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**IRAQ'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(1970-2010s)**

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ABSTRACT

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I. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance of the topic. The degree of study of this subject. The modern history of Iraq has transitioned through significant socio-political upheavals. Establishment of the national statehood, achieving of political independence was accompanied by difficult and complicated processes. It took the national forces of Iraq, which has been the stronghold of the West in the Middle East for 40 years, approximately another 40 years to achieve political and economic sovereignty of Iraq.

The 14 July 1958 revolution, which started the phase of republic in the modern history of Iraq, created fruitful conditions for country's socio-economic and political development and solution of immediate foreign policy problems. But only the Baath Party* was able to determine the main tendencies of the country's development. The path of increasing the role of the radical nationalist party for solution of complex internal and external political issues, establishment of a centralized party-dependent political system on the basis of fostering of its basis and turning it into the leading force in the society, was chosen.

Almost 35 years of Baath reign was at the basis of significant processes in all spheres of the Iraqi society, along with bringing together contradictions behind unequal, sometimes zigzag-like development of the country. Baath becoming the national ideology was accompanied with the Iraqi political system becoming baathized. This line was carried out personally under the leadership of Saddam Hussein. For the first time in the history of the country S. Hussein was able to establish a one-party system to control the society and gradually turned into a personal dictatorship.

One of the factors behind relevance of this research is that for more than 30 years Iraq and events surrounding it have been at the

* Baath – means “awakening” in Arabic. The full name of the party is – the Arab Socialist Awakening Party (ASAP).

epicenter of geopolitics. The last decade of the XX century and the early XXI century the Iraq problem reached its apex; international politics were revolving around it and practically brought all the main centers of power in the world and the region to Iraq. From this point of view, the dissertation dedicated to complex research of the main stages, directions and vectors of foreign policy of Iraq, one of the key states of the Middle East during the Baath government and in first years after its demise, allows to observe not only the foreign policy course of the official Baghdad, but the international relations and political processes in the Middle East, Arab World, particularly the Gulf* area. Studying the role and place of Iraq in the global politics, regional system and in the inter-state dynamics, particularly tensions of Iraq with the West, especially the USA and several regional forces in the 1990s and early XXI century are especially relevant. The author puts the dynamics of relations of Iraq with the Arab and non-Arab states of the Middle East, leading Western states and the Eastern Bloc, headed by the USSR, evolution of the foreign policy course and considers it important to draw attention to political aspects and other factors influencing formation of the foreign policy of this country. While the main focus of the research is Baath party gradually turning Iraq into the leader of the Arab World, into the center of power in the Middle East, application of some principles of the Baath ideology, struggle to fulfil its “special mission” in the Arab World are also touched upon.

The analysis of factors forming the main directions of the Iraqi foreign policy course in the first years of the Baath reign, during the Iran-Iraq war, the Kuwait crisis and its immediate aftermath, the period of increased tensions between Iraq and the international community on the eve of the 2003 war, along with the period of the new government established in the post-war period is interesting both from academic and practical perspectives. One of the features

* The academic and political literature calls this region Persian (Iranian), sometimes – Arabic and even Basra Gulf. In order to avoid various interpretations we call this region the Gulf.

distinguishing this dissertation is research of the aforementioned problems against the broader background of international relations, global and regional tendencies and challenges.

The researched subject has never been studied by the Azerbaijan historiography in a comprehensive manner, despite the fact that, lack of studies dedicated to impartial and ideologically unbiased research of the foreign policy of the Iraqi regime at its various phases complicates the analysis of deep-rooted problems of the modern Iraq and evaluation of complex processes of its internal and external development. The foreign policy of Baath was quite controversial, here healthy pragmatism was followed by adventurism, balanced approach with radicalism.

From this perspective, this dissertation is the first attempt to research the problems concerning the main principles, directions, stages and vectors of the Iraqi foreign policy during Baath and in the first years after its demise within the context of broader international and regional relations.

Numerous primary sources, generalized researches, monographies, memoir literature, along with academic and analytic articles in Azerbaijani, Russian, English, Turkish and Arabic on this topic were studied, analyzed and critiqued during the process of work on the dissertation. Taking the specificity of the topic into consideration, new primary sources were researched for this dissertation.

During the research carried out for the dissertation numerous documents of the Baath Party during their rule in Iraq, including the programs, statements, resolutions and appeals of the party adopted during the Pan-Arab and regional congresses of the party; articles and official speeches of the party leaders; inner-party bulletins, various analytical instructions, summaries etc. were comprehensively analyzed.

An 11-tome digest called “The Struggle of Baath”¹, which covers numerous documents related to Baath since its establishment, should be noted here. It is necessary to note that lack of some of the

¹ نضال البعث في سبيل الوحدة و الحرية و الاشتراكية، ١٩٧٦-١٩٤٢، ج ١١ - ١- بيروت، دار الحكمة، ٥٦٠

documents related to the Iraqi Baath decreases the importance of this digest somewhat. In order to hide some of the issues, which could potentially harm the Party's operation in Iraq, the authors of the digest omitted some of the resolutions of the regional congresses of the party, internal memorandums related to the period of short reign of the Party in 1963 and other internal party documents.

The broad use of documents of the regional and all-Arab congresses of Baath² related to socio-economic and political problems of Iraq, its foreign policy allows to observe the fundamental principles of the party, its strategic course and tactical steps, its views on international and regional problems, particularly the transformation of views on Iraq based on the analysis of official documents.

Comprehensive analysis of documents related to the foreign policy of the Iraqi Baath has enabled to see the evolution of the ideological and political platform of the ruling party, along with getting more information about its programs in the sphere of international and regional relations³.

² Арабская нация едина, ее миссия бессмертна. Партия Арабского Социалистического Возрождения. Иракский регион. Политический отчет восьмого регионального съезда / – Хельсинки: [б.и.], – 1975. – 190 p.; Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. The Political Manifesto of the 10-th National Congress / - Beirut: Dar al-Talia, – 1970. – 128 p.; Some theoretical principles approved by the 6-th National Congress / – Beirut: Dar al-Talia, – 1964. – 100 p. The Political Report adapted by the 8-th Regional Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in Iraq / – Baghdad: Dar at-Talia, – 1974. – 170 p.; The Political Report of the 9-th Congress of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party in Iraq / – Baghdad: Dar at-Talia, – 1982. – 159 p. The Political Statement of the 7-th Regional Conference of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party / – Baghdad: Al-Hurriya, – 1969. – 83 p.

³ جمهورية العراق. الجمهورية العراقية. وزارة الخارجية. النزاع العراقي الايراني مزاعم ايران. بغداد، ١٩٩٠. العراقية. وزارة التخطيط. احصاءات التجارة الخارجية، بغداد، ١٩٧٥. الجهود السلام الدولية لا يقف الحرب العراقية الايرانية، بغداد، المستقبل، ١٩٨٥، ١٥٧ ص ٨١ بيان القيادة القومية و مجلس قيادة الثورة و القيادة القطرية لحزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي حول مشروع الملك حسين حول اقامة المملكة العربية المتحدة الوثائق العربية، ١٩٧٦-١٩٧٦، ١٩٧٠، بيروت، دار الحكمة، ٥٩٦ ص بيان مجلس وزراء خارجية الدول العربية، القاهرة، المنار، ١٩٩٠، ١٤٠ ص بيان المباحثات العراقية الكويتية اثناء زيارة السيد مرتضا سعيد عبد البقي عضو مجلس قيادة الثورة و وزير الخارجية العراقية للكويت، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٧٢، ١٩ ص

The value of these sources is in the analysis of the main aspects of the Arab policy of Iraq, and specificities of relations with the Arabic and non-Arabic countries of the region, which it provides.

