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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE AZERBAIJAN-TÜRKİYE MODEL FOR ENSURING
ENERGY SECURITY**

Speciality: 5908.01 – Political Theory

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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance of the topic and degree of study. Energy security is considered one of the most important and fundamental elements of national security in the modern era. While in previous periods, the issue of energy security was viewed merely as one of the internal components of economic security, the growing demand for energy resources in the 20th and 21st centuries has necessitated its consideration as a separate concept. This is because energy resources in the modern world are not only a means of economic influence but also a tool of political influence. In some cases, hydrocarbon resources are used as an instrument to resolve political, and even military-political, problems. Many states pursue a policy of "energy resources nationalism" to establish their defense mechanisms against the outside world. The modern world has reached a stage where neither the countries rich in energy resources nor the countries that are consumers of these resources can ensure their security in isolation. The countries that possess energy resources need reliable and diversified energy routes to deliver the extracted resources to the global market. Countries with a favorable geopolitical position, on the other hand, are interested in having the resource-exporting neighbors use their territory as a transit route as much as possible. This not only brings them additional economic income but also provides opportunities to gain several political dividends. The Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Türkiye have close relations in the political, economic, cultural, and military spheres. Although certain studies in historiography and political science have been conducted regarding the cooperation between the two countries in the energy sector from the perspective of international relations, this cooperation has not been examined as a separate model from the standpoint of political theory. After the realization of international oil and gas pipelines transporting Azerbaijan's energy resources to global markets, the exploration of the positive trends created by Azerbaijan's energy resources in Türkiye's energy security has always been one of the relevant topics. The conceptual-level analysis of this issue holds significant importance in confirming the

hypothesis that the energy resources of the Republic of Azerbaijan are of crucial importance for Türkiye's energy security.

The factors determining the relevance of the topic are as follows:

- In recent decades, the geopolitical significance of energy resources has increased, and the safe and sustainable production, transportation, and distribution of energy carriers has become one of the key issues on the international agenda. In this context, Azerbaijan–Türkiye cooperation stands out as a regional model in ensuring energy security.
- The alliance established between Azerbaijan and Türkiye has been further strengthened through joint projects implemented in the energy sector. Strategic projects such as the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan (BTC), Baku–Tbilisi–Erzurum (BTE), and the Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP) are practical outcomes of this cooperation. These projects are not only of bilateral importance but also hold vital significance for Europe's energy security.
- As a result of the Russia–Ukraine conflict and other geopolitical tensions, European countries are in need of alternative routes and reliable partners for energy supply. In this context, Azerbaijan holds strategic importance as a reliable supplier, and Türkiye as a key transit country. This factor further enhances the international relevance of the Azerbaijan–Türkiye energy cooperation model.
- Against the backdrop of the COP 29 conference held in Azerbaijan in 2024, the country's strategies focused on green energy diplomacy and the renewable energy sector have come to the forefront. Prospects for cooperation with Türkiye in this field also strengthen the relevance of the energy security model in terms of sustainability and environmental aspects.
- Energy security is directly linked to national security and economic development. The joint energy policy of Azerbaijan and Türkiye plays a crucial role in ensuring stability and development in the region. In this regard, studying the

existing model can provide both practical and theoretical contributions for other countries and regions as well.

It is well-known that the formation of a distinctive model of cooperation in the energy sector between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Türkiye is directly linked to the policies pursued by the prominent statesman Heydar Aliyev and his resolute stance on Türkiye-Azerbaijan cooperation. His speeches, addresses, and negotiations at various meetings, as reflected in the 46-volume collection "Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir",¹ serve as a significant source base. These materials are essential for understanding the circumstances under which this cooperation model was formed and why it was developed. The President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, İlham Aliyev, with his strategic steps, has completed this model as a system and ensured that it is studied globally. His speeches, compiled in the multivolume work "İnkişaf məqsədimizdir"² as well as the book «Каспийская нефть Азербайджана», published in Moscow in 2003, are considered some of the most important works for studying the distinctive features of this model.³

Numerous research works have been written on the political, economic, and historical aspects of energy cooperation between Azerbaijan and Türkiye. Azerbaijani researchers such as Elchin Ahmadov, Elman Nasirov, Arestun Mehdiyev, Musa Gasimli, Etibar Musayev, Samir Guliyev, Elchin Suleymanov, Fakhri Hasanov, İlham Alizadeh, Gunel Adigozalova, and others have touched upon various aspects of energy cooperation between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Türkiye in their works.

In several of Elchin Ahmadov's articles, the different dimensions of Azerbaijan-Türkiye strategic partnership in the modern geopolitical context have been analyzed, including Azerbaijan's cooperation with the EU and its member states in the

¹ Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cildə] / H.Ə.Əliyev. -Bakı: Azərneşr, s. 44. -2013. -376 s.

² Əliyev, H.Ə. Müstəqilliyimiz əbədidir: [46 cildə] / H.Ə.Əliyev. -Bakı:Azərneşr, s. 44. -2013. -376 s.

