

PAN-TURKISM MANIFESTATIONS OF TURKEY-AZERBAIJAN MILITARY-POLITICAL COOPERATION*

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NELLI MINASYAN

ASPU, Chair of the World History and its Teaching Methods,
Ph.D. in History, Associate Professor,
Yerevan, the Republic of Armenia
minasyan.nelli@yahoo.com

The purpose of this article is to show the dynamics, main goals and objectives of the establishment of military-political relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan. On the other hand, an attempt is made to present the Pan-Turkism manifestations of Turkish-Azerbaijani military-political cooperation, which became more obvious with the signing of the Shushi Declaration.

The issue of the work is to present the process of development of military-political cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan and to consider it as a part of the integration programs of the Turkic world, the ideological basis of which is Pan-Turkism. From this point of view, parallels are drawn between the 1996 and 2010 military-political agreements and Shushi Declaration (actually agreement), which were signed between Turkey and Azerbaijan.

This work is written by a combined examination of the facts, applying the principles of historical analysis and comparison.

As a result of the study, it can be argued that the military-political cooperation established between Turkey and Azerbaijan is gradually becoming part of the Turkic integration program. The above-mentioned two military-political agreements represented military-political cooperation between the two countries, as a result of which Turkey managed to establish its full influence in Azerbaijan. But in the Shushi Declaration mentions about the Turkic world, in particular in the name of communications, an attempt is made to ensure the land connection between Turkey and Azerbaijan through the so-called "Zangezur" corridor. The Shushi Declaration signed after the Second Artsakh War, in fact, plans harmonization of the two countries' actions in the spheres of military, security and foreign policy. On the other hand, Turkish-Azerbaijani cooperation is presented to Turkic countries as a successful attempt at integration.

Keywords: Turkey, Azerbaijan, military-political cooperation, Shushi Declaration, Pan-Turkism, Turkic integration, communication.

Introduction

The collapse of the USSR and the emergence of sovereign states in the South Caucasus fundamentally changed Turkey's policy. The South Caucasus was of great economic, strategic and security importance for Turkey. Therefore, Turkey began to take active steps to gain influence in the South Caucasus which he also needed to gain influence in Central Asia. One of his first steps in that direction was the policy of establishing close relations between Azerbaijan and Georgia. However, in the South

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Caucasus, from the very beginning, Turkey preferred Azerbaijan, for obvious reasons. During this period, pan-Turkic programs were again discussed at the state level in Turkey, in which Azerbaijan was given a big place. In fact, it was due to the geographical location of Azerbaijan, as she was the closest of the Turkic countries to Turkey. From the beginning of 1990s, Turkey began to establish relations with Azerbaijan in various spheres, which turned into military-political cooperation.

The Establishment and Strengthening of Turkey-Azerbaijan Military-Political Cooperation

Turkey began to pay close attention to the events in Azerbaijan in the late 1980s, when the collapse of the USSR was obvious. Azerbaijan was characterized by the difficulties of the post-Soviet period, but the Artsakh conflict and the situation around it were a big problem which directly affected on domestic political sentiments. Immediately after independence, Azerbaijan was interested in establishing relations with Turkey. Pan-Turkic discussions took place in Azerbaijan when the National People's Front came to power led by Abulfaz Elchibey. In general the National People's Front established priority relations with the Turkic nations, especially Turkey and she aspired to develop ties with Muslim countries (Cafersoy 70). After the National People's Front comes to power, official Baku declared that Turkey is her main strategic ally and the Turkish and Azerbaijani peoples are one and they are only divided into two different states. The slogan "One Nation - Two States" becomes the main course of Azerbaijan's foreign policy connected with Turkey (Чернявский 227). During Elchibey period the Turkish-Azerbaijani relations entered a qualitatively new phase, based mainly on military cooperation. During this time the First Artsakh war was continuing, and the Azerbaijani detachments launched attacks on the borders of Armenia. As a result, based on the Kars agreement, Baku turned to Turkey for help, by which was launched active cooperation between the sides. In fact, since this period, the Turkish factor has been strengthening in Azerbaijan, both in domestic and foreign policy. This line is further strengthened by the coming to power of Heydar Aliyev in 1993. Aliyev balanced relations between Turkey and Russia, which was conditioned by the defeat in the Artsakh war. The difference of Aliyev and Elchibey in foreign policy realities was in style and strategy, not direction. In fact, the Turkish factor beginning to play a significant role in Azerbaijan since the beginning of 1990's and later it strengthened its position.

