

**REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

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**ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SETTLEMENT  
OF CONFLICTS**

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## **I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION**

**Relevance of the topic and degree of development.** The two world wars in the 20th century brought to the fore the role of international organizations for maintaining peace and settling conflicts. As a result of the collapse of the USSR in the early 90s of the 20th century, the bipolar world system disintegrated. The increase in the number of participants in the system of international relations also meant new problems, confrontations, interstate and international conflicts. Many conflicts that appeared as internal political problems of countries in different parts of the world gradually became international. These and other factors revived the discussions about the role and place of international organizations in solving crises and conflicts in the world.

It is well known that, during the cold war, the principle of state sovereignty and inviolability of borders was emphasized, and the possibility of interference in internal affairs was excluded. However, in recent years there have been tendencies to retreat from this position. From this viewpoint, at the modern stage, there are several approaches to the participation of international organizations in the regulation of conflicts both in practical politics and in the political science. Whether interstate and supranational organizations act as independent players in international politics, whether states transfer part of their sovereignty to international institutions is in line with modern political realities, and the degree of efficiency of existing mechanisms and tools of international organizations in the regulation of conflicts are the main questions that are relevant.

The relevance of the investigated topic is determined primarily by changes in international relations during the last 30 years. Because the idea of a unipolar world system predicted after the collapse of the bipolar world system did not come true. And, the processes are developing rather slowly in the direction of the formation of the multipolar world system. In this case, international organizations, despite all their shortcomings, remain the main institution in the process of conflict settlement.

Studying the reasons why international organizations are unable to show determination in the settlement of conflicts and use double

standards, is one of the factors that determine the relevance of the topic. As is known, most of the organizations responsible for maintaining peace in the world, preventing and settling international and regional conflicts were created after the World War II, during the cold war years. The global changes in the world at the end of the 20th - the beginning of the 21st century, the emerging problems, raised questions whether these organizations will be able to adapt to new conditions and respond to new security challenges.

One of the other factors determining the relevance of the topic is the changes in the approach to the role of international organizations in the settlement of the conflict faced by the Republic of Azerbaijan, which announced the restoration of state independence in 1991. It is well known that great hopes were nourished on international organizations in the process of settlement of the conflict that arose as a result of occupation of the internationally recognized territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan by Armenia.

The national leader of the Azerbaijani people, Heydar Aliyev, said about this: *“We are trying to solve all issues with the help of international organizations - the United Nations, the UN Security Council, the OSCE, and the Minsk Group, which was specially created within the OSCE to solve this problem. It is known that the UN Security Council has considered this issue many times and adopted four resolutions on the unconditional withdrawal of Armenian armed units from the occupied districts of Azerbaijan. But the Armenian side completely ignores these resolutions”*.<sup>1</sup>

In the past 25 years since the signing of the Bishkek protocol between the parties to the conflict in 1994, the ineffectiveness of the efforts of international organizations to solve the conflict started with groundless territorial claims and military aggression of Armenia that resulted in the occupation of 20 percent of the territories of Azerbaijan, based on the norms and principles of international law or the failure to implement effective measures have exhausted these hopes. In fact, this made it possible to reveal the main reason for the decline in the role of international organizations in the regulation of not only this conflict,

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<sup>1</sup> Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / H.Əliyev. –Bakı: Azər nəşr, – c. 1. –1997. -s. 462.

but also conflicts in other parts of the world. The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, stated this reason in one of his speeches as follows: *“Much to our regret, the application of double standards and a selective approach to the norms of international law and the decisions of international organizations has a negative impact on the fair resolution of conflicts in the world. Azerbaijan has been subjected to such a selective approach during the last 30 years”*.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, one of the factors determining the relevance of the topic is the lack of a comprehensive study on the stages and changes in the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the approach to global and regional international organizations in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. The research work is important because it fills a gap in this field.

Studying how the role of international organizations changes in the peace-building process in the period before the 44-day war in 2020 and after the victory of the Azerbaijani state in the war allows for experimental modeling for the settlement of some conflicts in other areas of the world. This shows that the study of the topic is relevant not only from the viewpoint of the practical and political interests of the Republic of Azerbaijan, but also from the viewpoint of the theory of political science.

During the investigation of the problem, the study of numerous historical and political literatures shows that so far, a great deal of studies have been conducted both in Azerbaijan and in foreign countries related to different aspects of the topic. In order to study different aspects of the problem, among the Azerbaijani researchers M.Qasimli, G.Pashayeva, E.Nasirov, H.Mammadov, H.Huseynova, E.Ahmadov, Q.Pashayeva, E.Mirbashiroglu, N.Dunyamaliyeva, A.Gulaliyeva, B.Muradova, D.Rajabli, S.Seyidmammadova, R.Dadashova, researchers from Turkey F.Keskin, A.Bagbashlioglu, M.Ataman, M.Ozturk, N.Ergul, N.Akyeshilmen, H.Bagci, H.Gokarlan, F.Chapan, D.Ozlu, K.Diyarbakirlioglu, M.Chagiran

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<sup>2</sup> İlham Əliyev Qoşulmama Hərəkatının Yüksək Səviyyəli Toplantısında videoformatda çıxış edib: [Elektron resurs] / Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin rəsmi internet saytı, – Oktyabr 11, 2021. URL: <https://president.az/az/articles/view/53406>

and other authors' works are interesting.

Numerous research works on the topic have been written in Russian political science. Various aspects of the problem are reflected in the works of K.Hajiyev, G.Nodiya, A.Aklayev, V.Andreyev, A.Qlukhova, M.Lebedeva, D.Novikova and others. The study of the works of authors from other countries (F.Fukuyama, S.Huntington, Z.Brzezinski, L.Bloomfield, A.Moulton, A.Batur, E.Dovqan, etc.) made it possible to consider the studied topic in a multilateral context.