Speeches, statements, articles and books of the Baath ideologists Michel Aflaq and Elias Farah⁴, and of the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein⁵ have been used in the research of the subject. These sources are mostly propagandist in their nature and reflect their views, the main tenets of the Baath ideology, transformation of the party ideology based on the political processes going on in the region, the proposed solutions for the problems of the Arab world, the methods to be used etc. Along with the aforementioned issues, S. Hussein's speeches have obvious indicators of attempts of theoretical justification of steps taken by Iraq as a leader of the region in order to implement its "special mission" in the Arab world.

Certain factual information has been taken from the Iraqi laws, decrees, statements, decisions of the Revolutionary Command

عفلق م. معركة المصير الوحيد، عفلق م. فى سبيل البعث، بيروت، دار الحكمة، ١٩٧٥، ٣٢٥ ص ٤
فرح إ. تطور الايديولوجية العربية المعاصرة، بيروت، دار بيروت، دار الحكمة، ١٩٧٥، ٢٩٨ ص
فرح إ. تطور الايديولوجية العربية الثورية، بيروت، المنار، ١٩٧٢، الحكمة، ١٩٧١، ٢٩٨ ص

⁵ Выступление Саддама Хусейна по телевидению. 19.03.2003: [Electronic resource] /URL: <http://www.aljazeera.net/channel>; Министерство культуры и информации. Интервью С.Хусейна для иностранных журналистов /— Багдад: Дар-аль-мамун, — 1989. — 59 p.; Министерство культуры и информации. Саддам Хусейн по случаю 12-ой годовщины революции 17 июля / — Багдад: Дар-аль-мамун, — 1980. — 45 p.; Министерство культуры и информации. Пресс-конференция С.Хусейна по поводу войны с Ираном / — Багдад: Дар аль-Мамун, — 1982. — 72 p.; Hussein, S. On Social and Foreign Affairs in Iraq / — Baghdad: Al-Thawra, — 1981. — 123 p.; President Saddam Hussein's Speech on Army Day/— Baghdad: Al-Thawra, — 1986. — 74 p. ص ٢٩١ حسين
، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٧٩، ٢٩١ ص حسين
ص. ارادها الله شرفاً وعزاً ومجداً، بغداد، دار الحرية، ١٩٩٢، ١٩٣ ص
حسين ص. جيش الشعب، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٩٨، ١٧٣ ص حسين ص. العراق و السياسة الدولية ، بغداد، دار التليعة، ١٩٨١، ١٩٦ ص
حسين ص. العلان القومى: استجابة لدعوة المؤليات القومية ، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٨٠، ١٠٥ ص

Council, of the government⁶, various ministries, along with the official statistical information⁷.

The publication of the American University in Beirut, "The Arabic Documents"⁸ has been used as the source base of the research. It covers the documents related to Iraq's relations with other Arab countries, including various declarations, joint statements, official information regarding bilateral talks and visits of state leaders and various delegations.

The official documents of international and regional organizations such as UN, the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Conference, the Gulf Cooperation Council⁹, the Summit meetings of

⁶ Выступление Постоянного представителя Ирака при ООН г-на ад-Дури на пленарном заседании Совета Безопасности: [Electronic resource] /URL: <http://www.un.org/arabic/peace/unmovic/iraq.htm>.; Письмо министра иностранных дел Ирака Наджи Сабри на имя Генерального секретаря ООН, 13.02.2002: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.un.org/arabic/whatnew/docs/02-1242.htm>.; Меморандум о взаимопонимании между ООН и Республикой Ирак: [Electronic resource] / URL: S/1998/166; Министерство культуры и информации. Бомбоубежище в Америя /— Багдад; Дар аль-мамун, - 1994. — 37 с.; Министерство культуры и информации Иракской Республики. Факты о революции 17 июля / — Багдад; Дар аль-мамун, — 1969. — 41p.; البيان رقم واحد لمجلس قيادة الثورة في العراق- مصير الثورة. بغداد، ١٩٧٠، دار الحكمة، ٥٤٠ ص الجهود بيان القيادة القومية و السلام الدولية لا يقاف الحرب العراقية الايرانية، بغداد، المستقبل، ١٩٨٥، ١٥٧ ص مجلس قيادة الثورة و القيادة القطرية لحزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي حول مشروع الملك حسين حول اقامة المملكة العربية المتحدة الوثائق العربية، ١٩٧٦-١٩٧٦، ١٩٧٠، بيروت، دار الحكمة، ٥٩٦ ص بيان مجلس وزراء خارجية الدول المؤتمر الصحفى لسيد الرئيس، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٢٩، ٣٢ ص ٧ العربية، القاهرة، المنار، ١٩٩٠، ١٤٠ ص الوثائق العربية، ١٩٧٦-١٩٧٠، بيروت، دار الحكمة، ٥٥٠ ص ٨

⁹ Бутрос-Гали, Б. Годовой доклад о работе организации, посвященный 50-й годовщине / Б.Бутрос-Гали, — Нью-Йорк: [б.и.], — 1996. — 494 p.; Заявление Генерального секретаря Лиги арабских государств Амр Мусы 27.02.2003: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.arableagueonline.org/las/arabic/site>; Заявление Председателя СБ ООН. Ситуация в отношениях между Ираком и Кувейтом / [Electronic resource]: / URL: <http://www.un.org/russian/iraq/scdocs.htm> Меморандум о взаимопонимании между ООН и Республикой Ирак: [Electronic resource]: /URL: S/1998/166;

the Arab state and government leaders¹⁰, the official documents of the US Administration and the Congress¹¹, the reports of non-

Призыв ЛАГ к скорейшей стабилизации иракской ситуации, 2006 г.: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.russian.xinhuanet.com/russian/middleeast.htm>; The Message of the Foreign Affairs of the State of Kuwait to the Secretary General of the Arab League Ch.Quseibi, – 1990. – 4 p.

¹⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Arabic Republic of Egypt. 9 September 2003: [Electronic resource] / URL: www.mfa.gov.eg; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Arabic Republic of Egypt. 16 November 2003: [Electronic resource] / URL: www.mfa.gov.eg; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Arabic Republic of Egypt. 30 December 2010: [Electronic resource] / URL: www.mfa.gov.eg; The Political Analysis of Present Arab Condition: issued by the National Leadership of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party /– Baghdad: Al-Hurriya Press, – 1975. – 85 p.