³ Алиев, И.Г. Каспийская нефть Азербайджана/ И.Г.Алиев. –Москва: Известия, -2003. -712 с.

field of energy security, and the role of the Republic of Türkiye in this process has been evaluated.⁴

Elman Nəsirov's monograph "Azərbaycan nefti və beynəlxalq müqavilələr. 1991–1999-cu illər" is one of the important sources for studying the characteristics of the Azerbaijan-Türkiye energy cooperation model within a specific chronological framework.⁵

In Arestun Mehdiyev's articles, cooperation in the energy sector between Türkiye and the Republic of Azerbaijan is one of the main topics. His 2018 article, "Enerji Kaynaklarının Naklinde Azerbaycan-Türkiye İşbirliği: "Nabucco"dan "Güney Gaz Koridoru"na" stands out in this regard.⁶

In Musa Gasimli's works, the establishment of relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Türkiye, the creation of the legal-contractual framework, and the content of interstate agreements, contracts, and treaties related to energy cooperation have been analyzed.⁷

Samir Guliyev's article, dedicated to Azerbaijan's Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan strategy and the issue of regional competition, examines the security concerns related to pipelines transporting

⁴ Əhmədov, E.İ. Müasir geosiyasi şəraitdə Azərbaycan-Türkiyə strateji tərəfdaşlığı // -Bakı: Geostrategiya, -2012. -№6 (10). -s. 33-37.

Əhmədov, E.İ. Milli maraqlara xidmət edən "Əsrin müqaviləsi"nin imzalanması ilə Azərbaycanın enerji təhlükəsizliyi tam təmin edildi: [Elektron resurs] /Azertac, -20 sentyabr, 2020. URL: https://azertag.az/xeber/Milli_maraqlara_xidmet_eden_Asrin_muqavilesinin_imzalanmasi_ile_Azerbaycanin_enerji_tehlukesizliyi_tam_temin_edildi-1589831

⁵ Nəsirov, E. Azərbaycan nefti və beynəlxalq müqavilələr. 1991–1999-cu illər / E.Nəsirov. –Bakı: Qanun, -1999. -104 s.

⁶ Mehdiyev, A. Enerji Kaynaklarının Naklinde Azerbaycan-Türkiye İşbirliği: "Nabucco"dan "Güney Gaz Koridoru"na" // –Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, –2018. № 34, –s.241-264.

⁷ Qasımlı, M.C. Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasəti (1991-2003): [2 hissədə] / M.C.Qasımlı.– Bakı: Mütərcim, I hissə. –2015. –648 s.; II hissə. –2015. –640 s.; Azərbaycan Respublikasının tarixi (1991-2021): [2 cilddə] / M.C.Qasımlı. – Bakı: Bakı Dövlət Universiteti, I cild (1991-2003). – 2021. –384 s.; Qasımlı, M.C., Muradova, B.Ə Azərbaycan parlamentarizmi tarixi: [2 cilddə] / M.Qasımlı, B.Muradova. –Bakı: Mütərcim, c. 2, -2018. –680 s.

energy resources, highlighting how energy cooperation impacts interstate cooperation in the field of security.⁸

In an article co-authored by Elchin Suleymanov and Fakhri Hasanov, attention is given to the role of Azerbaijan's investments in Türkiye's energy sector and their significance for Azerbaijan-Türkiye economic relations.⁹

Ilham Alizade's article analyzes the signing of the "Contract of the Century" on September 20, 1994, between the Republic of Azerbaijan and a consortium of oil companies from Türkiye and other countries, examining the impact of Azerbaijan's cooperation with Türkiye and other partners in oil policy on strengthening its international reputation.¹⁰

In 2013, Gunel Adigozalova defended her dissertation titled "Strategic Cooperation between Azerbaijan and Türkiye in the South Caucasus in the Modern Era",¹¹ and Cahangir Cahangirli defended his dissertation on "The Role of Azerbaijan-Türkiye Relations in the Formation of the Regional Security System".¹² Additionally, in 2010, Ali Asgarzade defended a dissertation on "The Strategic Cooperation of the Republic of Azerbaijan with Türkiye".¹³ In these research works, the issue of energy cooperation between the two countries is also addressed where relevant.

⁸ Quliyev, S. Azərbaycan Bakı-Tbilisi-Ceyhan strategiyası və regional rəqabət // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, -2014. № 1, -s.135-142.

⁹ Süleymanov, E., Hasanov, F. Azərbaycanın Türkiyənin enerji sektorünə yatırımlarının Azerbaycan-Türkiye ekonomik ilişkilerindeki rolü // -Çankırı: Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Uluslararası Avrasya Strateji Jurnalı, -2013. № 2/2, - s.73-100.

¹⁰ Ализаде, И.Г. «Контракт Века» 1994 г. и его влияние на внешнюю политику Азербайджанской Республики // -Москва: Современная научная мысль, -2019. №2, -с. 180-188.

¹¹ Adıgözəlova, G.Ş. Müasir dövrdə Cənubi Qafqazda Azərbaycan-Türkiyə strateji əməkdaşlığı: / Siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis./ -Bakı, 2013. -158 s.

¹² Cahangirli, C.X. Regional təhlükəsizlik sisteminin formalaşmasında Azərbaycan-Türkiyə münasibətlərinin yeri və rolu:./ Siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis./ -Bakı, 2013. -146 s.

¹³ Əsgərzadə, A.M. Azərbaycan Respublikasının Türkiyə ilə strateji əməkdaşlığı: / Siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis./ -Bakı, 2010. -164 s.

