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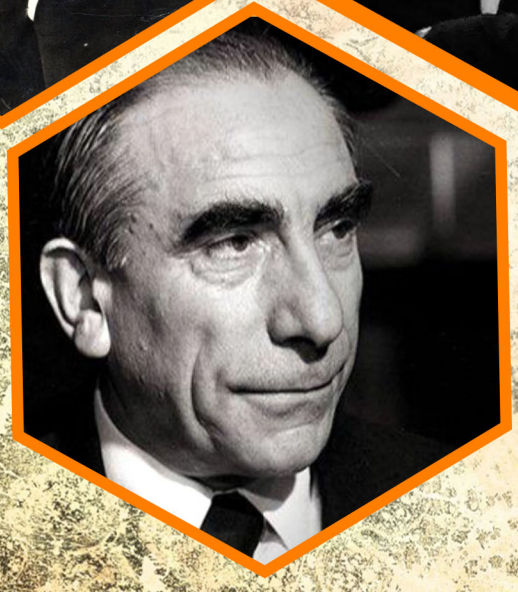
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SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS OCCURRED IN TURKEY BETWEEN THE YEARS OF 1980-2000




Editors
OZKAN AKMAN
TAHIR GUR

ISRES Publishing

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AZERBAIJAN AND ARMENIA RELATIONS

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The developments that took place after the Cold War, which left its mark on the post-World War II period, against the Soviet Union towards the end of the twentieth century, in the framework of the adventure of getting rid of the seventy-year old shackles of the nations held by them; In this study, in which the Karabakh problem is examined in the context of its effects on Turkish-Azerbaijani-Armenian relations, firstly, the historical background of the problem was revealed.

Azerbaijan was de facto divided into two with the Turkmencay Agreement signed between Russia and Iran in 1828 and Northern part of it was occupied and annexed by Tcharist Russia in the nineteenth century, has gradually gain independence after the Bolshevik revolution. This period, which started with its independent declaration in 1918 and lasted for twenty-three months, ended with the occupation of Azerbaijani lands in 1920 by Soviet Russia. After nearly 70 years of Soviet rule, Azerbaijan regained independence in 1991 and started to wave its flag among its contemporary states with dignity and pride.

Through the independence process Republic of Turkey was the first country to recognize and the most important supporter of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan-Turkey relations as a general framework of historical, cultural, ethnic, social and political foundations upon, rests on a foundation dating back to the past to the present.

Armenia, which has been the implementer of Russia's interests in the region since the Tsarist Russia period, attempted to occupy the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan to follow these interests in the post-independence period. With the actual support of the Russian Armed Forces, he carried out various genocides in the Nagorno-Karabakh region and still occupies the region.

Because of the Karabakh events, Turkey closed the land border with Armenia along with its airspace to prevent the passage of any of the country's assistance to Armenia. Trying to represent Turkey as a "state that genocide" in the public opinion due to problems experienced during the First World War, Armenia, fulfills its duty of being the tongs of the global and regional powers in the Caucasus region in the best way.

Introduction

In the 1980s, comprehensive reform programs, Perestroika (restructuring) and Glasnost (openness), put into practice by Mihail Gorbachev, who was brought to the General Secretariat of the USSR KP in March 1985 to find solutions to the economic, political and social problems experienced by the Soviet Union, the flow of history could not be prevented and the Soviet Union could not be saved from falling apart.[1]

Economical system was established in Azerbaijan in accordance with the Moscow-based planning and like all other union members, she didn't have the ability to turn a raw material into an end product and sell it. This situation prevented the efficient use of the country's resources and caused great loss of income.[2] Efforts to move to a free market economy in order to ensure more efficient management of resources have caused the need to democratize the political environment; this situation paved the way for the collapse of the socialist system.[3]

This period, when ethnic separations began, resulted in the great collapse expected by Western Circles.[4] Democratic formations have sprouted in the political system as a result of this process in which peoples are now using their right to determine their own destiny; Political structures with names such as Çenlibel, Yurt, Varlık, Müstakiller, Terakki laid the ground for the establishment of the Azerbaijan People's Front, which will direct the national movement of Azerbaijan.[5]

Political awakening and political organization in Azerbaijan gained a different dimension and momentum with the actions of radical Armenian nationalism, which reappeared in this period and which we will touch upon in the future, and the pro-Armenian attitude and decisions of the Moscow administration. During the deportation of 230 thousand Azerbaijani Turks living in the borders of the Republic of Armenia in 1988, 185 villages and other settlements were evacuated, 214 people were killed and 1154 people were injured.[6]