The position of international organizations in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, which has been the main issue of the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan for many years, was studied in the works of M.Qasimli, on the basis of authoritative documents and sources obtained from the archives of those organizations.<sup>3</sup>

G.Pashayeva's works are interesting in terms of studying the activities of international organizations at various stages of the conflict created as a result of Armenia's occupation of Azerbaijani territories, as well as the process of regulating relations between the two countries after the 44-day war that took place in 2020.<sup>4</sup>

E.Nasirov touched on some issues related to the fight against terrorism, some problems that lead to crisis conditions between states,

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<sup>3</sup> Qasimli, M.C. Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasəti: 1991-2003: [2 cildə] / M.C.Qasimli. -Bakı: Mütərcim, -c. I. -2015. – 648 s.; Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasəti: 1991-2003: [2 cildə] / M.C.Qasimli. -Bakı: Mütərcim, -c. 2. -2015. – 664 s.; Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti (konsepsiya məsələləri) /M.C.Qasimli. -Bakı: Mütərcim, -1997. - 124 s.; Ermənistanın sovetləşdirilməsindən Azərbaycan ərazilərinin işğalınadək erməni iddiaları: tarix – olduğu kimi (1920-1994-cü illər). - Bakı: Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti yanında Elmin İnkişafı Fondu, -2016. –520 s.

<sup>4</sup> Pashayeva, G. Opinion: A watershed moment in Armenian-Azerbaijani relations: [Digital resource] / KarabakhSpace, -2022, July 5. URL: <https://karabakhspace.comspace.eu/commentary/opinion-watershed-moment-armenian-azerbaijani-relations>; Towards Armenian-Azerbaijani rapprochement: Initial steps: [Digital resource] / Turkish Policy Quarterly, -2022, April 14. URL: <http://turkishpolicy.com/blog/84/towards-armenian-azerbaijani-rapprochement-initial-steps>; Spotlight on normalization // -Baku: Baku dialogues, -2021. №4. –pp. 54-73.

and the position of international organizations in the regulation of these processes.<sup>5</sup>

In the studies of H.Mammadov (Babaoglu), attention was paid to issues related to the place of international organizations in the system of international relations, their place and role in ensuring peace and security in the world, and preventing conflicts.<sup>6</sup>

H.Huseynova studied in her works the role of international organizations, including the OSCE, NATO, the EU and the Council of Europe, in the process of the integration of the Republic of Azerbaijan into Europe, touched on the attitude of these organizations to the problems faced by Azerbaijan, including a number of issues that arose as a result of the occupation policy of Armenia.<sup>7</sup>

In his works E.Ahmadov, analyzed the groundless territorial claims and aggression policy put forward by Armenia against Azerbaijan starting from the late 80s of the 20th century, and presented the documents adopted by international organizations on the resolution of the conflict in chronological order and in a systematic manner.<sup>8</sup>

In her monograph G.Pashayeva paid attention to the global changes that took place in the political map of the world at the end of the 20th century, and analyzed the issues of diplomatic and political

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<sup>5</sup> Nəsirov, E.X. ABŞ və Beynəlxalq terrorizm problemi: / siyasi elmlər doktor dis. –Bakı, 2000. -166 s.

<sup>6</sup> Məmmədov, H.B. Dünya siyasəti və beynəlxalq münasibətlər / H.B.Məmmədov. - Bakı: Bakı Universiteti, -2012. -372 s.

<sup>7</sup> Hüseynova, H.K. Azərbaycan Avropa inteqrasiya prosesləri sistemində: / Siyasi elmlər doktoru dis. –Bakı, 2001, -s. 102-170.

<sup>8</sup> Əhmədov E.İ. Azərbaycanın xarici siyasəti: beynəlxalq təhlükəsizlik və əməkdaşlıq institutları ilə münasibətlər / E.İ.Əhmədov. - Bakı: Letterpress, -2013. - 452 s.; Ermənistanın Azərbaycana təcavüzü: Sənədlər və materiallar [3 cildə] / E.İ.Əhmədov. - Bakı: Letterpress, c. 1. -2015. 324 s.; Ermənistanın Azərbaycana təcavüzü: Sənədlər və materiallar [3 cildə] / E.İ.Əhmədov. - Bakı : Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti yanında Elmin İnkişafı Fondu, -c. 3 Beynəlxalq təşkilatların və böyük dövlətlərin siyasəti. -2015. - 368 s.; Ermənistanın Azərbaycana təcavüzü və beynəlxalq təşkilatlar / E.İ.Əhmədov. -Bakı: Tuna, -1998, - 138 s.; Ermənistanın Azərbaycana təcavüzü: təhlili xronika: 1987-2011 /E.İ.Əhmədov. -Bakı: Letterpress, -2012. -912 s.

struggle around regional conflicts in Europe and the South Caucasus and their settlement.<sup>9</sup>

In his monograph, E.Mirbashirolu, touched upon the mediatory function of international organizations and their effectiveness in the process of resolving political conflicts.<sup>10</sup>

Based on international legal documents, N.Aliyev explained the importance of characterizing the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as a conflict arising as a result of occupation rather than a conflict arising on ethnic or national grounds.<sup>11</sup>

N.Dunyamaliyeva's dissertation is dedicated to the problem of "Military-political conflicts in modern international relations".<sup>12</sup>

A.Gulaliyeva studied the problem of the Azerbaijan Republic's participation in the European Security and Cooperation Organization, and the improvement of the OSCE mechanism in the period after the end of the cold war.<sup>13</sup>

The role of the OSCE in settling the conflict was studied in B.Muradova's dissertation. The author mostly studied the participation of the OSCE Minsk group in the process of settlement of

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<sup>9</sup> Paşayeva, Q.Ə. Müasir dövrdə Avropada və Cənubi Qafqazda regional münaqişələr və onların nizamlanması ətrafında diplomatik-siyasi mübarizə /Q.Ə.Paşayeva. –Bakı: Elm və təhsil, -2013. -392 s.

<sup>10</sup>Mirbəşiroğlu, E.M. Siyasi münaqişələr: mahiyyəti, quruluşu, həlli / E.M.Mirbəşiroğlu. –Bakı: Elm, -2009. -523 s.