The Turkish researcher H.M.Eravcı, in several of his works, directly focused on post-1991 energy cooperation activities between Azerbaijan and Türkiye and its impact on foreign policy.¹⁴ N.Erdogan evaluated the role and significance of the TANAP project in bilateral energy cooperation.¹⁵

Turkish researchers B.Aras and A.Yorkan, in their work on the European Union's energy security issues, also touched upon various aspects of the Azerbaijan-Türkiye energy cooperation model and its impacts on Europe's energy security.¹⁶ V.Ayhan wrote an article on Türkiye's role in the European Union's energy security, assessing the impacts of oil and natural gas import-export operations on regional integration.¹⁷

In M. Çelikpala's works, energy cooperation is examined in the context of the interests of NATO countries, with a specific focus on Türkiye's role in this context.¹⁸ F. Demir's 2010 work, dedicated to the geopolitics of energy globally, also serves as a significant source for clarifying various aspects of this subject.¹⁹

The works of several Russian authors, including S.Zhukova, S.Zhiznin, A.Kolomoicheva, S.Pritchkin, and I.Starodubtsev, are also of interest in the study of the topic. The book, edited by S.Zhukova and published in 2019, features several articles that analyze the latest trends in the transformation of the global economy and energy, with a focus on the development of the natural gas market in Europe²⁰. In

¹⁴ Eravcı, H.M. Sovyetler Sonrası Azerbaycan–Türkiye Arasındaki Enerji İşbirliği Çalışmaları ve Dış Politikadaki Etkisi // –Ulusa: Journal of International Studies, № 3/1, –ss. 37-48.

¹⁵ Erdoğan, N. TANAP Projesinin Türkiye ve Azerbaycan Enerji Politikalarındaki Yeri ve Önemi // –Niğde: Ömer Halisdemir Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi, –2017. № 10(3), –ss.10-26.

¹⁶ Aras, B., Yorkan, A. Avrupa Birliği ve Enerji Güvenliği: Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Çevre / B.Aras, A.Yorkan. –İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, –2005. –31 s.

¹⁷ Ayhan, V. Avrupa'nın Enerji Arz Güvenliğinde Türkiye: Petrol, Doğal Gaz ve Entegrasyon // -Ankara: Uluslararası İlişkiler Journalı, –2009, № 5/20, –s. 155-178.

¹⁸ Çelikpala, M. Enerji güvenliği NATO'nun yeni tehdit algısı / M.Çelikpala. –İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, –2013. –61 s.

¹⁹ Demir, M. F. Enerji oyunu / M.F.Demir. –İstanbul: Ayrımlar yayımları, –2010. –184 s

²⁰ Жукова, С.В. Мировая энергетика: конкуренция и сотрудничество / С.В. Жукова. –Москва. ИМЭМО РАН, –2019. –220 с.

an article by Stanislav Zhiznin and Iqbal Guliyev, the authors discuss the current issues surrounding the regulation of the Caspian Sea's international legal status and the importance of multilateral cooperation among the region's countries. They also describe the interests of key players in the energy marathon in the region, including Turkiye.²¹ Anna Kolomoicheva, in her article on the operation of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) main export pipeline, explores Turkiye's efforts to seek alternative oil export routes. She highlights Turkiye's active role in the development of the BTC pipeline project and discusses its impact on Turkiye's influence in post-Soviet countries. However, it is important to note that Kolomoicheva approaches the topic from a somewhat subjective standpoint, claiming that Turkiye's use of this alternative route was more politically motivated than economically driven.²² In his article, Stanislav Pritchkin addresses Turkiye's role in facilitating the independent export routes for Azerbaijani oil to world markets.²³ I.Starodubtsev has authored several articles analyzing Turkiye's energy strategy²⁴ and the multifaceted energy cooperation between Russia and Turkiye,²⁵ among other issues. These works provide a comprehensive view of Turkiye's energy strategy and its broader energy cooperation with other states, including Russia.

Many other foreign authors have also given special attention to the issue of energy cooperation between Azerbaijan and Turkiye in their works. One of the most significant studies in this area is the 2008 article by Alexander Murinson, which focuses on the

²¹ Жизнин, С.З., Гулиев, И.А. Энергетическая дипломатия в Каспийском регионе // –Москва: Вестник МГИМО Университета, –2012. № 1, – с. 241-247.

²² Коломойцева, А. Ю. К вопросу об эксплуатации основного экспортного трубопровода Баку - Тбилиси – Джейхан // –Москва: Вестник РГГУ. Серия: Политология. История. Международные отношения, – 2009. №. 8, -с. 102-109.

²³Притчин, С.А. Энергетический сектор как ключевой фактор регионального лидерства Азербайджана // –Москва: Постсоветские исследования, –2021. №. 2, -с. 109-118.

²⁴ Стародубцев, И.И. Энергетическая стратегия Турции: [Электронный ресурс] / Институт Ближнего Востока. -2006. URL: <http://www.iimes.ru/?p=4760>

²⁵ Стародубцев, И.И. Российско-турецкое многоплановое энергетическое сотрудничество: [Электронный ресурс] / Сайт институт Ближнего Востока. - 13 февраля, 2009. URL: <http://www.iimes.ru/?p=8134>

importance of the energy factor in Azerbaijan-Turkiye-Israel relations. In this article, Murinson highlights the transformation of the security concept in the post-Cold War period, evaluating the energy-rich Caspian region in the context of Turkiye and Israel's energy security needs, both of which are energy-poor countries.²⁶ Gareth Winrow, in one of his articles, touches upon geopolitical processes and energy security issues in the wider Black Sea region.²⁷ Additionally, the joint article by E. Progonati and F. Gashamli evaluates relations between Turkiye and Azerbaijan from the perspective of energy geopolitics.²⁸ John Roberts, in his article, characterizes Turkiye as an energy gateway to Europe from Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East, and attempts to establish a link between energy transit and security issues.²⁹

Furthermore, works by foreign researchers such as R.L. Busby³⁰ and R.W.Kolb³¹ are also included in the research.

