

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation n for the degree of Doctor of Science

ETHNOPOLITICAL ASPECTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

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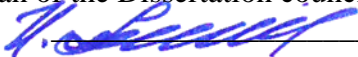
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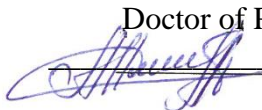
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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORK

Relevance and the degree of scientific development of the research issue. Urgency of this thesis research can be disclosed at the following main levels.

On the first hand, the research of ethnopolitical aspects of the national security seems advisable on the **theoretical level**, in the light of the fact that the topic under research has great creative potential due to its interdisciplinary nature – being at the intersection of national security theory, ethnopolitology as well as ethnoconflictology, theory of political management and other social and political sciences.

On the second hand, the study of this problem **on the applied level** makes it possible to significantly expand and deepen the range of practical developments in the field of strategy and tactics for ensuring the internal and international development of the state, in solving specific state tasks to prevent and neutralize threats and challenges to sustainable development in the country. For this purpose, the experience of Azerbaijan Republic on the successful regulation of interethnic relations in the country, as well as the state policy consistently pursued in this area, is of interest to the world community.

In the third place, the study of this problem **at the ideological level** is necessary for the formation of real national interests that really meet the needs of sustainable development of the country, since it is the interests of the “ethnos-nation-people” and “national security” that very often ideologically justify a variety constructions, including false-illusory political and ideological ones.

Azerbaijan, in accordance with its National Security Concept, consistently implements the policy of multiculturalism, which is the most successful model for regulating ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in society, when in modern conditions it has clearly failed in a number of Western countries.

In the fourth place, the study of the problem **at the axiological level** is caused by the need to create such a normative value scale, which, on the one hand, would become the basis for the

development of scientifically sound guidelines for a stable and prosperous society, and on the other hand, a tool in identifying destructive ethnic values and identities that could harm the vital interests of the national security of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

All of this actualizes the development of *a new research paradigm*, a new *conceptual approach*, and in fact, *a new scientific direction* – **ethnical and political security**.

Refraction through the prism of this paradigmatic approach of the issues of filling with new content of state policy in the fields of ethnopolitics and national security, corresponding to the tasks of modernization of Azerbaijani society, protection of its vital interests, significantly increases the practical and theoretical relevance of the study of ethnopolitical aspects of the national security of Azerbaijan Republic.

Concerning the **extent of previous research** of the problem it should be noted the following: in spite of the fact that on the one hand enough voluminous literature is devoted to the problems of ethnopolitical processes and ethnopolitical conflicts and on the other hand, there is a significant potential for studying modern national security practices, there are very few generalizing works on the comprehensive study of these problems and the development of an integrated conceptual approach in domestic and foreign science.

The accumulated research material on the thematic scope of the work can be conveniently classified into three large groups.

The first group consists of works that consider various approaches and theoretical generalizations on ethnopolitical issues. The works analyzed in this block, in turn, can be grouped into two reference directions.

The first research area should include literature on the nature of ethnopolitical processes emergence, their main trends and law of development.

The following Azerbaijan scientists contributed to the development of this problem: I. Aghayev, E. Aslanov, D. Arasli, N.

Jafarov, S. Khalilov, E. Najafov,¹ and others. In the works of these and other scientists, the main approaches to the study of ethnicity are considered in relation to the conditions of Azerbaijani society: the problems of transition to multiethnic democracy, optimization of the model of ethnic policy in the republic, the role of national policy as the most important political resource in the realization of national unity and the achievement of polyethnic democracy, etc. At the same time it is worth pointing out that methodological prisms of problems consideration by Azerbaijan authors are multifaceted: the national idea by V. Abdullayev, consciously formed national policy by G.Orujev, national ideology by A.Tagiyev and etc.²

If for R.G. Abdullatipov, the Russian researcher, these problems are relevant in the “classical” context of the formation of the country’s ethnical and national policy, then according to D.V. Dragunsky’s interpretation the ethnopolitical processes turn out to be the building material of the reconstruction of the entire Northern Eurasia.³ Some interesting conclusions, in science terms, are in the

¹ Ağayev İ. M. Müasir şəraitdə Azərbaycanda milli-etnik proseslər. B., 2006; Асланов Э. Глобализация и стратегия национального развития: Автореф. Дис. ... канд. полит. наук. Баку, 2007; Араслы Дж. Армяно-азербайджанский конфликт: военный аспект / Центр стратегических и международных исследований. Б., Эргюн, 1995; Cəfərov N. Azərbaycanlılar: etnokulturoloji birləşməsi siyasi-ideoloji üfqləri.B., XXI–Yeni Nəşrlər Evi, 2001; Xəlilov S.S. Sivilizasiyalararası dialoq. B., “Adiloölu”, 2009; Nəcəfov E. Azərbaycan Respublikasının multikulturalizm siyasətinin onun xarici siyasətinə təsiri. //Strateji təhlil, 2016, Say 1-2 (15-16), s. 35-43// https://www.elibrary.az/docs/jurnal/jrn2016_471.pdf

² Abdullayev V.İ. Millət ideyası: siyasi aspekt. B., “Təbib”, 1998; Оруджев Г. Гейдар Алиев и национальная политика Азербайджана. Б., «Шарг-Гарб», 2001; Tağıyev A. Milli ideya və milli ideologiya: problemlər və onların şərhı. B., 2000; Tağıyev A., Şükürov M. Etnopolitologiya. B., «Elm, 2000; Tağıyev A., Şükürov M. İki əsrin qovşağında Azərbaycan: Milli və millətlərarası problemlərin həlli yolunda. B., Adiloğlu, 2004.

³ Абдуллатипов Р.Г. Этнополитология. – СПб.: Питер, 2004; Драгунский Д.В. Этнополитические процессы на постсоветском пространстве и реконструкция Северной Евразии. //Полис, 1995, № 3 — С. 40—47.

works of other Russian authors, such as L.M. Drobizheva, E.D. Ponarina, V.A. Tishkova, S.V. Cheshko⁴ and others.

In the English–language literature, the works of L. Snyder (highlights the types of ethnopolitics that have become classical - micronationalism and macronationalism), L. Despres (makes the content of ethnic processes and ethnic identification dependent on specific historical factors), E. Smith (national identity plays a decisive role in the formation of nations), J. Rothschild (according to which the core of ethnopolitics is the political content of ethnic reality) are devoted to the issues of interethnic interaction.⁵

The second research area of this group should include scientific works devoted to the genesis, course and settlement of ethno-political conflicts, including Caucasus conflicts. The works by D. Horowitz, G. Gottlieb, S. Cornell, F. Starr, K. Kaufman, M. Kahler and B. Walter, R. Aklaev, A. Zdravomyslov, S.D. Kavtaradze, E.A. Payin, S. Chervonina, A. Yazkova as well as E. Mirbashir, A. Aslanli, E. Akhmedov, I. Nurieva and others from the voluminous literature on this subject, are of considerable interest.⁶

⁴ Дробижева Л.М. Этничность в современном обществе. – Этнополитика и социальные практики в Российской Федерации. 2001, № 2, с. 167-180; Понарин Э.Д., Мухаметшина Н.С. Национальные проблемы на постсоветской территории. – СПб., 2001; Тишков В.А. Этнология и политика. – М., 2001; Чешко С.В. Распад Советского Союза: этнополитический анализ. – М., 1996

⁵ Snyder L. Lois Global Mini-Nationalisms: Autonomy or Independence (Contributions in Political Science). Westport, Connecticut. London, England. Greenwood Press; First Edition, 1982; Snyder L. Lois. Macro-Nationalisms. A History of the Pan-Movements. Westport, Connecticut. London, England. Greenwood Press. 1984; Деспрес Л. К разработке теории этнического феномена / Этнос и политика: Хрестоматия. М., 2000, с.27-28; Смит Э. Национализм и модернизм: Краткий обзор современных теорий наций и национализма Пер.с англ. М., "Праксис", 2004; Smith, Anthony D. The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford, New York. Wiley-Blackwell, 2009; Ротшильд Дж. Этнополитика. В кн.: Этнос и политика: Хрестоматия. М., УРАО, 2000, с. 161-164.

⁶ Горюхи Д. Ирредентизм, сепаратизм и самоопределение // Национальная политика в Российской Федерации. М., 1993. с.145 – 164; Gotlib Gidon. Nation Against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflicts and the Decline of Sovereignty. New York, Council on Foreign. Relations Press, 1993; Svante E.