¹¹ О положении в стране. Документ, представленный президентом Дж. Бушем Конгрессу США / – Вашингтон, – 2002. – 39 p.; Обращение президента Дж. Буша-мл. к нации 17 марта 2003 г.: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.rususa.com/news/news.asp-nid3526-catid-3>; Полный текст выступления Барака Обамы в Каире: [Electronic resource] / URL: http://www.newsru.co.il/mideast/05jun2009/obama_text_103.html; Стратегия национальной безопасности США в следующем столетии. Документ, представленный президентом Б. Клинтонem Конгрессу США / – Вашингтон, – 1997. – p.2-7; Bush G.W. State of the Union Adress. Yanuary 29, 2002: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/2002129-11.html>; Bush Sending Additional US Forces to Support Iraqi Troops President tells American public he is backing Iraqi security plan: [Electronic resource] / URL: usinfo.state.gov/archives/display.html; National Security Strategy of the United States. September 2002: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.htm>; National Strategy for Victory in Iraq: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/new/infocus/iraqstrategy2005.htm>; National Security Strategy of the United States. May 2010: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss.viewer/national.securitystrategy>; Secretary of State Addresses the U.N. Security Council. Secretary Powell Addresses The United Nations: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030205-1.html>; Совместное заявление России, Германии, Франции // <http://www.un.org/russian/whatnew/docs/03-214.htm>.

governmental organizations¹², the texts of economic agreements¹³ are also an important information base to clarify and analyze the positions of these structures in the Middle East in general, and in Iraq in particular.

Taking into consideration the specificities of the study, it has also been referred to internet sources – analytical summaries on various websites, documents of international organizations and news agencies etc. Impartial and critical approach to these documents and materials creates a certain perception of pressing problems of international relations, policies of global and regional power centers on Iraq, along with the specific features of the foreign policy course held by the Iraqi regime at the turn of the millennium.

The UN SC resolutions¹⁴, the documents and reports¹⁵ of the Arab League, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Gulf Cooperation

¹² Human Rights Watch. Endless Torment: The 1991 Uprising in Iraq / – N.Y.: 1992. – pp. 14-32; Iraq Sanctions: Humanitarian Implications and Options for the Future // Global Policy Forum, – 2002. № 6 – pp.54-59; The United Nations and the Iraq-Kuwait Conflict. 1990–1996 / – N.Y.: UN Press, – 1996. – 210 p.; UNISEF / Iraq, Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Iraq / – Baghdad: 1998. – pp. 33-98.

¹³ Türkiye-İrak Arasında İmzalanan yüksek Düzeyli Stratejik İşbirliği Konseyi Belgesi: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data>; Нури аль-Малики подтверждает нефтяное соглашение между Ираком и ЕС: [Electronic resource] / URL: [Iraqi Media Net, 2009](http://IraqiMediaNet.com); Egyptian Iraqi Free Trade Zone Agreement Effective: [Electronic resource] / URL: www.arabicnews.com

¹⁴Резолюция СБ ООН № 986 от 14 апреля 1995 г. / Нефть в обмен на продовольствие: [Electronic resource] / URL: www.undocs.org/un; Резолюция 1551 (2004), принятая СБ ООН 16 октября 2004: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.un.org/russian/document/scresol/res2004/res1551.htm>; Resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and statements by its president concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait (2 August 1990 - 16 November 1994) / – N.Y.: UN, – 1994. – 173 p.; Secretary Council Resolution 1483: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.un.org/documents>; UN Resolution 660 (1990): [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://home.achilles.net/~sal/un-ros/un-ros-0660-.html>; UN Resolution 661 (1990): [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.un.org/Depts/op/skrs/skr661onu.html>; UN Resolution 664 (1990):

Council, the Arab Summits and the UN Special Commission on the Kuwait crisis and the processes related to the Iraq problem in the aftermath were particularly helpful for this study. They shine a light on positions of member states of the aforementioned organizations, their differences and contradictions regarding the Iraqi problem.

We can conditionally categorize the sources used for this study in the following manner: studies on international relations in the Middle East; books, monographies and articles of the policies of global powers on this regions and Iraq in particular; studies researching Iraq's political and socio-economic developments; monographies and articles dedicated to the study of various aspects of the Iraqi foreign policy, its bilateral and multilateral relations with regional and global powers.

We must regretfully note that there is lack of studies by Azerbaijani authors on this subject: can note the joint monography of N.Akhundova and A.Baghirova¹⁶ on certain aspects of the Iraqi foreign policy in the initial phase of the Baath regime. The authors have focused on political processes going on in Iraq, including the baathization of the country and the emergence of the single-party regime, the evolution of the opinions of the Baath leaders on fundamental foreign policy problems, the Iran-Iraq war and the

[Electronic resource] / URL: http://home.schilles.net/~sal/un-ros/un_0664_ros.html; US, UK & Spain Draft UN Security Council Resolution on Iraq. 2003 // Foreign & Commonwealth Office News; UN Observation Mission Briefing by Executive Director of the Iraqi Program: [Electronic resource] / URL: www.globalpolicy.org/security/sanction/iraq/00-04-25.html.

¹⁵Призыв ЛАГ к скорейшей стабилизации иракской ситуации, 2006 г.: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.russian.xinhuanet.com/russian/middleeast.html>. مجلس موجز انجازات مجلس التعاون لدول الخليج العربية، الكويت، ١٩٩٧، ص ٢٢ مجلس وزراء الخارجية العرب يرخب بقرار مجلس الامن تيجع العراق الاشرق الاوسط، ٢٠٠٢، ص ٢٣ ثمو وزير الخارجية الجميعة العربية مرفض اى تحديد بعضوان على العراق الشرق الاوسط، ٢٠٠٠، ص ٣٥ الاجاز الصحفى الدورى الرياض، ٢٠٠٣، ص ٥٢

¹⁶ Ахундова, Н., Багирова, А. Сирия и Ирак под властью Партии Арабского Социалистического Возрождения / Н.Ахундова, А.Багирова. – Баку: ЦЭР, – 2000. – 278 с.

Kuwait Crisis, which had a tremendous effect on the country's socio-economic and political life.

Monographies and numerous articles of the researcher A.Baghirova¹⁷ on various aspects of Iraq's socio-political development and foreign policy in the aforementioned period should be noted among the works of the Azerbaijani authors. The author analyzes the main principles, goals, duties and priorities of the Iraqi foreign policy and focuses on the socio-economic processes going on in the base and superstructure of the Iraqi society and the dynamics of Iraq's bilateral relations with global powers and the region's Arab and non-Arab states.

Recently, the interest in our country towards the study of modern history of the neighbouring Middle Eastern countries, along with the Arab countries has increased. H.Alibayli created this direction in the Azerbaijani historiography with his monography¹⁸ on relations of Iran with its neighbouring Eastern countries. Some aspects of the section of this monography on the relations of Iran with Iraq in the 1950-70s was helpful for the author of this dissertation.

During the research of the topic works of the Soviet (Russian) authors were referred to as well. Both summarized and collective studies, and monographies on various aspects of Iraq's socio-economic and political developments¹⁹, along with its foreign policy can be noted among the them. In this regard, the monography of

¹⁷ Багирова, А. Внешняя политика Ирака (1968-2003) / А.Багирова – Баку: Адильоглу, – 2003. – 540 p.; Иракский кризис: внутренний и международный аспекты – Баку: Elm və təhsil, – 2017. – 376 p.; 2003-cü il İraq müharibəsi əfəsinə böyük güclərin siyasətinə dair //– Bakı: BDU-nun Xəbərləri. Humanitar elmlər seriyası, – 2010. №1, – p.93-98; Türkiyənin “İraq siyasətinin” açar nöqtələri (2003-2010) // 13. Uluslararası Türk Dünyası. Sosial Bilimler Kongresi, – İstanbul: 2016, – p.1205-1212.