A significant part of the research's source base comprises documents and statistical materials obtained from the official websites of international organizations such as OPEC, the International Energy Agency, the Economic Cooperation Organization, and the International Monetary Fund, as well as national and transnational companies like BP, Gazprom, BOTAS, and SOCAR. These sources provide valuable data for understanding

²⁶ Murinson, A. Azerbaijan–Turkey–Israel Relations: The Energy Factor // Middle East Review of International Affairs. – 2008. № 3, –pp. 47-64.

²⁷ Winrow, G. Geopolitics and Energy Security in the Wider Black Sea Region // Southeast European and Blacksea Studies. -2007, June. №7(2), –p.217-235.

²⁸ Progonati, E., Gashamli, F. Türkiye ile Azerbaycan Arasındaki İlişkilerinin Enerji Jeopolitiği // Journal of Current Researches on Business and Economics, - 2021. № 11/1, –pp.73-92.

²⁹ Roberts, J. The Turkish gate: Energy Transit and Security Issues: [Elektron resurs] / Turkish Policy Quarterly, Vol. 3, № 4, –February 5, 2005. URL: <http://turkishpolicy.com/article/121/the-turkish-gate-energy-transit-and-security-issues-winter-2004>. -30 p.

³⁰ Busby, R. L. Natural Gas in Nontechnical Language / R.LBusby. - Oklohama: Pennwell Publishing, -1999. -170 p.

³¹ Kolb, R.W. The Natural Gas Revolution: At The Pivot of the World's Energy Future / R.Kolb. –New Jersey: Pearson Publishing, -2014. –280 p.

the dynamics of energy cooperation between Azerbaijan and Türkiye.

The object and subject of the research is determined by the topicality of the topic and its placement within the scientific framework of political theory. So, if in other research works written on the topic, the object of the research was the relations between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Türkiye in the field of energy, in this dissertation, the object is the model formed as a result of the relations and cooperation developed for many years in this field of energy. The subject of the study is the process of formation of this model, its characteristics, aspects that can set a precedent for the development of energy cooperation between other states.

The purpose and objectives of the research. The main objective of the research is to study the Azerbaijan-Türkiye model in ensuring energy security. To achieve this goal, the following tasks have been set:

To examine the conceptual foundations of energy security, including theoretical approaches and historical development trends in this field;

- To analyze global trends in ensuring energy security worldwide and the characteristic features of cooperation models established for this purpose;
- To identify the energy security challenges faced by energy-exporting countries under current conditions and to evaluate the effectiveness of their joint operational mechanisms;
- To determine the main threats to energy security of importing countries against the backdrop of international and regional processes, and to identify the characteristic features of cooperation models created to prevent these threats;
- To identify the characteristic features of the Azerbaijan-Türkiye cooperation model in the energy sector and to conduct a comparative analysis with existing and historical models between other states;
- To analyze the economic aspects of cooperation between Türkiye and Azerbaijan separately from political and ideological aspects, while also assessing their interrelations;

- To forecast the future development and application directions of this cooperation model in accordance with the principles of political science theory;
- To study the role and position of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the development of energy infrastructure in the Republic of Türkiye;
- To examine the significance of the Azerbaijan-Türkiye cooperation model for Europe's and neighboring countries energy security through concrete facts and statistical data;
- To forecast the importance of Azerbaijan-Türkiye energy cooperation for Europe's future energy security.

Research methods. Contractualist, reflective balance, thought experiments and ideological analysis methods of political theory have been used. The contractualist approach, as it is known, believes that due to human irrationality, society must choose a government that will protect its well-being and establish norms that are binding and supported by the majority through agreements. Through this method, the content of the relationship between cooperation in the field of energy and the internal political activity of governments aiming to protect social welfare has been clarified. It is studied how mutual balance between general principles and special considerations is maintained for the effectiveness of the cooperation model by means of the reflective balance method. As is clear, if any model is mentioned in political theory, it is the state of equilibrium and/or compatibility. In this regard, the most widely used method in the dissertation work is the reflective balance method.

In addition to the mentioned special methods, general research methods such as comparative analysis, content and event analysis, synthesis, systematic approach were also used during the research.

Main clauses defended:

- The cooperation between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Türkiye in ensuring energy security is not simply a collaboration based on temporary interests, but rather a unique model. Since the early years of Azerbaijan's regained independence, a number of agreements were signed between the two countries in the energy sector, and steps were taken to

establish cooperation. However, it was during the presidency of the national leader of the Azerbaijani people, Heydar Aliyev, that the conceptual foundations for turning this cooperation into a unique model were laid.

- Considering several aspects of the energy security cooperation model, its application in analogous situations in other regions of the world is possible. To share the experience of applying this model, Azerbaijan and Türkiye could strengthen cooperation with countries in those regions and establish mutually beneficial partnerships.
- The energy security cooperation model formed between Azerbaijan and Türkiye offers new, secure, and reliable pathways in regional and global energy markets, making significant contributions to the energy security of both the South Caucasus region and the Black Sea basin.
- Azerbaijan's rich energy resources and its position as a reliable partner are strategically important in ensuring Türkiye's energy security. This cooperation is also of critical importance to European Union countries, as the reliability of the countries that are sources of energy supplies is paramount.
- The role of Türkiye and Azerbaijan as key transit countries transporting energy resources to global markets is of strategic importance for both the European Union and other global powers. Additionally, the alternative transportation of energy resources from the Caspian basin strengthens the positions of these two countries in international energy policy.
- Cooperation between Azerbaijan and Türkiye in ensuring energy security is also deepening in the field of green energy. Both countries are implementing joint projects to increase the use of renewable energy sources, particularly solar and wind energy. This collaboration is crucial for diversifying energy supply in the region and for aligning with the EU's green energy strategy. The prospects of Azerbaijan-Türkiye cooperation in green energy will be further strengthened by the strong positions of both countries in ensuring regional energy supply and increasing investments in renewable

energy. This cooperation also contributes to reducing carbon emissions in energy production and creating new economic opportunities.

