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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**ENERGY SECURITY OF EUROPE AND
"SOUTHERN GAS CORRIDOR"**

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GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance and degree of elaboration of the topic. Research results of energy security problems in the system of international relations show that energy security has a decisive place as one of the structural elements of the national security of states.¹ If Samuel Huntington characterized the 21st century as the century of the clash of civilizations, in the context of modern political realities, a number of political experts characterize it as the leading factor of world politics by whether states have energy resources or not.² Even some influential experts believe that "the political landscape of the modern world will no longer be determined by belonging to military blocs, but by the division between possessing and not possessing energy resources."³

The emergence of energy security as a political concept has a historical beginning. On the eve of the First World War, Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty of Great Britain, made a historic decision to switch the energy source of the ships of the British fleet from coal to oil. Churchill intended to make the British navy faster than the German navy. However, this passage indicated the importance of the Royal Navy's need not only for coal in Wales, but also for future oil supplies from the Persian Gulf at the time. Thus, energy security became the main issue of the national strategy.⁴

Energy security is the number one topic of the world political discourse today. Taking into account this actual factor, on the one hand, the increasing need for energy against the background of energy supply difficulties experienced by Europe in recent years, and on the other hand, the wealth of energy resources of the Caspian basin, as well as Azerbaijan's constructive policy over the years, its active role, being responsible and reliable member of the international relations system, in

¹ Cornell, P., E., Energy and the Three Levels of National Security: Differentiating Energy Concerns within a National Security Context pp. 63 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26326186>

² Həsənova, Ş. Azərbaycanın uğurlu enerji təhlükəsizliyi siyasəti // Xalqgazeti. – 2019, 2 noyabr. – s. 2.

³ Nəsirov, E. Qlobal enerji təhlükəsizliyi problemi və “Əsrin müqaviləsi”// Yeni Azərbaycan qəzeti. – 2019, 19 sentyabr. – s.6

⁴ Yergin D., The Quest: Energy, Security and the Remaking of the Modern World, New York Times Publication, London, 2012 pp. 59-82

various regional and global projects and in issues on the agenda of world politics made Azerbaijan to become an important factor in Europe's energy security.

Since the provision of Europe's energy security policy in general and the role of the Southern Gas Corridor as an alternative in this matter are characterized as one of the most pressing issues at the present stage, the analyzed topic is also the subject of analysis by Europe, the countries involved in the Southern Gas Corridor, the parties who wish to join the project, scientific circles as a whole as well as a wide political discourse pay great attention to it. Intensive scientific-research works have become widespread around it, monographs are being published and discussions are being held on the topic. Because this issue also provides ample opportunities to determine the consistency of behavior, the logic of activities and future trends of European states in their relations with the states of the Caspian region. In this regard, the relevance of the research topic can be expressed with the following provisions:

In the past, as a result of weak and sometimes very sharp relations among Moscow, Kyiv and Minsk, the suspension of natural gas flows to some regions of Europe, the emergence of deep differences of opinion between the European Union and Russia on the projects to be implemented, and their bypassing of some transit countries, some European authorities in recent years started to worry about cutting off or limiting Russian natural gas to Europe. Some countries of Eastern Europe were more deeply affected by these processes because they were completely dependent on Russian gas.⁵ Ensuring energy security has become one of the main tasks of Europe. Conducting research in this context is of particular importance in terms of the actuality of the topic and is the first of the main factors determining this.

One of the important issues that necessitates the relevance of the research topic is that the relations with the Caspian littoral states, especially between Azerbaijan and Europe, on the basis of energy resources, will maintain their relevance and importance for many years to come. Countries such as Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, and Italy participate in the Southern Gas Corridor.

⁵ Ratner M., Belkin P., Nichol J., Woehrel S., Europe's Energy Security: Options and Challenges to Natural Gas Supply Diversification, Congressional Research Service, August 20, 2013 pp. 1

Three Balkan countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Montenegro intend to join the project, and Azerbaijan is very positive towards this issue. Because this issue will also boost trade between the states and Azerbaijan.⁶

Given that the focus on energy security is associated with increasingly high oil and gas prices. The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, İlham Aliyev, states that "Our gas was purchased on the basis of a contract, and our consumers did not feel any change in price, let's say, during the gas crisis."⁷ This is one of the main factors determining the relevance of the topic.

Also, factors such as the threat of terrorism, instability in some exporting countries, and geopolitical competition made Europe lean towards different regions rather than these countries in ensuring energy security. For example, North Africa could be a reliable alternative to Russian natural gas supplies. Especially in Libya and Egypt, the regime change that resulted from the wave of global political turmoil and known as the "Arab Spring" created an obstacle in front of a promising chance for the development of natural gas access and export from these countries. Although Libya and Egypt have large gas reserves, their exports are hindered by domestic politics.⁸ Based on this factor, Azerbaijan was seen as a more reliable source. Therefore, the country's political and social stability is important when regional and global projects are implemented National leader Heydar Aliyev said about this: "The most important aspect for any investor is the social and political conditions in this or that country. Every investor who comes to our country can receive support and assistance relevant to his proposals, and most importantly, he will encounter friendly relations. Because we want, desire and show interest in such cooperation."⁹ Taking into account this

⁶ Sadıqlı, F. "Cənub qaz dəhlizi" yeni əməkdaşlıq formatının təməlini qoyur// Azərbaycan qəzeti. – 2021, 14 yanvar noyabr. – s. 2.