¹⁸Алибейли, Г.Д. Иран и сопредельные страны Востока (1946-1978) / Г.Д.Алибейли. – Москва: Наука, – 1989. – 255 p.

¹⁹ Арабский мир. Три десятилетия независимого развития / Отв. Ред. В.А.Исаев. – Москва: Наука, –1990. – 373 p.; Восток / Запад: региональные подсистемы и региональные проблемы международных отношений / Под ред. А.Д.Воскресенского. – Москва: РОССПЭН, – 2002. – 528 p.

V.Lukin²⁰, which talks about the important directions of the modern political science regarding the unipolar and multipolar world concepts, theories of power centers in various regions, is particularly notable. According to Lukin, majority of the countries falling into this category can be considered typologically homogenous in connection with the similarities of attempts of their ruling elites to realize their ambitious goals. The author correctly notes that *“the independence of the regional “centers of power” is gradually increasing and local ruling elites, which strengthened both politically and economically, defended their national interests more vehemently”*²¹. V.Lukin analyzes main indicators, which could ensure the region’s “center of power” ambitions of Iraq, and concludes that *“the country’s power and political-ideological capabilities are insufficient to realize these goals in the long-term perspective”*²².

The Russian authors of the late XX century and the early XXI century started to analyze the policies of global powers both on the international level and in this region more impartially in their works. The monographies of A.Olimpiev, A.Khazanov, G.Mirski, U.Sharapov, V.Vavilov, S.Kuznetsov²³, the articles of A.Arbatov,

²⁰ Лукин, В.П. «Центры силы». Концепции и реальность / В.П.Лукин. - Москва: Международные отношения, – 1983. – 256 p.

²¹ ibidem, – p.20.

²² ibidem, – p.171.

²³ Олимпиев, А.Ю. Ближний и Средний Восток: актуальные проблемы международных отношений / А.Ю.Олимпиев. – Москва: ЮНИТИ - ДАНА, – 2002. – 239 p.; Олимпиев, А.Ю., Хазанов, А.М. Международные проблемы Ближнего Востока (1960-2013) /А.Ю.Олимпиев, А.М.Хазанов – Москва: ЮНИТИ – ДАНА: Закон и право, – 2013. – 351 p.; Мирский, Г.И. Исламизм, транснациональный терроризм и ближневосточные конфликты / Г.И. Мирский. – Москва: Изд. дом ГУ ВШЭ, – 2008. – 163 p.; Шарипов, У.З. Персидский залив: Обострение политической и военной ситуации и международных отношений в конце XX - начале XXI вв. /У.З.Шарипов. – Москва: ИВ РАН, – 2010. – 351 p.; Вавилов, А.И. Политика США в мусульманском мире на примере арабских стран /А.И.Вавилов. – Москва: Библос Консалтинг, – 2009. – 352 p.; Кузнецов, В. Американское общественное мнение и использование военной силы: Период

M.Zeynalov, R.Payos, U.Saripov, S.Shokhin²⁴ studied the policies of the United States and other Western countries in the Middle East, their role in the emergence of conflicts in this region, the transformations in the Iraq-related foreign policies of the US Presidents B.Clinton and G.Bush Jr. from holding a distance to active interference.

The studies and articles of S.Loyko, A.Utkin, V.Kudelyov, A.Shumilin²⁵ on the deepening crisis of Iraq in the late XX century and in the early XXI century are interesting too. The authors, in a way, try to excuse the policy of the Iraqi regime in their analysis of reasons for more hostile attitude of the USA against Iraq, the work of

президентства Дж. Буша-младшего (2001-2009 гг.) /В.Кузнецов. – Москва: ЛИБРОКОМ, – 2010. – 448 р.

²⁴Арбатов, А. Иракский кризис в мировой политике: предыстория и перспективы // – Москва: Мировая экономика и международные отношения, - 2004. № 10, – pp.77-83; Зейналов, М. Блокада Ирака: от наказания к антигуманности // – Москва: Ближний Восток и современность. – ИИИиБВ, – 2001. №11, – pp. 93-105; Пайос, Р. Военные полномочия президента и события в Персидском заливе // – Москва: США: экономика, политика, идеология. - 1992. № 5, – pp. 76-81; Шарипов, У. Проблемы международной безопасности в Персидском заливе в 1990 гг. и политика США // – Москва: Ближний Восток: проблемы региональной безопасности. – ИИИиБВ, – 2000. – pp. 34-50; Шохин, С. Политика США после кризиса в Персидском заливе // – Москва: Мировая экономика и международные отношения, – 1991. № 8, – pp. 5-20.

²⁵ Внешнеполитическая стратегия республиканской администрации США (2001-2002 гг.) / Под ред. В.А. Кременюка и П.Т. Подлесного. – Москва: ИСКР АН, – 2002. – 106 р.; Лойко, С.Л. Шок и трепет. Война в Ираке / С.Л.Лойко. – Москва: Вагриус, – 2003. – 256 р. Уткин, А.И. Битва за Багдад / А.И.Уткин. – Москва.: ЗАО Олма Медиа Групп, – 2009. – 608 р.; Уткин, А.И. Правда об Ираке или битва в Месопотамии / А.И.Уткин. – Москва: ЗАО Олма-Пресс, – 2007. – 496 р.; Куделев В.В. «Аль-Каида» и война в Ираке // – Москва: Институт Ближнего Востока. – 2009, – p.112-117; Шумилин, А. США против стран-изгоев на Ближнем Востоке: кто под прицелом? // – Москва: Международная жизнь, – 2003. №7, – pp. 96-101; Шумилин, А. Проблема Ирака в американо-российских отношениях (2002-2006 гг.) // – Москва: США-Канада. Экономика, политика, культура. – 2006. №10, – pp.35-46.

the UN Special Committee, potential links of Iraq with international terrorism and the military operations of the United States in 2003 in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attack. But they failed to consider the economic, psychological and other factors impacting the position of the international community in their analysis of deepening of problems in the US-Iraq relations in the beginning of the XXI century.

The monographies of I.Aleksandrov, A.Aliyev, S.Niyazmatov, M.Slinkin, V.Shestopalov²⁶ and the articles of M.Bordunov, I.Ivanova, A.Smirnov, A.Smolenski, T.Shmelyov²⁷ are of particular interest among the literature studying various aspects of the foreign policy of the Iraqi leadership and its bilateral and multilateral relations with global powers. Along with researching the specific features and priorities of the foreign policy of the Iraqi leadership at its various phases, the authors have also analyzed the reasons for significant transformation in this sphere following the Iraq-Iran War, the Kuwait crisis and its aftermath.

²⁶ Александров, И.А. Монархии Персидского залива: этап модернизации /И.А.Александров. – Москва: Владос, – 2000. – 544 р.; Алиев, А. Иран vs Ирак. История и современность / А.Алиев. – Москва: Изд-во МГУ, – 2002. – 768 р.; Ниязатов, Ш.А. Ирано-иракский конфликт. Исторический очерк / Ш.А.Ниязатов. – Москва: Наука, – 1989. – 176 р.; Слинкин, М.М. Ирано-иракская война 1980-1988 гг. Борьба на море / – М.М.Слинкин. – Симферополь: 2001. – 222 р.; Шестопапов, В.Я. Персидский залив: проблема континентального шельфа /В.Я.Шестопапов. – Москва: Наука, – 1982. – 327 р.