The scientific novelty of the research is primarily determined by the fact that the topic has been studied for the first time in the context of political theory, with cooperation in the field of ensuring energy security between two countries being assessed as a separate model. It has been established that this cooperation model in the field of energy security stimulates the strengthening of relations in the political sphere under current conditions.

- For the first time in this dissertation, the energy cooperation between Azerbaijan and Türkiye is examined not merely within the framework of individual projects, but as a unified and systematic model. The structural elements, functional mechanisms, and regional impact of this model are analyzed on a scientific basis.
- The conceptual framework of the energy security model formed on the basis of Azerbaijan–Türkiye energy cooperation is developed in the study. Through this model, a strategic cooperation example that can be applied to other regions is also proposed.
- The excellent relations between Azerbaijan and Türkiye in the energy sector have been proven to be not just interstate cooperation, but a specific model.
- The characteristic features of this cooperation model have been identified.
- The possibilities of applying the model among other countries in the world have been evaluated from a political theoretical perspective.
- The future prospects of the cooperation model have been forecasted.

The theoretical and practical significance of the research. The conducted research and the obtained scientific results are significant both theoretically and practically. The conclusions drawn in the dissertation, along with the scientific propositions put forward and supported by facts, can be used in research works written on

modeling in the field of political theory. Additionally, the dissertation can be utilized for conducting research to identify other aspects of this cooperation model in the field of ensuring energy security, organizing scientific seminars, discussions, and conferences, as well as for writing generalized works, textbooks, and teaching materials.

Appropriation and application. The proposed scientific propositions and the conclusions drawn have been presented at international and republic-level symposiums and conferences held in the Republic of Azerbaijan and foreign countries. The ideas put forward in the work have been discussed at scientific meetings, and scientific articles have been published in various languages in reputable scientific journals of Azerbaijan and foreign countries.

The organization where the dissertation work was performed. The dissertation was carried out at the Department of Social Sciences of Ganja State University.

The total volume of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, seven paragraphs, a conclusion and a list of references, and appendices. The total work comprises 268,141 symbols. Accordingly, the introduction section contains 20,159, Chapter I 105,060, Chapter II 52,619, Chapter III includes 79,215, and the Conclusion consists of 11,088 symbols.

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the first chapter of the dissertation, titled **“Theoretical and Conceptual Approaches to the Problem of Energy Security in the Context of Exporting and Importing Countries’ Energy Security”** the importance of energy security as one of the key components of global security in today’s world is assessed from the perspective of political theory. The conceptual foundations of energy security and theoretical approaches to it are examined.

Although the issue of access to energy has existed since the early stages of human development, the concept of energy security remained largely overlooked in both energy and security studies for a long time. The conceptualization of energy security began to emerge more prominently in global academic discourse in the second half of the 20th century and gained popularity particularly in the latter half of the 1970s.³² Based on an analysis of extensive literature, two general approaches to the conceptualization of energy security can be distinguished:

1. Approaches that focus on the security of energy supply;
2. Approaches that explain the various aspects of energy security through quantitative indicators (indices and metrics).

The concept of energy security and how the threats directed at this security vary among countries worldwide have been determined. To understand the importance of the Azerbaijan-Turkiye model of cooperation in the energy sector and to differentiate it from other cooperation models, other global practices in energy security and cooperation have been analyzed. The parallel analysis of the energy policies of individual countries, energy security, and energy geopolitics enables the identification of a complex relationship between geopolitics and energy. It can be concluded that despite several changes occurring in the world, energy resources and energy security have not lost their significance in foreign policy. Today, the development of energy geopolitics is being shaped against the

³² Augutis, J. and etc. Sustainable Development and Energy Security Level after Ignalina NPP Shutdown / J.Augutis, R.Krikštolaitis, S.Pečiulytė, Ī.Konstantinavičiūtė // – Vilnius: Technological and Economic Development of Economy, -2011. № 17,- pp. 5-21.

backdrop of oil and gas pipelines, green energy resources, the diversity of these resources, and strategies for selling them in global markets. The fact that energy obtained from alternative energy sources costs almost the same as hydrocarbon-based fuels leads to a rapid increase in interest in them.³³ In this regard, one of the future development directions of the Azerbaijan-Turkiye cooperation model in the energy sector could be collaboration in the joint use of alternative energy sources and their transit transportation.

In this chapter, the energy security problems of exporting and importing countries in the modern phase are also addressed, with an analysis of the positive aspects and shortcomings of the models they have established in this field from a political theoretical perspective. It has been determined that both countries with rich energy potential and energy-consuming countries have constantly tried to form various cooperation models to ensure their security. In most cases, such models have occurred in the form of the grouping and organization of consumer and producer states separately.