<sup>11</sup> Алиев, Н. На пути к разрешению конфликтов на Южном Кавказе (вместе предисловия) //Южный Кавказ: истоки сепаратизма, разрешение конфликтов, долговременный мир. Материалы международной научно практической конференции, посвященной 90 –летию Дипломатической службы Азербайджана (Тбилисский Государственный Университет им. Иване Джавахишвили, 20 ноября 2009 года). –Тбилиси: Универсал, -2009. -114 с.; Вопросы международного права в Нагорно-Карабахском конфликте / Н.Г.Алиев. –Тбилиси: Универсал, -2009. -98 с.;

Aliyev, N.H. International law issues in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict / N.H.Aliyev. – Tbilisi: Universal, -2009. -100 p.

<sup>12</sup> Dünyamaliyeva, N.Z. Müasir beynəlxalq münasibətlərdə hərbi-siyasi münaqişələr: / siyasi elmlər namizədi dis. / -Bakı, 2006. -s. 99-138

<sup>13</sup> Güləliyeva, A.A. Azərbaycan Respublikasının Avropa Təhlükəsizlik və Əməkdaşlıq Təşkilatında iştirakı: / siyasi elmlər namizədi dis. / -Bakı, 2007. -s. 33-43, 77-98.



the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, but the activity of the organization on the settlement of other conflicts was not paid attention to.<sup>14</sup>

S.Seyidmammadova analyzed the participation of the UN, NATO, OSCE, Council of Europe, EU, CIS, OIC, International Committee of the Red Cross in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict within the chronological framework of 1991-2005.<sup>15</sup>

R.Dadashova analyzed the role of the UN in ensuring peace and security in the world, the possibilities of influence in settling conflicts, both in her doctoral thesis work and in her monograph of the same name published in 2020, paid attention to the reform proposals put forward to increase the organization's activity, and tried to assess their effectiveness.<sup>16</sup>

F.Keskin, a researcher from Turkey, studied the use of force in international law and conflict resolution, and the authorities of the UN in this context.<sup>17</sup> In the work published under the editorship of Arif Bagbashlioglu, the effects of the changes in the international relations system on the activities of the organizations, the steps taken by the UN within the framework of the concept of human security and its responsibility to protect it, the improvement of NATO to protect its existence, the activities of the European Union in the context of the common security and defense policy have been studied.<sup>18</sup>

M.Ataman and M.Ozturk have written a number of articles devoted to the factors that determine whether or not international

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<sup>14</sup> Muradova, B. Ə. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsinin nizama salınmasında ATƏT-in rolu: / siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. / -Bakı, 2009. - 173 s.

<sup>15</sup> Seyidova, S.M. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsinin tənzimlənməsində beynəlxalq təşkilatların iştirakı:/ tarix elmləri doktoru dis. / -Bakı, 2016. -s. 140-281.

<sup>16</sup> Dadaşova, R.B. Regional münaqişələrin həlli kontekstində BMT-də islahatların zəruriliyi: / siyasi elmlər doktoru dis. avtoreferatı / -Bakı, 2018. –s. 20-36.

Dadashova, R. The problem of resolution of the regional conflicts: reforms in the UN / R.Dadashova. –İstanbul: Turk Yayınevi, -2020. -168 p.

<sup>17</sup> Keskin, F. Uluslararası Hukukta Kuvvet Kullanma: Savaş, Karışma ve Birleşmiş Milletler /F.Keskin. -Ankara, Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı Yayınları, -1998, -239 s.

<sup>18</sup> Uluslararası Güvenlik ve Uluslararası Örgütler: Kavramlar, Yaklaşımlar ve Kurumlar / Ed. A.Bağbaşıoğlu. –Ankara: Nobel Yayınları, -2022. -466 s.

organizations intervene in conflicts occurring within countries, and to the study of the reasons for the failure of such interventions.<sup>19</sup> N.Ergul's article is also dedicated to the role of international organizations in conflict settlement.<sup>20</sup> The book edited by N.Akyeshilmen contains articles by H.Bagci, H.Gokarlan, F.Chapan, D.Ozluk and others on conflicts and the role of international organizations in their regulation.<sup>21</sup>

In their works, K.Diyarbakırlioglu<sup>22</sup> and M.E.Chagiran<sup>23</sup> paid attention to the role of international organizations in the changing world.

The conflict created as a result of Armenia's military aggression against Azerbaijan has been the object of research by researchers from foreign countries, including Russia, at different levels and from different positions. First of all, it should be noted that conflicting issues are found in most of the works written in Russia on the investigated problems. This manifests itself especially in relation to the issues related to the settlement of conflicts, in the presence of which Russia is interested. For example, authors such as K.Hajiyev, G.Nodiya, while investigating the conflicts in the South Caucasus, did not approach the issues objectively, and gave wide space to biased opinions in their research.<sup>24</sup> Analysis and management of

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<sup>19</sup> Ataman, M., Öztürk, M. Uluslararası Örgütlerin Devlet-İçi Çatışmalara Müdahale Edip Etmemesini Belirleyen Faktörler // Bilgi, -2016. № 3 3, -ss. 103 - 135; Uluslararası Örgütlerin Devlet-İçi Çatışmalara Başarısız Müdahalelerinin Nedenleri // Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi, Cilt/Volume: 12, Sayı/Issue: 2, Yıl/Year: 2017, ss. 137-168.

<sup>20</sup> Ergül, N. Yeni güvenlik anlayışı kapsamında Birleşmiş Milletler'in rolü ve uygulamaları // Teoriler ışığında güvenlik, savaş, barış ve çatışma çözümleri / Ed. Atilla Sandıklı. -İstanbul: Bilgesam, -2012., -ss. 165-210.

<sup>21</sup> Barışı konuşmak: teori və praktikte çatışma yönetimi / Ed. N.Akyeshilmen. -İstanbul: ODTÜ yayınları, -2013. -470 s.

<sup>22</sup> Diyarbakırlioglu, K. International Organizations in the Changing World / K.Diyarbakırlioglu. -Ankara: Dora yayıncılık, -2021. -220 s.