²⁷Бордунов, М.В. Зона Персидского залива: особое направление в региональной политике Ирака //– Москва: Востоковедный сборник, – 2002. №3, – pp. 143-147; Иванова, И. Некоторые особенности турецко-иракских отношений // – Москва: Ближний Восток и современность, – 2002. №14, – pp.139-146; Смирнов, А.В. Международно-правовые вопросы осуществления экономических санкций Совета Безопасности ООН в отношении Ирака // – Москва: Ближний Восток и современность, – 2001. №3, – pp.167-201; Смоленский, А.А. Ирано-иракские отношения (факты, тенденции) // - Москва: Ближний Восток и современность, 2003. №19, – pp. 153-161; Шмелева, Т.А. Иракский кризис и египетско-иракские отношения // – Москва: Ближний Восток, – 2003. №2, – pp. 58-64.

I.Aleksandrov's monography is interesting in terms of the research of the Gulf security problem, which has become a more pressing problem against the background of the Iran-Iraq war and the Iraq-Kuwait crisis. The author has focused on comprehensive coverage of the problem and notes that it is very difficult to establish a broad security system in this sub-region and protect the effectiveness of its mechanisms, because the official approaches to solutions of this problem have not been balanced and the contradictions between the countries of the regions does not allow this to happen.

The monography called "The Place of the Republic of Iraq in the International Relations System (between the 1980s early and the XXI century)"²⁸ is interesting for our research due to its study of the role and place of Iraq in international relations on global and regional levels and Iraq's relations with its neighbouring countries and countries from other regions. Academic coverage of the UN SC resolutions on Iraq in 1990-1991 is one of the positive features of this work. But since the authors mainly focus on description of the chronology of events, the monography is deficient in terms of its superficial analysis of Baghdad's relations with the international community, particularly the USU.

During the research we also studied the works of the Western authors. This broad and multilateral literature consists of works focusing on variety of subjects such as the analysis of policies of the global powers in the Middle East and Iraq, socio-economic and political developments of Iraq, various aspects and directions of its foreign policy.

Some of these works are academic researches, others are political, analytical and practical articles, but monographies and articles focusing on the Iraq-Iran War, the Kuwait Crisis and the period after the crisis have been the most interesting for the author. We can note

²⁸ Республика Ирак в системе международных отношений (80-е годы XX – начало XXI века) / Под ред. В.А.Заир-бека. – Москва: Институт Востоковедения РАН, – 2002. – 261 p.

the works of A.Acharya, P.C.Bradley, K.Dawisha, J.C.Campbell, B.L.Grayson, Y.B.Kelly, B.Kuniholm, H.Maull, O.Risk, J.Nye, K.Smith, K.Kaplan, W.Kristol, B.Posen, A.Ross, A.Z.Rubinstein, F.Mazidi and J.Simpson²⁹ focusing on the essence of the work of the West and particularly the United States for protection of its political and economic interests in the Gulf region.

While analyzing the endeavours of the West on protection of their political and economic interests in the Gulf region the aforementioned scholars underline that this sub-region was not going to lose its geopolitical and geoeconomic significance in the XXI century, along with noting that existing disagreements among the countries of the region prevents them to act as a unified front even for protection of their most vital interests, which have turned the economies of these states into hostages of the situation. The authors have also touched upon the issue of support of S. Hussein in the Iran-Iraq War, who they described as an “*irrational and unreliable leader*”, in the context of talking about failures of the American strategic course, and considered this to be a mistake. They argued

²⁹Acharya, A. US Military Strategy in the Gulf / A. Acharya. – London: Oxford Press, – 1989. – 203 p.; Bradley, P.C. Recent United States Policy in Persian Gulf /P.C. Bredley. – New Hampshire: Tomson&Rutter, – 1982. – 239 p.; Kuniholm, B. Persian Gulf and the United State Policy /B. Kuniholm. – California: Regina Books, – 1984. – 264 p.; Kelly, Y.B. Arabia, the Gulf and the West /Y.B. Kelly. – N.Y.: Basic Books, – 1984. – 237 p.; Maull, H., Risk, O. The Gulf War. Regional and International Dimensions / H. Maull, O. Risk. – London: St. Martin’s Press, – 1989. – 203 p.; Grayson, B.L. Soviet Intentions and American Options in the Middle East / B.L. Grayson, – Washington: National Defense Univer. Press, – 1982. – 214 p.; Campbell, J.C. Soviet Policy in the Middle East // Current History, – 1981, – Vol. 80. № 462, – pp.2-10; Nye, J., Smith, K., After the Storm. Lessons from the Gulf /J. Nye., K. Smith. – N.Y.: Nadison Books, – 1992. – 412 p.; Posen, B., Ross, A. Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy// International Security, – 1996/1997. №3, – p. 35-41; Kaplan, L.F., Kristol, W. War over Iraq: Saddam's tyranny and America's mission / L.F. Kaplan, W. Kristol. – California: Encounter Books, – 2003. – 170 p.; Simpson, J. The War against Saddam /J. Simpson. – London: St. Martin’s, – 2003. – 352 p.

that “willingly or unwillingly Iraq became entangled in the global confrontation of world powers, which could influence its internal and regional policy directly”³⁰.

American political scientists J. Nye and K. Smith noted in their researches with regards to analysis of features of the global policy of the United States following the Kuwait crisis that hawks in the G.W. Bush administration insisted on dealing with “*the enemies of America*”, including Iraq, Libya and Iran. The authors also stated that in order for the United States to maintain its status of a superpower it would have to increase its support to the third world countries³¹. The American researchers L. Kaplan and W. Kristol linked the failure of the UN Special Committee and the weakened support from the international community to the American policy on Iraq in the late XX century with economic interests of states, which had already restored trade and economic relations with Baghdad in their monography called “War over Iraq: Saddam's tyranny and America's mission”³². The authors described the political course of Washington in the early XXI century leading to the solution of the Iraqi Crisis through force as the “*implementation of the American global mission*”.

During the research of English-language literature dedicated to various aspects of the Iraqi foreign policy, including monographies and articles of authors like E. Kienle, A. Baram, M. Muftiler, M. Eppel, Kh. Issi, T. Ismail, A. Turner, C. Tripp, N. Fizzly, R. Cottom, E. Karsh, E. O'Balance, M. Navias, D. Hiro, O. Bengio³³ have been used as well.

³⁰ Campbell, J.C. Soviet Policy in the Middle East // – Current History, – 1981, Vol. 80, – № 462. – p.243.

³¹ Nye, J., Smith, K., After the Storm. Lessons from the Gulf / J. Nye., K. Smith. – N.Y.: Nadison Books, – 1992. – p.210.

³² Kaplan, L.F., Kristol, W. War over Iraq: Saddam's tyranny and America's mission / L.F. Kaplan, W. Kristol – War over Iraq: Saddam's tyranny and America's mission – p.124.