⁷ "Prezident İlham Əliyev: Azərbaycan qazı müqavilə əsasında alındı və qaz böhranı zamanı heç bir qiymət dəyişikliyi olmadı"// Azərbaycan qəzeti. -2021, 18 dekabr

⁸ Hasanova, Sh. Sh., "Energy security policy of Europe and Southern Gas Corridor Project" // "Dövlət İdarəçiliyi" Nəzəriyyə və təcrübə,– Bakı: 2019, N-2 (66), pp. 281-290

⁹ Əliyev H. Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir. Beşinci kitab, çıxışlar, nitqlər, bəyanatlar, məktublər, müsahibələr. B., Azərneşr 1998. 500 səh. (səhifə 21)

factor, the main contours of the successful internal and political policies, which were laid by the National Leader Heydar Aliyev, and which are being carried out by Mr. President Ilham Aliyev, were first of all based on the peaceful, stable, and secure existence of the Azerbaijani people, and this factor itself made our country attractive to foreign investors

In order to strengthen the argument of the importance of the security issue, we must also take into account the 44-day Karabakh War II between September 27 and November 10, 2020, that despite the fact that the war was going on in the country, there were no obstacles in the completion of the Trans Adriatic Pipeline, which is considered the last segment of the Southern Gas Corridor and, shortly after the end of the war - on December 31, 2020, Azerbaijani natural gas began to be exported to Europe for the first time in history without any delay.

From the beginning of 2022, political factors come to the fore in the increase in gas prices. The Ukraine-Russia war and the processes taking place in this context have a direct impact on the process of ensuring Europe's energy security. But this is not the only effect. There are other reasons as well. First, it is related to the winter period, which is a natural process. If Europe was able to fill the warehouses by 76% in 2020, by 2021 these warehouses were only 56% full. This statistical figure showed that Europe is not ready for winter. Second, the Russian-Ukrainian war. Russia provides 40% of Europe's gas supply.

Of course, Russia's gas reduction has a negative effect on Europe. Thirdly, gas demand in Europe generally increased by 3%. This growth also affects the process.¹⁰

It also increases the need for energy to ensure the economic expansion of countries. Concerns continue to grow about whether there will be enough resources to meet the world's energy needs in the not-too-distant future, but in the coming decades, which is another key factor in the topic's urgency. Also, with the Caspian states, especially with the victory of Azerbaijan in the war and the increase of its power and influence in the region, relations between Azerbaijan and Europe on the

¹⁰ Phillips, J., Washtell, F., "Gas prices jump 17% in a day as two more energy firms collapse and consumers are warned to brace for bills soaring by £475-a-year amid new fears about European supplies 17 november 2021 (internet resursu) <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10210741/Gas-prices-jump-17-day-consumers-warned-brace-bills-soaring-475-year.html>

basis of energy resources will maintain the relevance and importance for many years to come.

The above-mentioned factors and provisions determine the relevance of the selected research topic for both Europe and Azerbaijan, as well as the need for a deep systematic scientific analysis.

The mentioned factors make it important and relevant to search for alternative energy providers in the matter of ensuring Europe's energy security and to further expand the Southern Gas Corridor in this matter, and to determine the nature of Europe's strategy at the dissertation level. It is no coincidence that the European Commission even expresses energy security figuratively in its documents, saying "Energy is the lifeblood of our society".¹¹

Various aspects of the research topic have been addressed in the works of many Azerbaijani and foreign authors. From this point of view, first of all, "Heydar Aliyev's new oil strategy" based on the rich historical experience, intelligence and outlook of the national leader Heydar Aliyev, who left an indelible mark on the history of Azerbaijan regarding the energy strategy of Azerbaijan"¹² a collection of one-volume books and "Our Independence is Forever"¹³ a multi-volume collection of books is a valuable work.

"Development is our goal" by President Ilham Aliyev, the follower of the successful policy of the national leader Heydar Aliyev, the guarantor of the sustainable development of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan¹⁴ and the collection of books can be evaluated as a dynamic development map of our state, a report of its internal and external policy, as well as achievements. As a rich scientific source, both works contain an analysis of a number of important aspects of Azerbaijan's energy policy since independence until today.

¹¹ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of The Regions Energy 2020, A strategy for competitive, sustainable and secure energy, Brussels, 10.11.2010, p.2

¹² Heydər Əliyevin Neft strategiyası. 2-ci hissə. Bakı: 2001, -467 s.

¹³ Əliyev H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir. Onbeşinci kitab. Bakı: Azər nəşr, 2005, - 528 s.

¹⁴ Əliyev, İlham Heydər oğlu. İnkişaf - məqsədimizdir: çıxışlar, nitqlər, bəyanatlar, müsahibələr, məktublar, məruzələr, müraciətlər / İ. H. Əliyev; bur. məsul R.Ə. Mehdiyev. 114-cü kitab: avqust 2021 – oktyabr 2021.- Bakı: Azər nəşr, 2021.- 392 s.

When analyzing the literature related to the topic as a whole, it can be clearly seen that most cases are outside of objectivity. To be more precise, the fact that Russian energy sources are of special importance in the matter of ensuring Europe's energy security, on the part of European and Russian energy analysts, tend to analyze them from different points of view and, of course, from their own spheres of interest. Thus, Western and Western-oriented literature accuses the opposite party of using energy resources as a political tool, of artificial price increases, of obstructing the search for alternative ways to ensure Europe's energy security with means of political influence.