<sup>23</sup> Çağiran, M.E. Uluslararası Örgütler / M.Çağiran. -Ankara: Turhan, -2019. -459 s.

<sup>24</sup> Гаджиев, К.С. Кавказский узел в геополитических приоритетах России / К.С.Гаджиев. -Москва: Логос, -2010. - 532 с.

Нодия, Г. Политическая смута и этнотерриториальные конфликты в Грузии // Спорные границы на Кавказе / под ред. Б. Коппитерса. -М.: Весь мир, -1996. - 228 с.

ethnopolitical conflicts by A.Aklayev<sup>25</sup>, typology and development dynamics of conflicts by A.Qlukhova<sup>26</sup>, and M.Lebedyeva<sup>27</sup> studied the political-theoretical and practical aspects of approaches to the political settlement of conflicts. D.Novikova paid attention to the experience of the European Union as a new institution of international crisis and conflict settlement.<sup>28</sup>

F.Fukuyama defended the idea of the possibility of conflicts' settlement as a result of the spread of liberal democratic values of the West, which are universal in society.<sup>29</sup> S.Huntington put forward the idea that conflicts will enter a new phase, that the conflict between cultural systems (civilizations) will lead to the formation of a new system, and he came to the conclusion that states belonging to individual civilizations use international organizations and institutions for the purpose of realizing their goals.<sup>30</sup> In his works Z.Bzezinski, paid attention to the relationship between the emergence of conflicts and the feeling of national deprivation, as well as touched upon the geopolitical causes of many conflicts in Eurasia.<sup>31</sup> In the work co-authored by L.Bloomfield and A.Moulton, a political-theoretical interpretation of the political steps taken in the direction of conflict resolution and prevention is given.<sup>32</sup> In the first chapter of his research work on the settlement of the Afghan conflict in the 21st century,

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<sup>25</sup> Аклаев А.Р. Этнополитическая конфликтология: анализ и менеджмент: Учебное пособие / Аклаев А.Р. -М.: Дело, -2005. - 472 с.

<sup>26</sup> Глухова, А.В. Политические конфликты: основания, типология, динамика (теоретико-методологический анализ) / А.В. Глухова. -М.: Эдиториал УРСС, - 2000. - 280 с.

<sup>27</sup> Лебедева, М.М. Политическое урегулирование конфликтов: Подходы, решения, технологии / М.М. Лебедева. - М.: Аспект Пресс, -1997. -272 с.

<sup>28</sup> Новикова, Д.О. Новые инструменты международного кризисного урегулирования: опыт Европейского союза / Д.О. Новикова. -М.: МГИМО Университет, -2009. -112 с.

<sup>29</sup> Фукуяма, Ф. Конец истории? // Вопросы философии. -1990. -№ 3.-с. 134–148.

<sup>30</sup> Хантингтон, С. Столкновение цивилизаций? // Полис. -1994. -№ 1. -с. 33.-48.

<sup>31</sup> Bloomfield, L., Moulton, A. Managing International Conflicts: From Theory To Policy / L.Bloomfield, A.Moulton. - New York: St. Martin's Press, -1997. -229 p.

<sup>32</sup> Батур, А.А. Роль международных организаций в урегулировании афганского конфликта в XXI веке: Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата политических наук / - Санкт-Петербург, 2017. -358 p.

A.Muhammed Batur paid attention to the functions and forms of participation of international organizations in world political processes and international conflict settlement.<sup>33</sup> E.Dovqan analyzed the role of international organizations in the settlement of the Ukrainian conflict.<sup>34</sup>

The source base of the research is made up of documents of international organizations - charters, conventions, resolutions, agreements, UN declarations, official speeches of political leaders of the states involved in the conflict, and official sources reflecting statistical data. A special group of the source base is made up of various volumes of the multi-volume books "Our Independence is Eternal", which includes the speeches and interviews of the national leader of the Azerbaijani people, Heydar Aliyev, and "Development is our goal", which includes the speeches and interviews of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev.<sup>35</sup> In these works, the position of international organizations in the process of settling international conflicts and the reasons for the existence of double standards are revealed.

**The object and the subject of the research.** The object of the research is the role of international organizations in the settlement of conflicts and the implementation of peacekeeping activities. The subject of the research is the process of emergence of conflicts, the activities carried out for their prevention, regulation and resolution with the participation of international organizations, the world experience gained in this direction, precedents, problems.

**The goals and objectives of the research.** The main goal of the problem research is to determine the role and place of international

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<sup>33</sup> Довгань, Е. Ф. Роль международных организаций в урегулировании конфликта в Украине // Труды факультета международных отношений : науч. сборник. - Вып. 5. - Минск, 2014. -с. 97-104.

<sup>34</sup> Довгань, Е. Ф. Роль международных организаций в урегулировании конфликта в Украине // Труды факультета международных отношений : науч. сборник. - Вып. 5. - Минск, 2014. -с. 97-104.

<sup>35</sup> Əliyev, N.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cilddə] / N.Əliyev. – Bakı: Azərənşr, – с. 1. – 1997. –612 s.

Əliyev, İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir: [117 cild] / İ.H.Əliyev. –Bakı: Azərənşr, -2019-2021. –с. 96-117.

organizations in the regulation of conflicts, as well as to reveal the characteristics and effectiveness of the activities of international security institutions in the conflict zone based on the example of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

In order to achieve these goals, a number of specific tasks have been defined:

- to study the unique characteristics of political conflicts in the world at the modern stage;
- to determine the historical and legal-political bases for the participation of international organizations in the settlement of conflicts;
- to comparatively analyze the activities of international organizations in international peace processes;
- To conduct a comparative analysis of different international organizations' approach to the conflict that arose as a result of the military aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan;
- To determine the level characteristics, similarities and differences of international organizations' activities before and after the 44-day war;
- To interpret the legislative and legal mechanisms for participation of international organizations in the settlement of conflicts, make suggestions and recommendations.