Turkey launches new foreign policy strategy called "New Activism" in 1995 (Makovsky 97). Baku also responded to the activity undertaken by Turkey and as a result, the Turkish-Azerbaijani military-political relations began to develop intensively from the second half of 1990's, which was also conditioned by the closer Armenian-Russian relations. Both sides considered military-political cooperation a priority. For the development of military cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan was signed Turkish-Azerbaijani military agreement on June 11 1996, according to which the two countries would cooperate in the fields of military training of officer personnel, military industry and technologies. In addition, an agreement was reached on the exchange of military experience and joint military exercises (Шорухов 49) and Turkish Chief of General Staff General İsmail Hakkı Karadayı describes the Turkish-Azerbaijani military cooperation as "new military union" (Արշակյան և Եղիազարյան, «Թուրք-ադրբեջանական ռազմաքաղաքական հարաբերությունները» 42).

The president of Azerbaijan H. Aliyev went to Turkey by official visit on May 5-8 1997. As a result of the meeting with the President of Turkey, the Presidents of two countries signed a "Strategic Cooperation Agreement", according to which, the existing cooperation in the political, economic, and military and security spheres would gain new

momentum. In the late of 1990s, there were serious tendencies to expand military cooperation between Baku and Ankara. An example of this was the fact that more than 400 Azerbaijani servicemen studied in Turkish educational institutions, and about 70 Turkish officers served in the Azerbaijani army (Гаджиев 354). The military cooperation between the two countries was given the form of a military alliance, which had a clearly anti-Armenian orientation. During this period, Azerbaijan was implementing large-scale military reform programs, in which Turkey's role was enormous.

A new stage of military-political cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan began from 1999, when in April Aliyev visit to Ankara. At the end of the visit, Turkey and Azerbaijan signed an agreement on strategic cooperation. The agreement on military cooperation signed between Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev and Turkish President Suleyman Demirel stated in particular: Azerbaijan can't make a decision to start hostilities without Turkey's consent; Turkey guaranteed the security of Azerbaijan in case of any aggression and was ready to provide military and political assistance to the latter (Демоян 133). The Turkish-Azerbaijani side in the context of this strategic cooperation was meant three possible enemies: Armenia, Russia and Iran.

The military-political cooperation with Azerbaijan continued and deepened, when came to power Justice and Development Party in Turkey. Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Armed Forces Ilker Başbuğ made official visit to Azerbaijan in the spring of 2005 where he declared that Turkey will provide serious assistance in the reorganization of the Azerbaijani army (Արշակյան և Եղիազարյան, «Թուրքիայի քաղաքականությունը Անդրկովկասում» 39).

Between 2008 and 2010 dozens of documents have been signed between the two countries. In November of 2010 when the Turkish Defense Minister was on an official visit to Azerbaijan an agreement on the production of unmanned aerial vehicles was signed, along with a number of other documents (Արշակյան և Եղիազարյան, «Թուրքիայի քաղաքականությունը Անդրկովկասում» 40).

On August 16, 2010 Turkey and Azerbaijan signed a strategic most important agreement. Under the agreement, Azerbaijan and Turkey were to support each other in "using every opportunity" in the event of a military attack or aggression against any of this countries. It was planned to develop joint military operations plans, to cooperate in the "military-technical" sphere, and conduct joint military exercises and trainings (Abbasov). This pact was signed for 10 years and it would be terminated at the request of one of the sides. It should be noted that on September 15, 2010 "The Declaration on the Establishment of the Strategic Cooperation Council between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Azerbaijan" was signed between Ilham Aliyev and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In fact, the signing of such an agreement wasn't a surprise moreover it became a logical continuation of the previously signed documents regulating the relations between the two countries in various spheres. On the other hand NATO member Turkey has been a key strategic ally of Baku since her independence and helping her to rebuild and equip the Azerbaijani army.

In April-May of 2011 Turkey and Azerbaijan have signed two important military agreements. The first agreement was signed by Azerbaijani Minister of Defense Industry Yaver Jamalov and Turkish Defense Minister Mehmet Vecdi Gönül. The agreement provided that Azerbaijan will participate in joint producing of "MODERN" rifles and of 105 mm caliber cannons in Turkey. The second agreement was signed by Unal Onsipahioğlu, General Director of the Turkish "MKEK" Company, and Faruh Vezirov, Head of the Military-Technical Cooperation Department of the Ministry of Defense Industry of Azerbaijan (Овсеян и Иванов 71-73). It was intended that the sides would jointly produce 120 mm caliber grenade launchers (Азербайджан и Турция договорились продолжить сотрудничество в области вооружений). On March 10, 2011 the Turkish

Parliament ratified the "Turkish-Azerbaijani Agreement on Strategic Cooperation and Mutual Assistance", and on December 21 of the same year it was ratified by the Azerbaijani Parliament.