For instance, the key problem of the study for the American political scientist Donald Horowitz is ethnic separatism on the “center-periphery” scale,⁷ then Gidon Gottlieb believes that solving the problem of separatism by splitting up existing states will become a dead end, since it will entail growing instability.⁸

With all the diversity of theories of ethnopolitical conflict that these scientists from different countries are guided by, the general direction of their research remains common to all: the nature, grounds and dynamics of ethnopolitical conflicts, the stages of their transformation, strategies and methods of their settlement, as well as the peculiarities of their local and territorial manifestations.

Cornell. Nagorno-Karabakh in Eurasian Geopolitics. / The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict. Uppsala University, 1999, pp. 142-148; Svante T. Cornell. Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus (Caucasus World). Curzon Press, Routledge, 2000; Svante E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr. The Caucasus: A Challenge for Europe. Washington, D.C. Silk Road Paper. June, 2006; Kaufman C. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. // International Security. Vol. 20, No. 4, Spring, 1996, pp. 136-175; Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization / Ed. by Miles Kahler and Barbara F. Walter. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006; Аклаев А.П. Этнополитическая конфликтология: анализ и менеджмент. М., "Дело" АНХ, 2005; Здравомыслов А.Г. Межнациональные конфликты в постсоветском пространстве. М., Аспект-Пресс, 1997; Кавтарадзе С.Д. Этнополитические конфликты на постсоветском пространстве. М., Издательство «Экзамен», 2005; Паин Э.А. Этнополитический маятник: цикличность этнополитических процессов в постсоветской России // Общественные науки и современность, 2003. № 5, с. 122–131; № 6, с. 117–127.; Червонная С. Ахиллесова пята национальной политики новых независимых государств Центрального Кавказа. // Кавказ & Глобализация. 2009, № 1, Том 3, с. 33 – 40; Язькова А. Национально-этнические проблемы (российский и мировой опыт их регулирования). М., Эпикон, 2003; Siyasi münaqişələr: mahiyyəti, quruluşu, həlli. Bakı, Elm, 2009; Aslanlı A. Qarabağ problemi: tarixi, mahiyyəti, həll prosesi. B., 2009; Əhmədov E.İ. Böyük dövlətlərin Qarabağ münaqişəsinə dair siyasəti: Siyasi elm. Nam...dis. Avtoref. Bakı, 2001; Нуриева И. Международная правовая оценка армяно-азербайджанского конфликта // Журнал «Вопросы Истории», № 9, 2019, Москва, “Красная Звезда”, с. 79-86 and others.

⁷ Горовиц Д. Указ.соч., с. 147

⁸ Gotlib Gidon. Ibid, p.53

The second group of scientific works may include studies devoted to ensuring national security, without the successful solution of which the very existence and successful reform of the post-Soviet states is impossible.

The works of a number of domestic authors, such as A. Abbasbayli, F. Aliyeva, P. Darabadi, E. Nuriyev, A. Piriyeu, A. Rajabli, J. Eyvazov are devoted to various aspects of national security, as well as materials of scientific and practical conferences and other.⁹ Getting acquainted with these works shows that currently Azerbaijan social and political science is at the stage of actively absorbing the most promising areas of world literature, and applying these research innovations to specific problems of the Republic.

In this context the monography “Caspian oil of Azerbaijan” by Ilham Aliyev calls attention to itself. The author gives valuable conclusions and forecasts in his work and points out that “the prosperity of Azerbaijan will be closely linked to the use of the Caspian oil resources. Caspian oil should become not a theatre of competition, but a place of cooperation of various interests. The oil resources of the Caspian Sea should be used rationally in the interests of the people in the future. This is one of the most important duties of the Azerbaijani state”.¹⁰

⁹ Аббасбейли А.Н. Кавказ в сфере геостратегических реалий // Обозреватель, 2003, № 11, с. 28-37; Əliyeva F. N. Qloballaşma və Azərbaycanın milli təhlükəsizlik. B., Səda, 2008; Дарабади П.Г. Геоистория Каспийского региона и геополитика современности. Б., Элм, 2002; Nuriyev E. The Ongoing Geopolitical Game in the Caucasus and the Caspian Basin: Towards War or Peace? // <http://cns.miis.edu/cres/nuriyev.htm>; Piriyeu A. M. Siyasi strategiya və milli təhlükəsizlik.Yenidən işlənmiş nəşr. B., Bakı Universiteti Nəşriyyatı, 2005; Раджабли А. Эволюция институтов и международной политики в сфере безопасности: Автореф. Дис. ... докт. ист. наук. Баку, 2009; Эйвазов Дж. Безопасность Кавказа и стабильность развития Азербайджанской Республики. Б, Нурлан, 2004; NATO and Caucasus Regional Security: materials from the "Caucasus and Regional Security" confrence held by International Eurasia Press Fund jointly wiht NATO in Baku on December 16-17, 2002. Б., ГАПП-ПОЛИГРАФ, 2003

¹⁰ Алиев И. Каспийская нефть Азербайджана. М., Известия, 2003, с. 157

High scientific information value (the introduction of a large number of original Western sources into the circulation of domestic political science, fundamental conclusions and generalizations) characterizes J. Eyvazov's monography, where a model of the national security strategy of Azerbaijan Republic is proposed, based on the assessment of the security dynamics of the Caucasus region.¹¹

Various aspects of the security dilemma are studied in the works of such scientists as R. Allison, B. Kristof, P. Goble, K. Gray¹²; the works of G. Hart, P. Belov, A. Vozzhenikov, A. Pozdnyakov, N. Rybalkin and others¹³ are devoted to the development of the conceptual and categorical apparatus of the theory of national security.

In the context of our research, special attention is paid to the problems of the relationship between geopolitics and national security. In particular, in this context, the works of a number of Western and Russian scientists were used: Peter Hopkirk, Diana Smith, Mahdi Nazemroay, Lutz Cleveman, V. Degoev, A. Dugin, M. Leontiev¹⁴ and others.

¹¹ Эйвазов Дж. Указ.соч., с.152 - 156

¹² Allison Roy, Bluth Christoph. Security dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia. Russia and Eurasia Programme. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Russia and Eurasia Programme, 1998; Гобл П. Геополитика постсоветского юга Кавказа. //Кавказ,1997, № 2, с14-16.; Gray S. Colin. National Security Dilemmas: Challenges and Opportunities Inc. Potomac Books, 2009

¹³ Hart Gary. Under The Eagle's Wing: A National Security Strategy of the United States for 2009 (Speaker's Corner) New York, Fulcrum Pub, 2008; Белов П.Г. Категории и методы национальной безопасности. М., ФЦНТП «Безопасность». 2002; Возжеников А.В. Национальная безопасность: теория, политика, стратегия. М., НПО «Модуль», 2000; Возжеников А.В. Национальная безопасность России: методология исследования и политика обеспечения. М., РАГС, 2002; Поздняков А.И. О понятийном аппарате теории безопасности (аксиологический подход) // Безопасность, № 7-8, 2002, с. 185-192; Рыбалкин Н.Н. Природа безопасности // Вестник Моск. университета, Серия 7, Философия, № 5, 2003, с.36-52;Серия 7,Философия, № 5, 2003,с.36-52; Рыбалкин Н.Н. Философия безопасности.М.,МПЦИ /Багира-2, 2006

¹⁴ Хопкirk Питер. Большая Игра против России: Азиатский синдром / Пер. с англ. М., РИПОЛ КЛАССИК, 2004; Smith Dianne L. Central Asia: A New Great

The third group consists of scientific developments that set the task of a comprehensive consideration of the problems of ethnopolitics and national security. In this context, integrative works include scientific publications by a number of authors, such as B. Koppiters, P. Rowe, P. Chernov, S. Kushkumbayev, Y. Platonov, materials of conferences, defended thesis of such scientists as V. Semenova, V. B. Davydov, E. Payin, M. Fadeichev, R. Kireev, G. Huseynov.¹⁵

Game?// <http://www.milnet.com/pentagon/centasia/cenasap1.htm>, June 17, 1996; Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya. Plans for Redrawing the Middle East: The Project for a "New Middle East"// www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=viewArticle&code=NAZ20061116&articleId=3882; Kleveman, Lutz. The New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia. 1. ed. New York, The Atlantic Monthly press, 2003; Дегоев В.В. Большая игра на Кавказе: история и современность. 2-е изд. М., Русская панорама, 2003; Дугин А. Большая игра за Кавказ. <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1079420460> 16.03.2004; Леонтьев М. Большая Игра. М., АСТ; СПб.: Апрель-СПб, 2008