Azerbaijan People's Front led by the growing struggle for independence given under these difficulties and war, blood, tears have been the main theme of this period. This theme is continued within the framework of the blinded Armenian policies implemented through unfair and unlawful occupation in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

[1] Musayev, SB (Ed.), Political History, C.II, Publication of Baku State University, "Azerbaijan Encyclopedia" Publications Polygraphy Union, Baku 1998.pp.288
[2] Paul Kennedy, Prepairing fort he 21. Century, (Translated by Fikret Udcan) , Turkiye Is Bankasi Cultur Publications, 3th Ed., Ankara 1999.pp.298
[3] Nazım Cafersoy, Azerbaijani Foreign Policy of the Elchibey Period (June 1992-June 1993) Diplomatic Story of a Struggle for Independence, Eurasian Strategic Research Center Publications, Ankara 2001.pp.8
[4] Brzezinski, Zbigniew, Grand Failure, (Translated by Gül Keskin - Gulsev Pakkan), Turkiye Is Bankasi Cultur Publications, Ankara, 1992 (shown as a source with reference to the entire book.)
[5] History of Azerbaijan, C.VII (1941-2002), Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, AA Bakıhanov Publications of History, Elm Publications, Baku 2008.pp.246-247
[6] History of Azerbaijan, C.VII (1941-2002), Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, AA Bakıhanov Publications of History, Elm Publications, Baku 2008.pp.250

Historical Development of The Karabakh Problem

The most important problem of Azerbaijan during and after the independence process was the "Nagorno Karabakh Question" or more precisely, the protection and maintenance of the territorial integrity of the country. This problem, which emerged from the beginning of the XX. century, has remained an unresolved issue for over a hundred years. The Azerbaijan State, which gained its independence at the end of the century, continued to experience the problems of not being able to solve this heavy heritage of the past, and today it is one of the leading elements that direct the foreign policy of Azerbaijan and shape it. It is also clear that the problem is not limited to the artificially formed Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, which is only part of the historical-geographical region called Karabakh in Azerbaijan. These chronic issues, which are seen as "source of life" or "raison d'être" and an important threshold that must be overcome to achieve to "Great Armenia" by Armenia and its foreign policies main actor "Diaspora", having key importance to keep their thesis on a global scale .

During the Soviet era Armenia continued to be systematically cleared from Turkish people of the region as a result of a policy that aims expulsion of the Turkish Republic of Turkey's ties with Turkestan. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region is an artificial arrangement which was formed by Soviet Russia in 1923 to favor the Armenian population lives in the mountainous part of Karabakh. The collective arrival date of the Armenians to the region is after the Caucasus region came under the control of Tsarist Russia. Official datas indicate that between 1828 and 1830, 40,000 Armenians from Iran and 84,000 Armenians from the Ottoman Empire were settled in the provinces of Elizavetpol (Gence) and Revan (now Yerevan). However, the real figures are over 124 thousand and more than 200 thousand Armenian populations are located in the region.[7]

Collecting Armenians in the region collectively, continued until the beginning of the XX. Century. Tens of thousands of Muslims and Turks were killed between 1905-1906, 1914-1918 and 1918-1920 as a result of attempts to establish an Armenian State on Azerbaijani lands. In this period, when a significant part of the Azerbaijani lands with Turks came under control of the Armenian forces, the Zengezur region was left to Armenia as of 1920, and the attempt to unite the Karabakh region to Armenia was fruitless. However, in 1923, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region-NKAR was established and a step was taken to break Karabakh from Azerbaijan.[8]

The issue of uniting the autonomous region, which was brought back to the agenda in 1945, with Armenia has not achieved its goal as a result of the determined attitude of the Azerbaijani administration. In the partial comfort environment of the Armenia was Gorbachev era, which expressed the desire to merge with the Nagorno-Karabakh

[7] Vagif Arzumanlı, and Mustafa Nazim, Black Pages of History, Exile, Genocide, Migration, Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, National Relations Institute Publications, Gartal Publications, Baku 1998, pp.89-96
[8] Fariz Farzali, XX. Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in century (Unpublished PhD Thesis), Kayseri, 2011. pp.16

region in various periods and environments. She most clearly expressed its intention in this matter in 1988 by the Armenian-origin advisor of the Soviet president, Abel Aganbekyan. [9]

Immediately after this statement anti-Turkish demonstrations, violence and looting against the Turkish population in Armenia was emerged. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region's decisions in the direction of joining to Armenia and reactionless of both Soviet Union/Socialist Azerbaijani authorities caused demonstrations that lasted for 18 days which also ignited the awakening of the national consciousness in Azerbaijan[10]