Currently, a variety of factors influence the formation of these cooperation models. In recent years, the geography of cooperation in the energy sector worldwide has been significantly affected by the coronavirus pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war that began in 2022. This war has particularly demonstrated that some European countries may be willing to take risks in the energy sector for the sake of geopolitical interests. Even within this framework, several European countries, which had established long-term energy cooperation with Russia and developed this cooperation based on state interests, have completely abandoned it.

In March 2022, with the agreed Versailles Declaration, the leaders of the 27 member states of the European Union reached an agreement to eliminate their dependency on Russia's hydrocarbon resources as quickly as possible. On May 30-31, 2022, European

³³ Komor, P. Renewable Energy Policy / P.Komor. – New York: Universe Publishing, –2004. –p. 1.

countries reached an agreement to impose a ban on nearly 90% of oil imports from Russia by the end of 2022.³⁴

Analyses show that, in accordance with the trends of a new era in the energy market, joint cooperation related to renewable energy resources, as well as the production of nuclear energy, is also in focus. The study of individual cooperation models indicates that they are often based solely on economic interests. In this regard, they are not sustainable due to changing geopolitical conditions and interests. The Azerbaijan-Turkiye model of cooperation in the field of energy security, identified as the main object of the research, differs in this respect.

Chapter II is titled **“The Formation and Characteristic Features of the Azerbaijan-Türkiye Energy Cooperation and Security Model”**. It is known that the Azerbaijan-Turkiye cooperation, which has developed over many years, currently holds significant strategic importance in the changing global conditions.³⁵ The first paragraph of the second chapter analyzes the main features of the model and its significance for the Republic of Türkiye. It has been determined that the key characteristics of the energy cooperation model between Azerbaijan and Türkiye are as follows:

1. Exchange of experience, integration, and sharing of technical capabilities;
2. Cooperation between the two countries based on mutual benefit and support;
3. The goal of diversifying energy supply and export;
4. The diversification of cooperation in the energy sector beyond oil and natural gas exports to include the processing of hydrocarbon resources, hydro-power, and the use of renewable energy sources;

³⁴ Impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on the markets: EU response: [Elektron resurs] / The site of the EU Council. –March 31, 2023. URL: www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/impact-of-russia-s-invasion-of-ukraine-on-the-markets-eu-response/#:~:text=The%20price%20of%20fuels%20in,has%20further%20impacted%20the%20situation.

³⁵ Əhmədov, E.İ. Müasir geosiyasi şəraitdə Azərbaycan-Türkiyə strateji tərəfdaşlığı // -Bakı: Geostrategiya, -2012. -№6 (10). -s. 33-37.

5. The formation of this model based not only on the interests of the two states but also on the interests of power centers representing both consumer and producer countries, and its alignment with their interests, etc.

The chapter also examines the place and role of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the development of energy infrastructure in the Republic of Türkiye. It is known that Azerbaijan and Türkiye have implemented many large-scale projects and constructed new pipelines to meet Türkiye's energy resource needs and transport Azerbaijan's oil and gas reserves to European countries. The South Caucasus Gas Pipeline (SCGP), the Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum (BTE) gas pipeline, the Trans-Anatolian Gas Pipeline (TANAP), the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP), and the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) main oil export pipeline have played a crucial role not only for the two countries but also for the overall economic and energy security of the Caucasus, Anatolia, and several European countries. It should be noted that the Southern Gas Corridor has, in a short period, become an alternative supply corridor to existing energy pipelines from Russia, Norway, and North Africa for Europe.³⁶

It has been determined that one of the significant directions of Azerbaijan-Türkiye cooperation in the energy sector is the mutual investments made in this area. While in the early years after Azerbaijan restored its independence, investments in Azerbaijan's economy and energy sector were primarily made by Türkiye, this process is now developing mutually. In other words, not only does Türkiye invest in Azerbaijan's economy and energy sector, but Azerbaijan also invests in Türkiye's economy and energy sector. As early as 2011, it was reported that the volume of Azerbaijani investments in Türkiye amounted to \$4.5 billion, with nearly 850 Azerbaijani companies operating there.³⁷

³⁶ Kontakos, P., Zhelyazkova, V. Energy Infrastructure Projects of Common Interest in the SEE, Turkey, and Eastern Mediterranean and Their Investment Challenges // *Energy Systems and Management*, –2015. – p. 266.

³⁷ Azərbaycan Türkiyə iqtisadiyyatında investisiyaların həcminə görə birinci yeri tutur - SOCAR-Turcas: [Elektron resurs]/ Trend İA. -28 noyabr, 2011. URL: <https://az.trend.az/business/economy/1962448.html>

According to the information announced by officials of the Small and Medium Business Development Agency (SMBDA) under the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the end of 2022, the volume of Azerbaijan's investments in the Turkish economy reached \$19.5 billion, while Türkiye's investments in Azerbaijan's economy amounted to \$12 billion. In other words, the volume of investments that Azerbaijan has made in Türkiye has practically exceeded \$7.5 billion.³⁸

The conducted analyses, based on reputable sources, statistical materials, and other references, allow for the characterization of the cooperation between Azerbaijan and Türkiye in the field of energy security as a special model. One of the distinguishing features of this model is its formation among countries aiming to diversify energy supply and export. The Azerbaijan-Türkiye model of energy security is established not only on the interests of the two states but also based on the interests of power centers representing both consumer and producer countries, aligning with their interests as well.

