

РОЗДІЛ 3

ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ МІЖНАРОДНИХ СИСТЕМ ТА ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО РОЗВИТКУ

УДК 327

DOI <https://doi.org/10.32782/2663-6170/2020.20.17>

TURKEY – AZERBAIJAN: FROM STRATEGIC COOPERATION TO STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

ТУРЕЧЧИНА – АЗЕРБАЙДЖАН: ВІД СТРАТЕГІЧНОГО СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА ДО СТРАТЕГІЧНОГО ПАРТНЕРСТВА

Kerimova Rena Arif gizi,
*Institute of Law and Human Rights
of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan*

The article discusses some aspects of the strategic partnership between Azerbaijan and Turkey. The main goal of the article is to show all those factors of strengthening between these countries, where any misunderstanding in relations is excluded. The article uses the methods of historical chronicle, a content analysis of international documents, a comparative analysis of the current situation in the world. The scientific novelty of the article lies in a comprehensive analysis of the activities of Azerbaijan in its foreign policy towards Turkey, where the process from strategic cooperation develops to strategic partnership. It is noted that the foreign policy of any country is obliged to adapt widely to the internal management and politics of the country, that is, it should not allow any tension in existing relations and situations in it. It is emphasized that each state itself determines the priorities of its independent foreign policy, taking into account its own stable information on the specific gravity and power of the country in international relations, its history, geography, population, culture, technical development and military power. Attention is drawn to the fact that strategic thinking, strategic planning and all political will must shape adequacy. Consequently, strategic relations appear as evidence of a power-oriented international policy; they manifest themselves in the form of cooperation and partnership. If strategic cooperation is relatively short in time and limited in space, the partnership includes long-term goals related to internal political harmony. It is noted that strategic partnership is the unity of two states, a military alliance and political partnership in order to counter the threats of a common enemy. Historical and cultural ties, the cooperation of political institutions serves the strategic goals of Azerbaijan and Turkey. It is also noted that after the Cold War, radical changes in the international system had a strong influence on the strategic relations of various countries. In conclusion, attention is drawn to the fact that in the context of common interests and characteristics of the Turkic-speaking peoples, the Turkish-Azerbaijani strategic cooperation at the highest level is an example for the countries of the region and for the peoples of the Turkic world.

Key words: strategic partnership, cooperation, strategic relations, international systems, Turkic world.

У статті розглядаються деякі аспекти стратегічного партнерства між Азербайджаном і Туреччиною. Основна мета статті – показати всі ті чинники зміцнення відносин між цими країнами, за яких непорозуміння у відносинах виключено. У статті використані методи історичної хроніки, контент-аналіз міжнародно-правових актів, порівняльний аналіз сучасної ситуації у світі. Наукова новизна статті полягає у всебічному аналізі діяльності Азербайджану в зовнішній політиці по відношенню до Туреччини, коли процес від стратегічної співпраці розвивається до стратегічного партнерства. Відзначається, що стратегічне партнерство – це єдність двох держав, військовий союз і політичне партнерство для протидії загрозам спільного ворога. Історико-культурні зв'язки, співпраця політичних інститутів служать стратегічним цілям Азербайджану і Туреччини. Відзначається також, що після холодної війни радикальні зміни в міжнародній системі здійснили сильний вплив на стратегічні відносини різних країн. Відзначається, що зовнішня політика будь-якої держави повинна широко адаптуватися до внутрішнього управління та політики країни, тобто не повинна допускати будь-які напруженості існуючих відносин і ситуацій у ній. Підкреслюється, що кожна держава сама визначає пріоритети своєї незалежної зовнішньої політики з огляду на власну стабільну інформацію про питому вагу і могутність країни в міжнародних відносинах, її історію, географію, населення, культуру, технічний розвиток і військову могутність. Звертається увага на те, що стратегічне мислення, стратегічне планування і вся політична воля повинні формувати адекватність. Отже, стратегічні відносини з'являються як свідчення орієнтованої на владу міжнародної політики; вони проявляють себе у формі співпраці та партнерства. Якщо стратегічне співробітництво є відносно коротким у часі і обмеженим у просторі, то партнерство включає довгострокові цілі, пов'язані із внутрішньою політичною гармонією. У висновку звертається увага на той факт, що в контексті загальних інтересів і особливостей тюркомовних народів турецько-азербайджанське стратегічне співробітництво існує на вищому рівні, і відзначається що ці відносини є прикладом для країн регіону і для народів усього тюркського світу.

