic Azerbaijanis and Armenians had encounters previously, the others accuse Soviets which provoked escalation of the conflict leading to the war and thousands of death in order to regain the control in Caucasus (Durch 1996, Baev 1996, Goldman 2002). Ultimately, Nagorno-Karabakh war, political volatility, economic crisis, loss of military force turned Azerbaijan into ‘complete chaos.’

Elchibay’s task was to restore political and economical stability in the country. Since Elchibay was a follower of Rasolzade and his dream was to return the olden ADR, he was making quite radical decisions regarding foreign policy of Azerbaijan. He considered Russian imperialist forces as evil and the same negative attitude was towards the Iran, since historically they were closest allies of Armenia. Elchibay was advocating westernization and had a pro-Turkish orientation in foreign policy. He was also a proponent of integration to NATO and other western international organizations (Pahlavan, 2008). Even though this policy seemed to be independent and had a background for success, some issues were not taken into account. The

³ 2nd President of Azerbaijan Republic (June 16, 1992 – September 1, 1993)

⁴ 1st President of Azerbaijan Republic (October 30, 1991 – March 6, 1992); (May 14, 1992 – May 18, 1992) was restored

situation in which Elchibay came to power could not allow such a fast contrast shift since Russia and Azerbaijan had a seventy year past together and following behavior against Russia only created an irritation. The need for a new leader became apparent.

1.4. THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH CONFLICT

Cooperation of States - members of CIS from various countries includes the possible scenario of conflict prevention and resolution of disputes. In the post-Soviet CIS, these disputes and conflicts had their own specifics, such as the Georgian-Abkhazian, Georgian-Ossetian, Transnistria and conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh). These conflicts arose sharply after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, in the first place they have set the obligation of States - members of the CIS to take all measures to prevent conflicts, especially in the ethnic and religious basis, and assist each other in this matter On April 27, in 2004 in Warsaw within the framework of the European Economic Forum, a regular meeting between the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia was dedicated to "the settlement of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict". Before the meeting of two presidents in Warsaw, U.S. OSCE Minsk Group, Stephen Mann, "outlined his position" in a conversation with Minister of Defense of Azerbaijan. According to S. Mann, the situation calls for concessions from Azerbaijan on the issue of "peaceful regulation of the Karabakh conflict". In turn, the Azerbaijani Defense Minister stated that "Azerbaijan will not make any concessions." "Armenia - and the aggressor should be punished," – and remembered the example of Yugoslavia and Iraq, where was used" used military force". (Business New Europe, Eurasia Daily, Mon 20 Jul).

Despite the declaration of an effort to resolve the conflict by peaceful means, the conflicting parties at this stage have no interest in continuing the negotiations, any agreement reached, and the intermediaries forced to sit down at the negotiating table. Analysts also point out that it is unlikely at this stage to reach compromise. The Armenian side insists on the package version of the Karabakh conflict and Azerbaijan. Special role is played by U.S. and

Russia. But they prefer to shift the responsibility for resolving the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan themselves. The reason for this position is the situation in the South Caucasus or, rather, the realization of interests in the region of Washington and Moscow.(Kruger 2010)

In this context, it sounds very symptomatic, and the view of American analysts. If 10-12 years ago, Russia really wanted to resolve the Karabakh conflict, it would have done it long ago. This was stated by Director of the Washington Institute for Central Asian and Caucasus, Frederick Starr. In his view, the appointment of Steven Mann, the new American co-chair can be a step forward in the process of settlement. An American think tank STRATFOR in 2006 prepared a material called "Battle of the Former Soviet Union: seeking, Armenia's favor. Experts believe that the U.S. has consolidated its role as best player in the South Caucasus, which Washington needs to win over Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia as well, and announced their commitment to the American vector. (Cornell 2007)

In turn, Moscow does not conceal that they are concerned about the possibility of visiting Azerbaijan, that is, directly from Russia's southern borders of U.S. mobile forces, and in fact - the U.S. military bases. Meanwhile, Armenia is a strategic partner of Russia, and maintains close economic and political relations with Iran. Iran and Armenia have one thing - complicated relationships with regional partner of the U.S. - Turkey. In 2004, Azerbaijan's President Aliyev said: "The people of Azerbaijan and his army might at any moment to take steps to restore the territorial integrity of the state. International law gives us every reason to do so. Azerbaijan will seek to resolve the Karabakh conflict through negotiations'. "But if we see that further dialogue does not work, then all costs will liberate the Nagorno-Karabakh region Threats were made Aliyev May 12, 2004 - the day when 10 years old cease-fire agreements between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. In subsequent years, the highest leadership of Azerbaijan has made similar statements. Russian co-chair of OSCE Minsk Group Yuri Merzlyakov called on Azerbaijan and Armenia to start the discussion of specific documents at the expert level, as the two countries 'presidents' much has been negotiated. (Kaufman 2001)However, his appeal was virtually

ignored by the parties. At present, Azerbaijan is going to resume the dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh, is the essence of the statement made in Nakhichevan by Azerbaijani President at the opening ceremony of military.

Today Azerbaijan is disappointed with the activities of the OSCE Minsk Group, which includes Russia, France and the United States, and which plays a mediating role in the regulation of the Karabakh conflict. The country's leadership has repeatedly stated that the activities of international mediators at an impasse - the conflict is actually frozen, negotiations are sluggish, and the seven Azerbaijani districts (excluding Karabakh) remain under Armenian control. In general, the Nagorno-Karabakh settlement is one of the main themes in the foreign contacts of senior officials of both Armenia and Azerbaijan to Moscow. However, as many in Yerevan and the same is in Baku one of the reasons for the lack of progress - the lack of activity (Potier 2001). In the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict should take a more active involvement of the UN. The armed conflicts of the last decade have revealed the relevance of UN cooperation with regional organizations in addressing the problems of internal armed conflicts. The rationale for this is the fact that the possibility of the UN within the framework of the principle of non-intervention is wider than in the States. Not a single state or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of states for any reason. According to scientists, the priority of the United Nations in carrying out peacekeeping activities remains relevant. Article 53 of the UN Charter specifies that "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures under Article 107." According to P. Dupont, the UN's role in the preservation of peace continues to be decisive, but its principles are the main condition for collective security in the world. Cooperation efforts of many countries, undertaken under the UN Charter in order to ensure and maintain peace and security, includes: measures to prohibit or threat of force in international relations (Article 2 of the UN Charter), the peaceful settlement of international disputes (Article