**Methods of research.** Systematic, structural and functional analysis methods form the theoretical-methodological basis of the research. In parallel with this, generally accepted methods in the political science (politology) were also used. Since the period covered by the problem is rich in many documents, in the process of writing the dissertation, comparative political analyzes were given ample space, and chronological and problem-chronological methods were used more.

**The main provisions of the defence are the following:**

- The process of globalization and the trends related to it have a direct impact on the entire system of international relations, as well as the nature of conflicts and the features of their regulation;
- Under certain conditions, political conflict can turn into an event that disrupts political stability in society, has a destructive effect

on it, and can pose a threat to its democratic foundations.

- In modern political conflicts, the activities of international organizations are not at all equivocal, because not every one of the international participants involved in the conflict is trying to solve it, rather they are pursuing their own interests;

- In the modern world, it is not possible to eliminate not only global, but in some cases even local conflicts with the existing mechanisms of the UN and many other organizations. The activity of international organizations aimed at regulating political conflicts is, in fact, partially effective, mainly for the purpose of assistance. From this viewpoint, there is a greater demand than ever for reforms in the UN, for the effective implementation of the idea of peacekeeping in practice.

- Multipolarity can lead to the formation of a qualitatively new system of various economic, political and other relations between international actors, to the creation of a world of differentiated forces. This can increase the role of regional organizations and states with power centers compared to global organizations in the regulation of conflicts.

- There is serious resistance to efforts to prioritize the role of heterogeneous units (social movements, groups based on certain interests, some international organizations, some military groups, etc.) in the settlement of conflicts compared to homogeneous units (the system of national states).

- At the modern stage, the participation of homogeneous units in the settlement of conflicts and the achievement of peace through force, and the participation of international organizations and heterogeneous units in the process of transition from negative peace to positive peace gives effective results.

After the elimination of the consequences of Armenia's military aggression against Azerbaijan, the role of European Union in achieving sustainable peace in the region is more related to geopolitical and geoeconomic interests than the effectiveness of the organization's mechanisms.

**The scientific novelty of the research** is determined by the research goals and tasks to be performed. The concepts of "conflict

settlement” and “international organizations” are used in the presented dissertation. In the research work, not only the activities of international organizations in the settlement of modern conflicts are investigated, but also the factors affecting the role of these institutions in the system of international relations in the era of globalization are determined. In this regard, the following issues were addressed in the research work:

- The negative effects of the ambiguity of the activities of international organizations on the process of conflict settlement have been determined;

- It has been proven that the participation of homogeneous units in achieving peace through force, and the participation of international organizations and heterogeneous units in the process of transition from negative peace to positive peace give effective results;

- For the first time, the concept of conflicts that may arise between states and non-state actors existing in virtual reality was brought into scientific circulation, and the problem of the lack of mechanisms of international organizations related to the regulation of these conflicts and the ineffectiveness of existing mechanisms was studied.

**The scientific-theoretical and practical importance of the research** is related to the set research goals and tasks, as well as the scientific novelty of the work. The comments, comparative and critical analysis and generalized results of the research can be useful for political scientists, conflictologists, historians conducting research in the field of international relations, lawyers dealing with the legal problems of international organizations, philosophers, sociologists and lecturers in the fields of social and humanitarian sciences.

The materials, main provisions and results of the dissertation work can be used in scientific-research works, teaching of subjects, methodological seminars in the fields of political science, state administration, international relations, conflictology, history.

**The approbation and application of the dissertation.** The content of the research work, the main provisions, the obtained results are reflected in the author’s articles published in scientific publications inside and outside the country, in the materials of the republican and

international level scientific conferences, where she participated and delivered speech.

**The name of the institution where the dissertation work was performed.** The dissertation work was performed at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

**The total volume of the dissertation with characters indicating the volume of the structural sections of the dissertation separately.** The volume of the research work is 277331 characters in total. Introduction - 23728, chapter I - 77018, chapter II - 99811, chapter III - 64384, the Conclusion section consists of 12391 characters.

## II. THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter I of the dissertation, called “**Characteristics of conflicts and ways of settlement**”, consists of two sub-chapters. The first paragraph is entitled “**Characteristics of modern conflicts**”. Studies show that the source and basis of political conflict are objectively socio-economic contradictions specific to every society. At the modern stage, the process of globalization gives rise to a number of new conflicts. As a result of the globalization process, a number of special trends and circumstances have emerged. They can also be grouped as follows:

- the elimination of limits between domestic and foreign policy;
- democratization of international relations and internal political processes;
- the development of the newest mass communication systems in the world;
- increase in the number of direct participants in modern political relations;
- global spread of international terrorism.

Due to the strengthening of interdependence and the realization that it is impossible to solve the new problems existing in the world within the framework of separate states, the elimination of the boundaries between domestic and foreign policy, the



internationalization of politics is a clearly observed process.<sup>36</sup>

In terms of its application to conflict, this means that the boundaries between internal and international conflicts are largely disappearing in modern conditions. The reason for this is that conflicts in the modern world, although arise as internal conflicts in many cases, later expand and become international.<sup>37</sup>

In the second paragraph of the chapter called **“Problems of conflict settlement”**, it is noted that the new world order is most likely not a system of homogeneous units (in the form of the modern system of national states), but of heterogeneous units (for example, some social movements, some groups based on certain interests, international organizations, some military groups, etc.) will be a system based on relations between each other.

The uncertainty of the new state of the world order and the extreme diversity of the acting states encourage researchers studying modern international relations to give a better and more complete explanation of the current situation, prompting them to put forward different types of authorial concepts.

Legal changes in the nature of conflicts, active participation of various non-state actors in conflicts make it difficult to regulate them by traditional political-diplomatic means.

In many cases, as a reason for this, the problems related to the legitimacy of the leader of the participating party become unsolvable, that is, it is impossible from a legal viewpoint to negotiate with such a leader sitting at the table, as well as the problems that arise due to the identification of the leader who actually has complete control over the situation. Moreover, it is not always guaranteed that the agreements reached between the parties will be fulfilled. Reaching agreements between the parties does not mean that there is a sufficient guarantee for the elimination of the source of conflict.