Ключові слова: стратегічне партнерство, співробітництво, стратегічні відносини, міжнародні системи, тюркський світ.

Introduction. As a regional force Turkey is the only state close to Azerbaijan, if we take into account the existing Armenian-Russian military and strategic treaty. Presence of the Azerbaijani-Turkish military partnership maintains the equality of the conflicting parties. In the post-war years the foreign policy of Turkey was directed towards the Southern Caucasian region. Mainly the community of historical, cultural and humanitarian relations and interests of Turkey stood behind these factors, i.e., “the worth” given to Azerbaijan by Turkey, which continues a sustainable policy aimed at the dynamic development of a comprehensive cooperation. In the frames of these relations the achievements of the two countries are their common desire and expectation.

The foreign policy of any country is obliged to adapt itself widely to the internal governance and policy of the country, i.e., it must not strain the existing relations and situation there. Each state determines the priorities of its independent foreign policy by taking into account such stable information on the relative weight and power of the country in the international relations, its history, geography, population, culture, technological development and military might. In such cases the strategic thinking, strategic planning and the weight of the political will must form an equivalency. Strategic relations emerge as an evidence of the power-centered international policy; they display themselves in the form of cooperation and partnership. If the strategic cooperation is relatively short in time and limited in space, partnership includes long-term targets connected with the internal political harmony.

The main goal of the article is to show all those factors of strengthening between these countries, where any misunderstanding in relations is excluded.

The article **uses the methods** of historical chronicle, a content analysis of international documents, a comparative analysis of the current situation in the world.

The scientific novelty of the article lies in a comprehensive analysis of the activities of Azerbaijan in its foreign policy towards Turkey, where the process from strategic cooperation develops to strategic partnership.

The mine matters. Rapprochements display themselves not only among the states in international policy on different levels in the form of consultations, but also in the form of alliances, which include broad security guarantees. Strategic relations cannot be unilateral in nature; it is possible if two or more states act jointly in conditions of cooperation for reaching a strategic goal. Before speaking about the strategic partnership, it is necessary to disclose the essence of partnership in international policy. Partnership in international policy is a long term relation relying on the belief of two countries united around a common mission. From this point of view the collective

security attempts represent the partnership initiatives. As the partnership initiatives embrace all the universal human values, they are not aimed at achieving a priority on the other partners; because of it the partnership initiatives do not acquire a strategic sense. Instead of it, strategic cooperation and building a partnership demand the existence of an international situation, in which a zero-volume power struggle is reigning, because the struggle of the global power provides the liveliness of strategic relations. From this point of view the strategic relation is a type of alliance aimed at achieving strategic priority. Therefore, after the cold post war period the ongoing geopolitical struggle for the Southern Caucasus waged by global powers and regional actors created favourable conditions for the construction of strategic relations. From the point of view of international situation strategic relations gave birth to the struggle among the global forces for political influence, enrichment and control over the limited natural resources. An ongoing radical change in the international system includes new forces into the international policy and creates conditions for building new strategic relations or for completing the old strategic relations and begins new relations instead of them. In order to make the multi-polar international system more open for sub-systematization they are to be open for strategic cooperation projects, which are more favourable. In one strategic cooperation project two parties may have joint expectations; the strategic cooperation of the two parties may proceed from completing reasons. In such a strategic model of cooperation the target of one of the regional actors may be to balance the other regional actor, but the main target of the global actor may be to obstacle another global actor. Along with the said, the negative completing alliances, that is, the clash of the foreign policy directions of the two parties may also lead to the conflict of the foreign policy directions of both parties. So that, the Turkish-Azerbaijani partnership, which indicates a completing alliance, is an example, which throws light on such a situation. Within such an alliance the expectation of Azerbaijan was to gain the desired support of Turkey in the issue of the Nagorniy-Karabakh. In 2008–2009 there emerged several events, which caused tensions in the relations of Azerbaijan and Turkey [1]. Turkey closed its borders in connection with the occupation of the Azerbaijani territories by Armenia. Turkey attempted to apply the policy of “zero problem” to Yerevan in connection with the occupation. The temporary situation, which emerged between the two republics, led to misunderstandings. The relations, which softened with the help of the public and administration of Azerbaijan, were not broken, did not reach the limit, the official disclosures of the Turkish politicians, the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan to Baku and his speech in the parliament of Azerbaijan removed the conflict. The misunderstandings, lack of attention