33); measures to ensure and maintain the security (Chapter VII of the UN Charter), temporary measures to prevent breaches of the peace (v. 40), measures of safety without the use of armed forces (Article 41), measures of security with the use of armed forces (Article 42) ; disarmament (Art. 11, 26, 47 of the UN Charter), measures the use of armed forces of regional organizations and arrangements under the direction of the UN Security Council (Chapter VII, subsection "i" of the UN Charter). The mechanism of implementation of UN peacekeeping operations exist in the form of a set of those international legal means for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflict resolution, which includes not only the UN Charter, but also in the Final Act and other CSCE / OSCE documents, materials NATO, various regional organizations and unions of states . When it comes to interaction between the UN and regional organizations, it should also be referred to the OAS, Arab League, the OAU and the CIS. The founding documents of these organizations in one form or another negotiated the possibility of their participation in armed conflicts. It should be recalled that the UN Charter contains a chapter on "Regional Agreement", which focuses on specific regionalism - the politico-military. (UN Charter)

At the UN General Assembly December 9, 1994 Declaration on the Enhancement of Cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements or agencies in the maintenance of international peace and security and emphasized the importance of regional arrangements or agencies in the maintenance of international peace and security, and makes reference to the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter (Rauschnin 1997). Factor, confirming the importance of such cooperation is described in Sec.VI of the UN Charter is a means of peaceful settlement of disputes, as the resort to regional arrangements, which may play an important role in preventive diplomacy to strengthen regional and international cooperation. Emphasis is placed on another requirement: the need for compatibility of regional arrangements or agencies with the purposes and principles of the UN (Chayes 1996).

The declaration is based on the following international instruments: the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in

accordance with the UN Charter, the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, the Declaration on strengthening the effectiveness of the principle of refraining from the threat or use of force in international relations; Declaration on the Prevention and Removal of Disputes and situations that may threaten international peace and security, and the role of the UN in this area, the Declaration on the establishment of the facts of international peace and security.

In the Declaration in 1994 marked the utmost importance to respect the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States to achieve an overall effort to strengthen international peace and security. It is important to preserve the principle of non-intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any sovereign state. Peacekeeping activities undertaken by regional arrangements or agencies "should be conducted with the consent of the State in which such activities are carried out". Among the most active regional organizations in the process of settlement of internal armed conflict involved the CSCE / OSCE's approach to peacemaking which is very different from the classical approach to UN peacekeeping operations since it is reduced to the maximum use of preventive diplomacy, which is also of great importance for the resolution of armed conflicts.(Chandra Thakur 2006) November 21, 1991 members of the Helsinki Act signed in Paris Charter for New Europe, the embodiment of that practice has made of the CSCE / OSCE more involved in the settlement of various disputes and conflicts.

However, so far in resolving the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh is not fully able to carry out effective cooperation with the UN. This is due, in particular, the influence on the activities of the UN and the OSCE divergent interests of the warring parties, neighboring States and Western countries. Thus, in the Nagorno-Karabakh favorable conditions for the internationalization of the conflict creates instability of the political regime. Karabakh - one of the regions, which are the bone of contention between the CIS and GUAM⁴³ that is not conducive to solving the problem

of settlement. The efforts of the OSCE in the settlement of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict and have not yet brought results. (OSCE 2006)

Overall, despite the presence of complications, the need to increase the role of regional organizations (both Armenia and Azerbaijan) in peacekeeping is not questioned. The problem is greater coordination of their activities by the UN, as well as a twofold focus of their efforts to resolve the conflict in order to protect human lives. The complexity of the problem is that neither the Constitution of Armenia, Azerbaijan, neither the Constitution, and the constitutions of all other complex states do not provide for the components of the administrative-territorial units of the right to secede, whether the formation of an independent state, or incorporation in another state. Therefore, the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh is still a pronounced state legal (constitutional) nature. Over the last decade of the CIS as a regional organization takes the necessary steps to resolve the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, in accordance with Sec. VII of the Charter. Normative basis for determining approaches to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and conflicts that arise in the relationship of countries - members of CIS are the provisions of the CIS Charter, adopted in Minsk on January 22, 1993 The CIS Charter contains a special section on "Conflict prevention and resolution of disputes" CIS Charter requires that the parties "provide each other with mutual assistance agreement in settlement of such conflicts, including in the framework of international organizations" (Article 16). September 24, 1993 in the framework of the CIS signed an agreement on priority measures to protect victims of armed conflict (entered into force in November 1994). (The Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe)The countries of the Commonwealth confirmed its obligations under international human rights instruments. The Parties, based on humanitarian principles and norms of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 on the Protection of War Victims and Additional Protocols thereto, pledged to cooperate bilaterally and multilaterally with a view to taking measures to prevent violations of human rights and humanitarian law in the regions of instability. Parties not participating in the international treaties on human rights and humanitarian law of the former

Soviet Union should take action to expedite clearance of succession in respect of these contracts. The parties are obliged to bring national legislation into conformity with the norms and principles of international humanitarian law. For these purposes, shall be taken of national laws that would guarantee social protection and compensation for material damage suffered as a result of armed conflict parties (Article 3). (The Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe) It is assumed that the Commonwealth government will provide necessary assistance to each other in order to protect personal and property rights of victims of armed conflict (Art. 7). Members of the Agreement established the principle agreed to take immediate action to protect persons unlawfully deprived of their liberty in connection with armed conflict, regardless of whether they are interned or detained, as well as measures for the return of prisoners of war and unconditional release of the hostages. For this purpose, each party will apply effective measures to prosecute and punish those who organized, committed and ordered the commission of an act defined as a war crime or crime against humanity under international law or national. Thus, we conclude that the Agreement on priority measures to protect victims of armed conflict (for Russia came into force in November 1994) in many positions is implementation of international humanitarian law included in the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols of 1977, and will serve as an effective measure aimed at strengthening the international legal protection of victims of armed conflicts (Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly 2007).

The agreement was signed by 11 States of the CIS and seeks to promote the application of relevant law in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the post-Soviet space. The peculiarity of the agreement is that it does not distinguish between international and internal armed conflicts.