Russian researchers have also carried out quite extensive scientific-research works around the topic of the dissertation, and have paid attention to the issue consistently and systematically. For example, Russian researcher Shabelnikov O.V. believes that energy creates the necessary conditions for progressive development and has a direct impact on the prosperity of the country. The researcher considers the provision of a stable energy balance as one of the factors of global security, and in this regard, states that political dialogue and cooperation with exporting and transit countries for the European Union is a key factor in ensuring energy stability. That is, the political aspects of ensuring energy security for the countries of the European Union are the key.¹⁵

First, the presence of interdependence is seen here. So, if Russia is Europe's main energy supplier, Europe is also a big market for Russian gas. Taking into account these important factors, the introduction of objective approaches in the research work and the study of materials and documents from historical, political and other contexts of the research topic allow to understand the logical peculiarity of the research. Secondly, the position of Azerbaijan in maintaining the balance in the foreign policy of the implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor and other issues is very important.

In this regard, on February 20, 2019, at the Heydar Aliyev Center in Baku, during the fifth meeting of ministers within the framework of the Southern Gas Corridor Consultative Council, the President of the

¹⁵ О.В. Шабельникова, Проблема Обеспечения Энергетической Безопасности во Взаимоотношениях Европейского Союза и Азербайджана, Вестник РУДН, серия Международные отношения, Москва, Россия. 2014, No 2

Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev stated: "The Southern Gas Corridor is an energy diversification project. Diversification of energy resources is very important for producer, consumer and transit countries. I believe that we managed to find a good balance here - that is, between Azerbaijan, the producer, and consumer and transit countries. The balance of interests determines the success of this project. Because we try to understand each other's needs and concerns."

For this reason, countries that have not joined the Southern Gas Corridor are now showing great interest in joining the said project. Because this megaproject implemented by the initiative of Azerbaijan, as a result, leads to the strengthening of cooperation among the states. In this project, the interests of Azerbaijan as the initiative country, the transit countries, as well as the consumer countries are fully ensured. It has been proven that the Southern Gas Corridor is a free competition project.

The mentioned project, which was implemented at the initiative of the President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, is primarily an energy security and energy diversification project. Also, in this regard, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev stated during his speech at the opening of the VIII Global Baku Forum that "there is no gas price crisis in the countries where Azerbaijani gas is delivered, and no one has frozen from the cold. This once again shows that the Southern Gas Corridor is an energy security project."¹⁶

The issues related to the researched topic also reflected in works such as: "The Quest"¹⁷ and The Prize¹⁸ by Daniel Yergin, EU Energy Security in the Gas Sector: Evolving Dynamics, Policy Dilemmas and Prospects by Filippou Proedrou¹⁹.

While the definition of energy security is sufficient supply at affordable prices for developed countries, energy-exporting countries

16 "Prezident İlham Əliyev: Azərbaycan qazının çatdırıldığı ölkələrdə qaz qiyməti böhranı yoxdur və heç kim soyuqdan donmayıb" Trend.az.- 2021, 4 noyabr (internet resursu) <https://az.trend.az/azerbaijan/politics/3507557.html>

¹⁷ Yergin, D., The Quest: Energy, Security and the Remaking of the Modern World, New York Times Publication, London, 2012 pp. 59-82

¹⁸ Yergin, D., The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power, 885 pages

¹⁹ Filippou Proedrou, EU Energy Security in the Gas Sector: Evolving Dynamics, Policy Dilemmas and Prospects: Pp. 192. Farnham: Ashgate. 2012.

seek to maintain "security of demand" in their exports, which form the bulk of government revenues.²⁰

In a 2013 speech at Yale University, Daniel Yergin (Yale University, 2013) argued that energy security has three new dimensions: (1) physical security in relation to threats such as terrorism; (2) integrated power shocks caused by natural disasters such as hurricanes and superstorms, where electricity, fuel, emergency services, etc. are cut off simultaneously and entire regions are immobilized; and (3) cyber threats that can affect large-scale production and cause global disruption.

Although the book focuses on energy security in the oil sector, the author states that the importance of the gas sector has increased in recent decades, and increased liberalization has raised critical questions for the security of gas supply. The author highlights the state of EU energy security in the gas sector, its interdependence with foreign suppliers and the current gas strategy. The author also examines the role of energy companies, EU member states and EU institutions, identifies key developments in the gas sector and focuses on the main challenges posed by such fundamental changes.

The author scrutinizes the EU's relationship with Russia, its main gas supplier, as well as with alternative suppliers, details the main infrastructure projects under discussion and their main outcomes, and discusses the main policies implemented by member states to achieve energy security, as well as the EU's internal contradictions.