Azerbaijan's hydrocarbon resources hold a special place in Türkiye's energy security. This is particularly evident in two respects. Firstly, Azerbaijan is a significant supplier of oil and, especially, natural gas for Türkiye, and in the long term, it has the potential to also become one of the suppliers of electricity. On the other hand, Türkiye gains substantial revenues as a key transit country for transporting Azerbaijani oil and natural gas to global markets. As a transit country, Türkiye's importance increases for other Western states in need of energy, particularly the United States.

One of the key directions of cooperation between the two countries in the energy sector is the mutual investments made in this field. Especially since the early 21st century, the Republic of Azerbaijan has transformed from a country that receives investments to an investing country. The STAR oil refinery, which was established with Azerbaijan's investment and operates as a digital technological enterprise by integrating technology into all

³⁸ Azərbaycan və Türkiyənin qarşılıqlı investisiya qoyuluşu açıqlanıb: [Elektron resurs] / Report. - 2 dekabr, 2022. URL: <https://report.az/biznes-xeberleri/azerbaycan-ve-turkiyenin-qarsiliqli-investisiya-qoyulusu-aciqlanib/>.

operational processes as a fundamental element of efficiency and sustainable development, ranks among not only Türkiye's but also Europe's most modern oil refineries in terms of its performance indicators.³⁹

In the third chapter, titled **“The Importance of the Azerbaijan-Turkey Cooperation Model for Europe's Energy Security,”** the roles of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Turkey in ensuring Europe's energy security are analyzed, and the significance of this cooperation model for Europe's future energy security is also forecasted. The third main focus of this chapter is on the challenges of transitioning to green energy in Europe, specifically addressing the green energy prospects of the Azerbaijan-Turkey cooperation model within the context of energy security.

The turbulent events occurring in the Middle East, North Africa, Eastern Europe, and some other regions constantly compel EU countries to seek new sources of energy carriers and implement projects that carry less risk. In this regard, the energy resources of the Caspian region, particularly those of the Republic of Azerbaijan, are attractive for European Union countries. At the same time, Azerbaijan's and Türkiye's advantageous transit positions for the export of Central Asian energy resources to European countries in a more cost-effective manner also enhance their role in Europe's energy security. This is evidenced by well-known facts, such as the transportation of oil from countries like Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan through the BTC pipeline.⁴⁰

The Azerbaijan-Türkiye cooperation model in the field of energy has emerged against the backdrop of the desire of both countries, as well as European countries, to ensure their energy security. In the current situation, the projects implemented through this model have become a guarantee of energy security for several European

³⁹ SOCAR Türkiye. Sürdürülebilirlik raporu. 2019-2020 / – İzmir: Socar, -2021, Eylül. s. 9, 50.

⁴⁰ Bal, H., Alper, A. Bakü-Tiflis-Ceyhan Petrol Boru Hattı ve Türkiye Ekonomisine Etkileri // – Çankırı: Ç.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, –2010. Cilt 19, № 3, –s. 353.

countries.⁴¹ Especially since the European Union has vital interests regarding energy security, these countries have also been interested in the successful development of the Azerbaijan-Türkiye cooperation. However, it is not accurate to link the success of this cooperation model solely to these factors. As the analysis shows, many countries with broader geostrategic influence (such as Israel and Egypt) and greater energy resources (like Iran) have attempted to establish cooperation models with other countries but have not achieved complete success. Thus, the success of energy cooperation models cannot be attributed solely to energy potential and geostrategic capabilities; it is also a matter closely linked to the political leadership of the countries properly assessing geopolitical processes and demonstrating resolute political will.

The energy cooperation between Türkiye and Azerbaijan significantly increases opportunities for Europe to join more cost-effective transportation projects. At the same time, this cooperation transforms both Türkiye and Azerbaijan into the backbone of global economic and social projects realized in the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus region. One of the factors enhancing the prospects of Türkiye and Azerbaijan's cooperation is the potential for Central Asian countries, particularly Turkmenistan, to join the TANAP and TAP projects.⁴²

Analyses confirm that the green energy strategy targets of EU countries make continued cooperation between Türkiye and Azerbaijan in this field essential in the long term. Azerbaijan also possesses vast potential for the production of green energy, and efforts to realize this potential are steadily increasing.

Since the 2020 war and the liberation of occupied territories, this issue has remained a central focus for the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, İlham Aliyev. In his speeches, the President has

⁴¹ Axundova, L.R. Avropanın enerji təminatının qarantına çevrilən Cənubi Qafqaz Respublikası - Azərbaycan // - Naxçıvan: AMEA Naxçıvan Bölməsinin Xəbərləri, -2022. № 1, - s. 76-80.

⁴² Türkmen qazı TANAP'a bağlanıyor: [Elektronik kaynak]/ Sabah gazetesi. -29 mayıs, 2014. URL: <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Ekonomi/2014/05/29/turkmen-gazi-tanapa-baglaniyor>

repeatedly emphasized the enormous potential for energy production in the liberated areas.⁴³ Studies indicate that Lachin and Kalbajar have significant potential for wind energy, while Jabrayil and Zangilan hold vast potential for solar and hydro energy development.

This cooperation lays a crucial foundation for the realization of productive interactions. This foundation plays an essential role in implementing local economic projects, executing economic programs in the non-energy sector, maintaining political stability in the Caucasus and the Middle East region, resolving conflicts based on productive dialogue, and facilitating economic and political integration both between Azerbaijan and Turkiye and with other Turkic states.