and disbelief between the two parties arising from time to time were removed and resulted in cooperation on the level of strategic partnership. As a result of common efforts the bilateral relations reached the previous level within a short span of time. After the negative developments of 2011 the relations between the two countries advanced towards the Strategic Cooperation [2].

As it is seen, collision of the priority fields of the two countries in foreign policy sometimes led to crisis, nevertheless, it did not affect the strategic partnership between the two countries, because strategic partnership is a stage over the strategic cooperation, it is of a longer time and serves much wider and bigger goals, provides the existence of potential targets able to create strategic relations, more radical targets or (historical, cultural) relations. From this point of time the strong foundation of relations does not allow the tensions overstep the frames of boundaries. Long-term interests in the Azerbaijani-Turkish relations are being observed. Beginning from the period of Heydar Aliyev this policy is still being continued, because the strategic relations built on healthy foundations between these two countries have become refined and turned into a concrete political issue. "Otherwise it will lose its sense" [3].

Before beginning a strategic relation or partnership the players must be selected. Acquisition of a strategic character of such an initiative the resources of the both parties must be evaluated from regional and global point of view and it is necessary that one of the partners should be leading in the issue of a regional actor. In other words, the strategic balance of a partner weak for the strategic cooperation with a global power should keep in hand the cart able to change the strategic balance. For Azerbaijan it is the rich oil and gas deposits, but for Turkey it is its geopolitical position, which could play the role of a corridor.

In 1997 during his visit to Ankara Heydar Aliyev signed the joint Azerbaijani-Turkish Declaration on deepening the strategic cooperation between the two countries [4]. This visit took place when information came that Russia had sold a billion dollar worth of arms to Armenia. When it comes to the military-commercial operations of Turkey, Azerbaijan is the 18th country, which has a sales base for the buyers of the Turkish arms. Turkey produces military and civil ships, aviation electrotechnics, rockets, small weapons and is hoping to develop its military industry further. In the April of 1998 the Commandant of the Military Forces of Azerbaijan paid a visit to Ankara and suggested to Turkey to sell to Azerbaijan F-16 jet planes produced in Turkey on the license of the USA [5].

On March 14, 2001, during the visit of Heydar Aliyev to Turkey the latter asked for help in the solution of the Nagorniy Karabakh conflict. Behind this demand for help there were heard signals about a strategic treaty being developed between Russia and

Armenia. Heydar Aliyev declared that Turkey was important not only for herself, but for the whole Turkic world and Azerbaijan. Aliyev stressed that Azerbaijan and Turkey were in the state of strategic partners and attracted the attention to the positive state of relations. The Turkish foreign minister of foreign affairs Ismail Cem paid a visit to Azerbaijan on October 21, 2001 [6]. During this visit the parties discussed the issues in which both of the parties were interested and the September 11 terror act in the United States and the processes which followed. On September 17-18, 2002 the Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer paid a two-day visit to Baku. He said that it was necessary to build brotherly relations between the two countries. In 2000 President Ahmet Necdet Sezer made his first foreign visit to Azerbaijan in order to display the importance attached to Azerbaijan by Turkey [7]. During the visit of Ömer İzzin, chairman of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, to Baku at the beginning of February included into agenda such issues as the recognition of the genocide in Xocalı by the Great National Assembly of Turkey and the institution of a Parliamentary Union of the Turkic Speaking Countries occupied an important place among the high level political processes. Cooperation in the military sphere passed into a new stage after the signature of the treaty "On Strategic Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" on August 16, 2016 [8].