A wide range of researchers were interested in defining different dimensions of the concept of energy security. As early as 1976, Willrich Manson defined energy security as "ensuring a sufficient supply of energy to enable the national economy to function in a politically acceptable manner." From this definition, Willrich made a direct connection between the supply of energy and the political activity of the state.²¹

In 1993, Douglas Bohey and Micheal Toman presented their vision of energy security, defining it as the opposite, i.e. the loss of welfare due to changes in processes, such as changes in oil prices due to conflicts.²²

²⁰ Yergin D., Ensuring Energy Security Foreign Affairs 85(2):69 March 2006 p.111-112

²¹ Mason Willrich, Energy & World Politics, January 1, 1978, p. 252

²² Bohi, D., Toman, M., 1993 Energy security: externalities and policies" p.1093

As late as 1997, Thomas Neff considered energy security to be a key factor affecting both national and regional security. He cites the crucial role that trade and energy cooperation can play in resolving regional conflicts.²³

A group of Azerbaijani researchers approached the issue of Azerbaijan's oil and gas reserves and foreign policy from the context of regional and international security.

Such authors include H. Pashayev, E. Ahmadov, E. Nasirov, B. Aslanbeyli, I. Gurbanov²⁴ and others have carried out serious scientific-research works in the relevant direction, published monographs, scientific articles, and their opinions on the issue are interesting from the point of view of the researched topic. Professor E. Nasirov's articles entitled "Azerbaijan's oil and gas industry, achievements and prospects", "Black Sea basin and geo-economy of the South Caucasus: Azerbaijan's energy policy", as a result of Azerbaijan's oil and gas export diversification policy, mutually beneficial cooperation with the world's most influential transnational corporations issues were deeply analyzed.²⁵

In addition, in the said scientific works, Azerbaijan's oil and gas policy was investigated in the context of globalization and geopolitical processes. In addition to all this, the features of Azerbaijan's energy policy have also been the focus of scientific research.

²³ Neff, T., *Improving Energy Security in Pacific Asia: Diversification and Risk Reduction for Fossil and Nuclear Fuels*. 1997 p. 1).

Ahmed Elbassoussy, *European energy security dilemma: major challenges and confrontation strategies*, 30 June 2019

²⁴ Paşayev H. M. *Bir səfirin manifesti*. Bakı, "Şərq-Qərb", 2007, 248 s.; Əhmədov E. *Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti: beynəlxalq təhlükəsizlik və əməkdaşlıq institutları ilə münasibətlər*. Bakı, "Letterpress", 2013, 452 s.; Nəsirov E. *Azərbaycan nefti və beynəlxalq müqavilələr (1991-1999)* Bakı, 1999, 29 s.; Aslanbəyli, B. (2019). *Avropa İttifaqı və Rusiya üzrə mühazirələrin qeydləri*. ADA Universiteti mühazirələr, BDU Universiteti mühazirələr; Qurbanov İ. "Azerbaijan and the Council of Europe", 2017 https://www.academia.edu/17531321/Ilgar_Gurbanov_Energy_Security_Dimension_in_Foreign_Policy_Strategic_Outlook_2013[165]

²⁵ Nəsirov E. "Azərbaycanın neft və qaz sənayesi, nailiyyətlər və perspektivlər" // *Azərbaycan FOCUS*, Bakı, SAM, 2010, 2/2/ səh. 75-85, Nəsirov, E. "Azərbaycan Avropanın yeni və eribarlı enerji təminatçısı kimi" // *Xalq qazeti*. – 2020, 22 sentyabr. – s. 2.

The issues related to the dissertation work were also presented in analytical articles and reports of various foreign strategic research centers, for example, the Congressional Research Service of the United States²⁶, the statistical data of the International Energy Agency²⁷, the State Statistics Committee of Azerbaijan.²⁸

H. Kissinger, R. Dannreuther, and Z. Brzezinski, influential statesmen of the West, especially the United States, in their works and speeches emphasize the fact that the Eurasian space, Caspian basin hydrocarbons are in the exclusive national interest of the United States, and the growing interest of the world powers in the Caspian states, as well as in Azerbaijan.²⁹

Theoretical issues such as oil and gas reserves of the modern era, and political issues such as energy security are discussed in Nejdət Pamiр's research entitled "Power of Energy: Those who can control energy sources control the world"³⁰. The author concludes that the power of the state in the modern system of international relations should be evaluated from the perspective of whether it has energy resources or at least from the perspective of being transit country.

In terms of modern political processes, famous Belgian journalist Michel Collon in his work "Oil, PR, War" approaches energy issues from a very relevant perspective and claims that today, the main goal of the

²⁶Ratner, M., Belkin, P., Nichol, J., Woehrel, S., Europe's Energy Security: Options and Challenges to Natural Gas Supply Diversification August 20, 2013 (internet resursu) <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/R42405.pdf>, U.S. Energy in the 21st Century: A Primer March 16, 2021 (internet resursu)

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46723>

²⁷ "Global gas markets moved towards a gradual rebalancing over the 2022 and 2023 heating season, following the supply shock sparked by Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022" (internet resursu) <https://www.iea.org/fuels-and-technologies/gas>

²⁸ https://www.stat.gov.az/source/balance_fuel/

²⁹ Kissinger, H. (1994). Diplomacy. New York: Simon & Schuster; Dannreuther R., "International Relations Theories: Energy, Minerals and Conflict", POLINARES, EU Policy on Natural Resources, September, 2010, pp. 25, Бжежинский З. Великая шахматная доска. Господство Америки и ее геостратегические императивы/ http://lib.ru/Politolog/America_bzhezinskij.txt, Бжежинский. З., М.: Международные отношения, 2005.