³³ Baram, A. Ideology and Power Politics in Syrian-Iraqi Relations. 1968-1984. Syria under Assad / – N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, – 1986. – p.122-139; Baram, A. Saddam Hussein between his Power Base and the Internal Community // Middle East Re-view of International Affairs, – 2000, – Vol.4. № 4, – p.96-102; Bengio, O.

Among them the work of the English researcher C.Tripp, whose "Iran and Iraq at War" book draws attention with its factual materials, is particularly interesting due to its description of the Iraq leadership reaping political benefits from a more balanced foreign policy before and during the Iran-Iraq War. The author also focused on researching the main features of relations between Iraq and the emirates of the Gulf. The abovementioned books and articles study the strategy and tactical steps of the Iraqi regime with regards to its attempted solutions of the regional problems, along with providing broad factual information on features and specificities of the Baath regime's bilateral relations with some of the regional countries. Here analytical articles researching the Iraq policy during the Kuwait Crisis and in its aftermath, which contain a wealth of factual information, should be particularly noted.

Among the English-language literature, books of researchers K.S.Abu Jaber, H.Batatu, M.Khadduri, E.Penrose, Ph.Marr, K.Makiya, A.Al-Nasrawi³⁴ studying various aspects of Iraq's socio-

The Challenge to the Territorial Integrity of Iraq // *Survival*, – 1995, – Vol.37. №2, – p.85-94; Eppel, M. Syrian-Iraqi Relations: Iraq as a factor in the Syrian Foreign Policy // – London: Modern Syria. – Sussex Academic Press, –1996. – p. 209-218; Fizzly N. The Iran-Iraq Conflict /N. Fizzly. – Paris: ETA, –1981. – 335 p.; Hiro, D. The Long-est War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict /D. Hiro. – N.Y.: Routledge, – 1991. – 239 p.; Ismail, T. Iraq-Iran: Roots of Conflict /T. Ismail. – N.Y.: Syracuse Univer. Press, – 1984. – 276 p.; Jaber, N. Iraq-West Confrontation: Background and Reactions // *Middle East International*, – 1990. №373, – p.3-10; Cottom, R. The Iraq-Iran War // *Current History*, – 1980, – Vol.83. №489, – p.17-21; Karsh, E. The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications / E. Karsh. – London: St. Martin's Press, –1992. – 238 p.; O'Balance E. The Gulf War /E. O'Balance. – London: Brassey's Publishers, – 1988. – 213 p.; Tripp, Ch. Iran and Iraq at War /Ch. Tripp. – Washington: Routledge, – 1989. – 213 p.

³⁴ Abu Jaber, K.S. The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party. History, Ideology and Organization / K.S. Abu Jaber. – N.Y.: Syracuse Univer. Press, –1966. – 364 p.; Batatu, H. The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq /H. Batatu. – New Jersey: Princeton Univer. Press, –1978. – 1149 p.; Khadurri, M. Republican Iraq. A Study in Iraqi Politics since the Revolution of 1958/ M. Khadduri. – London: Oxford University Press, –1969. – 327 p.; Khadurri, M. Socialist Iraq. A Study in Iraqi Politics since 1968 /M. Khadduri. – Washington:

economic and political developments have been used as well. K.S. Abu Jaber's work on the Baath Party is the first monography analyzing the history and ideology of the Baath Movement from its inception, along with its practical political work. H. Batatu's monography on "The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq" focusing on the ideology and the organizational structure of main political parties of Iraq is also of particular interest for this research. American researcher of the Arab descent M. Khadduri's trilogy – "Republican Iraq. A Study in Iraqi Politics since the Revolution of 1958"; "Socialist Iraq. A Study in Iraqi Politics since 1968"; "The Gulf War: Origins and Implication of the Iraq-Iran Conflict", which covers 40 years of Iraq's political history is particularly noteworthy. Despite subjective approach of the author to certain events, these books refer to valuable primary sources and official documents and the conclusions are quite well justified.

The research of the English scholar E.F. Penrose called "Iraq: International Relations and National Development" focuses on the foreign and socio-economic policies of the ruling Baath Party, along with the national development perspectives, is interesting for our research from this perspective. The authors, who have added valuable information on the history of baathism in Iraq and relations between political parties to the academic circulation, also had skepticism towards the socialist course of the Iraqi leadership in the first half of the 1970s and considered it "baseless". Based on the analysis of internal and external processes, the authors justified the importance of multilateral relations between Iraq and the West. The study engaged in in-depth research of political processes after S. Hussein's

Middle East Institute, –1978. – 364 p.; 1978; Khadduri, M. The Gulf War: Origins and Implication of the Iraq-Iran Conflict / M. Khadduri. – London: Krosney Press, –1988. – 297 p.; Penrose, E.F. Iraq: International Relations and National Development / E.F. Penrose. – London: Benn, – 1978. – 569 p.; Marr, Ph. The Modern History of Iraq /Ph. Marr. – Wash-ington: Westview Press, – 1985. – 354 p.; Makiya K. Republican of Fear: The Poli-tics of Modern Iraq /K. Makiya. – London: Pantheon Book, – 1987. – 317 p.; Al-Nasrawi, A. The Economy of Iraq /A. Al-Nasrawi. – N.Y.: Greenwood Press, –1996. – 264 p.

accession to power in 1979, along with the evolution of the ideological conception of Baath in the practical operation of the official Baghdad within the political culture in Iraq.

Works of the Arabic authors such as S.Abdul-Karim, H.Muhammad, H.Said, H.al-Alavi, H.as-Salihi³⁵ have been used for this research. Despite possessing valuable factual information about Iraq's socio-political and economic developments, books of the first three authors have weak academic analysis and summarization; they have mostly focused on propaganda and idealization of the ruling party and criticism of the role and work of other political forces. Authors, who are close to Baath or have been members of this party, widely used information inaccessible to other researchers, but the intent to justify the actions of the ruling party often led them to subjective conclusions. On the contrary, the works of as-Salihi and al-Alavi are focused on strong criticism of the ruling regime; the authors noted that the regime's policy led to creation of an atmosphere of fear and lack of trust, terror and repression against unhappy people and opposition forces. They stated that the people of Iraq *"had become hostages of the treachery of the leader"* (S. Hussein – author).

Monographies and articles of the Arab authors H.I.Murad, F.Barrak, S.S.ad-Dabit, J.A.al-Badri, H.al-Qasimi, H.Y.Asvad, M.A.-K an-Nujar, H.Rubeyya, M.al-Yasri³⁶, which researched the Iraqi

عبد الكريم س. اراء الحركة الشيوعية في العراق . بيروت، دار الحرية، ١٩٧٩، ٢٨٥ ص الصليحي م. ³⁵ الزلزل هفايا الايام الدامية ، بيروت، دار الحكمة، ١٩٩٨، ٢٣٥ ص محمد ح. القضية القومية و محاولة سعيد ح.، محسن ع. المنازلة الكبرى و ، تشويح. برنمجها النضالية ، بغداد، دار الحكمة، ١٩٨٠، ٣٦٧ ص العلوي ح. الشيع و الدولة القومية في ،قائدها المقدمات و الوقائع ، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٩٨، ٢٨٤ ص العراق. ١٩٩٠-١٩١٤، لندن، ١٩٩١، ٤٣٩ ص

الضابط ت. س. البدرى ج. ر. الخليج العربي في المنهاج القومي. بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٨٠، ٣٣٦ ص ³⁶ القاسمي ح. العلاقات الدولية و معاهدات الحدود بين العراق و الايران ، بغداد، دار التقدم، ١٩٩٤، ٢٩٥ ص الاسود ف. ش. الحدود العراقية ، العجود الايراني و الخليج العربي، القاهرة، دار المزان، ١٩٨٤، ٢٣٠ ص النجار م. ع. التاريخ السياسي لعلاقات العراق بالخليج ، الايرانية. بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٧٠، ٢٥٣ ص ال اليسرى م. العراق و المجتمع الدولي، بيروت، دار ، العربي، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٨٩، ٣٢٠ ص براك ب. الصراع الدولي في منطقة الخليج العربي و المحيط الهندي و تأثيرها ، السلام، ٢٠١٠، ٣٩٦ ص

foreign policy, its position on regional and international problems, have been used in this research as well.