¹⁵ Коппитерс Б. Федерализм и конфликт на Кавказе. М., Московский Центр Карнеги, № 2, 2002; Спорные границы на Кавказе. /Под ред. Б. Коппитерса и др. М., «Весь мир», 1996; Coppiters B. The Politicisation and Securitisation of Ethnicity: The Case of the Southern Caucasus //Civil Wars, 2001, v.4, № 4, pp.73-94; **Roe Paul**. The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a `Tragedy'? // Journal of Peace Research, 1999, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 183-202; Чернов П.В. Россия: этногеополитические основы государственности. М., "Восточная литература" РАН, 1999; Кушкумбаев С.К. Центральная Азия на путях интеграции: геополитика, этничность, безопасность. Алматы, «Казакстан», 2002; Платонов Ю.П. Этнический фактор. Геополитика и психология. СПб., «Речь», 2002; Этнополитическая безопасность Юга России в условиях глобализации: (Всероссийская научная конференция, посвященная 15 - летию РЦЭИ ДНЦ РАН, 19 октября 2007 г.): сборник] / Дагестанский научный центр РАН; Науч. ред. Алиев А. Махачкала, ИПФ "Наука - Дагестан", 2008; Этнополитические аспекты безопасности в конфликтных очагах и зонах потенциальной напряженности на Кавказе и в Сибири Конференция. Краснодар, 23-26 октября 2003 г. //Международные процессы. <http://www.intertrends.ru/three/014.htm>; Семенов В. А.Этнополитические аспекты безопасности России: Автореф. Дис. ... докт. полит. наук. М., РАГС, 2000; Давыдов В. Этнополитические конфликты на Северном Кавказе и проблемы государственной безопасности Российской Федерации: Дис. ... канд. полит. наук. М., 2004; Паин Э. Этнополитические процессы в

The analytical processing of works in this direction shows that today there is no universally recognized methodology for the study of national security problems, and conceptual approaches to the study of its various aspects are formatted in a monodisciplinary framework: the theory of national security, geopolitics, political science of international relations and so on.

The study of the above mentioned works allowed the author to form the basis for a scientific assessment of the problem under study, to develop their own vision of it and to put forward a scientific hypothesis that forms the basis of this dissertation research. In general, it seems necessary to note that the study of the accumulated scientific literature makes it possible to form a definite idea of various research positions on the problems of ethnopolitology and national security, the direct formulation and justification of the scientific task of developing the phenomenon of ethnopolitical security and its refraction to Azerbaijan has not yet been undertaken.

Target of research. The object of the study is the content of the “borderline” field of intersubjective relations arising at the intersection of the spheres of ethnopolitical processes and national security. The subject of the study is a set of ethnic and political characteristics of interethnic relations in the sphere of protection of vital interests of society and the state from various threats to their security.

Purpose and objectives of research. The purpose of this research is the analysis of the specifics of the ethnopolitical aspects of the national security of Azerbaijan Republic. In accordance with the set goal, the following research tasks were identified and completed:

- in the context of theoretical and methodological research of dialectics to develop the relationship of ethnopolitics and

модернизирующей России (Концепция нелинейного развития этнополитической интеграции): Дис. ... докт. полит. наук. Москва, 2004; Фадеичева М. Этнополитические концепции этнонациональных общностей и индивидов (Теоретико-методологический анализ): Дис. ... докт. полит. наук. Екатеринбург, 2004 and others.

- national security, the author's approach to the main paradigms of ethnopolitics in the era of globalization;
- to conduct a theoretical analysis of the available scientific views on the general discourse of the problem, comparing on this basis two research models of the dialectical relationship between security and the ethnic sphere – ethnopolitical security and security in the ethnic sphere;
 - to investigate the Karabakh conflict in ethnogeopolitical retrospect, to analyze the causes of its occurrence, as well as the stages of formation and forms of manifestation;
 - to characterize the place and role of the ethno-confessional factor in modern conditions, to compare the features of its manifestation in the national security of the post-Soviet territory;
 - to systematize the currently available points of view on approaches, methods and ways of interrelation of the national development strategy and the ethnopolitical security of the country;
 - to show the influence of current geopolitical trends on the dynamics of the country's ethnopolitical security;
 - to propose the author's development of the ethnopolitical dimension of national security and definition of its systemic criteria;
 - to identify and analyze the key factors and threats to the ethnopolitical security the Republic of Azerbaijan, first of all, the Armenian aggression that lasted for more than 30 years, which led to more than a million refugees and internally displaced persons in the country;
 - show the success of the implementation of the Azerbaijani model of tolerance and multiculturalism in the ethnic and religious spheres, historically established traditions of religious tolerance and good neighborliness in the society;
 - to give own suggestions on the development of a comprehensive index of ethnopolitical security and consideration on its basis of the national security strategy the Republic of Azerbaijan;

- taking into account international and domestic experience, to analyze the provision of ethnopolitical security of Azerbaijan Republic as a condition for the formation of a “post-conflict ethnopolitics”;
- to analyze the system of ensuring the ethnopolitical security of Azerbaijan Republic, its goals, main objectives, principles and structure, to formulate possible directions and measures for their implementation;
- to consider the main prognostic scenarios related to ensuring the ethnopolitical security of Azerbaijan Republic in the first half of the XXI century.

Method of research. Due to the fact that the work is interdisciplinary, the multi-paradigm approach to the research of the topics of this thesis includes the following scientific methods: analysis and synthesis, historical, comparative, factual, social and philosophical, method of conflict studies as well as descriptive, systemic and dialectical methods.

Provisions of scientific research, submitted to defend:

- through the identification of the relationship between ethnopolitics and national security in the era of globalization, the main idea of the study on the need for institutionalization of the scientific direction – “ethnopolitical security” is substantiated”;
- the author’s definition of the category “ethnopolitical security” comes from its understanding as a state of protection of vital interests, processes and institutions of the ethnopolitical development of the country;
- the national development strategy is considered as a policy of increasing the integral potential of the country based on the manifestation of its medium- and long-term perspectives;
- the ideas of the ethnopolitical dimension of national security, containing elements of novelty, are proposed through the relationship between system criteria.

The scientific novelty of the thesis research is as follows:

- an attempt has been made to consider ethnopolitics and security as an integrative system;

- the author substantiates and develops the idea of the need to institutionalize *the scientific direction* – “ethnopolitical security”, gives its definition, reveals the essential aspects and substantive features of this phenomenon of social and political reality;
- it is given the theoretical and methodological substantiation of the dialectics of the interrelation of ethnopolitics and national security in the era of globalization and it is carried out the consideration of ethnopolitical processes in the newly independent states in the context of modern threats to national security;
- it was given the author’s definition of the national development strategy as a policy of increasing the integral potential of the country based on the manifestation of its medium- and long-term prospects, implemented by all actors of political participation on the principles of interdependence of all aspects of development, optimization of current tactics and procedures, close connection with the international goals of human development;
- an attempt has been made to introduce into scientific circulation the scale of the ethnopolitical dimension of national security, the definition of its systemic criteria;
- it was analyzed the complex of ethno-political threats to national security on the example of Azerbaijan Republic, the substantive components of the relationship between the national development strategy and the ethnopolitical security of the country;
- the scientific and logical substantiation of the author’s vision of the conceptual foundations of the ethnopolitical security of the Republic of Azerbaijan is given, according to the following scheme: analysis of search predictive scenarios based on current trends – analysis of normative priorities of the country’s ethnopolitical security – outline of the contours of the ethnopolitical security system, its goals, objectives and principles – formulation of possible measures and proposals aimed at their implementation;

Theoretical and practical significance of the work. The substantiated ideas and the advanced hypotheses in this dissertation can serve as a starting point for further research both in the field of ethnopolitology and in the field of national security of the country.

The materials of the dissertation can be used in the educational process, in the preparation of training courses: “Ethnopolitology”, “Ethnoconflictology”, as well as the possible organization of an independent specialization for the magistracy “Ethnopolitical security”.

The main provisions and conclusions of the dissertation research can also be used in legislative practice, in the preparation of normative documents, in particular, when adjusting the concept of the country’s ethno-national policy.

Approbation and application of research results. The dissertation was discussed and recommended for defense at a joint meeting of the Academic Departments of “Political Science and Political Management”, “International Relations and Foreign Policy”, “Public Service and Personnel Policy” of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The main content of the dissertation work was reflected in more than 40 scientific publications of the author, including the monograph “Ethnopolitical security: imperative and paradigm of the era of globalization”, and also received approval in the speeches of the applicant at national and international scientific conferences.

