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AZERBAIJAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY IN THE SYSTEM OF MODERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Abstract. With the end of the Cold War, the political situation in the world has changed dramatically. The emergence on the world stage of new independent states, non-governmental organizations, transnational companies and threatening the world at the regional and global levels, such as ethnic conflicts, the spread of political and economic instability, imbalance, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, the struggle for natural resources, etc. contributed to the transformation of international relations. As a result of the process, also accelerated by globalization, the state's perception of security has changed in parallel with the increase in the types and scale of risks and threats.

Key words: international relations, national security, foreign policy, Azerbaijan.

Transformation of international relations. "At the end of the 20th century, with the collapse of the USSR and the socialist system, a number of changes took place in the world. With the end of the Cold War, the main power centers of international relations decided to adapt their activities to the current conditions based on the new geopolitical realities. Along with the collapse of the old system of international relations, the foundations of a new world order began to be laid" (Ahmadov, 2013, p. 5).

The new world order promised that everything would be fixed by eliminating the damage caused by the two polarities caused by the Cold War in the international world. However, the most important obstacle to this idea was the system of international relations established as a result of the Westphalian peace treaties and the concept of the national state. Henry Kissenger said that "it takes a little more time to adapt the world to our philosophy". The words "national interests will be aligned with international interests" were enough to reveal the main lines of the new world order. However, such ideas were associated with the idea of globalization, especially economic globalization, of the new world order. For this reason, different ideas related to the new world order were put forth. According to these ideas, the new world order means: globalization in every sense, absence of unipolar, national states and management from a single center, economic globalization, globalization of information, communication and technology, etc.

However, the above-mentioned ideas should not mean that the new world order consists only of economic relations. Since the United Nations (UN) was founded, the only actors that have shaped international relations have been states. However, as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall, international relations were affected not only by states, but also by various new actors such as transnational companies, non-governmental organizations, media corporations, and think tanks that appeared together with the new world order. Thus, the emergence of new actors resulted in the transformation of international relations.

The increase in the number of states in the world can actually be expressed as political division and centralization of power. Because the increase in the number of states led to the increase of factors such as different peoples, policies and national interests in the international arena. At this point, Samuel P. Huntington's theory attracts attention. How to build a new world order is reflected in the

theory put forward by Huntington in his work "The Clash of Civilizations" (1993). According to Huntington, the struggle for power in the international system, which began with Westphalia, evolves between princes, states and ideologies. In the new world order, the struggle will not be ideological and economic, but will take on a cultural character, and thus the struggle between civilizations will be the last stage in the evolution of the struggle in the modern world. Claiming that the struggle will take place between these civilizations by dividing the world into different geographical regions, Huntington also notes that this will weaken national states. (Huntington, 1993, p. 22–26).

One of the factors that will accelerate the struggle between civilizations is economic power. Transnational economic companies are the leading actors influencing and directing today's international system. The fact that globalization is seen as an economic process, in which the economy is a great force, proves this. According to the latest UN data, the total resources of the world's 200 largest multinational companies are greater than the combined economic size of 180 of the UN member states. This confirms that together with globalization, the international system is connected to economic criteria.

The interrelationship between politics and economy together with the process of globalization caused the transformation of international relations. "The lines between the political sphere and the economic sphere disappeared and the spheres were united. Foreign political activities of states must take into account not only international relations, but also the functioning of the international political economy system. Because various developments in the world forced it. The economy of some countries weakened, while that of others began to strengthen, affecting the global markets. In addition, electronics, computer and communication technologies and the service sector also caused the transformation of the international economic and political system. At the same time, the integration of national and regional economies began to follow a more competitive and protective policy against the countries that did not join the integration process, as opposed to giving some advantages to the countries that joined the integration process" (Ataman, 2006, p. 504–505).

The fact that the economy makes its weight felt in the system of international relations should not mean that it manages the international system alone. Because there are other factors that cause the transformation of international relations. One of them is the non-governmental organizations whose reputations are increasing over time and which have an impact on international relations. Thus, the budget of some non-governmental organizations, which are important participants of the international system, is larger than the budgets of many developing countries. This situation has a serious impact on the decision-making mechanisms of leading non-governmental organizations in a number of countries and directs their policies. "The main "weapon" in the hands of non-governmental organizations in the field of international politics is the mobility of international public opinion, and the instrument for achieving the goal is to influence international organizations and different countries directly. For example, non-governmental organizations such as Greenpeace, the International Federation of Human Rights, and the *International Amnesty Organization* are engaged in such activities.