Another reason of the success of the strategic cooperation of Azerbaijan and Turkey is the completeness of the legitimacy of both regimes and the changes in the power do not affect the strategic relations. For instance, succession of the Party of Justice and Development to power did not lead to any changes in the country. Presence of conformity in the foreign policy priorities and internal political harmony allow continue strategic relations stably.

During the visit of the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev to Turkey on June 7-8, 2010, a number of important documents on cooperation in the field of energy were signed. In the frames of that visit on June 8 the Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev spoke in the third summit conference on Mutual Activity and Confidence in Asia, which joined 22 states [9]. He declared the projects, which have begun to be successfully implemented into life in Azerbaijan and created strong foundations for a wide regional cooperation. He also declared that those energy projects referred to energy security and were an important example of regional energy security and would benefit all the participants of the project. The Turkish President Abdulla Gul paid a visit to Azerbaijan on August 16-17, 2010. It gave an incentive to the signature of the treaty between Turkey and Azerbaijan "On Strategic Partnership and Mutual Assistance", it was a step counted at the future. Declaring that this treaty signed with the brotherly country President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev said: "This treaty determines our

future activity and it will determine the friendly and brotherly relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan for dozens of years in future" [10].

According to the first article of the treaty when territorial integrity, sovereignty and inviolability of the borders are threatened or occur in danger "the parties conduct immediate consultations for taking necessary measures to remove these threats and dangers. In conformity with the second article of the Treaty if one of the parties is subjected to an armed attack or military aggression of a third state or by a group of states, the contracting states will render mutual assistance to each other by using their military might and opportunities for implementing into life of their individual or collective self-defense right in conformity with Article 51 of the Charter of the Organization of the United Nations [11]. The form and volume of this assistance will be agreed by the Parties without any delay. This treaty is aimed at the protection of Azerbaijan from the attack of Russia and Armenia. Three days after the signature of the Azerbaijani-Turkish treaty the Russian President D. Medvedev prolonged the time of the stay of the Russian military base in Armenia for 49 years. According to the signed treaty between Armenia and Russia the Russian military base in Armenia ensures the security of Armenia together with the armed forces of Armenia and for this purpose Russia supplies Armenia with modern and other necessary weapons, helps to provide it with military (special) technical devices".

In the 10th Summit of Turkic Speaking Countries, which was held in Istanbul in November 15-16, 2010, the relations conducted on the level of Strategic Partnership by the Prime Minister Tayyip Recep Erdogan and President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev the contacts on the level of Strategic Partnership widened more. In 2010 at the Istanbul Summit of the Turkic Speaking Countries a joint statement was signed on the institution of the Turkish-Azerbaijani High Level Strategic Cooperation Council [12]. At the press conference held after the meeting a number of contracts were signed on cooperation beginning from transportation of energy and gas till meteorology, communications and the education of the policemen. The contracts, disclosures of the leaders at the press conferences, answers to the given questions hinted at important moments concerning the existing and future state of the Azerbaijani-Turkish relations. The leaders took part at the opening of AYPET Plant created in Petkim enterprises in the District of Əliəğa, as well as at the foundation laying ceremonies of the Star Oil Refinery and Technical and Professional Lyceum named after Heydar Aliyev.

The first session of the Council was held on October 25, 2011, in Izmir, in which President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and prime minister of the Turkish Republic Recep Tayyip Erdogan took part. About twenty documents were signed at the session. The depth of bilateral relations was discussed [13].