The dissertation material is also used in the teaching profession of the applicant at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan in a number of political science disciplines: “Ethnopolitology”, “Fundamentals of National Security”, etc.

The dissertation was written at: the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Structure and scope of the dissertation. The research work consists of an introduction (30,311), 16 paragraphs combined into four chapters – Chapter I (113,231), Chapter II (112,697), Chapter III (91,959), Chapter IV (76,140), Conclusion (11,945), List of

References (50,391) and Appendices (1,486). In general, the volume of the dissertation is 440,796 characters.

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE WORK

The introduction substantiates the relevance of the topic of the dissertation research, the degree of scientific elaboration of the problem is also analyzed, the object, subject, purpose and objectives of the research are determined, the theoretical and methodological basis is revealed and the characteristic of the scientific novelty of the research results, its theoretical and practical significance is given.

The first chapter of the dissertation is dubbed “*The relationship of ethnopolitics and national security: theoretical and methodological foundations of research*” and consists of four paragraphs

In the first paragraph of the chapter “*The main paradigms of ethnopolitics in the era of globalization*”, the author stated his position on the nature and dynamics of ethnopolitical processes that cannot be explained only from themselves, to be the absolute self-cause of their own existence. To build an effective scientific model of the genesis of ethnopolitical processes requires an external message, a higher-order determinant that “invisibly” initiates these processes and correlates with their current and final results. Globalization, understood as a world-historical process of humanity’s “comprehension” of its essence, can act as such a universal cause.

It is noted that on the one hand, globalization opens unique opportunities for the real self-organization of the national life of ethnic groups on the principles of civil solidarity and social partnership, on the other hand, it leads to the rehabilitation of political and ethnic mythologies in the processes of realization by peoples of their own real, not imaginary, ethno-political and ethno-cultural needs. In a generalized form, it manifests in the form of a contradiction between the growing ethnic regionalization and the objective needs of the region's political and economic integration dictated by globalization.

Consideration in this context of modern ethnopolitical processes can be carried out on two main components of the problem: the impact of globalization on both ethnic processes and the forms of their political institutionalization.

The above said gives us the opportunity to come to the conclusion that the XXIst century will be marked by the strengthening of two opposite global trends: on the one hand, the divisive – in the widespread processes of ethnic consolidation and ethnopolitical mobilization; on the other hand, the unifying trend – expressed in the processes of interethnic integration and the search for new forms of global community.

In other words, as we have already noted above, the process of globalization, uniform in its essential characteristics, at various points of the world organism can cause, and indeed causes diametrically opposite consequences. For a significant number of peoples of the Eurasian and African continents, who on the scale of social and economic development did not exceed the threshold values of the industrial era, globalization turned out to be a “catalyst” for the processes of “awakening of national life” characteristic of classical capitalism, the formation of ethnations and national states.

Thus, the uncertainty emerging in the XXIst century under the influence of globalization regarding the old forms of statehood and national development will inevitably generate a new format of ethnopolitical processes, and accordingly, the intensification of the search for alternative ethnopolitical formulas, which, apparently, will return the world, and in particular the Caucasus region, to the painful problems of the formation of a new global order more than once.

In the second paragraph of the first chapter, dubbed ***“Ethnopolitical processes in newly independent states in the context of modern threats to national security”***, it is indicated that the globalization imperative of the XXIst century puts forward new problems and questions for researchers that require their understanding: analysis of the corresponding interrelations between different types and levels of national, regional and international security; transformation of the essential foundations of national

security in the context of the actualization of new challenges and threats; the influence of new dimensions of national security on the nature and configuration of the internal and foreign policy of the newly independent states.

In this paragraph, the refraction of this problematic series is made through the prism of their ethnopolitical dimension, and is actualized through the disclosure of the following issues:

- the nature of modern ethnopolitical processes in the context of modern threats to national security;
- the discourse of ethnopolitical aspects of national security;
- the main ethnopolitical contradictions and the most pressing challenges of ensuring ethnopolitical security;
- the complex of challenges and threats to ethnopolitical security in transit states, the formation of state policy in the ethnic sphere in them.

The dissertation notes that the very understanding of security in the XXIst century is considerably transformed. First of all the emphasis was placed on the task of the physical survival of the state, on its right and ability to realize itself in the international system in the traditional interpretation of national security; on the second hand the emphasis was placed on the task of guaranteeing the maintenance of peace in relations between states within a certain territorial and political space.

At the present stage of the development of international relations, the understanding of national security has received a broader context and has become more voluminous, since along with military and political security tasks, new political and economic, social and environmental and other socially significant tasks are emerging, without which national security will not be stable. In addition, the very social medium in which these tasks are solved has changed. If earlier the state had two clearly delineated spheres of security – internal and external, now, in the context of globalization, the tendency to blur the line between them is increasing.

Today, three main scenarios are emerging in the strategy of ethnopolitical development of the peoples of the former USSR. In the first case, we are talking about the hypertrophied self-sufficient role

of the ethnic factor in the social and political development of the life of modern peoples.

There is a tendency in the second scenario to unify the life of peoples, their maximum assimilation and dissolution in the “titular” ethnical and cultural space – an approach that was considered the most acceptable and promising not so long ago (for example, the way of creating a Soviet superethnos), which partially led to the politicization of the national identity of ethnic groups, thereby reproducing interethnic conflict.

In the historically prevailing conditions, the peoples of the post-Soviet space have the most preferable third scenario for the development of ethnopolitical processes — the path of ethnopolitical integration of the ethnic reality of various nations to the process of formation of the entire multinational people in the newly independent states, when, while preserving the ethnic qualities of individual peoples, a civil nation, a new ethnopolitical quality is formed.

It is obvious that not only theoretical, but also purely practical interests are issues of a political nature of ethnicity, in particular, ethnic aspects of national security. In the last decade, both in scientific usage and in political vocabulary, new phrases are being used more and more actively, in which security is formulated within the framework of large industries (spheres) of activity that are its objects: economic, environmental, social, technological, information, food, fuel, communication, sanitary and other types of security.

The third paragraph of the first chapter dubbed ***“Securitization” of the ethnic sphere or “ethnization” of the security sphere: the general discourse of the problem of ethnopolitical security***” is devoted to tracing the transformation from the end of the XX – beginning of the XXI centuries of the ideas available in political sciences and political practice about the ethnopolitical dimension of the object of this study:

- unsuccessful attempts to “dissolve” ethnopolitical problems in the social and cultural sector of the security system, expressed in the neutral scientific formulation “ethnopolitical aspects of national security”;

- transition to scientific and attributive recognition of the functioning of institutions for the protection of national interests in the ethnic sphere – “security in the ethnic sphere”;
- perception of necessity for theoretical and methodological justification as well as political and legal institutionalization of “ethnopolitical security” as an integral part of the national security system.

It should be noted that at least two main levels can be distinguished in the emergence of ethnopolitical conflicts: internal and external. The internal dimension of the problem lies in the active inclusion of ethnic actors in the political process, i.e. the emergence of an ethnopolitical process, which acts as a process of interaction of sufficiently large groups of the population, and where each is characterized, on the one hand, by a definitely articulated ethnic identity, on the other, by certain (actually existing or desired) institutions of sovereignty.

Ethno-national movements tend to escalate their demands (from ethno-cultural to economic, and from them to political, status, etc.), and, accordingly, to toughen the forms of struggle for their implementation. At the same time, there is a tendency: pauses are used not to find optimal ways out of conflicts, but to accumulate forces in order to continue them.

The external dimension of ethnopolitical conflicts is manifested in the fact that in the era of globalization they increasingly acquire the character of a geopolitical problem. It stands to reason that most governments involved in the cycle of ethnic conflicts often try to explain their causes by foreign interference in the internal affairs of their states (real or imaginary).

In this regard, the question arises: how is it right to characterize the ethnopolitical dimension of national security at the level of the subject definition: as a problem of ensuring security in the ethnic sphere, or as a problem of protection from threats of objects in an independent sphere – ethnopolitical security.

It is our opinion that in the abstract the summary result of the analysis of scientific literature on this problem can be disclosed in the following provisions:

Firstly, the terminology used in this field (including the above mentioned “ethnopolitical aspects of national security”, “security in the ethnic sphere”, “ethnopolitical security” and others), very often does not have a strictly scientific nature in logical and conceptual terms, but rather represents some attractive linguistic and semantic turns, and, accordingly, needs a deeper categorical development.