This, in turn, may create the need to pay special attention to the

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<sup>36</sup> Цыганков, П.А. Глобальные политические перемены и язык теории // Глобальные социальные и политические перемены в мире / отв. ред. проф. А.Ю. Мельвиль. - Москва, -1997. -с. 35.

<sup>37</sup> Степанова, Е. Интернационализация локально-региональных конфликтов // Международная жизнь. -2000, -№11. -с. 83-94

solution of deep-rooted problems in socio-economic, cultural and humanitarian fields in order to provide the foundation for the peace achieved after the end of the military phase of the conflict. In order to achieve the desired results in the regulation of problems related to such types, active searches are being conducted to find new means of conflict regulation that are compatible with the modern state of the international relations system.

These new means of regulation would complement the traditional forms of interstate interactions characteristic of the Westphalian model of peace. In this regard, the active participation of international organizations in the settlement of conflicts, the identification and application of new mechanisms is becoming one of the most urgent issues.

The essence of the political conflict, its nature, as well as the dynamics of development and factors affecting it are the main categories of this political phenomenon. It is impossible to study political conflicts with the methods of only one of the social sciences. Only at the point where these sciences meet can a universal explanation and clarification of the concept of conflict be given.

By studying all these models, it can be concluded that conflict is a kind of “norm”. In this sense, one cannot disagree with the US political scientist R. Dal. He rightly points out that political life and political practice tend to accept conflict as a norm rather than a negation of the characteristics of politics.<sup>38</sup> Conflict are wherever social life exists. Therefore, it is not correct to treat the event of conflict as a unequivocally negative situation. In the history of human development, it is precisely the conflicts that led to the collapse of simpler socio-political formations, and thus people have passed a long way from the primitive community to the modern state.

The emergence and development of political conflict occurs under the influence of a number of factors. These factors determine the scale of the conflict situation, the number of participants and the speed of development of the conflict. Modern conflicts can occur under the influence of several factors or a combination of all factors.

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<sup>38</sup> Даль, Р. Полиархия, плюрализм и пространство // Вопросы философии. - 1994. -№2. -с. 38.

This will lead to their adjustment being longer and more painful.

The elimination of the bipolar system of international relations not only ended the era of balancing peace on the brink of war, but also increased instability. At the modern stage, the possibility of achieving peace has decreased even more, because there is no longer a powerful bipolar conflict. The world has somehow returned to its previous state of unpredictability. This also manifests itself in local-regional conflicts. These conflicts, which were previously prevented by a two-block conflict, are now a source of great danger because of their potential to quickly escalate.

The elimination of bipolarity revealed the need for the formation of a new system of international relations. Currently, intense debates are going on in the scientific circles of Europe and the world about what the new system will be like. This new system should take into account the characteristics of the modern development stage of the world and, first of all, the emergence of new international actors.

Globalization processes, which appeared as a phenomenon that contradicts traditional interstate relations, which were especially relevant in the early 90s of the 20th century, as well as a number of global trends coincided with the elimination of bipolarity, formed a qualitatively new state of international relations. The internationalization of politics, the democratization of domestic and international relations, the revival in the field of information and communication, the expansion of the circle of international actors, and the beginning of the spread of terrorism on a global scale had a serious impact on this process. The new situation, in turn, led to the emergence of a number of problems and new types of conflicts. New approaches are required to solve those problems.

Chapter II of the dissertation work is called **“Characteristics of the participation of international organizations in the process of conflict settlement”**. In the first paragraph of the chapter entitled **“Historical, legal and political foundations for the participation of international organizations in the settlement of conflicts”**, such organizations as the League of Nations, the UN and its various structures, the OSCE, the European Union, the Organization of American States, the African Union, the League of Arab States, the

CIS, the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (GUAM), NATO, CSTO attention was paid to the participation potential of organizations in the conflict regulation process.

In the second paragraph of the chapter entitled **“International Organizations and Peacekeeping Activities in the Settlement of Conflicts in the South Caucasus and Moldova”** the participation of international organizations in the settlement of conflicts and peacekeeping activities in the newly independent states that appeared on the political map of the world after the collapse of the USSR were analyzed.

Researches show that subjects working in the direction of conflict settlement, and primarily the EU, UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and individual countries, are committed to reducing the negative impact of not only the conflicting parties, but also the power supporting them, not unilaterally, but from several sources, and they should make maximum efforts to create conditions for finding comprehensive solutions. In such a case, regional and international organizations that are really interested in resolving the conflict should not hide behind the mood of retreat in an imaginary defensive position, hoping that the conflicting parties and the power that supports them will find a solution. Instead, they should intensify their contacts, identify economic aid and exert political pressure.

At present conditions, there are a number of factors in the resolution of long-term conflicts that are a major obstacle to ensuring international peace and security, and they can be grouped as follows:

1. Lack of provision for increasing authority and influence. One of the reasons that reduces the motivation of states and organizations in resolving protracted conflicts is the fact that it is not possible to gain a comfortable reputation. For external subjects who can play an important role in reaching agreements between the parties to the conflict, participation in the settlement of protracted conflicts does not bring great advantages, on the contrary, the failure of such a settlement attempt can have a negative impact on the subjects, including the reputation of international organizations.

2. Attitudes towards the supporting force and its influence. The separatist entities along the Black Sea coast and in the South Caucasus

regions are acting as a frontline, conforming to the geopolitical rules inherited from the collapse of the USSR. The former hegemony of Moscow in these regions is currently being challenged by international and regional subjects (USA, NATO, EU) and regional leaders (Turkey and Iran). After 1989, the clash of interests between Russia and the West in Eastern Europe and the territory of the former Soviet Union manifested itself in both conflicting and irreconcilable manifestations (Russia asserting its strategic interests in the “near abroad” and accusing the West of interfering), and also clearly shows in the plan to ensure mutual interests (cooperation in the fight against terrorism and smuggling).<sup>39</sup>

3. New realities, old problems. It appears from the analysis that the presence of attributes such as government, constitution, elections, armed forces, etc. in the separatist institutions that create the image of “statehood” opens the way to the emergence of new realities. As a result, these realities become serious obstacles for conflict resolution. Although the five-day war that took place in the Skhinvali region of Georgia in August 2008, caused a new situation, it did not cause a serious change in the solution of the problem. After combat operations, the frozen war was frozen again. The new reality is that Georgia controls less territory than before, the Russian Federation officially recognizes the two separatist entities, openly supports those regimes and strengthens its presence in their territories.