Michael Nicholson has advanced the idea that in modern international relations, the characteristic feature of the "cold war" has passed from the state of risk to the state of doubt. Thus, the increase in the openness of the international system and the increase in the number and diversity of the participants in the system creates disorder in international relations and increases the chaotic situation between them.

At this point, Huntington's thesis is justified. Regional and ethnic conflicts, political and economic instability in different countries, economic imbalance between countries and regions, spread of weapons of mass destruction, radical religious trends, drugs, weapons, organ various problems such as organized crime, new threats in the form of international terrorism, "are the logical result of the uneven development of world civilization" (Babaoglu, 2009, p. 122). These problems, which cover all parts of the world, resulted in a change in the concept of security. The concept of national

state security, which prevailed before globalization, has been replaced by the concept of regional and global security.

Security problem in modern international relations. The modern international security system and a new field of geopolitical research of the same name were formed only after the Second World War and entered the world arena. The establishment of the UN and the adoption of a single charter regulating the relations of member states with each other led to the emergence of the field of international security as an independent research object in geopolitical literature. During the past period, the creation of the Council of Europe, the Western European Union, the European Union, the adoption of a number of international documents on "disarmament" and "collective security", etc. gradually enabled the formation of a regional security and cooperation system in Europe. As a result, the idea of an international security system has developed further thanks to new models, and the European continent has become, in the opinion of some experts, "the security laboratory of the world" (Hasanov, 2015, p. 738).

When we say security in international relations, we understand several different levels of security (Dedeoğlu, 2003, p. 5):

- Security of the international system as a whole or close to it;
- Security of geographic or functional sub-systems, regions;
- State security;
- Society's safety;
- Safety of social subgroups;
- Safety of persons.

As can be seen, the scope of security has expanded and diversified in modern times. In addition to traditional war, armed confrontation, and the use of force, when we talk about security, we mean regional and global threats, as well as threats in the fields of social, cultural, economic, environmental, education, energy resources, etc have become fundamental problems faced by.

In geopolitics, international security means, first of all, protection of the system of international relations and international law from war and armed conflicts, interstate conflict and instability, and the system of ensuring the mutually balanced national interest and national security of the main subjects of the world system – states. Since the cornerstone of international security consists in ensuring the security of people, societies and states, this system also includes norms of collective action in the direction of elimination of existing dangers and threats, potential risks that may affect human life, etc. (Hasanov, 2016, p. 231–232).

Today, there is a transition from security concepts in which the state is a priority to security concepts in which the person is considered a priority. In this framework, the concepts of the safety of human existence and the planet came to the fore. Interventions against domestic violence against the citizens of states and attempts to endanger the security of the planet are no longer considered as interference in the internal affairs of states (Sandıklı, 2011). However, although actors in the international system have different concepts of security, there are mainly two approaches to ensure their security: either they cooperate with each other, enter into an alliance, or seek refuge in those who are able to eliminate the threat. (Dedeoglu, 2003, p. 13–14).

According to idealism, if there is no war, then there is security. Therefore, wars should be avoided. The security of the state mainly depends on the security of the international system. Idealists who focus on preserving the status quo look for ways to preserve the status quo. According to the theory of idealism, there is a need for peace mechanisms to prevent war. According to Hegel, one of the representatives of the system, the system consists of contradictions, and development occurs as the lack of these contradictions increases (Dedeoglu, 2003, p. 32). Neo-realists became influential when the bipolar system began to soften and argue that the state's sole purpose is not to acquire power. When ensuring the security of the state, not only other states, but also other international participants should

be taken into account. Neo-realism is based on hegemonic stability. Therefore, order is ensured when there is a hegemonic power that can control the system. When this power weakens, differences of opinion occur again between equal and close-to-equal actors in the system, that is, a conflict occurs. The pluralist approach claims that not only states, but also actors such as international organizations or terrorist organizations should be considered in the international system. This means more diversification of security. Instead of a specific security system for each state, it proposes the existence of a global security concept (Dedeoglu, 2003, p. 46–47).