Thus, the relations established between Turkey and Azerbaijan gradually turned into military-political cooperation. The military-political agreements increased Turkey's influence in Azerbaijan. On the other hand, Turkey started the reconstruction of the Azerbaijani army and in the context of which attention was also paid to the organization of the military industry.

The Shushi Declaration and the Manifestations of Pan-Turkism

On September 27, 2020 Azerbaijan launched a large-scale war against the Artsakh Republic. Turkey provided great military and political support to Azerbaijan during the war and even transporting mercenaries from Syria and other places to Artsakh (Butler). The Turkish-Azerbaijani tandem was able to succeed in this war and the Artsakh Republic was forced to sign a capitulation agreement on November 9, 2020. During the war, Turkey stood out with military rhetoric, showing unconditional military support to Azerbaijan. This rhetoric of Turkey continues even after the war. The victory of Azerbaijan in the war with the support of Turkey finally strengthens her position in this country especially in the military sphere. Turkey has turned Pan-Turkism plans into integration programs, whose goal is to unite the Turkic world through political, economic and cultural integration programs. In this context, Turkey at first fully implemented the integration programs towards Azerbaijan and actually succeeded. On the other hand, the Pan-Turkic circles began to present the success in Artsakh as an important achievement. Based on this events, the integration of the Turkic world is again widely discussed which initiating by Turkey and as a best example was mentioning Turkey-Azerbaijan relations. It is important to note that Turkey intends to turn the Turkic Cooperation Council into a Turkic Union, in connection with which work is being carried out (it is expected to take place in November of this year). On the other hand, Turkey President Erdoğan stated that the slogan "one nation-two states" was fully implemented, and put forward the slogan "one nation - six states" about which he talked during the summit in 2019 (Mirzayev).

Turkey and Azerbaijan have expressed their success and deepened strategic cooperation through the Shushi Declaration. On June 15, 2021 Erdoğan visited occupied Armenian city Shushi and the sides signed this document which represents the Turkish aspirations towards the South Caucasus (Tashjian). With the Shushi Declaration, Erdogan once again demonstrated his imperial ambitions, which are based on the ideology of Pan-Turkism.

The Shushi Declaration mentions the main areas where the two countries should act together, in particular, it relates to military-political cooperation and foreign policy. The sides "consider it possible to combine the potential and opportunities of the two countries in the political, economic, cultural, educational, social, youth and sports spheres to protect common interests". The declaration states that the two countries will coordinate actions on regional and international strategic issues, which are of mutual interest. The following provision of the declaration is interesting: "to join the efforts to develop regional and international cooperation aimed at the sustainable development of the Turkic world" (Şuşa Beyannamesi). This means combining the potential of the two countries for the development of the Turkic world. In other words, Turkey and Azerbaijan are the basis for the establishment of the Turkic world or the Turkic Union, as in the case of the EU, when France and Germany established the Union.

Turkey and Azerbaijan emphasize the importance of developing and implementing a joint foreign policy in the declaration. The sides will continue their efforts to strengthen stability and security in the Caucasus region including to restore all economic and transport ties, to normalize relations with the countries of the region and to "ensure lasting" peace. In this context, special attention is paid to the geographical location of the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic. The sides emphasize the need to coordinate regular bilateral consultations in the field of foreign policy, as they emphasize the actions in this direction within the framework of the Strategic Cooperation Council. The two sides note that they will deepen bilateral cooperation on the basis of solidarity and mutual support, which are related to current international issues and are of mutual interest. Assist each other within international and regional organizations, including the UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (Şuşa Beyannamesi).

The Shushi Declaration also mentions military cooperation and military assistance. Thus, "in the opinion of one of the sides, if there is a danger of aggression or aggression by a third state, which is directed against the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of internationally recognized borders or security of that state then the parties will hold comprehensive consultations to eliminate that danger or aggression" (Şuşa Beyannamesi). It is also mentioned that the parties will hold regular meetings of the Security Council, which will be related to national security issues.

The Shushi Declaration also mentions the continuation and development of military cooperation. The sides will continue to work together for the modernization of the armed forces of the two brotherly peoples in accordance with modern requirements (İddon). The two sides will encourage the exchange of specialists, which will be aimed at strengthening defense and military security. The sides mentioned to work closely with each other, to increase the military potential of the two countries in the field of weapons and military equipment, as well as modern technologies. The sides declare that the developing military-political cooperation programs between the two countries are not directed against a third country. It should be noted that the military potential of the Turkish-Azerbaijani tandem is directed against specific countries, first of all the Republic of Armenia.