It should also be stressed that over the years, CIS has taken steps to resolve the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh through the use of the collective peacekeeping forces. Approved by the Council of CIS Heads of State January 19, 1996 Regulations on the Collective Peacekeeping Forces (PKF) in the CIS Collective Peacekeeping Forces defines the legal status as a temporary coalition formation, created for the duration of a peacekeeping operation in order to facilitate the

settlement of conflicts on the territory of any State. In accordance with the Regulations, these forces represent the formation of a coalition ad hoc, created for the duration of a peacekeeping operation in order to facilitate the settlement of conflicts in the territory of the CIS states. It should be noted that Azerbaijan is a member of a CPF (The Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe). As already noted, in their efforts to resolve conflicts, carried out in accordance with Sec. VIII of the Charter, the CIS is working closely with other international organizations, primarily the UN and OSCE. This interaction can take place in the following areas: preparation and consultation between representatives of the CIS countries, UN and OSCE at various levels, assisting peacekeepers to various missions and representatives of UN and OSCE co-operation in promoting a political settlement, including the promotion of negotiations between the conflicting parties, informing the UN Security Council and relevant bodies of the OSCE of decisions relating to the conduct of peacekeeping operations, the discussion in the UN Security Council and the relevant bodies of the OSCE issues related to the settlement of conflicts on the territory of the CIS cooperation, coordination and cooperation between the CIS peacekeeping force, a group of military observers and observer missions of the UN and the OSCE participating in the further development of international legal and conceptual framework of peacekeeping activities (Bloed 1997).

Overall, despite the differences in approaches to solving the problem of armed conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Commonwealth has in the past, a lot of practice joint force development, which should help to solve this problem.

2. AZERBAIJAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER ALIYEV'S

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the shift in the foreign policy of Azerbaijan during the last 20 years. The text is divided in two parts and explores foreign policy carried by last two presidents. Meanwhile we will refer to the adoption of the Constitution in 1995 and analyze emerged existing political regime to explain the context of the foreign policy-making. The

analyzed shift is identified by the differences between the two policies carried by the following presidential terms of Heydar Aliyev and Ilham Aliyev. Foreign policy is reviewed with regard to relations between Azerbaijan and other countries. The foreign Policy shift is discussed in mainly in the regional context. Within the regional context author includes development of relations between Azerbaijan with its neighbors such as Georgia, Russia, Iran, Turkey and Armenia along with ‘western’ participants of the region such as the USA and the EU.

2.1 BALANCED FOREIGN POLICY OF HEYDAR ALIYEV

In October of 1993 Heydar Aliyev was elected by referendum as a third President of Azerbaijan Republic. He arranged to sign ceasefire agreement in May of 1994 with Russia, unrecognized Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. It was agreed that OSCE Minsk group will perform as mediator assisting the resolution of the conflict between two countries. The Minsk Group is led by a co-chairmanship of France, Russia and the United States (Hungarian OSCE Chairmanship 1995). Long-term carrier of Heydar Aliyev in such structures as KGB and Council of Ministers in USSR gave him enough administrative skills and management experience to recover the country from stagnation. This time can be considered crucial for Azerbaijani politics due to re-orientation of the foreign policy. Heydar Aliyev in order to stabilize the situation in the region reviews previous radical policy of Elchibay and chooses to restore working relations with Russia and Iran. Since Azerbaijan historically had stable relations with Turkey and Georgia, the restoration of working relations with Iran and Russia formed a balance of relations between Azerbaijan and neighbor countries (Cornell 2011). Heydar Aliyev was to ensure the development of economic sphere of Azerbaijan as well. One of the most valuable resources of Azerbaijan is oil and gas. By using possible opportunities Azerbaijan and in order to establish the relations with USA and Europe the Azerbaijani leadership signed “The contract of the Century” in September 20th of 1994 with leading Western Oil Consortium (SOCAR, BP, Exxon, Statoil, Amoco, Ramco, Penzoil, McDermott International, Turkish State

Oil Company, Delta-Nimir) in order to increase foreign investments and develop Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli (ACG) oil reserves. The contract of century was the first production sharing agreement between Azerbaijan and Western energy companies (Ismailzade and Rosner 2006). Signing of the contract changed standard of living, ensured new working places and made Azerbaijan significant player of the international oil industry (Sagheb and Javadi 1994).

The next important step after the successful economic transaction was the adoption of Constitution in 1995 according by referendum in accordance with Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The adoption of the Constitution during the presidency of Heydar Aliyev completed the process of forming democratic, constitutional, secular and unitary Republic of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan became presidential republic where president is both head of the government and state. The President represents the state both within the country and in foreign relations, embodies the unity of the people of Azerbaijan and provides continuity of the statehood of Azerbaijan. The main constitutional bodies consist of executive branch - the President and the Cabinet of Ministers led by the Prime Minister; legislative - the Milli Meclis (the National Assembly or Parliament); and judiciary power together with Constitutional Court. The President of Azerbaijan is a supreme commander of the Armed Forces; he determines social and economic policies; appoints and dismisses the prime minister, members of the Cabinet of Ministers and Attorney General. Milli Mejlis is unicameral and responsible for approving state budget, passing laws and appointing the judges of Supreme, Constitutional and Economic Courts. The ultimate principles of the Azerbaijani Constitution adopted in 1995 was; 'to protect sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity; provide democratic system; to establish civil society; to build a law-based secular state, to provide worthy life level in conformity with economic and social order; to remain faithful to universal human values, to live in peace and freedom with all the nations of the world and co-operate with them for this purpose' (The Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 1995, p 1.). Therefore we may refer to the last principle as initial basis of the Foreign Policy of Azerbaijan. Article 10 of the Azerbaijani

Constitution states that: "The Azerbaijani Republic develops its foreign relations with other States in accordance with international legal norms." Heydar Aliyev in one of his interviews to the 'International Azerbaijan' magazine defined foreign policy of Azerbaijan as following:

"You can't be friends with some countries and enemies with others, despite the fact that this is the way most countries function. You have to take into consideration the special interests of each country. Azerbaijan doesn't want to be enemies with any country. At the same time, we will not become victim to another country's policies. We have our own independent policy. As well, we are developing good relations with Europe and America and seek to benefit from their experiences, while preserving our own national identity and our own resources. Future leaders must pursue the policy that I have put in place. If they do, then they will succeed. If not, then Azerbaijan will face enormous tragedy" (Heydar Aliyev, Azerbaijan International (11.4) 2003).

According to this speech we may observe accentuation on Europe and America in contrast to previous presidents prioritizing Russia or Turkey. However, Aliyev points out that; 'you can not be enemies with any counties'; have to 'consider special interests of each country' and at the same time 'not to be a victim of another country's policies'. As a result of such approach to the foreign policy under Heydar Aliyev can be characterized as independent and balanced (Bertsch 2000).