Second, the formation of nations and national states is, of course, a historical process that originates in the depths of centuries. However, it is equally indisputable that since the beginning of the XXth century there has been a continuous process of accelerating the dynamics of nation formation («nation building»). As a result, in the modern world, the number of dividing lines between state-forming peoples-nations and ethnic minorities is objectively increasing.

Third, analyzing ethnopolitical processes in the context of globalization, it is impossible to focus on conflict-containing factors and processes (including the right to self-determination). From both theoretical and, especially, practical points of view, it is much more productive to focus on studying ways to anticipate these processes and the formation of new transnational multiethnic entities as an alternative.

Fourth, today almost all peoples (both those who have formed their own states and others) are facing the challenges and threats of globalization with a dilemma: either the preservation of ethnic identity in its historical reality, or the search for a new formula for the harmonization of ethnosocial content. In the foreseeable future, the need for such a choice will become even tougher: modern trends in world development indicate that the historical destinies of peoples, their organic “interweaving” into global civilization will depend on it. Interethnic conflicts are increasingly developing into a global and international as well as geopolitical problems. In whatever way their solution affects many countries and peoples, including those located outside the states in which the ethnopolitical conflict originated and is unfolding. This means that no country in the world, especially one with a multi-ethnic composition of the population, can afford to ignore ethnic problems and contradictions in the context of ensuring its national security.

Fifth, none of the theoretical directions in the study of ethnic relations and ethnic politics is currently dominant and generally recognized. This methodological uncertainty increases even more when trying to apply to the ethnic sphere the methods and tools of other sciences, in particular the theory of national security, or interdisciplinary innovations.

Sixth, the contradiction between international legal norms that establish the framework of State sovereignty and the processes of globalization, which create the basis for interference in domestic affairs by international and regional organizations, including interethnic conflicts, is deepening. And this, in turn, causes accusations against the leading powers of the world and international supranational actors of neo-imperialism, the struggle for the redistribution of the world, “double standards”, etc. At the same time, the cross field that develops at the junction of ethnicity and security is characterized, on the one hand, by the multidimensionality of the new systemic properties that arise in this case, on the other hand, by rethinking the totality of real national interests, and, accordingly, by building a qualitatively new hierarchy of long-term and medium-term goals for their implementation.

Seventh, through much of the last century, the use of the category “security” in the political literature in relation to the ethnic sphere was little used. At the same time the concept of “ethnos” was mainly invested with the meaning of “national” in Western literature, and the actual national and ethnic qualities of social and historical communities were revealed through the category of “ethnicity”. In the Soviet and then in the post-Soviet scientific literature, several different paradigmatic priorities were adhered to, since through the efforts of ethnological science here the concept of “ethnos” was widely recognized by scientific and political elites.

However, both in Western and Soviet and Russian scientific schools, figuratively speaking, ethnic groups were “dissolved” among the dominant social and historical communities in the XXth century: classes (Marxism), strata of the population (stratification theory), states (ideology of etatism), various totalitarian and ideological constructions.

Thus, in the political sciences and in the political practice of the late XXth and early XXIst centuries, there is a transformation of the ideas available in political sciences and political practice about the ethnopolitical dimension of the object of this study:

- unsuccessful attempts to “dissolve” ethnopolitical problems in the social or cultural sector of the security system, expressed in the neutral scientific formulation “ethnopolitical aspects of national security”;
- transition to scientific and attributive recognition of the functioning of institutions for the protection of national interests in the ethnic sphere – “security in the ethnic sphere”;
- perception of necessity for theoretical and methodological justification and political and legal institutionalization of “ethno-political security” as an integral part of the national security system.

Today, in the era of globalization, there is an urgent need both to change the theoretical and methodological paradigm in understanding ethnopolitical processes, and to form a new research field on this basis. In our opinion, this paradigm can be revealed in the form of a correlating relationship between the existential characteristic of the ethnic sphere and the integrative nature of security. From this point of view, ethnopolitical security is a multidimensional and multilevel functional system in which the translation of real national interests, carried out by means of ethnopolitical aggregation and articulation, is a necessary condition for optimizing the process of modernization of a multiethnic society.

In the fourth paragraph of the first chapter, “**The Karabakh conflict in the context of retrospective ethnogeopolitics**”, it is noted that the beginning of the use of the term “ethnogeopolitics” dates back to 1990s, mainly in scientific publications of Russian Eurasians. According to the author, at the moment we can only talk about the beginning of the process of understanding the content of ethnogeopolitics, its formation as a scientific discipline. The range of issues covered by it is based on the consideration of the geopolitical space through the prism of ethnopolitics. In other words, the original assumption of this paradigm is that the state, interpreted in

geopolitics as a biological organism, does not arise directly from the geographical environment, but as a result of the interaction of an ethnosocial organism with various territorial levels of geospatial.

Continuing this logic, it should be noted that if we proceed from the premise that the South Caucasus is the “middle” space of the “Greater Caucasus”, then in terms of internal geopolitics, the cross-border space between its three constituent parts, which are independent subjects of the system of international relations – Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, should make it a kind of “center”.

In our opinion, it is Karabakh that represents such a “central” place, not only for the South Caucasus, but also for the entire Caucasian geopolitical space.

There are several main periods in historical retrospect in the more than 250-year struggle for Karabakh, each of which corresponds to its own set of geopolitical, interstate, socio-ethnic relations.

The first stage (1747-1827) is the 70-year period of the geopolitical struggle for Karabakh between the key regional actors of that time: the Russian, Ottoman and Iranian Empires.

The second stage (1828 – 1917) is the 90-year period of Russian-imperial ethnogeopolitics. The tasks of turning the Caucasus into a reliable springboard and corridor for further moves in the geopolitical "Big Game" that began in the Eurasian space predetermined the policy of the Russian Empire to change the ethnic map of the region.

Third stage (1920 – 1990) is the 70-year period of Soviet ethnogeopolitics. The management of ethnopolitical processes, under the conditions of the strict dictatorship of the Communist Party, has become one of the effective means of achieving reliable political control over certain parts of the country.

Thus, a retrospective analysis of the Karabakh conflict allows us to identify three transformational stages in its genesis: geopolitical, ethnogeopolitical and ethnopolitical.

The second chapter “Ethnopolitical security as an integral part of the national security of post-Soviet states”, covers four paragraphs designed to consider the refraction of the conclusions obtained in chapter I to the problems of national security.

In the first paragraph, *“Ethnopolitical threats to the national security of post-Soviet states”*, it is noted that modern theoretical approaches to national security, unfortunately, are characterized by uncertainty in their views on security and underestimation of a number of methodological aspects of the national security strategy formation, excluding a single algorithm of thinking in strategic decision-making and implementation of activities in the field of security.

Due to the system of challenges and threats of globalization existing in the modern world, ensuring security in the ethnopolitical sphere is becoming increasingly important as a key factor in the entire national security system. It is aimed at optimizing the regime of interethnic interaction, increasing the adaptive capabilities of ethnic groups to the ongoing socio-economic and political changes, as one of the fundamental factors of protecting the vital interests of the individual, society and the state. Another aspect of this issue is a popular idea that a mono-ethnic environment is the most favorable for the successful development of the state and the nation.

We believe that artificially created mono-ethnicity – and Armenia can serve as a canonical example of mono-ethnicity – only at first glance supposedly increases the level of national security, but in fact it comes back like a boomerang in the form of a “bouquet” of negative processes: the growth of authoritarianism and ethnic isolation, the increase in ethno-social distance and closeness in society, the defectiveness of democracy and so on, which ultimately makes the concepts of development and security meaningless. In this context, the efforts of a number of leading actors in the system of international relations to support the policy of mono-ethnization of some small countries can hardly be called constructive in terms of building a sustainable global world order.

It is worth pointing out that modern theoretical approaches to national security, unfortunately, are characterized by uncertainty in their views on security and underestimation of a number of methodological aspects of the formation of a national security strategy, which excludes a single algorithm of thinking in making

strategic decisions and implementing activities in the field of security.

Overcoming in political science a certain “taboo” of ethnopolitical issues in the context of national security paradigms, which was dominant up to the present time, has a special place in this regard. Therefore, it can be concluded that the urgent need of the current stage of the development of political science and emerging political practice should be a reflection of the transformation of the causal basis of conflict in the globalizing world (from predominantly interstate conflicts to predominantly intra-state).