³⁰ Pamiр N., Enerjinin İktidarı-Enerji Kaynaklarını Elinde Tutan, Dünyayı Elinde Tutar s.28

policy of the United States, which is the only superpower, is to slow down the economic and military development of China, Russia, and Europe, which are potential rivals. According to the author, whoever controls the production and transportation of oil also controls the economy of all the countries that depend on it.³¹

Thus, the analysis of the scientific literature on the subject shows that since the research of the energy security of Europe and the Southern Gas Corridor is not specifically set as a goal in the mentioned works, even if special attention is paid to individual points and aspects of the subject, the analysis of the problem remains incomplete.

On the other hand, the system of international relations faces new global challenges every day and has a very changing face. The policy formed by the European Union regarding bilateral and multilateral relations both in the region, in the world, and in general with Azerbaijan has also been observed with certain changes.

Considering the existence of a number of issues still waiting to be resolved in bilateral and multilateral relations, re-examining them and revealing their shortcomings in order to eliminate those problems can have a positive effect on the smooth progress of relations.

As a whole, the analysis of the available scientific literature on the subject under consideration shows that although the issue has been investigated from various aspects, no dissertation work has been conducted on this issue. This determines the importance and value of the presented research work. That is why there is a need for extensive and systematic research in this direction. Since each of these listed factors are closely related to each other taking them also into account an attempt was made to re-examine the topic in a comprehensive way,

The object and the focus of the research: The object of the study is the European energy security policy in the system of international relations, and the subject is the process of realizing the Southern Gas Corridor, its features and directions, as well as prospective development opportunities in the diversification of this policy.

Goals and objectives of the research: The main goal of the study is to analyze the Southern Gas Corridor in the context of European energy security. To do this, it consists of determining the aspects of

³¹ Коллон, М. “Нефть, PR и война” стр. 65-66

Europe's energy security, researching the ways of ensuring Europe's energy security, and uncovering alternative energy sources along the way.

In order to achieve the mentioned goal, the following tasks were defined and fulfilled:

- Determining Europe's place in the international energy security system against the background of global processes and changes;
- Investigating energy security as an important element of national security;
- Investigation of Azerbaijan as a new and alternative energy supplier of Europe;
- Studying the role of the energy factor in the relations between the European Union and the Republic of Azerbaijan;
- Investigation of the factors influencing the formation of traditional interests of international actors (Russia, USA) and a number of other parties in the matter of European energy security;
- Overview of alternative energy sources in the matter of ensuring the energy security of the European Union;
- To show the importance of Azerbaijan acting as an initiative country in terms of the implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor;
- Characterization of the Southern Gas Corridor and investigation of its main segments;
- To make scientific-theoretical generalizations about the problem, to show the perspectives of the Southern Gas Corridor in ensuring Europe's energy security.

Research methods: The role of Azerbaijan in ensuring Europe's energy security and the fact that energy is a special direction in the relations between the European Union and Azerbaijan, the approaches derived from the speeches of the National leader Heydar Aliyev and the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, as well as the conceptual approaches in the scientific literature on the subject in general, form the theoretical basis of the research work.

In the scientific work, while investigating the impact of European energy security and the Southern Gas Corridor on this issue, an objective approach to political events adopted in the field of international relations and political sciences, analysis and synthesis, generalization, induction and deduction, comparative and systematic political analysis methods of

historical description, logical methodological methods, study of documents are also reflected in the dissertation work.

Main provisions for the defence:

1. Ensuring Europe's energy security is the basis of the continent's energy security

2. Azerbaijan (its energy resources) is a new, alternative provider for ensuring Europe's energy security

3. Energy is one of the main factors in European-Azerbaijani relations

4. One of the alternatives for ensuring Europe's energy security is the Southern Gas Corridor

5. The Southern Gas Corridor provides both economic and political dividends to the participating parties

6. The Southern Gas Corridor is currently attractive to countries that want to join the project

Scientific novelty of the research: Scientific innovation is determined by taking into account the relevance and political importance of the topic, as well as by the structure of the research problem. The scientific innovation achieved in the research work can be expressed in the following terms:

- For the first time, a comparative analysis of the Southern Gas Corridor with alternative energy projects was conducted as a research work in Azerbaijani political science.

- It was investigated for the first time that the implementation of the Southern Gas Corridor is a part of Europe's energy security policy

- For the first time, a comparative analysis of various theoretical approaches and views on the subject of energy security, which is a component of national security, was conducted from a scientific aspect as a research work in Azerbaijani political science. In addition for studying this problem from the context of international relations, the interests of the countries that want to join the project at the present time are justified.

- The realization of the Southern Gas Corridor project and the interest of the countries that want to join it at the next stage is a successful element of the purposeful foreign policy pursued by Azerbaijan in the system of international relations, and it has been investigated that this issue has brought political dividends to Azerbaijan after the Armenian-

Azerbaijani war, as well as the European Union's mutual interest in terms of ensuring its interests in the region.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research: The theoretical importance of the research can be justified by the fact that it makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the essence of the political and economic processes that are taking place in the direction of ensuring Europe's energy security and realizing the Southern Gas Corridor. At the same time, the research is of essential theoretical importance in terms of the priorities and principles of the European energy security policy, the examination of the challenges and prospects ahead, and the formation of a complete understanding of the participation of actors involved in the Southern Gas Corridor project and likely to be involved in the future.