The second conference of the Council of Cooperation took place on September 11, 2012, in the town of Gabala of Azerbaijan [14]. The past one year was marked with strengthening and development of strategic alliance between the two states; it covered all the spheres of lives in both countries. In his speech prime minister of the Turkish Republic Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared that Azerbaijan and Turkey historically have pursued and are pursuing the principle of "one nation - two states". It is necessary not to forget that the positions of the two states coincide not only in the approach to the problem of the Nagorniy Karabakh problem. The two brotherly countries look upon the global problems in the light of the same prism and support the position of each other in international organizations. In 2011 the two countries signed important contracts (including TANAP) on the transition of the Azerbaijani gas to Europe through the territory of Turkey. The session also planned to call the sessions of the Mixed Commission. Military, political, cultural cooperation continued in the whole international arena within a serious solidarity and is reaching its peak. On November 13, 2013, the third session of the Council was held in Ankara. It was declared that there was a dynamic development in political, economic, energy and other spheres in the cooperation between the two states [15]. On January 15, 2015, the regular fourth session of the Council was held in Ankara, it noted that the bilateral projects were implemented into life successfully [16]. In his speech President Ilham Aliyev declared that presence of a common political will allows the implementation of big projects into life. He highly appreciated the desire of Turkey to see Azerbaijan in "G-20" and a great honour for Azerbaijan. "It confirms once more the Turkish-Azerbaijani brotherly relations, because this step in reality relies on our history, on our unity, at the same time it demonstrates to the world the closeness of Turkey and Azerbaijan". The session exchanged views on the perspectives of cooperation in the sphere of economy, energy, energetics, transport, defence, humanitarian spheres, and the successful work connected with the Baku-Tbilisi-Qars railway project, TANAP, the solution of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict over the Nagorniy Karabakh. The parties exchanged views on the issues of bilateral, international and mutual interest. It was stressed that the Turkish-Azerbaijani brotherhood relies on political pluralism, sincere cooperation, insistence against terrorism and mainly on justice.

Results. As it is seen, the transformation of the created strategic cooperation into strategic partnership is based on strong foundations able to stand against the crises caused by this cooperation, because only the uniting chances of the internal socio-political harmony may remove the exterminating effect of the problems, which may emerge. In partnership both parties must confide in each other and not leave any chance for it till they reach the strategic targets. Because of it, it is

very important that the two parties shall be governed in the same regime. It was confirmed in the example of Turkey and Azerbaijan once more. In strategic partnership the unison of the parties by historical-cultural ties is very important and this harmony is obliged to serve concrete strategic goals. Such a situation makes sustainable the strategic partnership. For instance, on March 15 President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan signed the protocol of the fifth session of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Turkey. The content of the six documents, which was signed, shows that Baku and Ankara display a service, which is in conformity with the demands of the present world, serves regional and global cooperation, creation of an effective security system, mutual relations in conformity with the international norms of law. The documents cover the exchange of diplomatic, political, economic, social, and military (civil) delegations, cooperation in the sphere of justice and in technical sphere, and all this contribute to deepening strategic relations between the two countries. After the speeches of the presidents at the session the information conveyed to mass media confirmed once more that both countries move forward on an exemplary model in strategic cooperation. President Ilham Aliyev highly appreciated his invitation to the Summit of the leaders of G-20 by the President of Turkey as an expression of a political position in the strategic cooperation [16]. He appreciated each factor on the plane of the interests of the country and confirmed that he approached to all other issues with the same criteria. Just in this aspect the Azerbaijani President stressed that Azerbaijan has always been by the side of Turkey and it has acquired a strategic importance. He said: "If Turkey is powerful, Azerbaijan will be as powerful as Turkey". R. T. Erdogan proposed to convene a Global Forum of the Alliance of Civilizations

in Baku, when Islamophobia, Xenophobia and racism raged in the world. Besides, President Ilham Aliyev was invited to the Humanitarian Summit of the World to be organized in Turkey for the first time. It is the suggestion of a new leadership model for the world. This is the suggestion of an only new leadership model to the world. This leadership model may bring peace and reconciliation to the world and it suits the essence of XXI century. The following thoughts of the Azerbaijani President in this context are very interesting and instructive. Ilham Aliyev declared in Ankara: "I want to note once more: I think and I am sure that people in Turkey and Azerbaijan will agree with such an idea: There are no countries in the world, which are as close to each other as Turkey and Azerbaijan. This unity is our national property, national wealth. We are protecting this unity and shall do it. I am sure that in future we shall have much greater victories than the present ones" (Ilham Aliyev, 2016).