Protracted conflicts lead to the emergence of various more complex problems. The political outcome of the conflict consists of attempts to legitimize the separatist regime against the law. This is contrary to the existing norms and principles of international law regarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states. Such prolongation of conflict resolution serves to gain time for the unity of illegal regimes. The economic outcome of a protracted conflict is characterized by economic decline and reallocation of security resources.

4. Inconsistency and indecisiveness. The indecision of outside subjects and the separatist country on whether to engage in an

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<sup>39</sup> Charles, A., Adler, E., Coicaud J., Khong, Y.F. Power in Transition // The Peaceful Change of International Order. -UN University Press, -2001, -pp. 138-158.

extended dialogue with the separatists and the host country is related to concerns about the de facto recognition of the separatist regime. This approach can be justified. It is this point that makes it necessary for countries to give maximum priority to isolation strategy against separatist regimes. Any negotiation with the so-called entity created as a result of separatist actions means de facto recognition of it.

Thus, it was not possible to solve the conflicts that arose in the territories of the newly independent states that arose after the collapse of the USSR, with the approach of international organizations based on traditional models. The military forces deployed by various regional international organizations under the name of peacekeeping forces in the conflict zones were actually the military forces belonging to or under the influence of the power interested in the existence of conflicts in the region - Russia. The Russian Federation has used all means at its disposal to prevent the settlement of conflicts in any form without its participation in this geopolitical space. Russia has been interested in the non-resolution and continuation of conflicts. Because if the conflicting parties get along and establish good relations, then there will be no need for a peacekeeping force. So, Russia's military presence in the conflict zone will be terminated and its sphere of influence will be weakened.

Compared to the conflicts in Eastern Europe and the countries in the Balkan Peninsula, the opportunities and desires of the EU to participate in the settlement of conflicts in the new geopolitical space created after the fall of the USSR have been much weaker. The analyses show that, although the European Union has limited military and political influence, it has the ability to use its economic resources to settle conflicts.

From this viewpoint, supporting states with conflicts in the territory of the European Union (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, etc.) and helping them to become a center of economic attraction can create and strengthen the tendency of conflict zones to reintegrate. This will allow the emergence of soft models for conflict resolution during the periods when the EU cooperates within the framework of the Eastern Partnership policy.

For this, the European Union can continue its efforts to become an integral part of peacekeeping missions or expanded civilian observer missions, in addition to its activities in the field of political mediation, economic assistance, human rights protection and humanitarian assistance, and take on a more effective role of guaranteeing the settlement of frozen conflicts. It can be expected that the EU will gradually increase its influence in these matters.

Two issues must be considered in relation to states with long-term conflicts on their territory. First, the country where separatism takes place should be attractive in terms of high standard of living, approach to human rights and freedoms. This may reduce separatist tendencies. The metropolitan state should focus on economic development and the strengthening of democratic institutions and order. This, in turn, would limit the propaganda used by the separatists to discredit the metropolis. In such a case, the citizens of the separatist institutions will begin to put serious pressure on the separatist leaders in the direction of merging with the metropolis. This can ultimately lead to a long-term solution. The dilemma at the root of the issue is the lack of official support and de facto recognition of the separatist regime, affecting all aspects of the process. At the same time, it creates opportunities to attract separatists to the metropolis. Thus, they provide a certain level of opportunities for trade, freedom of movement and property rights, and as a result, all this leads to the creation of a network of mutual interests. The alternative is that the separatists will rely more and more on the airy country and become more distant and alienated in relation to the metropolis. Populations on the path to progress and living in democratic metropolis-state separatist institutions can reduce their concerns about the existence of such an alternative.

Second, the international community's support for the metropolises should not be limited to the refusal to officially recognize the separatist regimes. Its support should also be expressed in the process of democratization and the institutional development of the metropolis, so that the conditions for the creation of a center of attraction in the region are created and the metropolis becomes an attractive country for separatists. Along with this, international

institutions such as the EU should work together with metropolitan areas to promote true pluralism. Also, the international community and institutions should constantly support them by marginalizing the interference of the metropolises in the separatist institutions. Ultimately, a formula characterized by some degree of separation of powers, equal opportunities and accessibility should be applied. This formula can reduce separatists' anxiety about persecution and ensure some level of participation in the metropolis.

**Chapter III** of the dissertation work is entitled “**Activity of international organizations in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict**”. In the first paragraph of the chapter entitled “**Historical-political aspects of the participation of major powers and international organizations in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict**”, the historical-political aspects of the participation of major powers and international organizations in the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict, and in the second paragraph entitled “**Participation of international organizations in the process of regulation of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations after the 44-day war in 2020**”, the new conditions after the 2020 war and the participation of international organizations in the process of regulation of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations were studied.

Although organizations such as the UN and OSCE have tried to play an active role in the settlement process since the conflict entered an active military phase and Armenia began occupying the territories of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the changing geopolitical processes in the world, a number of issues arising in connection with these international organizations, the fact that the states co-chairing the Minsk Group of the OSCE did not comply with the organization's operating principles and acted within their own interests, did not lead to a real solution to the conflict. However, to do this, the Minsk group had the relevant mandate for 28 years.<sup>40</sup> It is true that these organizations made statements and adopted decisions and resolutions regarding a number of occupied territories of the Republic of

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<sup>40</sup>Əliyev, İ.H. İnkişaf məqsədimizdir: [117 cild] / İ.H.Əliyev. –Bakı: Azərneşr, – 2021. –c. 108. -s. 284-285



Azerbaijan. However, no real steps have been taken to implement the adopted documents, including the UN resolutions.

