

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Reason for selecting title

The choice of this title is based on the Researcher's curiosity about the behavior of why Turkey provides its support for Azerbaijan. because in the world of international relations, all activities carried out by state actors must have “interesting” reasons to be studied and researched, so that the Researcher's interest arises in this topic. Also, this topic is still new to the world and not all people have acknowledged this issue and to that the researcher also hopes that this research can be as an eye opener to the reader and moreover open a new perspective.

### B. Background

Nagorno-Karabakh is region in southwestern of Azerbaijan. The name is also used to refer as an autonomous *oblast* (province) of the former Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (S.S.R.) or known as Soviet Union at that time also and to the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh, a self-declared country whose independence is not internationally recognized and only recognized by three Non-UN Members Countries. The old autonomous region occupied an area of about 1,700 square miles (4,400 square km), while the forces of the self-proclaimed Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh presently occupy some 2,700 square miles (7,000 square km). The general region includes the northeastern flank of the Karabakh Range of the Lesser Caucasus and

extends from the crest line of the range to the margin of the Kura River lowland at its foot (Zeidan, 2020).

For over the past decades the dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia in Nagorno-Karabakh has not been resolved yet but rather escalating from time to time. The root of all was the conflict shaped by historical aspect when Moslem Ottoman Empire dealing with Christian Armenian. After the October Revolution of 1917, the Red Army turned Armenia into a Soviet Socialist Republic. Subsequently, Nagorno-Karabakh primarily comprising ethnic-Armenian Christians became a part of the predominantly Muslim Azerbaijan. This territorial readjustment of Nagorno-Karabakh created two serious structural issues for Azerbaijan. One, a large swath of ethnic Armenian population stuck in old hatreds and persecution psychoses came to be concentrated in a single geographical area. It not only made the task of governing the oblast a highly complex endeavor but also paved the way for the Armenian separatists to mount insurrections against Baku (Khan, 2020).

Nagorno-Karabakh is an autonomous region with 95% of its population ethnically is Armenian although the location of Nagorno-Karabakh is within the legal location of Azerbaijan. Nagorno-Karabakh was not established by Armenian but rather established by Soviet Union in the 1920s and since then the dispute has begun until now, and under the Bolshevik rule the dispute between both countries was kept in check at that time. In 1988, we know that Soviet Union collapsed but then after that the eye that kept in check between both disputing countries also

disappear hand in hand with that and there was no one to check both of the disputing countries and the situation then escalated. After Soviet Union dissolved, war has been erupted between Azerbaijan and Armenia leaving roughly hundreds of thousands of refugees also succeed in ruling roughly 20% of Azerbaijani territory and officially declared their region independence in 1991 and is now being governed by the self-proclaimed Republic of Artsakh, recognized only by three non-UN member states leaving as a frozen conflict until now (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020).

As mentioned above, both sides of Nagorno-Karabakh, whose population consists of Azerbaijanis and Armenians, have claimed to be part of their historical lands. It is on this basis that Nagorno-Karabakh's origins of Azerbaijanis and Armenians, the region's historical boundaries, faith, historical homelands, and population movements emerge as the most contentious subjects.

The historical origins of the issue can be traced to the area of Caucasian Albania, both of which are Azerbaijanis (as distinct from Albania in the Balkans today) which both consider as their homeland. De Waal writes that the region of what is now northern Azerbaijan was described as Caucasian Albania; however, the area around Nagorno-Karabakh was often also described. The Armenians claim that Karabakh, Nakhichevan and other lands which are now in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Iran and Turkey were part of the ancient kingdom of Armenia. On the other hand, building on the works of some nineteenth-century Russian historians, the Azerbaijanis claim

that the ancient kingdom of Caucasian Albania, like Karabakh and Nakhichevan, was the precursor to modern Azerbaijan.

The Azerbaijan-Armenia Nagorno-Karabakh dispute is Undeniably important. During the fighting, the war claimed over 25,000 lives, which mostly took place between 1990 and 1994. The situation remains unresolved and could lapse into war again. When ethnic groups do not share a common philosophy or faith, or when they do not oppose the same enemy, according to Yamskov mutual ties between them become negative, as is the case in the Azerbaijan-Armenia dispute. In such a deep-rooted conflict as Nagorno-Karabakh, the political discourse built by the leaders in both societies could itself have been an obstacle to finding a peaceful settlement. The Azerbaijanis are demanding that all Nagorno-Karabakh, which they see as their own territory, be returned. They base their claims on the sanctity of their borders and on the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. On the other hand, the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh claim that their autonomy, which they won on the basis of self-determination over war, cannot be negotiated.