H.I. Murad's book called the Gulf War and the Reflection of the Arab-wide National Security focuses on the security problems of the Arab world and Iraq against the background of the Iran-Iraq War. The author claimed that the Arab world has sufficient potential to choose its own path, turn into the prominent member of the international community and become "*one of the leading centers of global politics*"³⁷. F. Barrak's books researched the goals and various aspects of the Iraqi diplomacy with regards to ensuring of the Gulf security in the 1970-80s, along with Iraq's struggle against the hegemony of Iran in the region. Al-Badri and al-Qasimi's books are mostly propagandist and have been focused on exaggerating the role of Iraq in the security of the Gulf region; despite this, the authors have also strived to study the impact of the Iraq-Iran War on the region, along with Iraq's relations with the emirates of the Gulf. Ad-Dabit and al-Asvad's research is interesting in terms of their research related to the border of Iraq and Iran, including the problems related to Shatt al-Arab river. The authors criticize the attempts of the West to divide the Arab world and drew attention to ensuring of "*regional security and Arab sovereignty from the Mediterranean Sea to the Gulf, from the Gulf to the Red Sea*"³⁸. M.al-Yasri's book, which is based on valuable literature and sources, has a more objective analysis of some of the aspects of Iraq's relations with the global and regional powers.

The books, monographies and articles written in Turkish dedicated to socio-political developments of Iraq and its foreign policy have also been used in this research. Works of T. Arı are particularly notable in this respect – "The Balance of Power in the Gulf in the 2000s", The Balance of Power in the Gulf and Middle East. 1978-1996", "The Gulf and the USA Policy", "Middle East. Politics, War

براك ب. استراتيجية الامن القومي، اراء و افكار، على اقطار الخليج العربي، بغداد، المند، ١٩٨٠، ص ٣٦٠
بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٨٦، ص ٢٢٠

مراد ح. أ. حرب الخليج انعكاسها على الامن القومي العربي، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٨٧، ص ٣٤٠

ربيع ح. تحديدات الامن القومي العربي الامن القومي، بغداد، ١٩٨٥، ص ٢٩٠-٢١ ص ٣٨

and Diplomacy”³⁹ offering wealth of factual materials are of particular interest. They mostly focus on the Gulf policies of various centers of power during the Cold War and after it.

Generally speaking, the subject of Iraq has come to the center of attention of the Turkish researchers since the late XX century and early XXI. Some of these works have a more practical and political science nature, but their factual wealth should be noted. Turkish researchers – M.Kayar, R.Kılınc, H.Özcan, S.Erkmen, H.Yılmaz, K.Q.Över, B.Oran, A.Kuloğlu, S.Saatçı, A.Şen, O.Bilen, M.Tikenci⁴⁰ have researched various aspects of Turkey’s relations with Iraq and concluded that these relations have a large potential. These authors have also focused on some of the most pressing problems in bilateral relations of these countries, such as the Kurdish and Turcoman problem, the use of Tigris and Euphrates and underlined the importance of the official Ankara correcting its Iraq policy based on both bilateral relations and the regional and international conjecture.

³⁹Arı, T. 2000’li Yıllarda Basra Körfezinde Güç Dengesi / T. Arı. – Bursa: Alfa, – 1996. – 331 p.; Arı, T. Basra Körfezi ve Orta Doğu’da Güç Dengesi. 1978-1996. /T. Arı. – İstanbul: Alfa, – 1998. – 264 p.; Arı, T. Basra Körfezi ve ABD Politikası /T. Arı. – İstanbul: Alfa, – 1993. – 271 p.; Arı, T. Geçmişden Günümüzde Orta Doğu. Siyaset, Savaş ve Diploması /T. Arı. – İstanbul: Alfa, – 876 p.

⁴⁰Kayar, M. Türk Amerikan İlişkilerinde Irak Sorunu /M. Kayar. – İstanbul: İQ Kül-tursanat Yayıncılık, – 2003. – 480 p.; Kılınc, R. Soğuk Savaş Sonrasında Basra Körfezinde Güvenlik: Yapılanma, Algılanmalar, Politikalar // – Avrasya Dosyası, – 2000, – c.6. №1, –p. 28-40; Özcan, N.A. Türkiyenin Kronikleşen Baş Ağrısı Kuzey Irak // – Ankara: Stratejik Analiz, – 2001. №12, – p.94-98; Erkmen, S. Körfez Savaşı Sonrası İran-İrak İlişkileri // – Ankara: Avrasya Dosyası, – 2000, – c.6. №3, – p.198-205; Erkmen, S. Türkiye-İrak İlişkilerinde Çatışma Unsurları ve İşbirliği Olanakları/ S.Erkmen, H.Yılmaz // – Ankara: Stratejik Analiz, – 2001, – c.1. №10, – s.41-47; Erkmen, S. Türkiye’nin Kuzey Iraklı Kürt Gruplarla İlişkileri: 10 Yılın Anatomisi ve Geleceğe İlişkin Beklentiler/ S.Erkmen, H.Yılmaz // – Ankara: Stratejik Analiz, – 2002, – c.3. №30, – p. 42-49; Saatçı, S. Tarihten Günümüze Irak Türkmenleri / S. Saatçı. – Ankara: Ötüken Neşriyyat A.Ş., – 2007, – 312 p.; Bilen, Ö. Orta Doğu Su Sorunları ve Türkiye / Ö. Bilen. – Ankara: Bilgi, – 2000, – 213 p.; Şen, A. Su Sonunu Ekseninde Suriya-İrak-Türkiye İlişkileri // – Ankara: Stratejik Analiz, – 2001, – c.6. №3, – p.88-93; Tikençi, M. Dicle-Fırat ve Türkiyenin Dış Politika Seçenekleri // – Ankara: Avrasya Dosyası, – 1996. c.6. №3, – p.179-198.

Object and subject of the research. Object of the dissertation is: analysis of foreign policy concepts, transformation of strategy and tactics of the official Baghdad in the sphere of foreign policy in the years of rule of the Baath Party and in the early years following its demise; analysis of the main phases, directions and vectors of the Iraqi foreign policy course against the background of regional and global challenges.

The following issues have been chosen as subjects of the research: research of the main features of the Iraqi foreign policy at its different stages; factors impacting its foreign policy; process of transformation of its main directions, stages and vectors within the context of international relations; dynamic of bilateral and multilateral relations of Iraq in the studied period.