The Shushi Declaration pays special attention to the issue of communications, which is more of a political issue than an economic one. To direct the efforts of the sides to increase the competitiveness of the East-West/Center transport corridor which will pass through the territories of the two countries (Evstratov). The sides notes the opening of a corridor (they mean the Meghri or the so-called "Zangezur" corridor) between the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic and the western regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan as well as the construction of the Nakhichevan-Kars railway as a continuation of this corridor, which will have a great contribution to the activation of transport and communication between the two countries (Şuşa Beyannamesi). This section states that the sides want to communicate with each other through the so-called "Zangezur" corridor, which is part of the sovereign territory of Armenia. The sides do not take into account the interests of the Armenian side and they try to get a corridor under pressure, which will essentially unite the Turkic world, as Turkey will be able to establish a land connection with Azerbaijan, and through the latter with Turkic-speaking countries. During a joint press conference with Aliyev Erdoğan expressed his support for the "Zangezur Corridor" project submitted by Azerbaijan and he is noting: "With putting into practice of this project, a new middle corridor will be opened that everyone can benefit from east to west; this is very important" (Sevencan and Zorlu). During the same press conference "Ankara plans to open consulate general in Azerbaijan's recently liberated city of Shusha as soon as possible", Erdogan says (Sevencan and Zorlu).

Thus, the Shushi Declaration essentially shows the deep integration of the two countries, and it reflects three main areas: military, foreign policy and communications. This integration is already being presented by Turkey as a successful example to other Turkic countries.

Conclusion

From the beginning of 1990s, Turkey started cooperation with Azerbaijan in various spheres. Relations with Turkey were strengthened in Azerbaijan, which was further strengthened in the context of the Artsakh conflict. Turkey signed military-political cooperation agreements with Azerbaijan, according to which she began to provide political and military assistance to Azerbaijan. Most important was the reconstruction and armament of the Azerbaijani army and the organization of the military industry in Azerbaijan. As a result, Turkey gained great influence in Azerbaijan.

After the second Artsakh war in 2020, when Azerbaijan succeeded with the support of Turkey, they signed the Shushi Declaration, which is a new military-political alliance, most likely having a secret part. If we compare the Shushi declaration with the previous military-political agreements, we will see some peculiarities. The previous agreements presented the cooperation between the two countries but the Shushi Declaration clearly states the harmonization of general policy in the spheres of military, political and foreign policy. In fact, this document proves that Turkey has gained full influence in Azerbaijan. Here was talking about the communications, particularly about so-called "Zangezur" corridor which in addition to being part of a major economic project, also has a political context. In this case, Turkey by land will join Azerbaijan and then with other Turkic countries. The previous agreements didn't mention the Turkic world, and this declaration clearly states the coordination of forces between the two countries for the development of the Turkic world. On the other hand, Turkish-Azerbaijani cooperation is currently presented to Turkic countries as a successful integration attempt, thus making obvious the Pan-Turkism manifestations of Turkish-Azerbaijani military-political cooperation.

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ԹՈՒՐԵՔԻԱ-ԱՂՐԲԵՋԱՆ ՌԱԶՄԱՔԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՄԱԳՈՐԾԱԿԳՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՊԱՆԹՅՈՒՐՔԱԿԱՆ ԴՐՍԵՎՈՐՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ

ՆԵՐԱՄԻՆԱՅԱՆ

*ՀՊՄՀ համաշխարհային պատմության և
նրա դասականության մեթոդիկայի ամբիոնի դոցենտ,
պատմական գիտությունների թեկնածու,
ք.Երևան, Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն*

Սույն հոդվածի նպատակն է ցույց տալ Թուրքիայի ու Ադրբեջանի միջև ռազմաքաղաքական հարաբերությունների հաստատման դինամիկան, հիմնական նպատակներն ու խնդիրները: Մյուս կողմից փորձ է արվում ներկայացնել թուրք-ադրբեջանական ռազմաքաղաքական համագործակցության պանթյուրքական դրսևորումները, որոնք առավել ակնառու են դարձել Շուշիի հռչակագրի ստորագրումից:

Աշխատանքի խնդիրն է ներկայացնել Թուրքիայի ու Ադրբեջանի միջև ռազմաքաղաքական համագործակցության զարգացման գործընթացը և այն դիտարկել որպես թուրքական աշխարհի ինտեգրացիոն ծրագրերի մի մասը, որի գաղափարական հիմքում դրված է պանթյուրքիզմը: Մասնավորապես զուգահեռներ են անցկացվում Թուրքիայի ու Ադրբեջանի միջև 1996 թ.-ին և 2010 թ.-ին ստորագրված ռազմաքաղաքական պայմանագրերի և Շուշիի հռչակագրի (իրականում՝ պայմանագիր) միջև:

Աշխատանքը շարադրված է փաստերի համադիր քննությամբ, պատմաքննական վերլուծության և համադրման սկզբունքների կիրառմամբ:

Կատարված ուսումնասիրության արդյունքում կարելի է պնդել, որ Թուրքիայի ու Ադրբեջանի միջև հաստատված ռազմաքաղաքական համագործակցությունը աստիճանաբար վերածվում է թյուրքական ինտեգրացիոն ծրագրի մասի: Վերոնշյալ երկու ռազմաքաղաքական պայմանագրերը ներկայացնում էին ռազմա-քաղաքական համագործակցությունը երկու պետությունների միջև, որոնց արդյունքում Թուրքիային հաջողվեց իր լիակատար ռազմա-քաղաքական վերահսկողությունը հաստատել Ադրբեջանում: Իսկ Շուշիի դեկլարացիայում նշվում է թյուրքական աշխարհի մասին, մասնավորապես կոմունիկացիաների անվան տակ փորձ է արվում ապահովել Թուրքիայի ու Ադրբեջանի միջև ցամաքային կապը այսպես կոչված «Չանգեզուրի» միջանցքի միջոցով: Արցախյան երկրորդ պատերազմից հետո ստորագրված Շուշիի հռչակագրով ըստ էության նախատեսվում է ներդաշնակել երկու երկրների գործողությունները ռազմական, անվտանգային ու արտաքին քաղաքականության ոլորտներում: Մյուս կողմից թուրք-ադրբեջանական համագործակցությունը որպես հաջողված ինտեգրման փորձ է ներկայացվում թյուրքական երկրներին:

*Հիմնաբառեր՝ Թուրքիա, Ադրբեջան, ռազմա-քաղաքական
համագործակցություն, Շուշիի դեկլարացիա, պանթյուրքիզմ, թյուրքական
ինտեգրացիա, կոմունիկացիա:*

ПАНТЮРКИСТСКИЕ ПРОЯВЛЕНИЯ ВОЕННО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВА ТУРЦИИ И АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНА

НЕЛЛИ МИНАСЯН

*доцент кафедры всемирной истории и методики ее преподавания
Армянского государственного педагогического университета,
кандидат исторических наук,
г.Ереван, Республика Армения*

Целью данной статьи является демонстрация динамики, а также основных целей и задач установления военно-политических отношений между Турцией и Азербайджаном. С другой стороны, делается попытка представить пантюркистские проявления турецко-азербайджанского военно-политического сотрудничества, которые стали более очевидными с подписанием Шушинской декларации.

Задача работы – представить процесс развития военно-политического сотрудничества между Турцией и Азербайджаном, рассмотреть его как часть интеграционных программ тюркского мира, идеологической основой которого является пантюркизм. В частности, проводятся параллели между подписанными Турцией и Азербайджаном в 1996 и 2010гг. военно-политическими соглашениями и Шушинской декларацией (фактически соглашением).

Работа написана путем комбинированного исследования фактов с применением исторического анализа и принципов сравнения.

В результате исследования можно утверждать, что военно-политическое сотрудничество, установившееся между Турцией и Азербайджаном, постепенно становится частью тюркской интеграционной программы. Вышеупомянутые два военно-политических соглашения представляют собой военно-политическое сотрудничество между двумя странами, в результате чего Турции удалось установить полный военно-политический контроль в Азербайджане. А в Шушинской декларации упоминается тюркский мир, в частности, под видом коммуникаций делается попытка обеспечить сухопутное сообщение между Турцией и Азербайджаном через так называемый «Зангезурский» коридор. Шушинская декларация, подписанная после второй Арцахской войны, по сути, предусматривает гармонизацию действий двух стран в сфере вооруженных сил, безопасности и внешней политики. С другой стороны, турецко-азербайджанское сотрудничество преподносится тюркским странам как успешная попытка интеграции.

Ключевые слова: *Турция, Азербайджан, военно-политическое сотрудничество, Шушинская декларация, пантюркизм, тюркская интеграция, коммуникация.*