Painful transition from socialism to capitalism along with rise to power of the former Soviet officials resulted in emergence of authoritative style of government in Azerbaijan. Despite the fact that the Constitution was adopted in order to lay the basis for the formation and development of the democratic state, in many post-Soviet countries of Transcaucasia this process turned out to be unsuccessful due to 'the establishment of imitation democratic regimes of varying severity' (Ottaway 2003, Furman 2008, Cornell 2010). Authoritarianism is usually characterized as a type of regime that is intermediate between totalitarianism and democracy (Hawkesworth and Kogan 1992, Goldstone 2003). However, this response does not indicate the

essential features of the phenomenon as a whole, even if we clearly distinguish the features of totalitarianism and democracy for Azerbaijan. For instance, the President has an absolute veto power regarding constitutional laws and can introduce additions to the Constitution (Robbers, 2006). Given power legally increases statutory right of the President. Likewise, in case of Azerbaijan, authoritarianism may be defined in actual and theoretical terms. In actual terms the facts as existence of dominating clan society since Soviet times and application of techniques of suppression of opposition by the government represents authoritarian style of governance and influence on the reputation of Azerbaijan in the world. In theoretical terms, such behavior can be explained by constructivism theory that assumes that states develop their foreign policies based on a collection of their interests, values, and beliefs (Weber 2009). According to this interpretation the ruling power is convinced that, historically, the opposition could not cope with running the country and there is no better candidate than Heydar Aliyev for the position of the President. As a result this propaganda is found among majority of the population and this authoritarianism is welcomed as a belief that other parties are not competitive enough. Heydar Aliyev using his authority was able to influence local population and give them a sense of a new unique *Azerbaijani* identity. He defined Azerbaijan as a crossroad and significant transport route between East and West on the international arena. In this regard the responsible institutions for the foreign policy-making in accordance with the Constitution such as Office of the President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and the Parliament carrying out the same policy and obey the decisions of the ruling power. These institutions are operated by members of the clan or by above stated fans of Aliyev. Hence we can conclude that the foreign policy and the political regime in the case of Azerbaijan are interrelated. This is due to the fact that any solution is supported and undisputed. Accordingly, all foreign policy decisions depend solely on the desire of the ruling executive power. Summarizing the foreign policy of Heydar Aliyev we can conclude the he was able to consolidate his power by forming authoritarian government, restore

stability in the regional context by stabilizing relations with Iran and Russia and cease-fire with Armenia, as well as establish relations with the West by using economic potential of the country.

Another issue for discussion would be if the balanced foreign policy was actually the only way out in a long-term to avoid the conflicts in the region or whether it inhibited the realization of political potential of Azerbaijan. In order to discuss this issue we will refer to the rise to power of the next 4th President of Azerbaijan

2.2 SHIFT OF THE FOREIGN POLICY UNDER ILHAM ALIYEV

Ilham Aliyev, son of Heydar Aliyev and currently the president of Azerbaijan, came to power in October of 2003 and later on was re-elected in 2008. Opposition officials claim that the elections were falsified both times (OSCE/ODIHR 2011). Ilham Aliyev was a vice-president of the National Oil Company of Azerbaijan (SOCAR) in 1994. Meanwhile in 2003 he was appointed as a prime minister of Milli Mejlis shortly before the elections (ATIB, 2007). (Furman 2008) points out that it was ‘first quasi dynastic transfer of power in post-soviet space.

Ilham Aliyev’s foreign policy is often determined as ‘focused on energy security’, or ‘pipeline diplomacy’ (Shaffer 2010 and Ruxandra 2012). One may refer to the diplomacy of Heydar Aliyev since he laid the basis for development of the energy sector in Azerbaijan. Consequently Ilham Aliyev followed the same logics and continued the tactics even more active starting from prioritizing development of cooperation with Georgia and Turkey (Coene, 2009). This tactics is apparent due to the dynamic realization of the joint projects with Turkey and Georgia such as Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline from Caspian to Mediterranean Sea along with the parallel gas pipeline Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum (BTE) from Caspian Sea to Turkey. In addition there is also a transport corridor between Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey; Baku-Tbilisi-Kars, which is under construction and will connect railways of these countries and thereby increase the trade opportunities and economic integration in the region. (Cornell 2010). It assumes strategic role in the aspect of energy independence from Russia and Iran. Presence of

western oil companies is an important factor in determining the direction of foreign policy leaders of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Another important contract that was signed between Shah Deniz consortium and Turkey is regarding the construction of Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline (TANAP). Gas from this pipeline is planned to be transferred from Turkey to Europe (Foreign Affairs Committee: UK-Turkey relations, 2010-12 report Page 61) During the XIX International Oil and Gas Exhibition of 2012 in Baku, Ilham Aliyev said:

“Energy security is responsible for energy independence. Energy independence is making a major contribution to the economic independence of countries in general. Without economic independence, there can be no question of political independence. From an economic point of view we are absolutely independent country. We are totally independent in matters of energy exports, because we have diversified oil and gas pipelines; we are not dependent on any route. This allows us to confidently and safely pursue its policy in the political arena”.

The aforementioned comment allows the author to distinguish the importance of energy independence for the foreign policy-making pursued by Azerbaijani government. Turkey and Georgia turns out to be the partners of strategic importance in the ambitions of Azerbaijani government to supply European markets with gas bypassing Russia. There have been various respective indicators of Azerbaijan’s aspiration to move away from Russia. For instance GUAM organization which includes Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova was one of the signals of the commencement development apart from Russia. However Azerbaijan has Russia’s radar station built by Soviet Union on its territory in the Gabala district. Although political analyst Fikret Sadykhov expressed to *VestnikKavkaza* that the terms of the contract expires in December 2012 and Azerbaijani government has increased the price of the lease which “ought to have firm grounds”.

One more message Azerbaijani government has acquired from the past decade is Russo-Georgian War of 2008. The conflict generated uncertainty and discretion concerning the conduction of the foreign policy with neglect to Russia’s standpoint about western influence in the Black and Caspian Sea regions. Consequently frozen conflict between Azerbaijan and

Armenia regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave obtained more attention around the world for the reason of scale of Russia's intervention in the South Caucasus (Rodrigues and Glebov 2009). One may say that Russia represents considerable danger for Azerbaijan since Russia supplies Armenia with weapons and has 102nd military base on its territory. Moreover Armenia is a member CSTO military alliance which intends that Russia and Azerbaijan have stable working relations as long as there is no war. The fate of the conflict is also 'in the hands' of Russia since it is co-chairman of the OSCE Minsk Group (Jafalian 2011). Thus, one may conclude that Azerbaijan is restrained in range of choices and must maintain favorable relations even if it is not primary goal on foreign policy agenda.