All this leads to the fact that the change of theoretical and methodological paradigms in the understanding of ethnopolitical processes becomes imperative, and on this basis a new research field is formed, at the junction of the interrelation of ethnopolitics and security.

Thus, the theoretical, methodological and applied development of the ethnopolitical dimension of national security will make it possible to formulate a consistent state policy in the ethnic sphere.

The second paragraph of the second chapter *“The ethno-confessional factor in the national security of post-Soviet states”*, considers the phenomenon of ethno-confessionality, which, in the conditions of increased conflict in the transit states of the post-Soviet space, plays a special role (both negative and positive depending on trends) in ensuring their ethnopolitical security.

For this purpose, the author analyzed the genesis and dual nature of ethno-confessionality, the potential for possible transformation into a special kind of sociopolitical conflicts, its destabilizing and stabilizing aspects as an active factor of modern security systems.

In particular, it should be noted that ethnicity and confessionality are not in a relationship of mutual negation, but rather in a relationship of complementarity: the various types of negative and positive, integration and disintegration processes occurring here largely balance each other. At the same time, since it seems to be a very difficult task to determine the exact mechanisms of interaction between the immanent qualities of ethnicity and

confessionality, requiring separate consideration, it will be more productive to focus on identifying contact zones of such interaction. The new socio-anthropogenic reality arises precisely in the intersecting fields of interaction, and is derived from the “fusion” of ethnicity and confessionality and dubbed *ethno-confessionality*.

In this regard, the author offers his own definition of the object under study: **ethno-confessionality** is a special kind of social identity based on the socio-psychological perception of the identity of ethnicity and confessionality, due to their historically developing conjugation, the external expression of which is manifested in dominant national ideas, doctrines, ethnopolitical attributes, cultural traditions and symbolic environment.

In our opinion, this definition reflects the peculiarities of confessional-ethnic life in the post-Soviet states experiencing the transit period of their history, when the definition of ethnicity of individuals through their confessional affiliation has taken root everywhere in the public consciousness, and vice versa.

As a result of the conducted research, the author provides his following conclusions in this paragraph. First, unlike ethnic and confessional spheres, ethno-confessional is not an independent substratum of people’s life. Due to the historically developing interconnectedness of these spheres, ethno-confessionality is a qualitatively new socio-anthropogenic identity that creates a background socio-psychological environment in which the ethnos is further structured through the ethno-national implementation of religion, the translation of confessional content into ethnic forms, the construction of new systemic components of the social life of the ethnos.

Second, due to its cross-border nature, ethno-confessionality is not the direct basis (cause) for the emergence of a special kind of conflicts, but only gives specificity and direction vector to ethnopolitical conflicts.

Thirdly, ethno-confessionality in the context of security (international, regional, national) can play both a positive role and a negative one (which, unfortunately, happens most often). With a favorable development trend, we see the positive role of ethno-

confessionalism in the ethno-political security of post-Soviet transit states in the formation of socio-psychological attitudes to tolerance at all levels and in all subjects of the system of its provision.

In this context, the dissertation shows the traditions of ethnic and religious tolerance that have developed over many centuries in Azerbaijan. As you know, today in the republic, with the full support of the state, 14 churches and 7 synagogues, Christian and Jewish religious educational institutions function absolutely freely, in accordance with international law, a solid legal basis has been created for the further development of ethno-confessional tolerance. In this regard, the international forums of intercultural and interreligious dialogue held by Azerbaijan at a high state level, known as the Baku process, are also of truly global importance.

The third paragraph of the second chapter, *“The relationship of the national development strategy and the ethno-political security of the country”*, sets out the task of formatting attempt, based on the analysis of key parameters of national development and indicators of ethno-political security in the post-Soviet states.

It is investigated a number of factors of the relationship between the strategy of national development and ethnopolitical security and also it is revealed their conditionality by the processes of globalization, in order to implement this task. In this regard, it is also analyzed the strategic and ethnopolitical problems arising on this basis and related to the development of post-Soviet countries, on the one hand, towards multi-vector development and finding their place in the world “mosaic” on an integration basis, on the other hand, to the formation of an effective system for protecting their ethnopolitical security

In this paragraph, the author operates on the premise that in the system called “national development”, it should necessarily be an understanding of three following points:

- the system as a set of elements should have a reverse effect, both on its individual components and on the environment of their formation;
- “national development” cannot and should not be reduced to a certain declarative nomenclature of national goals and the

establishment of subordination between them – this should be preceded by quantitative and qualitative parameterization (assessment) of the prevailing conditions and criteria;

- the whole set of ways, methods and means of achieving the set goals, including alternative ones, should be analyzed.

From this point of view, the definition of the phenomenon under study can be presented as follows: **national development strategy** is a policy of increasing the integral potential of the country based on the manifestation of its medium- and long-term prospects, implemented by all actors of political participation, on the principles of interdependence of all aspects of development, optimization of current tactics and procedures, close connection with the international goals of human development.

In respect to Azerbaijan, it should be noted that the 2020 Patriotic War and its results required a serious revision of the priorities of the country's national development strategy. Now President Ilham Aliyev highlights the dominant of Karabakh in the national development program, unifying the generation of a new technological oasis with the prospect of reforming the economic system of other regions. Karabakh is a starting point in the national development strategy.

The fourth paragraph of the second chapter *“Ethno-political security of the country in the context of modern geopolitics”* examines the ethnopolitical security of the country, as well as in this context the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, through the prism of the “New Great Game” Model, which is widely used in political literature. Its main goal is to achieve effective control over a vast territory from the Middle East to the outskirts of Central Eurasia by transforming the geopolitical configuration of the balance of power and changing the political and geographical borders of states.

The tools used to achieve strategic goals in the Caucasian states that are part of the “New Great Game” can also be grouped into three main blocks: military intervention in the affairs of these states, which is carried out in two main planes: “humanitarian intervention” and “fight against international terrorism”; implementation of special secret “scenarios” to achieve desirable changes in the existing

political regimes in the region (the so-called “color revolutions”); implementation of a strategy of permanent “tension” in them by switching the phases of stimulation, as well as “freezing” and “defrosting” ethno-political conflicts. All this allows for the conclusion that at present we are witnessing the activation of the “New Great Game” in the Caucasus region in the form of the implementation of the scenario of “controlled chaos”.

In the course of the study, the author comes to the conclusion about the formation of a new “Azerbaijan” vector in the development of the geopolitical situation in the region. The 2020 Second Karabakh War and its results made it obvious that the formation of the “Azerbaijani” vector in regional geopolitics today forces the “old players” to seriously reconsider their plans, significantly narrows the range of use of pressure instruments.

The emergence of a new “Azerbaijan” vector in the “New Big Game” has recently become a significant factor in the regrouping of forces and changing the geopolitical configuration in the region, which was most prominently manifested in the assessments of the essentially historical Shusha Declaration dated June 15, 2021.

The historical project of the Zangezur Corridor, which lays the foundation for a qualitatively new Eurasian transport and communication artery, runs as a red line in Aliyev’s geopolitical concept. According to President Ilham Aliyev, geopolitical consolidation or competition proceeds from the imperative of geo-economic interests, implying the implementation of foreign policy and regional influence by actualizing the primacy of economic factors.

The third chapter of the dissertation, dubbed “*The ethnopolitical dimension of the national security of the Azerbaijan Republic*”, consists of four paragraphs.

In the first paragraph “*Ethnopolitical security: definition of system criteria*”, the author attempts to introduce into scientific circulation, in the field of research programs, both an understanding of the dominance of ethnopolitical security in the modern world and the scientific and applied need to create effective methods for measuring it. This study was carried out in mentioned context, and

was aimed at solving the following tasks: substantiation of the methodology for calculating the ethnopolitical aspects of national security and their main components; formulation of the main factors and threats, etc.

To this end, in this paragraph, the author attempts to quantify (parametrize) ethnopolitical security, i.e. to identify those system blocks that, being the structural basis of ethnopolitical security, allow grouping within their framework key indicators that may be of significant importance in assessing its state.

In our opinion, in order to systematize the methodology for calculating the ethnopolitical security of the transit states of the post-Soviet territory, it should be performed in the following algorithm:

- selection of parameters that are significant for the ethnopolitical aspects of national security, to which the measurement tools are applied;
- measurement of these parameters in conditional scores in combination with finding the relative weight of variables already set in other indexes;
- derivation of summary coefficients of the studied groups of objects (parameters) and obtaining an integral index of ethnopolitical security on this basis;
- application of this method of calculation to the ethnopolitical aspects of national security of the transit states of the Caucasus, in particular, the Azerbaijan Republic.