The generalizations drawn in the **Conclusion** of the dissertation have been summarized. One of the conclusions is that the changing geography of energy cooperation worldwide has been significantly influenced by the coronavirus pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war that began in 2022. The war that started between Russia and Ukraine in 2022 has particularly shown that European countries might sometimes risk energy cooperation in the name of geopolitical interests. The study of various cooperation models indicates that they often rely solely on economic interests. In this regard, they do not remain sustainable due to changing geopolitical conditions and interests.

The Azerbaijan-Turkiye model has stronger stability against the variability of geopolitical and geoeconomic conditions. The conceptual basis for turning energy cooperation into a special model was defined during the presidency of Heydar Aliyev. This model contributes to the energy and economic security of not only Azerbaijan and Turkiye, but also the regions and subregions where these countries are located. It provides new, safe, reliable and alternative access to the world markets for the oil and gas producing states of the Caspian basin, affects the overall development of the South Caucasus region, enables Georgia as a transit country to gain economic income and security, new opportunities for the countries of

⁴³ Kəlbizadə, E. TDT-nin dünya geosiyasətində rolu artır // Xalq qəzeti, -2024, 17 noyabr. –s. 7.

the Black Sea basin opens opportunities, plays an important role in the energy security of European countries.

Azerbaijan is important in Türkiye's energy security in terms of diversification of supplier countries. Türkiye is the main transit country in the transportation of Azerbaijani oil and natural gas to world markets. This position gives Türkiye the opportunity to enter the energy security policies of both the US and the EU. Therefore, Azerbaijan's energy resources are an element that increases the strategic importance of Türkiye.

One of the important areas of cooperation between the two countries in the field of energy is mutual investments in this field. Especially since the beginning of the 21st century, the Republic of Azerbaijan has turned from a country that receives investments into an investor country. The Azerbaijan-Türkiye model in energy security has recently exceeded the framework of ensuring the demand for primary energy resources with the entry of the Azerbaijan Oil Company - SOCAR into large projects in Türkiye and the operation of the latest Star oil refinery has become one of the main investor states in the field of processing. This ensured Türkiye's fuel security, brought great economic benefits, and most importantly, had a great share in eliminating the deficit in the state's foreign trade balance.

When predicting the importance of Azerbaijan-Türkiye energy cooperation for Europe's future energy security, it is clear that one of the factors that strengthen its prospects is the potential of third parties joining the model. This especially applies to the Turkic states of Central Asia. Determining the status of the Caspian Sea made it a reality for the countries of that region to participate in the model and removed the obstacles ahead.

The energy security of EU countries follows a strategy aimed at acquiring energy sources safely, without political risks, and at lower prices. In this context, the Türkiye-Azerbaijan energy cooperation holds significant importance. The energy strategy goals of EU countries make the energy collaboration between Türkiye and Azerbaijan inevitable, creating a crucial foundation for realizing productive interactions.

Thus, research analyzes and proves that this cooperation represents a unique model. The conclusions regarding the characteristic features of this model can be summarized as follows:

First of all, the main characteristic of this model is its provision of alternative sources for energy-importing countries, contributing to their energy security without carrying any threat factors.

The second important feature of the model is that the model serves as a significant self-sufficiency tool for states against the threats posed by countries, primarily Russia, that use energy resources for political and expansionist purposes against importing countries.

The third feature is that the energy cooperation between Azerbaijan and Turkiye not only contributes to the energy security of energy-importing states but also enhances the economic development of countries situated along the transportation routes of these energy resources.

Fourthly, this model does not only facilitate the diversification and deepening of cooperation in the field of energy security between the two states but also encompasses the crucial issue of ensuring the independence and sovereignty of both Azerbaijan and Turkiye. This transforms these two countries into one of the rising power and attraction centers in the modern world.

Azerbaijan-Turkiye energy cooperation also involves the transportation of energy resources from other countries located in the Caspian basin by incorporating them into projects involving these two states. Thus, this cooperation attracts attention as a model that serves the energy security of other producing countries. Such a mission draws the attention of both Western countries seeking ways to break their energy dependence on Russia and the states of the Caspian basin.

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

1. Avropanın enerji təminatının qarantına çevrilən Cənubi Qafqaz Respublikası-Azərbaycan // – Naxçıvan: AMEA Naxçıvan Bölməsinin Xəbərləri, – 2022. №1, – pp. 76-80.
2. Enerji təhlükəsizliyi beynəlxalq təhlükəsizliyin tərkib hissəsi kimi // –Bakı: Geostrategiya, – 2022. №2, – pp. 41-45.
3. Enerji təhlükəsizliyi beynəlxalq təhlükəsizliyin tərkib hissəsi kimi // – Bakı: Sivilizasiya, – 2022. Cild 11, №2 (51), – pp. 94-100.
4. Koronavirus pandemiyası və enerji təhlükəsizliyi: Asiya dövlətləri timsalında təhlili // – Bakı: Sivilizasiya, – 2022. Cild 11, №3 (52), – pp. 109-116.
5. Neft-qaz ixrac edən dövlətlərin enerji təhlükəsizliyi siyasəti // – Bakı: Qafqazşünaslıq jurnalı, – 2022. №1 (3), – pp. 60-70.
6. Türkiyənin yanacaq tələbatının qarşılınmasında Azərbaycan enerji resurslarının əhəmiyyəti // Latin America 4th international conference on Scientific researches, -Mexico: Akademi Kongre Dergi Eğitim Yayıncılık, – November 3-6, – 2022. – pp. 831-839 **(Türkiye)**.
7. The importance of the Azerbaijani-Turkish model of energy security for Europe // – Кіев: Політикус, –2022. №1, – p. 122-127 **(Ukraine)**.



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