The same coherence can be applied to relations between Azerbaijan and Iran. Historically Azerbaijan has been under the Persian influence and as it was mentioned in the first chapter has a large number of Azerbaijanis living in Iran. However Azerbaijani government pursues the secularity and thus is disturbed by potential religious extremism that could be cultivated from Iran. At the same time Iran is an energy security guarantor for Armenia along with Russia. This cooperation does not correspond to national interest of Azerbaijan due to conflicting relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Since Iran is significant player both in Black and Caspian Sea regions and has historic traditional heritage the Azerbaijani government maintains stable relations in order to avoid conflicts. According to (Israel News, 2012) during March of 2012 Azerbaijan took under arrest 22 people for cooperation with Iranian Sepah with regard of suspicions in planning attacks on U.S. and Israeli embassies in Baku. Azerbaijan maintains close cooperation with Israel and USA which does not correspond to the interests of Iran. (Haas 2006 p.38) points out that:

“Iran and Russia have a policy of freezing conflicts in countries, like Georgia and Azerbaijan, which are under strong Western influence. By doing this, the region remains unpredictable and harder to control. At the same time Iran itself is not capable of making serious investments in the Caucasus”.

In substance (Haas 2006) puts Russia and Iran in the same category of challenge for Azerbaijani foreign policy-making. If we take this as a basis for the political context in which develops Azerbaijan's foreign policy, it can be concluded that the relations between Azerbaijan and the West improves both in economic and political terms, while Russia and Iran are trying to weaken the Western influence by using various leverage as territory, religion, ethnicity. Meanwhile, we can conclude that current Azerbaijani foreign policy is concentrated on the development of the relation with Turkey and Georgia and these two countries are priorities for realization of Azerbaijani long-term plans related to economic integration with Europe. As a result of the rivalry between regional and local powers in order to gain dominance in the region the balanced foreign policy of Heydar Aliyev becomes harder to sustain and therefore imposes the development of orientation in the foreign policy. In order to evaluate perspectives of the western orientation in the foreign policy author analyzes relations of Azerbaijan with the EU and the USA.

3. THE LAST AND LASTING SHIFT: THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE WESTERN ORIENTATION

The final chapter explores relations of Azerbaijan between the EU and the USA in the context of interaction. As it was concluded in previous chapter Azerbaijan has shifted its foreign policy priorities towards Turkey and Georgia in order to achieve economic integration with Europe by supplying Europe with oil and gas. The text will evaluate perspectives of pursuing such foreign policy. Meanwhile the second part of the chapter analyzes relations with the USA due to dynamic development of the relations between two countries and its influence on resolution of Nagorno-Kabakh conflict. Though Azerbaijan's foreign relations with the EU has largely been perceived from the economic benefits the EU expects to gain from Azerbaijan, the latter also has other interests, which determine its foreign policies with the EU. Therefore, it is important to note that Azerbaijan also harbors its own interests in forging a good relationship with EU. The

EU is not the only party that expects to gain from a favorable foreign policy with Azerbaijan. Consequently, the interests of Azerbaijan determine the shift in foreign policy towards the EU. Russia has often tried to win Azerbaijan's support as it strives to safeguard its interests and the interests of the wider communist community. Leaders from the two countries have met severally and discussed the relationship between the two countries (Cornell 2011). At the time of the independence, Azerbaijan warmed up to friendly relations with its neighbors including Iran and Turkey. In fact, the Turkish influence on Azerbaijan was so strong that experts observed that the Turkish influence underpinned Azerbaijan's nationalism (Cornell 2011). The acceptance of Iran to host Azerbaijan's foreign mission was also another indicator that Azerbaijan was strengthening its ties with its Muslim neighbors. The increased cohesiveness between Azerbaijan and its Muslim neighbors was the strongest indication that western interests were being pushed to the sideline.

However, there was a drastic shift in Azerbaijan's foreign policies because of growing concerns between Azerbaijan and its neighbors. For instance, the main conflict underpinning the tension between Azerbaijan and Iran is the status of the Caspian Sea (Cornell 2011). In addition, some of the issues that underlie the tense relationship between Azerbaijan and Iran are the historical injustices done to the Azerbaijan people when their country was divided between Persia and Russia (in the 19th century). These concerns have contributed to the shift in foreign policy orientation towards the West (which is perceived to be in bad terms with Iran) (Great Britain Parliament).

Largely, this shift in the foreign policy orientation is part of Azerbaijan's quest to uphold its independence and territorial integrity. Most importantly, Azerbaijan turned to the west to receive support for its territorial claims. The hostility Azerbaijan received from some of its neighbors (such as Armenia) was also another motivator to establishing a good relationship with the west. In this regard, the US has constantly supported Azerbaijan in the Azerbaijan-Armenia conflict. As noted in previous sections of this study, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is also

another major problem for Azerbaijan. So far, the country has lost thousands of people in this conflict and some of the tension that is seen as an aftermath to the conflict has not disappeared. Based on this fact alone, Azerbaijan has adopted a friendlier approach towards the West because it seeks support in this conflict. There is therefore a mutual relationship between Azerbaijan and the west but this relationship also stretches to infrastructure developments and other capital projects undertaken in Azerbaijan by the EU (Great Britain Parliament 2008, p. 67). Similarly, it is important to note that Azerbaijan has sought western intervention in establishing fundamental institutions that uphold democracy and human rights in the country. The US and Europe have both accorded their support in this initiative though there are existing skepticisms regarding the commitment of Azerbaijan's government to uphold human rights in the country.

3.1. PROSPECTS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN AZERBAIJAN AND EU

Considering the strategic shift in foreign policy towards the West, Azerbaijan and EU have developed a common view on most policy issues. This development has cemented their relationship and both parties are currently working on several projects together. For instance, the EU has come up with a three-year plan worth 92 million pounds, which is expected to improve Azerbaijan's governance program by strengthening its main institutions (Great Britain Parliament 2008, p. 67). This program is financed through the National indicative program, which was expected to be completed in the year 2010/2011 (Becker 2008, p. 31). Through the strengthening of Azerbaijan's government institutions, the level of foreign investments and business growth is likely to increase. The cooperation between Azerbaijan and EU also stretches to financing research on renewable energy projects in Azerbaijan. The *EU INOGATE* program is an example of such a program because it is aimed at improving the use of alternative and renewable energy in Azerbaijan (Becker 2008, p. 31). Comprehensively, these dynamics inform the shift in foreign policy towards the west.

Azerbaijan's physical location has facilitated the transportation of oil to Europe without passing through Russia or Iran. This has been the focus for EU in forging a good relationship

with Azerbaijan. This relationship has been characterized by different agreements arrived at by the two parties. For instance, Amirova (2010) states, “On November 7, the EU and Azerbaijan signed a memorandum of understanding on energy partnership, and on November 14, they agreed on the action plan of European Neighborhood Policy” (p. 140). Legally, the benchmark for EU’s cooperation with Azerbaijan was set on the *Partnership and Cooperation Agreement* (PCA), which provided the basic framework for political negotiations between the two parties.