Looking at the world today, it can be seen that there are various forms of integration. Some of the forms of regional and global integration were established for economic purposes, while others were created for the purpose of fighting against the threats faced by the countries. Ethnic conflicts, as well as some threats, have become a situation where one country cannot solve it alone or involves several countries. Therefore, the states are obliged to cooperate on many issues based on the principle of mutual dependence and commitment. This situation forces countries to formulate their national security policies according to the requirements of the time and take appropriate steps to protect their existence.

National security policy of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan was forced to fight against the difficulties of the transition period after declaring its independence at a time when it was subjected to military aggression by Armenia. In addition to the war situation in the country, instability, economic crisis and other various problems have been solved with the coming to power of national leader Heydar Aliyev. However, on the one hand, the ongoing Nagorno-Karabakh issue, on the other hand, Azerbaijan's geostrategic location and possession of rich oil fields turned attention to the security issue.

For this purpose, the Law on National Security was issued in order to create the legal basis of the national security policy for the development of Azerbaijan as an independent, sovereign, democratic state. According to this law, the national security of the Republic of Azerbaijan is the protection of the state's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, constitutional structure, national interests of the people and the country, the rights and interests of people, society and the state from internal and external threats. The objects of the national security of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the goals of ensuring its security are as follows (Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on national security, 2004):

- Human: existence of favorable conditions for its comprehensive development, implementation of nationwide measures in the field of protection of human rights and freedoms;
- Society: protection of the vital interests and needs of the Azerbaijani people, as well as the system of social values from threats and threats;
- State: Protection of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, constitutional structure and other vital interests of the Republic of Azerbaijan from threats.

There are two sources of threats to Azerbaijan's national security (Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on national security, 2004):

- External security: Implementation of a complex of political-diplomatic or military, or both diplomatic and military measures to protect the vital interests of the Republic of Azerbaijan from possible external risks, danger and threats;
- *Internal security:* Creation of appropriate conditions for the protection of political, economic and social stability and civil solidarity in society in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The "national security concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan" was prepared for the purpose of determining the goals, principles and approaches of the policy aimed at protecting the independence, territorial integrity, constitutional structure, national interests of the people and the country from internal and external threats of Azerbaijan. According to this Concept, it is planned to formulate a national security policy aimed at controlling and eliminating threats in the current security environment, as well as ensuring the national interests of the country, using the means of internal and foreign policy of Azerbaijan. (Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on approval of the national security concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan. 2007).

Azerbaijan's national security made it necessary to implement a balanced strategic line with world and regional states, as well as international organizations. Speaking about the foreign policy priorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the national leader Heydar Aliyev noted that "... In our changing world, the political mission of Azerbaijan is focused on the search for friends and partners, and the multivariation of blocs and alliances. This will strengthen Azerbaijan's status and sovereignty in the family of world states, and will also help it to get closer to different countries" (Ahmadov, 2013, p. 9).

Today, the occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh, as mentioned earlier, is at the top of the problems that threaten Azerbaijan's national security. This issue, which Azerbaijan had to face before gaining its independence, was aimed at ensuring its national security with both internal and foreign policy means. Because "the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is also the main factor hindering the economic and political partnership environment of the region as a whole, and the provision of peace and security. This conflict also threatens the security of transnational energy, transport and corridor infrastructures in the region" (Hasanov, 2015, p. 153).

For this purpose, due to the achievement of a ceasefire with Armenia since May 1994, the release of illegal military units, and the steps taken to create stability within the country, favorable peaceful conditions were created for the consistent implementation of the new foreign policy line. After the second half of 1993, practical changes were made in the course of Azerbaijan's foreign policy, taking into account the current realities and aimed at protecting the country's national interests (Ahmadov, 2013, p. 7).

First, serious steps were taken to stop the conflict and bring it to the world public. Therefore, after becoming a member of the International Security Organizations, the UN, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Azerbaijan began to strengthen its relations in order to achieve its security at the international level. Because the internationalization of security necessitates the practice of collective security. In this context, the UN, NATO, OSCE and other regional security organizations are of great importance today.