It is necessary to note that a particular difficulty in this kind of research is the selection of parameters that become the object of measurements. We believe that it is advisable to focus on the component study of two large groups: factors and threats to ethnopolitical security.

The next important component of the proposed ethnopolitical dimension of national security is the derivation of the final integral index of *ethnopolitical security*. This is a formatted value that is the result of subtracting from the maximum possible values of ethnopolitical security the average value of ethnopolitical danger obtained as the remainder of dividing the average sum of its main quantitative indicators (in conditional points) by their maximum.

In the second paragraph of the third chapter ***“Key factors and threats to the ethnopolitical security of the Azerbaijan Republic”***, the author’s definition of ethnopolitical security implies the need to identify such system blocks, which, forming the structural basis of ethnopolitical security, make it possible to group within their framework key indicators that may be of significant importance in assessing its state.

In order to increase the objectivity and verifiability of the study, when selecting factors of ethnopolitical security, we have used the indexes that have received wide international recognition by the scientific community. That is why, in our opinion, the combination of key factors and threats to the ethno-political security of Azerbaijan Republic, identified on the basis of these principles, can be considered generally consistent in terms of the requirements of scientific reliability.

In particular, it is a fair assumption to say that one of the most debated issues in Azerbaijan society about the expediency of joining one of the military and political security systems (NATO, CSTO) is of particular importance for the country precisely in the context of ensuring its ethnopolitical security.

Ultimately, Azerbaijan’s military and political as well as geopolitical choice, in the context of the balanced multi-vector foreign policy proclaimed by President Ilham Aliyev, will be determined by the real contribution of the main world actors to the solution of the Karabakh problem, i.e. ethnopolitical considerations. The Declaration of Shusha dated June 15, 2021 is a clear proof of this.

Through the prism of the ethnopolitical dominant, another factor is refracted, expressed in the integral index of external and internal threats to the security of the country. It is already obvious that there is a visible increase in the struggle between world and regional powers for the exclusive right to mediate in the settlement of the decades-long conflict.

The Moscow Trilateral Agreement dated November 10, 2020 even more aggravated this struggle. Moreover, it should be recognized that attempts to exclude one or another “center of power”

from the conflict settlement format significantly increase fears about the transformation of the region into an arena of confrontation of their interests. In this case, the possibility of “power” scenarios of the development of events, “color” revolutions, quantitative and qualitative expansion of the spectrum of internal and external threats increases dramatically.

Thus, the configuration and qualitative parameters of ethnopolitical threats to the national security of Azerbaijan reflect, on the one hand, direct internal correlations between their individual types, and on the other hand, the indirect determination of a complex of latent and open negative factors in the field of security.

In the third paragraph of the third chapter “*The index of ethnopolitical security and the strategy of ensuring the national security of the Azerbaijan Republic*”, the very logic of the study and the results obtained during it also allow us to deduce an integral assessment of the state of ethnopolitical security of Azerbaijan Republic, where the factors and threats discussed above are the axes of coordinates. The most difficult task in determining ethnopolitical security, especially in the system management of the security index, is the problem of analyzing correlations, both internal (factor – factor; threat – threat) and external (factor – threat).

This task is multidisciplinary in content and extremely extensive in scope, and therefore is the subject of a separate study. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the relationship between factors and threats to ethnopolitical security is awash with duplicity. This is due to the fact that the trends of various segments of national security are in a complex nonlinear relationship with each other:

- the increase or decrease of strategic factors, as well as direct ethnopolitical factors, is directly proportional to the strengthening or weakening of ethnopolitical threats;
- economic factors cause inversely proportional consequences in the sphere of ethnopolitical threats.

This paragraph shows that the process of Azerbaijan’s rapid strengthening as a new regional power creates a new configuration of military and political security in the Caucasus, in general, the architecture of regional international relations.

Firstly, the strengthening of Azerbaijan's economic and military power has made it impossible to maintain the Karabakh conflict in the previous "frozen" state. After the 2020 Second Karabakh War, a number of foreign media began to express opinions about the alleged aggressiveness of Azerbaijan and periodically call for a reduction or even cessation of the growth of its military spending. However, it is not a matter of the popular "myth" about the natural aggressiveness of Azerbaijanis (after all, this is what the propaganda machine of world Armenians works for). The question lies much deeper. Azerbaijan's new status role in the region, which is now recognized by almost the entire world community, its participation in ensuring the energy security of Europe, could not be full-fledged in the conditions of the continued occupation of part of its territories.

Secondly, this factor makes it impossible for the old conflict settlement schemes to function, since from the very beginning, the basis of peacekeeping mediation was the desire not so much to resolve the conflict, but rather to achieve control over it, thereby ensuring the fixation of the interests of key actors in world politics. During the particular period of time it was the working approach, but today, with the appearance of a new "Azerbaijani factor" in the Caucasus region and the total discrediting of the OSCE Minsk Group, the situation is changing dramatically: both the West and Russia will still have to make adjustments to their plans. At the same time, the events of the last decades clearly show that Azerbaijan is already able to independently choose strategic allies to ensure its national interests.

Thirdly, the events of the late XXth and early XXIst centuries convincingly demonstrated to the political elites of the post-Soviet states that the main dangers of their statehood lie primarily in ethnopolitical "forceps", with the help of which interested external forces can split the whole state organism. For this reason, when developing and implementing a strategic course for the modernization of the national development of Azerbaijan Republic, the most important ethnopolitical components are taken into account:

- accelerated social and economic development of the regions of the Republic, including those with a noticeable multi-ethnic composition;
- state policy aimed at achieving interethnic and interfaith tolerance;
- vigorous propaganda of the ideology of “Azerbaijanism”, which “transfers” ethnicity to the background, creating the basis for the formation of national consciousness.

The fourth paragraph of the third chapter **“Formation of a post-conflict ethnopolitics as a condition for ensuring the ethnopolitical security of Azerbaijan Republic”** substantiates the idea that it is necessary to clearly distinguish the following: the Karabakh problem, which initially has an ethno-geo-political character and is connected with plans to establish stable geostrategic control over the Caucasus and Caspian regions as a kind of “gateway” to the Middle East; and the Karabakh conflict, which had an ethnopolitical matrix at its core and played the role of a trigger mechanism in the implementation of applied aspects of world geopolitics and geo-economics.

In this context, the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, which became possible as a result of the 2020 Second Karabakh War, is a necessary condition for the formation of a “post-conflict ethnopolitics” in relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia, which, in turn, will eliminate the existing threats to the ethnopolitical aspects of the national security of Azerbaijan Republic.

If we recall the phrase “settlement of the Armenian and Azerbaijan conflict”, which was generally accepted until recently, then now this clear answer of Ilham Aliyev completely closes the problem of the so-called “settlement of the Karabakh conflict”, leaving its other plane still relevant: “settlement of Armenian-Azerbaijan relations”, including relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Victorious Second Karabakh War 2020 and the subsequent political and diplomatic successes of Azerbaijan with the parallel course of the deepest systemic crisis of Armenia, almost completely “cleaned out” the geopolitical side of this conflict. In fact, a

completely new geopolitical reality has emerged rapidly – the restoration of the territorial integrity and state sovereignty of the Republic within its internationally recognized borders, the beginning of unblocking all communication arteries in the region, including the creation of a transnational “Zangezur Corridor”, the transformation of Azerbaijan into an undisputed military and political as well as economic regional leader in the South Caucasus, without taking into account the position of which no significant issue in the region can now be resolved.

In this context (geopolitical and substantive), the Karabakh conflict, which has an almost 200-year history, has indeed been completed and such a cardinal settlement is now irreversible.

At the same time, it should be admitted that in the current post-conflict realities, factors that pose threats to the national security of the country still remain relevant: rabid revanchist circles of Armenia and separatist sentiments in the remaining places of compact residence of Armenian ethnic group representatives inside Azerbaijan.

In this ethnopolitical context, the resolution of the Karabakh conflict has created the necessary basis for the settlement of the entire complex of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations: from interstate relations and economic cooperation to a healthy atmosphere in interethnic relations at the social and household level.

In other words, the resolution of the Karabakh conflict has opened the way for new substantive conditions for the formation of a “post-conflict ethnopolitics”. The repeated appeals and peace initiatives of President Ilham Aliyev, as well as the proposal made in June 2021 by Turkish President R.T. Erdogan to create a six-party platform for cooperation between regional states, became visible evidence of such a constructive course.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation dubbed “**Conceptual foundations of the ethnopolitical security of the Republic of Azerbaijan**”, also includes four paragraphs.