Largely, on the economic front, Azerbaijan has made crucial steps towards solidifying its relationship with EU but on the governance front, Azerbaijan is slowly sliding into an authoritarian state (Becker 2008, p. 31). This observation was made despite reassurances by Azerbaijan that it was going to uphold the rule of law and ensure that democracy prevails within its borders. The push towards democracy is an indication of Azerbaijan’s willingness to collaborate with the EU in areas other than economic ties (at least vocally). However, it would be false to say that the non-economic partnership with EU is Azerbaijan’s main area of integration with EU. Economic ties therefore outline the main framework for Azerbaijan’s relation with the EU.

The transportation of oil to EU is an indicator of the inclination of Azerbaijan’s foreign policies towards the west. The transportation of Caspian fossil energy to Europe has been facilitated by a series of pipeline projects, some of which are explained by Balamir-Coşkun (2009) that, “Azerbaijan was involved into the project of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline construction and will be in the future part of the realization of another project with geostrategic and economical importance for the region - the Trans-Caspian gas pipeline Nabucco” (p. 225). The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline is not the only pipeline transporting oil to Europe through Azerbaijan because the Turkish-Greek pipeline is also another channel that transports oil to Europe. In reference to this pipeline, (Popescu 2011) explains that, “The Turkish-Greek pipeline got first connected to the BTE pipeline in July 2007 and it is planned that the pipeline will be extended to Italy by 2012 (p. 140).

From a non-economic point of view, it can also be said that the nationalistic sentiments in Azerbaijan are predominantly anti-Russian and not against the Europeans. Based on this understanding alone, it can be said that Azerbaijan's pro-European sentiments are an indication to the integration of Azerbaijan in the European body of states (Wiessala 2007, p. 218). Again, to highlight the increasing non-economic cooperation between Azerbaijan and the West, it is crucial to highlight that Azerbaijan has been an important ally of the west in fighting terrorism within the region. For instance, *GUAM* has firmly been under the leadership of Azerbaijan since 2007 and so far, it has been able to decrease the terrorist threats posed by Iran and its affiliate religious organizations, which uphold radical Muslim beliefs (Wiessala 2007, p. 218). Furthermore, Azerbaijan's link with NATO is proof that the country firmly supports the West in its international activities. As a result, Azerbaijan joined NATO's partnership for peace program and through military support; the country has been able to supply its troops to some of NATO's key missions such as the Kosovo mission, Iraq mission and Afghanistan mission.

The pursuit of a favorable foreign policy with the west is perceived by Wiessala (2007), as part of a strategic relationship that Azerbaijan is striving to achieve with NATO, USA and EU. Cornell (2010) explains the pursuit of favorable foreign policies with the West as a strategy pursued by Azerbaijan during the 90s. To affirm his stance, Cornell reiterates a previously known fact in this study that in 1994, Azerbaijan struck a major oil deal with the EU to allow the exploration of Caspian oil (a deal, which is almost exclusively perceived as a one-of-a-kind arrangement that almost exclusively supplies oil to the EU) (Wiessala 2007). Furthermore, Azerbaijan has not joined existing oil corporations such as OPEC and other Russian-managed unions, which manage global oil exports. Similarly, Azerbaijan has supported the west in its stance on Afghanistan oil (to maintain a strong command of the natural resources of the country as opposed to nationalizing them) (Wiessala 2007). Furthermore, Azerbaijan remains a strong supporter of the *Nabucco project* (a project that almost entirely depends on the support of Azerbaijan). The support of Azerbaijan to divide the Caspian Sea into different segments is also

another indicator of Azerbaijan's support to the west and almost single-handedly, the country has financed the development of a railroad infrastructure that potentially links the EU with central Asia to facilitate the movement of resources across the two continents (Wiessala 2007).

Weighing the facts of this study, we can see that, Azerbaijan's formulation of favorable foreign policies towards the west is a move by Azerbaijan to institute progress on its social, economic and political platforms. The EU model of governance is therefore perceived as an ideal model for Azerbaijan to emulate. EU's cooperation with Azerbaijan should not therefore be perceived as an end, but a means to an end, because Azerbaijan aims to improve most of its institutions, including the judiciary, public administration institutions and similar organs of governance. Azerbaijan therefore looks up to EU as a model to modernize different aspects of its social, political and economic composition. In addition, Azerbaijan also expects to increase the standard of living of its citizens through this partnership

However, looking into the future, Azerbaijan's relation with the West is still a work in progress, because there are still many questions lingering regarding the future nature of this relationship. This dilemma stems from the fact that Azerbaijan has still not cut its ties (completely) with Russia and Iran. This issue stands as a big problem for the future sustainability of Azerbaijan's relation with the west because there is a lot of hostility between the West and Iran (and by extension, Russia). Based on this fact alone, it is no surprise that part of the West sees Azerbaijan as an extension of Russia. However, it still remains an interesting observation to watch how Azerbaijan's foreign policies towards the west will change (subject to the East-West tensions).

3.2 AZERBAIJAN AND USA RELATIONS

In 1998-2005 relations between USA and Azerbaijan started to actively develop. Countries increased cooperation in political, economic and regional cooperation. Moreover international security and military collaboration have reached the level of strategic importance. During the first term of George W. Bush Azerbaijan and USA relations have reached a new level with

regard to suspension of 907 Amendment of U.S. Freedom Support Act. The Bush Administration has appreciated the participation of Azerbaijan in fight against international terrorism and guarantee of peace and stability in the Caucasus region. After 11 September, 2001 Azerbaijan immediately joined Anti-Terrorism Coalition which was positively perceived by the U.S. Azerbaijan turned into active member of ATC coalition in 2000 by providing political, military and moral support to the operations conducted by U.S. in Iraq and Afghanistan. Washington was satisfied by participation of Azerbaijani soldiers in NATO peacekeeping troops. Meanwhile Azerbaijan signed up to a number of conventions and contracts providing for the implementations of the fight against the terrorism; due to this involvement in ATC Azerbaijan had to bring into conformity Azerbaijani legislation in accordance with these documents. The U.S. President George Bush repeatedly mentioned that he appreciates and supports the course of anti-terrorism transferred from Heydar Aliyev to Ilham Aliyev. (Dean ,John .W 2005).

Results of the official visit of Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev in the U.S. on 6th of April in 2006 added the impetus to existing relations between two states. Ilham Aliyev actively participated in different meetings organized by the U.S. and also pointed out number of significant issues and underlined that Azerbaijan and the U.S. have a potential for deepening the cooperation. He also pointed out the present and future possibilities of Azerbaijan, informed about perspectives along with development of energy and communication projects in the region and tried to attract the interest of officials and political scientist of the U.S.