The dispute over who the parties to the conflict are is a big obstacle standing in the way of a political resolution. As a party to the dispute, Azerbaijan does not accept the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership and seeks direct talks only with Armenia. On the other side, Armenia says that it is not a party to the dispute and that Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan should be resolved. Overall, the conflicting demands of both sides are induced by mutual distrust and suspicions. It is

understood that the parties to the dispute have been purposely delaying their resolution. There are, however, multiple reasons for the absence of any settlement of the conflict.

The following year after in 2016, an intense fighting happened and was worse than in 1994 approximately killing dozens resulting more than three hundred casualties. After four days of fighting in the area both side agreed to hold a meeting and a new cease-fire however, it was followed by intense violations. Negotiations followed by mediation between disputing countries have been held from time to time until an organization led by United State, France and Russia was made called Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Minsk Group to address the dispute also put an end to it but rather they only met a dead end as both disputing countries also have interest in the disputing area and making this conflict as one of the longest standing battle.

Fast forward to now, the tension between both disputing country arise again but way worse than the past decades. According to *Deutsche Welle* (DW), a Germany international broadcaster on Monday (10/19) both Azerbaijan and Armenia has been accusing each other from the fresh attack that happened in the area and Azerbaijan's President Ilham Aliyev Armenia of "blatantly" violating the truce and said Azerbaijani forces had taken control of 13 more Armenian-held settlements. The Azeri defense ministry said Armenian forces were shelling the Agjebedin, Tovuz and Dashkesan regions. Meanwhile, authorities in Karabakh, backed by Armenia, said artillery fire from Azerbaijani

forces hadn't let up, and that the Karabakh army had taken "proportionate actions." They said Azeri forces had shelled civilian settlements including the town of Martuni and four villages and both sides denied each other's claims (Deutsche Welle Corporation, 2020).

The tension becomes more escalated since Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said to give his full support to Azerbaijan regarding military even weaponry system. And since then, they also become mutually beneficial partners and corporations over natural resources like gas and oil. Since 1994 Azerbaijan signed a contract namely "Contract of the Century" with its international partners which include Turkey on this case and Azerbaijan started the exploitation over hydrocarbon resources of the Caspian Sea and transport it to the world market. Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil (2005) and Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum (2006) gas pipelines further enhanced Azerbaijan's role as an energy producer and exporter country (EnerCom, Inc., 2020).

As Erdogan proclaims his support to Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan becomes braver in the dispute between Armenia because Azerbaijan thinks that Azerbaijan got a good back up from Turkey. The evidence we can see clearly is from the latest fire exchange between the dispute countries on October 22th, because both sides have been using drones and powerful, long-ranged rocket artillery. The engagement between Turkey and Azerbaijan had caused worst effect in Stepanakert which is Nagorno-Karabakh capital city because it has been repeatedly bombarded.

In addition, on its pledge to fully support Azerbaijan, Turkey has sent over 1000 Syrian fighters to provide Azerbaijan in terms of weaponry and train its military members. These Syrian fighters trained by Turkey travel passing through Turkey to Azerbaijan especially in a mission to join the combat (Simmons & Gauthier-Villars, 2020), and not only that, Turkey joined Azerbaijan for two weeks military drills with armored vehicles, artillery, also mortars. Although it is only an exercise but the meaning behind the drills were very clear that Azerbaijan is preparing a real fight and Turkey fully has its back. On Friday (10/2) President Recep Tayyip Erdogan explicitly said:

*“As Turkey, with all our means and with all our heart, we stand with fellow and brother Azerbaijan and we will continue to stand with it, God willing, until Nagorno-Karabakh is liberated from invasion, this struggle will continue.”*

Not only that, as the realization of that commitment, Azerbaijan has been able to use Turkish drones to strike Nagorno-Karabakh, and the drones Azerbaijan used are the same drones that Turkey flied to combat against Russia in the Libya and Syria war (Ward, 2020). Moreover, Turkey’s action has gone overboard in terms to support Azerbaijan as Armenia Satellite found some images of Turkish F-16 parked in the Azerbaijan airfield in Mid-August and said that Turkish F-16 had shot down an Armenian Jet (Kramer, 2020).

### **C. Research Question**

Based on the elaboration of the phenomena in the previous section, therefore this paper will come up with the question, “Why does Turkey

give support to Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute?” which attempts to analyze the reason behind it.

#### **D. Theoretical Framework**

To answer the research question, this research will use Foreign Policy Decision Making Process Theory.