In this direction, at the 46th session of the UN General Assembly held on March 2, 1992, after Azerbaijan was admitted to the UN membership, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict was discussed at the UN. After that, the UN Security Council adopted four resolutions No. 822, 853, 874 and 884 for the liberation of Nagorno-Karabakh from occupation. The necessity of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and inviolability of Azerbaijan's borders is stated, the immediate withdrawal of the occupying country's forces from the occupied territories of Azerbaijan, the achievement of a ceasefire and the resolution of the conflict through negotiations have not been implemented in practice, but these resolutions show that the issue is being dealt with at the international level.

Also, the Minsk Group was established under the OSCE to resolve the conflict. Until today, countless discussions and actions have been taken in the direction of resolving the conflict within the framework of the Mink group. Although the issue has not yet been resolved, efforts are being made for the security of not only Azerbaijan as a whole, but the region as a whole.

One of the main factors that have a positive effect on the geopolitical value of Azerbaijan and the establishment of relations with foreign countries is its location in an important geopolitical and geographical space. Azerbaijan is located in the middle of Eurasia, which is considered one of the most important regions of the world, and is at the center of the main processes and transnational interests in the Caspian-Black Sea basin and the South Caucasus. Thus, the security of Azerbaijan and the region as a whole is of great importance as "the most convenient, promising and reliable alternative partner" in the field of meeting the growing energy demand of Europe and ensuring energy security in the world. One of the main risks associated with oil and gas production in the Caspian region, which is considered an alternative source of energy in the world, is related to the safe and free routes of the produced product to the world markets (Hasanov, 2015, p. 124, 127). Therefore, the security and stability of the region is not only in the interest of Azerbaijan, but also of the great powers.

In this framework, Azerbaijan has been cooperating with NATO since March 1992 in order to ensure its security. The main directions of Azerbaijan's partnership with NATO consist of political dialogue, peace support operations, emerging security threats and practical cooperation on a wide range of issues, with the main emphasis on defense issues. The issue of Azerbaijan's cooperation with NATO on the basis of mutual interests in eliminating instability, conflicts and threats is reflected in the National Security Concept and Military Doctrine of Azerbaijan.

According to Azerbaijan's military doctrine, one of the constituent parts of Azerbaijan's national security policy is the defense policy aimed at ensuring national interests in the military and other fields. Military doctrine on issues related to timely detection, analysis, assessment, prevention, adequate resistance to threats to military security, preparation of the state, population and territory for defense, creation of an effective military security system, prevention of war and armed conflicts, repelling armed aggression It reflects the position of Azerbaijan (Military doctrine, 2010). Therefore, Azerbaijan has joined the Partnership for Peace (PfP) initiative within the framework of NATO, which ensures stability and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. The SNT mechanism has created fertile conditions for defense cooperation and harmonization of military systems between NATO and Azerbaijan. This is a very important mechanism in terms of preparing the relevant units of the Azerbaijani army in accordance with the requirements of modern warfare and the standards set by developed countries, as well as achieving the necessary operational capabilities of NATO.

At the same time, NATO, which devotes a lot of space to international and regional security in its multifaceted activities, does not ignore the issues of resolving territorial-ethnic conflicts. NATO, which is expanding towards the East, acts as a supporter of the solution of the conflicts in the South Caucasus, including the "Nagorno Karabakh problem". Positions on the approach that "NATO's expansion to the East is a condition for ensuring the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan" prevail. For this purpose, "preliminary Karabakh consultation-discussions" were held with NATO in February 1992. The current "NATO activation" in the context of Europe's security will undoubtedly have a positive effect on ensuring stability, etc. in the South Caucasus. Such a process will probably not be ineffective in ending the Armenian-Azerbaijani war with a just peace (Musa, 2011, p. 250–251).

Conclusions. With the beginning of the globalization process, problems such as economic instability, illegal international migration movements, ethnic conflicts, terrorism, ecology, etc., which threaten the world, have arisen in the countries in accordance with the requirements of the century, improving their security concepts and making their domestic and foreign policies compatible with this concept. Solving the problems they face in this direction on the basis of the principle of interdependence and dependence, which dominates the modern international system, is of great importance for the states to preserve and continue their existence. Since the spread of danger will affect the entire system, international security organizations appear as the main participants in ensuring the security of countries on a regional and global scale. In such circumstances, Azerbaijan continues to closely cooperate with these organizations within the framework of the national security policy for its national interests and the solution of the issues it faces.

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