In Karabakh conflict which is the most decisive part of Azerbaijan -Turkey relations, Turkey even carefully follow the deveploments from the beginning of the conflict in 1988, didn't intervene the problem, persive it as an internal problem of the Soviet Union until 1991. After the independence of Azerbaijan, Turkey, closely interested the issue and try to solve this conflict in the framework of fair, Azerbaijan's territorial integrity, provide peace and stability in the region. [11]

Initially, Turkey wanted to do as a neutral intermediary role in Armenia - Azerbaijan dispute and the continuing war but Armenia opposed to the initiative. In a period of increased Armenian attacks, Turkey tried to find a just resolution on international scale to the conflict and start a diplomaticinitiave in the eyes of European capitals. Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin tried to draw the attention of the western governments and the USA and put the problem on the agenda in the eye of the OSCE .[12] Thus, on March 24, 1992, the Minsk Group of OSCE was established to ensure peace in Nagorno-Karabakh.[13]

After invasion of Shusha and Lachin towns, Armenia directed pressure toward the Nakhchivan. Instead of exercising the right of intervention arising from the 1921 Moscow and Kars agreements, Turkey has become a party to the solution of the problem in the eyes of international organizations such as the UN , OSCE and NATO.[14] AlthoughTurkey declared not to set an diplomatic relation with Armeia until she recognize the legitimite border of two country; Turkey closed the land border and the airspace with this country due to the Armenia's indifferent attitude to Turkey's moderate position, using international aids in war against Azerbaijan and not leaving revisionalist activities.[15]

[9] History of Azerbaijan, C.VII (1941-2002), Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, AA Bakıhanov Publications of History, Elm Publications, Baku 2008. pp.236
[10] History of Azerbaijan, C.VII (1941-2002), Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, AA Bakıhanov History Estitus Publishing, Elm Publication, Baku 2008. pp.237-245
[11] Cemalettin Taşkıran, Karabakh Issue from Past to Present, General Staff Printing House, Ankara 1995.pp.164
[12] Mustafa Aydın, " Relations with the Caucasus and Central Asia", Oran, Raid (Ed.), Turkish Foreign Policy, Cases, Documents, Comments, Volume II, 1980-2001, Communication Publications, Istanbul 2001, pp.402
[13] History of Azerbaijan, C.VII (1941-2002), Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, AA Bakıhanov Publications of History, Elm Publications, Baku 2008.pp.301
[14] Mustafa Aydın, " Relations with the Caucasus and Central Asia", Oran, Raid (Ed.), Turkish Foreign Policy, Cases, Documents, Comments, Volume II, 1980-2001, Communication Publications, Istanbul 2001, pp.403
[15] Elif, Şimşek Özkan, "1991' den Bugüne Güney Kafkasya ve Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası", Nejat Doğan, Ferit Kula, Mehmet Öcal (ed.), Türkiye'nin jeoekonomisi ve jeopolitikası : Türkiye geleceğin neresinde?, Nobel Yay., Ankara, 2007.pp.513

During this period, occupation of Kelbajar, Elchibey's weakening position in internal politics, not taking necessary support that is expected from Turkey, Surat Huseynov led by Russian-backed military emergence of opposition are important developments which prevents the solution in the OSCE Minsk group and deepen the Armenian occupation in the region.[16]

Efforts to penetrate Azerbaijan by both Russia and Iran have given significant impetus to the instability of the country's domestic political life. As a result of the rebellion caused by the military opposition which was backed especially by Russia, Elchibey resigned from his post. During the Kalbajar occupation, Ganja rebellion and overthrown of Elchibey, Turkey lost her friends and allies and this caused an adverse effect on Turkey's image in middle Asia Turkic Nations.

With the transfer of managerial authority to Heydar Aliyev in Azerbaijan, rapidly distanced from the Elchibey's policy, Azerbaijan has started to maneuver to ease Russia's anger on this subject. Awaring of Russia's responsibility on deteriorating stability and continuing war against Armenia Heydar Aliyev; assinged Colonel S. Huseynov as prime minister to take under control. Although the country has been restored to stability, defeats have not been able to prevented in the ongoing war with Armenia. In the summer and 1993 of 1993, Ağdam, Fuzuli, Cebrail, Gubadlı and Zengilan were lost. Thus, 20% of the Azerbaijani lands were occupied with the addition of these five cities after the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region and Laçin and Kelbecer, while the number of refugees in the country reached 1 million. Although the human dimension of the wounds caused by the war cannot be expressed, the damage caused by the Karabakh wars to the Azerbaijani economy is reflected in official statements, the value of which amounts to 60 billion USD.[17] By May 1994, a "Armistice Protocol" was signed between the parties in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan, with the initiatives of Russia.[18] The agreement, which came into force on 12 May 1994, continues to the present day, although it is sometimes violated by Armenia.