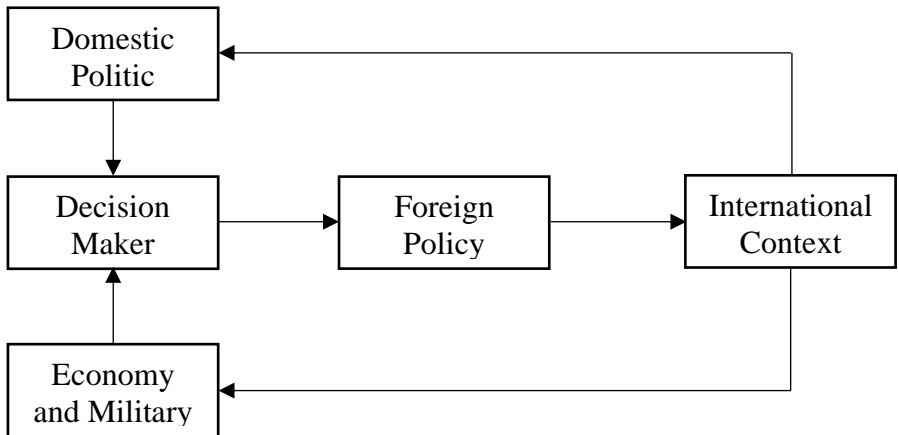
##### **Decision Making Process**

The mixture of International Politics and Domestic Politics have important influence on how a foreign policy arise on a country. The change or current situation of International Politics and Domestic Politics also take part on why a country makes certain Foreign Policy. The state action is an action that the leader of the State takes on behalf of the interest of a country (Synder, 1962). Raymond F. Hopkins also explains the making of foreign policy is determined from various rationalities of a country. Besides that, there is also interpretation which is the efforts of actors in interpreting whether occurrences in their external environment will pose a threat or a barrier or instead provide an opportunity for the achievement of national goals (Hopkins, 1973).

Well basically, Foreign Policy is made from phenomenon that happened very recent in the country. Foreign Policy that is made by the decision makers is their responses to the issue that they are facing at the moment. A scholar named William D. Coplin on his book *“Introduction to International Politic”* explains how the foreign policy is made by the decision maker after walking through series process and considering many aspects in the country itself. According to William D. Coplin in



Decision Making Process, there are three factors that influence on how foreign policy from a country is formed; the first is their political domestic affairs, the second is their capability in terms of economy and military power, and the last in the international context (Coplin, 1992).



**Figure 1.**

**Model of Foreign Policy Decision Making by William D. Coplin**

## **1. Domestic Political Affairs**

Domestic Politics is one of many indicators that work in foreign policy. Despite the openness of a political system or the level of stability in the country experienced by the system, can shape aspects of foreign policy, certain other factors can also be at work such as cultural factors which affects human behavior. Not only there might be some interaction between other actors too like Politic Elite, Non-Governmental Organization, Political Party and any other actor that try to influence the Decision maker in the

making of the Foreign Policy According to Coplin as he named it as *Policy Influencer*. Furthermore, those Policy Influencers that Coplin mentioned before, there is a reciprocal relationship and it applies to every regime that we are going through right now. Of course, the decision maker needs support system from other actors to strengthen his action and voice and also for his legitimacy as a Decision Maker of the country. According to Coplin, Domestic Politics are determined by four types of Policy Influencers:

- **Bureaucratic Influencers:** Bureaucratic Influencers are individuals that take part to help the decision maker in formulating and implementing Foreign Policy and have direct access to the decision maker and also to give information to make a decision and for that Bureaucratic Influencers have the most influence on Foreign Policy

Moreover, on this case the Parliament on Turkey gives motion to allow deployment for troops to Azerbaijan. The motion gives the government one year mandate to send troops whose number will be determine by the president (Huaxia, 2020).

- **Partisan Influencers:** We can say that Partisan Influencers are the Political Parties of the country and Political Party gives much portion on the decision making. Often times, Political Parties can be a bridge between the government and the citizen. They are expected to give arguments, demands, or suggestion to the country.