The practical importance of the research can be justified by the fact that its main provisions and results can be used in the practical activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, foreign policy institutions, other relevant state institutions, as well as state and non-governmental organizations related to international and regional energy projects. The main provisions and results of the dissertation can be used in conducting future research in this direction, in the preparation of lecture and scientific seminar materials, textbooks for the teaching of "International Relations", "Political Science", "Regional Studies", "World Politics", "Economy" and similar subjects. At the same time, methodological tools in higher education institutions can be used as a scientific basis for predicting the problems ahead and eliminating obstacles in the implementation of prospective projects of national and transnational oil and gas companies, private energy companies. Also, the research work can be a resource for professionals working in this field.

Approbation and application: Regarding the main results of the research, the author has reports at international and republican important conferences and forums in Azerbaijan and abroad, and published articles mostly in English and Azerbaijani languages in foreign journals included in the local and international bases recommended by the Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Moreover, articles and thesis are published by author in prominent think tanks such as Jamestown, Eurasiareview, and etc.

The name of the organization where the dissertation has been carried out: Department of "International relations and foreign policy" department of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The total volume of the dissertation by indicating the volume of the structural sections of the dissertation separately: Dissertation consists of introduction, two chapters, six sub-chapters, conclusion and used literature. The introductory part of the dissertation has 21 657 characters, the first chapter consisting of three paragraphs has 90 331 characters, the second chapter has 100 419 characters, the conclusion has 7 248 characters, the total volume is 265081 characters.

MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the introductory part of the dissertation, the relevance of the topic is justified, the level of study of the problem and the source base are analyzed, the goals and objectives of the research are defined, the scientific novelty and practical importance of the work are indicated.

The first chapter entitled **"Europe's place and role in the international energy security system"** consists of three paragraphs. The first paragraph of this chapter called **"Energy security as an important element of national security"** shows that energy security is considered one of the important structural elements of national security. The paragraph examines the historical development process of the emergence of energy security as a political concept.

At the same time, in this part of the dissertation, the role of energy resources is studied conceptually and it is shown that it is extremely difficult to analyze energy security or energy diplomacy without obtaining a theoretical background. In this regard, light is shed on several theories of the international relations system.

For example, the analyzes of Hans Morgenthau, the founder of modern realism, then James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff, Kenneth Waltz, the founder of neo-realism, which is considered another political school, John Mearsheimer (the founder of Offensive Realism), and Michael Klare's analysis are examined. Then, the importance of energy security is associated with high oil and gas prices. The paragraph concludes that concern continues to grow about whether there will be

enough resources to meet the world's energy needs in the decades to come, not in the not-too-distant future. Compliant and conflicting views on this issue are presented.

In the second paragraph of the first chapter entitled "**Europe's energy security policy and ways to ensure it**", it is noted that although the issue of energy security first appeared on the European agenda during the oil crisis in 1973-74, the EU only in recent years has made serious efforts towards the formulation and implementation of a common energy policy.

At a summit in March 2007, European Union leaders adopted a three-pillar strategy focusing on a) competitiveness, b) security of supply, and c) energy sustainability. Based on the conclusions of the summit "Energy Policy for Europe" was adopted against the background of increasing global energy demand, declining European energy production, concerns about the reliability of Russian energy, rising energy prices and the need to adapt the climate change. Nevertheless, obstacles remain in the implementation of a common energy security policy.

Many member states continue to be wary of transferring sovereignty to the European Union level, as energy is a key domestic policy issue and a key condition for national economic development.

In the third paragraph of this chapter entitled "**The role of international actors in the formation of European energy security**", in addition to paying attention to current processes, the concept of "energy security" has recently been enriched with a third component - it is stated that the rhetoric of sustainable energy regularly replaced the thesis of the need for "reliable, safe, sustainable and affordable energy".

The lack of trust shown by Russia in previous years forced the European Union countries to take more seriously the work of diversifying energy security and searching for alternative energy sources. In addition to a number of options, there was also a deep disagreement among the countries of the European Union on this issue. Germany, for example, had a different view. This includes Germany's choice to promote the construction of the Nord Stream pipeline, which would connect Russia directly with its biggest importer, Germany.

In addition, Russia has committed to the construction of the South Stream pipeline across the Black Sea, connecting Hungary, Russia and

Bulgaria. All these projects bypass transit countries like Ukraine and Belarus.

More importantly, it bypasses countries that are more critical of Russian policy, such as Lithuania and Poland. While some European countries, including Germany, argue that projects such as Nord Stream improve European security by offering alternative routes for Russian supplies, other European Union states such as Poland and Lithuania oppose the project and begin to question Russia's credibility as an energy supplier.

Critics believe that projects like Nord Stream could provide Russia with additional economic and political leverage in its relations with countries bypassing the pipeline.

Qatar is the third largest supplier to the European Union. European and Russian companies have developed a comprehensive infrastructure network to transport Russian natural gas to long distances in Europe. Analysts believe that natural gas will play an important role in the relations between Europe and Russia for centuries to come.

The second chapter of the study is called "**Azerbaijan as a new and alternative energy source of Europe**" and consists of three paragraphs. In the first paragraph called "**Energy factor in relations between the European Union and the Republic of Azerbaijan**", it is stated that energy security is one of the main directions of the partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the European Union.