The active participation in transnational projects of the Caspian Sea and South Caucasus region the U.S. started in the beginning of 21st century. Oil companies of the U.S. invested more 5 billion Dollars in Azerbaijan during the 2000s (Bertsch , Gary K.2000) . However it is necessary to emphasize role of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline and Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum since American companies were actively involved and supported access of Azerbaijani oil and gas to the global market. Moreover, the U.S. was actively participating with the EU in the implementation of TRASECA (Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia) and realization of

economic liberalization and structural reform in Azerbaijan. (Rumer Boris Z. 2005). During May of 2007 Azerbaijan develops cooperation with the U.S. in agricultural sector. Assistance of the development of the non-oil sector was one of the priorities of the U.S. administration. USAID launched the social investment program in Azerbaijan together with the Ministry of Economic Development and held several trainings in order to increase investments in the social sector. Officials of the Presidential Administration, National Bank, Cabinet of Ministers were the main participators in these trainings. This interactive forum laid the basis for steady and balanced macroeconomic policy and investment strategy. The U.S. was often concerned with the development of alternative sectors. However, non oil sector has not been developed in Azerbaijan.

Trade relations between the U.S. and Azerbaijan are growing every year. For instance, in 2006 the U.S.'s share of the foreign trade turnover of Azerbaijan was 2.5 percent. Export 3.76 percent, import- 1, 4 percent. Total amount of trade turnover between two countries constitutes 290 Million dollars, total export 190 billion dollars. In comparison to 2005 total turnover increased on 57, 2 percent, export increased 40.1 percent and import 112, 9 percent Central (Eurasia: analytical annual).

In 2008 in the U.S. Senate was introduced the bill of abolishment of the "Jackson-Vanik amendment" in regard to Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan and re-establish of the stable trade regime with the USA. Richard Lugar Senator republican and author of the bill is famous for his effort efforts to establish free access to the oil and gas resources of the Caspian Basin. However the motivation of the bill did not consider reference to the oil and gas wealth of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. Instead Senator referred to the countries and calls them to establish the opportunity of free emigration of its citizens. This was a requirement of "Jackson-Venik amendment" that took place during the peak of the Cold War in 1972; the amendment insisted on the emigration of the Jews from USSR. Provision of the MFN regime now is renamed to Regime of normal trade

and serves as an incentive to open the borders for the emigrants. However abolishment of the amendment was not realized.

Nevertheless relations between Azerbaijan and the USA deteriorated. The problematic was cooperation between the administration of the Obama and Aliyev. Baku has always supported Republicans. As it was mentioned before Azerbaijan and the U.S. during the beginning of the 2000s had an active development of the relations and had the same energy interests supported by the activity of American oil companies. New administration has changed foreign policy of the U.S. He was relying on the reestablishment of the relations with Russia and keep Iran 'calm'. In order to do so one might say that he would need the support of Turkey. This of course includes the regulation number of issues and conflict with Nagorno-Karabakh inclusively. The U.S. was pushing Azerbaijan regarding the Iran since the administration wanted the rapid start of the transit of Azerbaijani through Nabucco to Europe, and deterioration of relations between Russia and Azerbaijan. (Jeffrey Mankoff 2009) In return Azerbaijani administration was requiring the help in resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, however Washington did not provide any support. Moreover, due to American systematization process of rapprochement between Turkey and Armenia has been activated which entirely contradicted to the national interests of Azerbaijan.

Official Baku had to push on Turkey in order to warn Ankara about the following rapprochement and reconsider the decision. This process of rapprochement between Turkey and Armenia began to come to standstill and added some negative tensions between the USA and Azerbaijan. In this situation Azerbaijan continued to develop the relations with Iran and Russia. SOCAR and Gazprom signed gas agreement. At the same time Azerbaijan secured itself with Iran by selling the gas to them. Along with economic incentives these agreements have political context as well which is not welcome by the USA. For instance Azerbaijani administration did not allow flying through its territory of the AEW&C planes which are observing Afghanistan.

Throughout of 2000 Azerbaijan is able to balance its relation with Iran between two poles: first of all the desire of the USA to receive stable presence on the border with Iran and responsiveness of Iran by promoting on the territory of Azerbaijan its cultural and religious programs. In practice this policy is difficult to pursue but is necessary in this case. The basis of terrestrial communication with Nakhchivan lies through the territory of Iran. Trade relations between Azerbaijan and Iran are still stable. Iranians are interested in import of Azerbaijani gas and in expansion of transport communications on the border. However incident on the Caspian Sea is well known in the region. Iran is not clear regarding its position on Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Iranian pro-Shia organization carries out active propaganda on the South of Azerbaijan. There have been several incidents when Iranian politicians by making aggressive comments increased provocations between the two countries. Successful collaboration of Azerbaijan with the USA and moreover with Israel periodically opens in Tegeranian media anti-Azerbaijan waves.

It is possible that 'behind the ocean' there is an opinion that Baku is not able to speed up its participation in number of military projects considering that from the North dominate interests of Russia. Nevertheless most local politicians had claimed that started decade will not bring in the region constant stability and the U.S. will try to fix its military presence in Azerbaijan The (Caucasus & globalization 2008) . So far during the 2000s the main task which the U.S. was trying to solve was to prevent Azerbaijan due to possible terrorist attacks. This information was spread by the U.S. Department of State and American Embassy in Baku, UK and Foreign Office. It was stated that 'In order to prevent all possible threats to the national security and interests of Azerbaijan all measures are undertaken. It is a constant process. All relevant authorities of the country, including Ministry of the National Defense sustained the operative measures' was mentioned in the statement. Washington has warned American citizens about potential threats to the western interests. According to information which posted on the web-sited of the U.S. State Department and Embassy of the U.S. in Baku stated that American citizens should be aware in

the public places which are related to the West. Americans were also warned to be cautious and use different routes in order to get home or to work and accordingly change plan of daily activities. However there was no reason stated behind such statement.

Later on newspaper called "New time" published in Azerbaijan revealed in these warnings to the American citizens certain aims. According to the newspaper the U.S. is using these maneuvers for global purposes. For instance in the beginning of the 20th century the U.S. in order to defend its citizens and protect of business and oil supply interests, the U.S. began to exert pressure on Mexico, arguing that this country is source of political instability and causes damage to the American environment. Various economic sanctions were destabilizing Mexico in order to prevent the stay of refineries and to make sure that fuel reaches the North, and then the U.S. entered the military forces. It worth nothing to exclude possible scenario as for the last 20 years western and American companies invested in Azerbaijan more than 50 billions.