The European Union, the Council of Europe, NATO and other organizations tried to be more distant from the process and avoided taking any responsibility in the process by declaring that the conflict settlement mechanism is a matter within the competence of the OSCE Minsk Group. Although organizations such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Cooperation Council of Turkic States, and GUAM have adopted a number of documents that unambiguously support the position of the Republic of Azerbaijan. based on international law, these organizations have had no real influence on the ongoing geopolitical processes. However, the position of these organizations in defense of the legitimate interests of Azerbaijan, exposure of Armenia as an aggressor state, and many other organizations that approach the issue within the framework of double standards have led to accepting documents acknowledging the truth and influencing international public opinion.

After the victory of Azerbaijan in the war that took place in September-November 2020 and the liberation of territories from occupation, a number of changes took place in the role of international organizations involved in regional geopolitics. The role of the OSCE, including its Minsk group created for the process of conflict settlement, has been completely weakened, and in order to maintain the possibility of influencing the processes, the declarations of this organization that the conflict is still ongoing have been unequivocally rejected by the Republic of Azerbaijan, which won the war. In the post-conflict phase, the role of the European Union in the process of regulating relations began to rise, the negotiations between the two countries were hosted by the Russian Federation, and the European Union as an international organization.

In the **Conclusion** section of the dissertation, the final propositions of the conducted research are expressed, the following scientifically based proposals are put forward to increase the role of international organizations in the regulation of relations between the parties in conflicts and in the post-conflict phase:

1. The process of globalization and the global trends associated with it directly affect the entire system of international relations, as well as the nature of modern conflicts and the features of their resolution. In this regard, there is a need for international organizations to adopt legal documents that approach the conflict settlement process from a broader perspective and envisage more efficient mechanisms, and to implement them.

2. In modern world, it is not possible to eliminate not only global, but in some cases even local conflicts with the existing mechanisms of the UN and many other organizations. The activity of international organizations aimed at solving political conflicts is actually partially effective, it aims to help. In this regard, reforms in the UN are necessary. The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, has expressed his views on this many times. In this regard, reforms in the UN are necessary. The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, has expressed his views on this many times.

3. Multipolarity can lead to the formation of a qualitatively new system of various economic, political and other relations between international actors, to the creation of a diversified world of forces. This, in turn, can increase the role of regional organizations and states with power centers compared to global organizations in the regulation of conflicts.

4. In the modern world, the participation of homogeneous units in the settlement of conflicts and the achievement of peace through force, and in the process of transition from negative peace to positive peace, the participation of international organizations and heterogeneous units gives effective results. It is possible to accept and apply this as a model for many conflicts.

5. The fact that a number of international organizations, led by the European Union, in the European space, especially after the fall of the USSR, supporting the states that had conflicts (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, etc.) and helping them to become the center of economic attraction, can create and strengthen the tendencies to re-integrate the conflict zones. This will allow the emergence of soft models for

conflict resolution during the periods of cooperation of the European Union within the framework of the Eastern Neighborhood Policy.

6. At the same time, international organizations can reduce centripetal tendencies and the claims of participants who are interested in inciting conflicts by increasing the attractiveness in terms of raising the standard of living and approach to human rights and freedoms in the states with long-term conflicts on their territory.

7. In modern conditions, new conflicts are emerging between non-state actors and states operating in virtual reality. Neither homogeneous units nor heterogeneous units - international organizations - have almost no mechanisms for the regulation of conflicts that will arise between such subjects in the future. Work should be carried out in the direction of the formation of such mechanisms.

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

1. Beynəlxalq sülh proseslərində beynəlxalq təşkilatların fəaliyyətlərinin müqayisəli təhlili // -Bakı: Sosial elmlər. -2021, № 1. –s. 216-224.
2. Qarabağ münaqişəsi və beynəlxalq təşkilatların fəaliyyəti // - Bakı: Sosial elmlər. -2021, № 2. –s. 110-119.
3. Müasir siyasi münaqişələrin xüsusiyyətləri // Gənc tədqiqatçı. - 2021, C. VII, № 2. –s. 211-221.
4. Münaqişələrin tənzimlənməsi problemləri // -Bakı: Şərq araşdırmaları. -2021, № 4. –s. 124-131.
5. Qarabağ münaqişəsinin həllində beynəlxalq təşkilatların mövqeyi // “Azərbaycanın ərazi bütövlüyünün təmin olunması uğrunda ikinci Qarabağ Vətən müharibəsi: Dövlət, Xalq, Ordu birliyi. Uğurlar və perspektivlər” adlı Beynəlxalq elmi konfrans, -Bakı: Azərbaycan Dillər Universiteti, -29-30 oktyabr 2021. - 2022. -s. 116-121.
6. Münaqişələrin tənzimlənməsində beynəlxalq təşkilatların iştirakının tarixi və hüquqi-siyasi əsasları // “Qarabağın tarixi: siyasi, iqtisadi, mədəni aspektlər” adlı Beynəlxalq elmi konfrans, -Sumqayıt: SDU, -17-18 mart 2022. -2022. –s.87-89.
7. Алишанова, А.А. Особенности современных конфликтов и пути их урегулирования // - Москва: Этносоциум и межнациональная культура. -2022. -№3. –s. 76-85.
8. Münaqişələrin nizamlanması prosesində beynəlxalq təşkilatların rolu: tarixi əhəmətlər, hüquqi əsaslar, geosiyasi reallıqlar // -Bakı: Qafqazşünaslıq, -2022. № 1 (03). –s. 97-112.





The defense of the dissertation will be held on "23" May 2024 at 11:00 at the meeting of the FD 2.30 Dissertation Council operating at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Address: AZ 1001, Baku, Lermontov str. 74

The dissertation is available in the library of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Electronic versions of the dissertation and abstract are posted on the official website of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

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