On this matter, four main famous Turkey's political parties namely are Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), Republican People's Party (CHP), Justice and Development Party (AKP), and the last Good (IYI) Party give their support for Azerbaijan in the Dispute as they argued it is Azerbaijan's right for self-defense to protect its people and also to ensure its national integrity also its territory (Bayar, 2020). It is also said that the parties have called international community claiming that it is Armenia fault for the reckless attack to Azerbaijan. Reportedly, Turkey's main opposition leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu from CHP blatantly condemned Armenia to leave Nagorno-Karabakh in one of an interview side by side with his Foreign Policy adviser saying, "The only resolution is for Armenia to leave the invaded area". It was said before Parties from CHP and IYI signed a joined statement with Erdogan's ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) and also their ultraconservative coalition party MHP condemning Armenia to leave the invaded area and will support Azerbaijan until the end (Gulfidan, 2020).

- Interest Influencers: Interest Influencers are individual group that shared same interest. The Interest can be Political, Non-Political, Economy, or Non-Economy. Interest Influencers may use may methods to influence the Decision Maker. For example, the Interest Influencer can use campaign as their tools to Influence the citizen, or even send letters to Bureaucratic of Partisan Influencers. Furthermore, they can also threaten the

decision maker by stopping their funding for the country. From an interview on TRT World, Spokesperson of SOCAR Turkiye Headquarters (A state-owned Azerbaijan Oil Company in Turkey) delivered their concerned on the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute and demand the Government of Turkey to end the dispute fastly since it could pose threat to the pipeline in Nagorno-Karabakh.

- **Mass Influencers:** Mass communication basically derives from the public opinion. This also have big portion of how the Decision maker make their Foreign Policy.

From the longest time of the dispute, Turkish citizen always on the Azerbaijan side. Most of Tukish citizen strongly support Azerbaijan in the dispute with Armenia because they see Azerbaijan as a brother with strong ties of Ethnic, Culture and even the Azeri can speak Turkish Language so they think of them as “Two States, One Nation” and if we also look back Turkey is the first country to recognize Azerbaijan’s Independence.

## **2. Economy and Military Capability**

Quoted from Coplin’s book Economy and Military Capability go hand in hand. He said if the Military Capability increases and so will the Economy and it applies vice versa. This argumentation from Coplin set out from his point of view when the Europe colonized Asia. On their mission of colonization, they are not

hoping to only rule the region and so does the trading companies that they brought together are not only bringing their economy mission, but also to show their Military Power that they also brought to Asia. In the modern Era, we can see the rivalry from Soviet Union and America in the Cold War Era. Both of the countries are advanced on their economy and their economy was boosted from their production of Military weapon that both of the countries' produced and far more advanced than any country that still rely on their agricultural sector to boost the economy sector.

Turkey had supplied Azerbaijan with its Military weapon for way too long even before this Nagorno-Karabakh issue spiked, but cited from Reuters after dispute sparked their arm sales to Azerbaijan increase Six-fold times mainly sales from drones and approximately Turkey has gained more than \$77 Million dollar from this lucky chance that they get. Azerbaijan had spent more than \$123 Million to buy Turkey's weapon mainly are drones, ammunition, and even rocket launchers that had arrived and reported on July after the clash happened between them and Armenia (Toksabay, 2020). From those sales, Turkey gained fortune that boosts its economy. On the economy sector, Turkey and Azerbaijan have been in a relationship on terms of Oil and Natural Gas for a long time. For Azerbaijan, itself energy sector is their main product to be export worldwide that boosts their economy. For instance, one of their famous oil export is Baku-Tiflis-Ceyhan (BTC). It is clear from the name that BTC started from Baku which

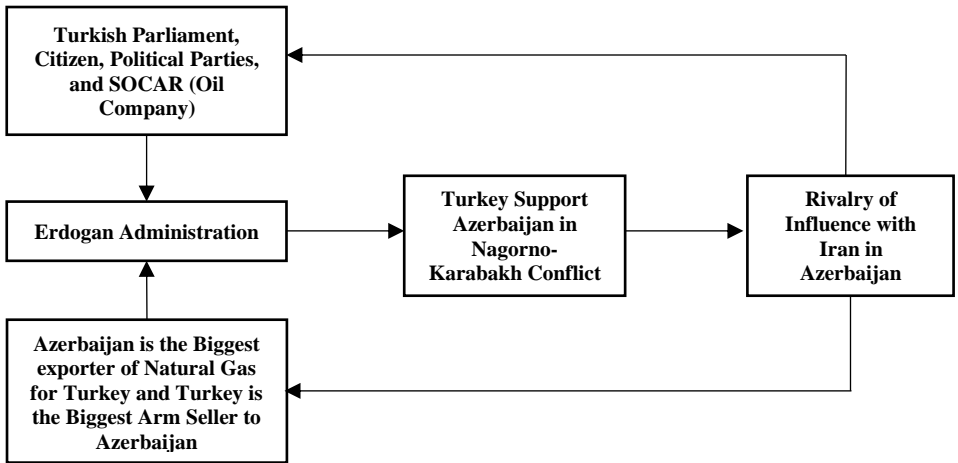
is the Capital City of Azerbaijan walking through and transit at Tiflis in Georgia and ended in Ceyhan in Turkey and 80% of the production of Oil and Gas that Azerbaijan produced are sent to Turkey. This direct pipeline from Azerbaijan from Turkey makes their export in terms of Oil and Natural Gas become cheaper than any other exporter from other countries (YESEVI & TIFTIKCIGIL, Turkey-Azerbaijan Energy Relations: A Political and Economic Analysis, 2015).