In the first half of 2010 relations between Azerbaijan and the USA have deteriorated in comparison with the relations during the Bush administration. Washington was sending signals to Azerbaijan. Explicit signal was that Azerbaijan was not invited by the U.S. to the Nuclear Safety Summit which was held in Washington on 12-13 of April in 2010. From the South Caucasus region the U.S. has invited Georgia and Armenia. This fact stands for itself and shows the relations between the Washington and Baku. Interests of Azerbaijan were presented at the summit by Turkey. In addition Azerbaijan has to understand that Barack Obama is more sensitive towards violation of human rights and democratization processes. Moreover Americans has a negative attitude towards political contacts between Azerbaijan and Iran. The major question is to asses what Azerbaijan might get from the forthcoming intensification of the cooperation with the U.S (Mehdiyeva 2011).

Meanwhile, Azerbaijan is considered that given the political traditions, established in 1993, taking into account the "energy of merit" Baku is entitled to rely on U.S. support. In addition, Azerbaijan makes it clear that the republic has its own opinion on many issues and this

should be respected. In other words, unlike Armenia and Georgia, Azerbaijan is trying to pursue an independent policy in many ways. In this context it should be borne in mind that the new U.S. administration interests of the Armenian Diaspora are much stronger than during the presidency of George W. Bush. We can assume that it is the Armenian Diasporas could make a move that worsened relations between Azerbaijan and the United States.

New U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan Matthew Bryza; the priorities identified in their work area safety, energy cooperation, and internal reforms: "The U.S. sees intensifying its participation in the strategically important issues with their Azerbaijani counterparts. First of all, here are security, energy and internal reforms, «she said in an interview with Ambassador Trend. And further said: "In the sphere of security, nothing can be more important than helping the conflicting parties [Azerbaijan and Armenia] come to a resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict."

Energy cooperation in 2011, according to Bryza, is of a great importance: "We hope that this year, companies and countries involved in the project of the Southern Gas Corridor, will be able to complete the legal issues, to enable investors to invest in Azerbaijan large sum of money, up to 20 billions of dollars into the next phase of development of gas fields. " Let me remind you that the project "Southern Corridor" designed to transport the energy from the Caspian region to the EU. The project involves construction of several pipelines, including the "Nabucco», ITGI, «White Stream" and the Trans Adriatic Pipeline. »These projects will significantly strengthen strategic ties between Azerbaijan and Europe, as well as help Europe diversify more of its energy supplies", - said Bryza (Eurasia Daily Monitor 2011).

With regard to internal reforms in the country, the U.S. aim to assist Azerbaijan in the liberalization of society, which, according to Bryza, will provide a basis for further democratic reforms, thus enabling the country to establish long-term stability: "There is no doubt that the long-term stability comes only through the democratic development ".

Apparently, in the near future the U.S. and Azerbaijani politicians have to make corresponding changes to the policies of their countries. If this does not happen, then the tension in the South Caucasus will increase.

As we mentioned above, Baku's office had always suffered difficulties in achieving of awareness by the U.S. of regional political problems which is close to positions of Azerbaijan. In the view of successful implementation of the western infrastructure projects and success with regards to socio-economic reforms of pro-western economic modernization, then Baku could be considered as a good partner for the Washington.

Today Azerbaijan and the USA are considerable figures of the international community. Political, economic, military, social and cultural cooperation of the two countries reflect the extent of mutual benefits and mutual interests. The relations between Azerbaijan and the U.S. address the great interest around global players such as Russia and the European; and regional players such as Turkey, Iran, Georgia and Armenia. Pursuing of the close relation with the U.S. by Azerbaijan is explained by the two following objectives. First of all Azerbaijan is hoping to get the assistance from the U.S. in regaining back the occupied by Armenia, the Nagorno-Karabakh territory and 7 adjacent districts. Secondly, Baku is pursuing the economic growth through economic integration with the West. The second objective maintained a progress while the first is in the state of continuous negotiations with a little success on finding the common solution. Political and socio-economic relations of the two countries are constantly being developed and depend on relations between other global players in the region and the context of foreign policy of both countries. In general, relations of the U.S and Azerbaijan could be called mutually beneficial with a positive trend of development. Azerbaijan is open for a dialog and cooperation with the USA. In order to achieve successful development of the relation with the U.S. and in the foreign policy Azerbaijan should consider increasing the progress on development of democratic institutions which will enhance the strategic importance of Azerbaijan. Subsequent goal should be to ensure transparency in the local energy markets. In

case if Azerbaijan will implement the following reforms the relations between the U.S and Azerbaijan shape the strategic evolution of the Black Sea to China and to consolidate a sovereign and independent place in the world.

CONCLUSION

In given thesis author observed the shift in the foreign policy as well as determined the direction of the shift. This shift was explained by concept of the national interest. Systemic concept of interdependence has defined the nature of prioritization manner by the nation-states. The defined nature depends on particular society and state since one may pursue different interest. This pattern was derived from the relations between the U.S. and Azerbaijan in accordance with change of power from G. Bush to B. Obama which has reflected on deterioration of relations with Azerbaijan. Thus, this fact allows us to reconsider the policy with the EU. While examining the determinants it was concluded that Azerbaijan builds its relations with other states in accordance territorial, economic and social variables. However despite the revealed prioritization of Turkey and Georgia rather than Iran and Russia does not provide a long-term justification. This fact was shown by observing the determinants which were changing the nature of foreign policy making of Azerbaijan in a short-run. Despite the constant change in geopolitical context of the Caucasus and Caspian region Azerbaijan plays strategic and flexible role and will continue support its regional economic growth. Leadership is playing major role in the conducting foreign policy of Azerbaijan meanwhile when there are multiple players the role of leadership decreases. Foreign policy stimulates formal communication activities and entities that have received the right on behalf of the Society to express the national interests in the international arena, as well as to select the corresponding means and methods of the implementation.

Following the objectives we came to conclusion that Azerbaijan pursues economic integration and it is the major determinant of its foreign policy decisions. With regard to regional and global context by analyzing relations with Georgia, Turkey, Russia, Iran and Armenia, the

US and the EU we could extract the most intense cooperation with two following countries by the amount of joint projects. Iran and Russia turns out to be competitors for Azerbaijan and thus Azerbaijan by all means tries to avoid the conflicts in order to carry its independent policy. Meanwhile Azerbaijan categorizes Russia and Armenia in the one group of pro-Armenian powers and thus is careful both with NATO and the EU, as well as with Iran. Thus we can conclude that EU Georgia and Turkey are in the strategic interest of Azerbaijan. One may refer to political economy in order to conduct further exploration of relations in the combination of Iran-Azerbaijan-Israel.

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