The first paragraph of this chapter, called “*Azerbaijanism*” as *the ideological basis for the formation of the ethnopolitical security of Azerbaijan Republic*”, indicates the fact that at the present stage of

development, it is the national and state ideology of “Azerbaijanism” that acts as a means of realizing the national ideal, a certain tool for achieving economic and political goals, a criterion for their assessment in terms of compliance or non-compliance with actual and long-term national (ethno-social) interests.

The most important condition for such a vector of self-identification of the people is the presence of a tradition of ethno-cultural and religious tolerance. That is why the formation of independent Azerbaijani statehood turned out to be closely connected with the purposeful use of the traditions of tolerance. The innate ethno-confessional tolerance among the peoples of our republic has been repeatedly emphasized by President Ilham Aliyev in his speeches. We deliberately focused on only one of the components of ethno-cultural identity – tolerance, since its presence, absence or low level largely determines the dominance of a particular type of identity, which has already been mentioned earlier.

At the same time, it should be recognized that the versions given above, as well as more extended versions of the essential aspects of ethno-cultural identity, do not give a direct and unambiguous answer to the question raised in this section: in what plane (historical, political, economic, etc.) is the structuring of cause-and-effect relationships of the formation of its ethnical and cultural identity.

Summarizing the above, we note that the author’s position on this issue can be reduced to the following. In the process of ethnogenesis of almost all peoples, the basis for the formation of their ethno-cultural identity was and in most cases continues to be the ethnic (national) self-consciousness of a local group of individuals, fixed at the ethnopsychological level in the images of “we” and “they”. It is at this stage (even taking into account possible and significantly different interpretations of this process) that a certain cultural and linguistic community of this local group is being formed, increasingly isolated within certain territorial limits.

The second paragraph of the fourth chapter ***“Priorities of the strategy for ensuring ethnopolitical security in the context of the modernization of the country”*** examines the problems of forming an

ethnopolitical security strategy through the prism of Azerbaijan's strategic course for modernization, and also allows us to identify three large groups of its key priorities: geopolitical, geo-economic and ethno-cultural.

The *geopolitical priorities* of the ethnopolitical security strategy of Azerbaijan Republic may include the following: military and diplomatic support for the full return of the occupied Azerbaijan territories; removal of the exclave of Nakhchivan; limiting cooperation with existing military and political blocs by current political trends, increasing its military potential in combination with efforts to demilitarize the Caucasus and Caspian regions; initiatives to create a viable system of regional security and cooperation, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in the Caucasus, which in the future, under favorable conditions, could transform into a new integration association – the Caucasian Union.

The geo-economic priorities may include the following: effective economic reintegration of the liberated Azerbaijani territories; attractive model of the Azerbaijani economy, improvement of its rating indicators (economic freedom, business environment, innovation); economic reintegration of Karabakh; initiatives for the economic support of the “New Regionalism” Strategy – the creation of a Single Economic Space (CES) of the Caucasus region: Customs Union, Unified Energy System, tariff and banking policy, etc.

The ethno-cultural priorities may include the following: civilizational mission; national ideology/national idea; ethnic, social and cultural identity; ethnopolitical and ethno-confessional stability; civil nation; humanitarian assistance to Azerbaijan ethnic areas in the states of the region on the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, openness of declared goals in the context of the strategy of “new regionalism”.

The third paragraph of the fourth chapter “*The system of ensuring the ethno-political security of the Republic of Azerbaijan*” puts at the center of the study the main goal of the functioning of the system of ensuring the ethno-political security of Azerbaijan Republic as an integral part of the national security of the country,

which consists in ensuring the necessary level of protection of the vital interests of the entire multinational Azerbaijan people as an integral ethno-social organism that creates favorable conditions for its development.

For example, Article 8.2 of the Law of Azerbaijan Republic “On National Security” states the following: “The national security system of Azerbaijan Republic is being created to develop a unified state policy, effectively apply the process of protecting national interests in political, economic, social, military, information, environmental, scientific, cultural and spiritual, as well as in other areas in the form of complex activities”.¹⁶

Based on these positions, the main tasks of the ethno-political security system of Azerbaijan Republic are: defining the goals of ethno-political security and setting fundamental tasks to protect the national interests of the Azerbaijan people; correlating the goals of ethno-political security with the goals of national development of the country; determining the means to achieve the set goals and objectives; taking into account ethno-political aspects in forecasting external and internal threats to the national security of the country.

According to the author, the following can be defined as the basic principles of the system of ensuring the ethno-political security of Azerbaijan Republic: subsidiarity, normativity, consistency, functional necessity, manageability and optimization.

The author operates on the premise that today in Azerbaijan, unlike many states of the post-Soviet territory, there is a stable social, political and economic situation. However, the conflictogenic nature of politicized ethnicity is still the greatest danger to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. It is the attitude of these main subjects of the national security system to the emerging problems of ethno-political security that determines the real protection of the national interests of the Azerbaijan people and their national destiny.

¹⁶ Milli təhlükəsizlik haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikasının qanunu. B., “Qanun”, 2008.

The fourth paragraph of the fourth chapter *“Prospects for the development of the ethno-political security of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the first half of the XXIst century: the main prognostic scenarios”* examines the factors that may become the most significant for understanding the prospects for the development of the ethno-political security of Azerbaijan Republic, and act as the basis for outlining the contours of its possible scenarios.

Scenario 1. – “Unitarization of Azerbaijan” is bringing the country’s state borders into line with the total ethnic field of the Azerbaijan people. In fact, this implies a radical breaking of the existing interstate borders in the spirit of the “New Big Game”. In this regard, with a certain degree of conditionality, we can talk about two hypothetically existing projects of a new format of statehood of Azerbaijan: “big” (American) and “small” (Russian).

Scenario 2. – “Integration of Azerbaijan”. To this date, there are three clear directions of Azerbaijan’s integration: Euro-Atlantic (USA, Europe) – the European Union, NATO; Eurasian (Russia, China) – EurAsEC, SCO, CSTO; Turkic-Islamic – OIC, Organization of Turkic States (since 2021).

Scenario 3. – “The new regionalism”. The Caucasus region today is in urgent need of a new successful model of regional security and political and economic cooperation. Such an association (conditionally the Caucasian Union), for obvious reasons, cannot be an analogue of the European Union; rather, in terms of its functionality, it would be closer to integration unions such as MERCOSUR or NAFTA.

Of course, until recently, this scenario would have looked absolutely utopian today, since the negatives of historical memory and the geography of state borders in the Caucasus will affect the present and future of the peoples inhabiting it for a rather long time. But the 2020 Second Karabakh War turned many upside down well-established ideas, including the ideas about the prospects for integration development.

It seems to us that the characteristic of the geopolitical and geo-economic situation of modern Azerbaijan meets all these parameters in full volume. That is why the scenario interpretations

discussed above not only provide theoretical opportunities to expand the space for political decision-making, but also help in an adequate vision of the strategic priorities of the country's ethnopolitical security.

At the Conclusion of this dissertation, it was summed up the results and summarized the main conclusions and it was given a number of practical recommendations. At the same time, the author made an attempt to substantiate the idea of the need to initialize the creation of *a new scientific direction – “ethnopolitical security”*. The need for this is dictated by the fact that the uncertainty emerging in the XXIst century under the influence of globalization regarding the old forms of statehood and national development will inevitably generate a new format of ethnopolitical processes, the intensification of the search for alternative ethnopolitical formulas, and, accordingly, generate qualitatively new forms of threats to the security of states and peoples.

The thesis defines the category of “ethnopolitical security” as a state of protection of vital interests, processes and institutions of the ethnopolitical development of the country from the destructive impact of destabilizing factors (potential and real), realized in direct and indirect threats and dangers. The dissertation reveals the following issues through the prism of the ethnopolitical dimension of national security: the nature of modern ethnopolitical processes in the context of modern threats to national security; the discourse of ethnopolitical aspects of national security; the main ethnopolitical contradictions and the most pressing problems of ensuring ethnopolitical security; the complex of challenges and threats to ethnopolitical security in transit states, the formation of state policy in the ethnic sphere in such states.

The author believes that this research topic, which is his main contribution, can serve as a basis for further theoretical discussions and methodological searches on the problem of ethnopolitical aspects of national security.

The main provisions of the dissertation are reflected in the following publications of the author:

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