### **3. International Context**

This term explained on why certain state did something to other. According to Hans J. Morgenthau's argumentation he said that every country has a certain relationship with the international interests which he defined as a set of national interests' objective. At this rate, international interests are considered as to how a country determine other as a friend or enemy. Coplin said that there are three important things to remember in International Context toward Foreign Policy; Geography, Economy, and Politic. The international environment of each country is a territory occupied with respect to location and its relation to other countries in an international political system. This linkage is included in economics and politics. But geography plays an important role, although indeed it is not the most major thing to be considered about. Geographical factors are the main in the creation of cross-country organizations such as the European Union, NATO, ASEAN etc. So that creating political and economic relations between fellow

member countries. Foreign policy makers must see that in making decisions. From what we can see in the political world, it is no surprise that Turkey wants to help Azerbaijan. Not long-ago Turkey's President stated that they consider Azerbaijan as a brother country with the same ethnic and religion and also history.

We can see in Nagorno-Karabakh happened rivalry between countries. Lucky for Azerbaijan other country that have the desire to help them is not only Turkey. Iran is one of the country that tries to help Azerbaijan in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. But from Turkey perspective this will put Turkey in a difficult position. We know that most of the Azeris are Muslim and that is also one of the Reason why Turkey and Iran are trying to help Azerbaijan. In this matter, Turkey is concerned that Iran could attempt to influence the identification of Muslim people throughout the Caucasus. For those sure that both Iran and Turkey are in a competition between Turco-Muslim (a secular model of Turkey with its Political Pluralism) and Islamist model by Iran. Also, Iran on the other hand worried that Azerbaijan will become Pan-Turkic hegemony. Furthermore, they also have differences in resolving the conflict. Turkey prefers to trust this matter dealt within the OSCE Group while Iran prefers to take more direct approach by negotiating and mediating between to Caucasian Republics since Iran also have large Armenian minority (Aydin, Turkish Policy Toward the Caucasus, 2020).



**Figure 2.**

**Application of William D. Coplin's Model of Foreign Policy Decision  
Making toward the Case Study**

**E. Hypothesis**

The hypothesis is the researcher's presumption toward the answer of the research question. By using the data and the theoretical framework before, the researcher assumes Turkey support Azerbaijan because;

1. The Reason of Turkey decided to Support Azerbaijan was because the support from the Citizen of Turkey, The Parliament, and also Political Parties that already made joint statement
2. Turkey is the biggest arm seller to Azerbaijan as well as Azerbaijan is the biggest exporter of Natural Gas to Turkey
3. To wipe off the Influence of Iran in Azerbaijan that now also helping Azerbaijan as a mediator with Armenia



## **F. Research Methodology**

### **1. Types of Research and Types of Data**

This type of research compiled by the author is a qualitative method. Qualitative method (Descriptive Analytic) is a method of writing that describes the circumstances that occur in a matter that is discussed. This type of method aims to compile a description of a systematic and accurate explanation in accordance with the facts related to the subject matter.

### **2. Data Collection Techniques**

The data collection techniques used by the researcher is using literature study. The data sources used to compile this research include a variety of literature related to research issues such as: books, scientific journals, newspapers, media reports, official government reports, non-governmental organization reports, and official international institution reports.

## **G. Writing Systematics**

In compiling this research, the author grouped it into several chapters in order to make it easier to prepare discussions related to the main research problems.

Chapter I: This chapter contains an introduction to research consisting of Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Research Methods, and Writing Systematics.

Chapter II: This chapter contains an elaboration of the background of the problem which will explain the dispute in Nagorno-Karabakh, the relation between Turkey and Azerbaijan, describes the proof of the argumentation. The researcher explains the reasons on Turkey's support for Azerbaijan according to the fact.

Chapter III: This chapter contains a summary or conclusion from the research results.