It is clear that recently energy security has become the most important issue that deeply concerns the world and especially the European Union. Azerbaijan, in addition to having rich hydrocarbon reserves, also has access to world markets.

For this reason the issue of energy security has become an important component of Azerbaijan-European Union cooperation. The West considers Azerbaijan one of the main providers of its energy security.

In 2011, a Joint Declaration on the Southern Gas Corridor was signed between the European Union and Azerbaijan in Baku. At the beginning, Azerbaijan was seen as a founding party or a relatively weak party in relations with the European Union, but now it is the main player determining the shape and future of the Southern Corridor.

This also means that the European Union will no longer use pipelines as a negotiating instrument in its strategy regarding Azerbaijan, but will give Azerbaijan more authority in its relations with the European Union. For this reason, the European Union pays special attention to its relations with Azerbaijan.

In this part, important issues are discussed such as the joint press conference between the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and the President of the Council of the European Union Charles Michel, who made an official visit to Baku on July 18, 2021, and the participation of President Ilham Aliyev in the VI Eastern Partnership Summit held in Brussels on December 15, 2021, and joint Memorandum of Understanding which was signed on July 18, 2022, during the visit of the President of the European Commission Mrs. Ursula von der Leyen to Baku.

The second paragraph of the second chapter is called "**Characteristics of the Southern Gas Corridor and its main segments**", which is first analyzed based on the opinions of strategists such as Z. Brzezinski, R. Morningstar. The views of the famous American political scientist Z. Brzezinski, the former ambassador of the USA to Azerbaijan and the special envoy of that country for Eurasian energy issues, Richard Morningstar, are addressed.

The Southern Gas Corridor is a European Commission project to facilitate the diversification of routes and gas supplies to Europe in hopes of reducing the European Union's reliance on Russia. It is reported that the Southern Gas Corridor, together with the flagship Nabucco project of the European Union, which is a part of the corridor, was initially implemented to support the goals of the West (formally the European Union, but in reality including the United States), but it can be said that it was almost possible thanks to the strategies established by Azerbaijan and Turkey. It is said that the Southern Gas Corridor is a huge gas pipeline aimed at transporting Caspian natural gas to Europe and has four segments: Shah Deniz II Natural Gas Field, South Caucasus Pipeline (SCP), Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP), Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP).

The Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP), the last segment of the Southern Gas Corridor, was completed on December 31, 2020. Azerbaijan achieved another important, historic victory and success.

All segments of the Southern Gas Corridor project, which serves to increase the economic and financial power of Azerbaijan and ensure the energy security of Azerbaijan and Europe, are already in operation.

Azerbaijan has become a major exporter of gas to the world market. For the first time in history, Azerbaijan managed to export its natural gas directly to the European market through pipelines. The successful completion of the Southern Gas Corridor not only adds value to the country's economy, but also means the strengthening of Azerbaijan's economic independence.

Having achieved a historic victory in the Patriotic War that began on September 27, 2020 and lasted for 44 days, Azerbaijan has gained the status of a new economic power in the South Caucasus region. Completion of the "Southern Gas Station" is one of the most significant events of recent years.

The third paragraph of the chapter entitled "**Development of renewable energy sources in Europe and Azerbaijan**" states that the decline of traditional resources, as well as the instability of fuel prices, the use of oil and gas resources as a means of pressure to serve the political and geological interests of countries, the use of traditional fuels playing an important role in disrupting the ecological balance increase the interest in renewable energy sources day by day.

Renewable energy has a large share in the European Union and is important in the energy system. The statistical share in the total final energy consumption was 17% at the end of 2016. This indicator is almost double the consumption in 2004 (8.5%). It is true that the energy system of the European Union faces a number of problems, such as low diversification, import dependence, high energy prices, security issues, increasing energy demand, climate deterioration and low energy efficiency.

The EU intends to fight these challenges with the help of renewable energy sources and innovations in the energy market.

In this direction, the European Union implemented the Europe 2020 Strategy, which firstly set the criteria for reaching 20% of the Total Final Energy Consumption by the end of 2020, and then 27% by the end of 2030.

The Europe 2020 Strategy is implemented by the Renewable Energy Directive, the main policy of the European Union for the promotion of renewable energy.

The directive governs the use of alternative energy within the EU. In addition, the EU implements the Cooperation Mechanism to enable countries with non-renewable energy sources to receive assistance from potential countries and to meet their targets. For example, some EU countries have more resources, such as rivers, that can be used to buy renewable energy, while others have less.

It is reported that Azerbaijan is one of the countries with high potential for renewable energy sources. On January 9, 2020, Executive Agreements on the implementation of pilot projects on renewable energy were signed between the Ministry of Energy and the companies "ACWA Power" of Saudi Arabia and "Masdar" of the United Arab Emirates. Mr. President Ilham Aliyev attaches great importance to the use of renewable energy sources in the process of revitalizing Karabakh, to the work of turning the lands freed from occupation into green energy zones.

As a result, the research was concluded and generalizations were made, and suggestions and recommendations of theoretical and practical importance were put forward based on them. The author came to the conclusion that in our modern world, energy policy is characterized as issues of great importance in terms of political independence and national security.

Current realities show that energy acts as the main determinant of the XXI century. Due to the problems faced by the European Union, energy policy, as well as issues such as diversification of energy sources, routes and types, are quite active in its political agenda. More specifically, the Union, a major consumer of Russian gas since the 1970s, has been trying to diversify routes from Russia to ensure uninterrupted energy supplies, despite much criticism from the United States and some Eastern European countries.