Turkey's Attitude in Karabakh Issue

When we look at Turkey's stance on the Karabakh issue may be mentioned two periods. In the former, from date of the first events began in Karabakh in 1988 to on which Azerbaijan gained her independence in 1991 Turkey, saw developments as internal affairs of the Soviet Union. In second period which starts with the independence of Azerbaijan and the collapse of USSR and ongoing until today Turkey, has followed a policy which is ensuring Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and trying to solve the problem

[16] Araz Aslanlı, and İlham Hesenov, Azerbaijan Foreign Policy in the Period of Heydar Aliyev, Platinum Publication, Ankara 2005.pp.56-58
[17] State Committee Of The Republic Of Azerbaijisan Affairs on Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Avaible at; http://www.refugees-idps committee.gov.az/az/pages/16.html
[18] History of Azerbaijan, C.VII (1941-2002), Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, AA Bakıhanov Publications, History of Elit, Elm Publications, Bakû 2008.pp.332

under international law in the Karabakh issue. Turkey's political stance in this problem is in parallel with the opinion of Azerbaijan's.

Turkey expressed her attitudes about Azerbaijan's territorial integrity on almost any platform and that has continued too. Azerbaijan government has brought up at any occasion about the Karabakh issue, not only in the eye of UN, OSCE, Council of Europe, international organizations and institutions such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, but also countries in the region such as Russia, Turkey, and which have interests in the region such as the United States, Britain, France, Germany but this effort made no concrete result. Regarding Heydar Aliyev's ten-year rule, there are also comments that political stability has been achieved in the country, serious developments have been made in terms of economic and military structures, but the Karabakh issue has been left to its fate.[19]

On the other hand, even though no result has been achieved in this regard, Azerbaijan continues to strive for the solution of the issue. Identifing and directing Azerbaijan's almost ten years political life (1993 - 2003) Heydar Aliyev, made the accounting of its ruling period on the Karabakh issue at the National Assembly of Azerbaijan in February, 2001.

In speech dated February 23 at the session of the parliament of the country, President voiced that they're trying to ensure territory integrity at the diplomatic platform but that efforts could not come to a conclusion yet. Negotiations on this issue with both international organizations like the UN and the OSCE, and all the senior officials of foreign countries, Aliyev express that "Karabakh conflict and refugee problem is the first and far most important item in the negotiations". Despite some exceptions, declaring they always face with the double standard when talking to international organizations in the western world about this issue Aliyev, because of this situation progress is very slow in this issue and expressed that attitudes of central Asian Turkic States are very uncomponiable. Expressing no other country or international organization except Islamic Organization Conference, Iran and Turkey, that see this issue as occupation and Armenia as occupant. Aliyev, stressed that it's important to declare this situation in every platform.[20]

Generaly Karabakh issue had played a key role in shaping Turkey's Armenian policy. As in previous chapters also expressed despite Turkey recognizes the Armenia who put forwards some unfounded claims against Turkey and occupies Azerbaijan soil but closes its frontiers and cuts diplomatic ties with this country. Until Karabakh conflict end with a fair solution; Turkey has stood up the pressure of both US and European powers and has stood by Azerbaijan in this issue. On the other hand, it continued to contribute to

[19] Mehmat Dikkaya, Adem Çaylak, "Azerbaijan's Economic and Political Transformation at Haydar Aliyev Era, Opportinies and Problems, C.3, S.5, OAKA, 2008.pp.134

[20] Haydar Aliyev Elektron Senedler Toplusu-2001 Yılı".pp.58-59

the solution of the issue with the work carried out by international organizations such as the UN and the OSCE. In Karabakh issue which is Azerbaijan's most important foreign policy title, Turkey moves with Azerbaijan and contribute to OSCE Minsk Group activities to find a peaceful, fair solutions to this issue.

When Azerbaijan declared its independence, there is no regular and disciplined army. This situation has made severe hardship to this country and she has paid an expensive bill. It was also neglected in the nationalization of weapons, military vehicles and materials belonging to the former Soviet Army, and these weapons and equipment were either disrupted by Russian soldiers or taken over by separate groups and individuals.[21]

Elçibey, who came to power in such a period, made serious attempts to change this negative picture and establish the national army. In this context, assistance was requested from Turkey. While in one hand Turkey was sending her retired soldiers to reorganize Azerbaijan's army; On the other hand was starting to accept 200 students to train in military schools.[22] Azerbaijani officials hoped that Turkey directly intervene the conflicts against Armenia but that have not been able to happen.