Conclusions. If we take into account this document, which has been signed, the Turkish-Azerbaijani relations satisfy the criteria required by the strategic partnership. The development of Turkey as a regional force means that it has moved to the forefront its foreign policy priorities in the region. To continue the strategic partnership it is necessary not to have a confrontation in the priorities of foreign policy. Being a country of the Near East Turkey has created its own foreign policy truth, which necessitates the creation of a long term strategic partnership. The community model is a notion characterizing the level and content of political-military-economic relations. At this strategic level it shows the moment which the Azerbaijani-Turkish relations reach or want to reach: "One nation, two states". We believe that the administrations of Azerbaijan and Turkey will deepen the strategic partnership hence. Such cooperation is not for two countries only; it is useful for the region and for the entire world.

REFERENCES:

1. Türkiye Azerbaycan İlişkileri Kafkasya'da Güvenliğin teminatıdır. Zaman, 30.06.2009.
2. Özcan M, Usul Ali R. Understanding the 'New' Turkish Foreign Policy: Changes Within Continuity, Is Turkey Departing From the West? *USAK Yearbook*. Vol. 4. Year 2011. P. 159–185.
3. Eyüp Zengin, Piyasa Ekonomisine Geçiş Sürecinde Azerbaycan, İstanbul, İTO Yayınları, 2010. 276 s.
4. Aslanlı A. Haydar Aliyev Döneminde Azerbaycan Dış Politikasında Doğal Kaynaklar. 2011. URL : <http://www.1news.com.tr/yazarlar/20111214015540632.html>.
5. Birlikdə yeni əsrə doğru. Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidenti Heydər Əliyevin ABŞ-a səfəri. 27 iyul-7 avqust, 1997-ci il, 415 s.
6. Cəfəroğlu N. Azərbaycan Türkiyə Əlaqələri (1993–2000). 2001. 123 s.
7. Alpargu M. Güvenlik Boyutunda Türkiye – Azerbaycan İlişkileri, Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi. Y. 2, S. 3 2004, Ankara Genelkurmay Basım Evi. S.1–17.
8. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə sənədləri imzalanıb. AZƏRTAC, 15 mart, 2016.
9. Türkiyə Azərbaycan qardaşlığı pozulmazdır. 525-ci qəzet, 16 aprel, 2010.
10. Türkiyə ilə Azərbaycan arasında bağlanmış "Strateji tərəfdaşlıq və qarşılıqlı yardım haqqında". URL : http://www.mediaforum.az/articles.php?lang=az&page=02&article_id=20101215054430699 (15 avqust 2010).
11. Chapter VII – Action with respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression. Article 51. URL : <https://legal.un.org/reperatory/art51.shtml>.

12. Oğuz C. Türkiye Azerbaycan İlişkileri ve Ermenistan Faktörü, 1.b. Ankara, 2010. S. 80.
13. Musayev Y. Hərbi-texniki sahədə Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əməkdaşlığı (1991–2011). *Azərbaycan-Türkiyə əlaqələri son 20 ildə: uğurlar və imkanlar. Məqalələr toplusu.* © SAM, © ATİB. 2011, 158 s.
14. Milliyet, 7 milyard dollarlık imza, 27.06.2012.
15. Yüzyıl Türkiye Enstitüsü Milli Güvenlik ve Dış Politika Araştırmaları Merkezi, 30 Temmuz, 2013. URL : <http://www.21yyte.org/tr/arastirma/milli-guvenlik-ve-dis-politika-arastirmalari-merkezi/2013/07/30/7135/arap-bahari-surecinde-turk-dis-politikasinda-proaktiflik-yitimi>.
16. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə sənədləri imzalanıb. AZƏRTAC, 15 mart, 2016.
17. URL : <http://metbuat.az/news/120291/rusiya-ve-turkiye-turk-axini-qaz-boru-kemerinin-2016-ci-ilin.html>.