On the other hand, realizing that the high level of dependence on Russia will not be completely eliminated, the Union is trying to obtain gas from Azerbaijan, Norway, Qatar, the USA and many other sources through pipelines or in the form of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG).

Energy projects, and especially the Southern Gas Corridor project, bring both economic and political dividends to the parties, and create a

fundamental basis for future EU-Azerbaijan relations. Also, the Victory won by Azerbaijan makes it necessary to look at EU-Azerbaijan relations taking into account the current reality.

If in the first months of the post-war period, EU politicians' statements were biased against Azerbaijan, the recent processes indicate the beginning of a new era in the relations between the two sides. EU-Azerbaijan relations are developed in the context of new geopolitical realities, and as a result, one of the main directions of partnership between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the European Union is energy security, and the Southern Gas Corridor acts as an alternative energy supplier for the European Union. Azerbaijan is also interested in exporting its gas to the European Union.

Azerbaijan has assumed the main financial burden in all four segments of the Southern Gas Corridor. Despite being located in a complex geopolitical space, the energy strategy of Azerbaijan, which was founded by the National leader Heydar Aliyev, is successfully implemented by Mr. President Ilham Aliyev based on foresight, effective decision-making and a coordinated action plan. Because of this foreign policy course Azerbaijan is recognized as a reliable partner in the region and the world.

Azerbaijan's increasingly important role in the world's energy system, its unique place in transnational energy markets and Europe's active participation in energy security have an important impact on its global, regional, geopolitical and geoeconomic position.

That's the reason why the countries of the world, the countries that do not participate in the Southern Gas Corridor project express their intentions to join this project. They are interested in cooperating with Azerbaijan, which is at the center of East-West, North-South transport communications and corridors, as well as geostrategic competition in the Caspian Sea. Azerbaijan in its turn views this issue positively. Azerbaijan's position in ensuring Europe's energy security is quite clear.

So, energy and politics are separated from each other. The Southern Gas Corridor is seen as an energy project, and it operates away from artificial price increases. Relations with the Caspian littoral states, especially between Azerbaijan and Europe, which will continue on the basis of energy resources, will maintain their relevance and importance for many years to come.

The main content of the dissertation is reflected in the following scientific articles and theses of the author:

1. “Energy security policy of Europe and Southern Gas Corridor Project” “Avropanın enerji təhlükəsizliyi və Cənub Qaz Dəhlizi layihəsi” (İngilis dilində) DİA, “Dövlət İdarəçiliyi” Nəzəriyyə və təcrübə N-2 (66), 2019, Səh. 281-290
2. “Energy security policy of Europe and the ways of ensuring it” “Avropanın enerji təhlükəsizliyi və onun təminatı yolları” (İngilis dilində) DİA, “Dövlət İdarəçiliyi” Nəzəriyyə və təcrübə N-4 (68), 2019, Səh. 275-282
3. “Avropanın enerji təhlükəsizliyi və Cənub Qaz Dəhlizi layihəsi” //Azərbaycanın böyük şairi İmadəddin Nəsiminin 650 illik yubileyinə həsr olunmuş “Doktorant və gənc tədqiqatçıların XXIII Respublika elmi konfransının materialları” – 3-4 Dekabr 2019. Bakı. Azərbaycan Memarlıq və İnşaat Universiteti Səh. 29-32
4. “Azərbaycanın enerji təhlükəsizliyinin təmin edilməsində dövlət idarəçiliyi mexanizmlərinin tətbiqi və insan resurslarının idarə olunması” (çıxış və sertifikat) Türk Əməkdaşlıq və Koordinasiya Agentliyinin dəstəyi və Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti yanında Dövlət İdarəçilik Akademiyasının Elmi Şurasının təşkilatçılığı ilə baş tutmuş “Dövlət qulluğunda insan resurslarının idarə olunması: beynəlxalq trendlər və milli təcrübələr” adlı konfrans 5-6 dekabr 2019-cu il
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7. “Azerbaijan as Europe’s new and alternative energy provider” “Azərbaycan Avropanın yeni və alternativ enerji təminatçısı kimi”, (ingilis dilində) // “Science, Society, Education, Topical Issues and Development Prospects” Abstract of III international scientific and practical conference” konfransının materialları, 17-18 fevral, 2020,

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8. “Energy security policy of Europe and Southern Gas Corridor Project” “Avropanın enerji təhlükəsizliyi və Cənub Qaz Dəhlizi layihəsi” (İngilis dilində)// “Əbdürrəhim bəy Haqverdiyevin 150 illik yubileyinin qeyd edilməsi haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin Sərəncamı” ilə “Əbdürrəhim bəy Haqverdiyevin 150 illik yubileyinə həsr olunmuş Beynəlxalq elmi-praktik konfrans” XXI əsrdə elm və təhsil: nəzəriyyə və təcrübə konfrans? 20-21 fevral 2020, Qars şəhəri, Türkiyə Səh. 181-190, <https://elger-etm.com/konfranslar/arxiv-konfrans/29-xx-esrde-elm-ve-tehsil-nezeriyye-ve-tecrube-adli-beynelxalq-elmi-praktik-konfrans-20022020-21022020.html>
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