Military relations between the two countries were established more seriously and systematically in the period of H. Aliyev. After the Bishkek Ceasefire Agreement that have been made to restructuring the army in Azerbaijan, Turkey has seen as founder of the business and in this context has been established in close relations with it. Since this period, military and security issues have frequently come to the fore in bilateral relations and cooperation agreements have been signed in this direction. Since the second half of the 1990s, the Turkish Armed Forces carried out activities for the training, technical, logistical structure and development of the Azerbaijan Army. Turkey is carrying out a policy of strategic importance to the development of Azerbaijani Army and structuring.

NATO member Turkey has made serious attempts in favor of Azerbaijan and make her to take advantage using of the facilities of these institutions. Within the framework of its strategic objectives, Azerbaijan operates in cooperation with NATO in the context of its integration into Euro-Atlantic political, security, economic and other structures. Within the framework of the Euro-Atlantic Cooperation Council and NATO's "Partnership for Peace" program, Azerbaijan attaches importance to the development of relations with NATO, which is not only military but also political. These relations are regarded as a serious and important issue by the Azerbaijan state in the context of foreign policy and security. This aspect of Azerbaijan-Turkey military relations, is evolving in both bilateral developments and within the NATO framework

"Partnership for Peace Program" in the framework of the NATO military again in the

[21] History of Azerbaijan, C.VII (1941-2002), Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, AA Bakıhanov Publications, History of Elm, Elm Publication, Bakû 2008, pp.296

[22] Nazım Cafersoy, Azerbaijani Foreign Policy of the Elchibey Period (June 1992-June 1993) Diplomatic Story of a Struggle for Independence, Eurasian Center for Strategic Research Publications, Ankara 2001,pp.12

standard application configuration policies employees of Azerbaijan education, defense, infrastructure, technology many military projects, such as hardware realizes with the help of Turkey.[23] Turkey, Azerbaijan Army's restructuring and reform has made an approximately $ 170 million in military aid.

Conclusion

In 1991, along with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan-Turkey relations have entered a new era. This new situation has given some opportunities and possibilities to Turkey in one hand; but on the other hand has forced Turkey to set new policies on the ground of uncertainty and chaos. Forced to adapt to this new era Turkey, has seen is not ready to this new era by living which was foreseen by the founding leader at the end of the 1930s.

Besides being the first country to recognize Azerbaijan, Turkey, supported the consolidation of Azerbaijan's independence and aimed at ensuring territorial integrity and opening up to the outside world. Although the relations between the two countries have been influenced by foreign factors from time to time, a common attitude has been developed for the protection of peace and stability especially in the region. Serious collaborations have been made in economic, strategic and military fields besides diplomatic-political relations. Especially the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum gas pipeline play an importantant role to being reach the Caspian oil to the outside world. This aims to make Azerbaijan become a significant player in free world. In this way energy resources easily and safely can be transported to outer world and in the context of transport Azerbaijan-Turkey relations are hovering above a rising graph.

Azerbaijan's integration into the international arena, in the context of maintaining regional security, political, economic, scientific and cultural aspects of the multifaceted cooperation with Turkey to development is given great importance. Although Azerbaijan proves its legitimacy on Karabakh and refugee issue, both the OSCE and the United Nations have not demonstrated the power and will to remove Armenia from the Azerbaijani territory it occupies. While some researchers consider the UN Security Council's decisions as an "ineffective decision series"[24], some researchers Armenian questioning of what the impact of these decisions in the face of the attacks suggests that it should .

While Armenia is continuing its unfair occupation movement with the support it received from the Russian Federation; Azerbaijan and its natural ally Turkey's main aims have to be to set a proper transportation infrastructure to carry natural resources in the hands

[23] Aygun Askerzade, "Azerbaijan-Turkiye Military Cooperation and Regional Security Problems in NATO Concept", Karadeniz Araştırmaları, 20 Winter, 2009, pp.5-10

[24] Araz Aslanlı, and İlham Hesenov, Azerbaijan Foreign Policy in the Period of Heydar Aliyev, Platinum Publication, Ankara 2005.pp.63

of Azerbaijan to the markets, to support Azerbaijan to be a respected member of the international community, to establish a disiplined, well trained, well equipt army to protect its strengthed economic gains. The works to be carried out with the understanding of "One Nation Two States" will liberate the occupied lands, which are the desired result, and 1 million refugees can go back their main lands.

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