Objective and tasks of the research. The object of the dissertation is an analysis of the transformation of official Baghdad's foreign policy concepts, its strategy and tactics in the field of foreign policy during the rule of the Ba'ath party and in the first years after the fall of the Ba'athist regime; It is a study of the main stages, directions and vectors of Iraq's foreign policy in the context of global and regional challenges.

The following issues were raised as the subject of the study: the characteristics of Iraq's foreign policy activities at different stages; factors influencing its foreign policy; the process of transformation of the main directions, stages and vectors of Iraq's foreign policy in the context of international relations; the dynamics of Iraq's bilateral and multilateral relations in the period under study.

Objectives and tasks of the research. The main aim of this research is the research of Iraq's foreign policy in the aforementioned period based on the objective analysis of sources and literature. This dissertation has the following tasks arising from the abovementioned factors:

- Analyzing political situation in Iraq on the eve of the Baath reign;
- Investigating the main vectors of the Iraqi foreign policy during the first period of the Baath regime;

- Following the main vectors of Iraq's Arab policy based on the bilateral and multilateral relations with leading Arab states of the Middle East;
- Studying the relations of Iraq with non-Arab states of the Middle East;
- Reviewing the evolution of the Iraqi policy towards the countries of the Western and Eastern blocs;
- Following the main phases of struggle of Iraq for the leadership in the Arab world;
- Investigating the main directions and phases of the Iraqi foreign policy course on the eve and during the Iran-Iraq War;
- Demonstrating the boundaries of Iraq's relations with the global and regional powers during the Iran-Iraq War;
- Analyzing the causes and essence of the Kuwait Crisis within the context of geopolitical and regional processes;
- Demonstrating the impact of the Kuwait Crisis on internal external policies of Iraq;
- Revealing the character of relations between Iraq and global powers, international organizations and regional countries during the Kuwait Crisis and its aftermath;
- Analyzing the impact of the international sanctions on political and economic life of the Iraqi society;
- Investigating the main vectors of the Iraqi foreign policy in the 1990s;
- Demonstrating the factors causing increase of tension in the relations between Iraq and the international community in the early XXI century;
- Analyzing the subjective and objective reasons of the 2003 War and the demise of the Baath regime;
- Analyzing the priorities of the Iraqi foreign policy in the first post-war years;
- Demonstrating the role and place of Iraq in the international and regional relations system in the early XXI century.

Research methods. The base of methodology of this study consists of comprehensive, critical and comparative analysis of all

sources and literature based on the objective historical approach method. First of all, we should mention that this study, which envisages the synthesis of historical and political science approaches, is cross-disciplinary in its essence. The principle of historicity, which views the objective place of every social event within the framework of its relevant historical development dynamic, and one of the main academic principles – objective socio-political analysis, are at the root of this research process. The method of comparative analysis of the main foreign policy conceptions of Iraq served to demonstrate them within the context of historical changes, and to explain the reasons for transformation of these conceptions, their effectiveness and sustainability.

The theoretical-methodological base of this research is based upon the principle of problem-chronology, which enables to follow the evolution and specificities of the researched problem through various historical stages. Comparative and systematic analysis method has allowed to shine a light on the main foreign policy elements of Iraq, its directions and forms of expressions and the logic of interrelation of these factors, along with explaining the chronological sequence of the existing facts. The study of the foreign policy course of Iraq as a multi-faceted system with global and regional significance revealed the need for complex analysis, which allowed to describe the foreign policy of the country taking into accordance with the specificities caused by internal and external factors within the context of changing world.

Main provisions presented for defense:

- Iraq's foreign policy has been formed under the influence of three main factors in the studied period: nationalism, geopolitics and globalization. If the first two were the leading factors during the Baathist reign in Iraq, the symbiosis of geopolitics and globalization became the main factor after its demise;
- The experience of the 35-year long Baath regime in Iraq can be understood as a foreign policy model of the radical nationalist party, which positioned itself as the leading and directing force of the society within the single-party regime;

– The foreign policy strategy of Iran in the studied period is characterized as a symbiosis of conceptions and concrete foreign policy actions aiming to achieve the main methodological goal – ensuring of the leadership of Iraq in the Arab world, transforming it into the center of power in the Middle East relying on the ideological-theoretical platform of baathism, which is a form of the Arabic nationalism;

– Both internal and external factors have influenced the formation of Iraq's foreign policy: being situated in the center of the Middle East made the sphere of interests and political interference of Iran very broad and active; large-scale oil revenues created financial base for active inter-Arabic, regional and international policy; modern and well-equipped army ensured fulfilment of foreign policy ambitions of the country; existence of a stable regime enabled conduct of a purposeful policy to increase the political influence of the country;

– The Gulf region policy is described as a special direction of the official Baghdad's foreign policy formed based on the competition and contradictions between various regional and non-regional centers of power. Iraq's attempts to gain the status of a leader of this region led to a long confrontation with the main centers of influence in the region. One of the rivals in that respect was Iran, which had political interest and intent to confirm its hegemony in this strategic region of the Middle East. Stern confrontation of interests of these states and traditional rivalry between them led to an 8-year war against the background of numerous destructive factors with historical roots;

– In the aftermath of the Iraq-Iran War the military-political situation in the Gulf region was based on three main tendencies: increase of Iraq's regional ambitions, which tried to solve disputed issues with neighbouring countries through force or threats; acceleration of arms race and militarization of the region; increase of the military presence of the leading centers of power in the region. Occupation of Kuwait by Iraq in August, 1990 allowed for solution of strategic, military-political and economic problems of Iraq based on the scheme described above;

- Iraq's defeat in the Desert Storm operation (January-February, 1991) led to drastic weakening or freezing of the military and economic potential of the country, which caused the loss of the status of one of the centers of power in the region. Sanctions against Iraq created significant hurdles for restoration of the potential of its armed forces and military-industrial complex. Attempts of the official Baghdad to evade these obstacles increased military-political tensions around Iraq;

- 9/11 and the global war on terror conducted by the US impacted Iraq as well and it turned into a center of the major global military-political crisis. The coalition forces formed under the US leadership in 2003 embarked on eradication of the Iraqi regime by force and the Baath party, which monopolized the internal and external policy of the state for 35 years was forced to leave the political scene;

- Decline and demise of the Baath regime, complete dismantling of the Iraqi military machine led not only to the transformation of the configuration of political forces in the country, but also complete transformation of the base and superstructure of the socio-political life of the country, along with drastic change in balance of power for hegemony over the Gulf region and the Middle East in general;

- The transformation of the Iraqi society and establishment of a new socio-political model was taking place under the circumstances of confrontation of global and regional forces and within the general context of international relations. The United States and its allies' policy on establishing a post-war government in Iraq, a new order in the regions created significant challenges for regional and international security. The S. Hussein regime was eliminated as a regional threat, but the complications of the war caused emergence of new threats. Despite the fundamental transformation of the country's status, Iraq remains as one of the potential centers of power in the Middle East.

The academic novelty of the researched topic arises from its relevance, political and practical significance and is determined based on the following points:

- this dissertation is the first research comprehensively studying the Azerbaijani historiography on the Iraqi foreign policy during the Baath Party regime and in the first years after its fall;
- the foreign policy conceptions, strategy and tactics of various periods of the Baath Party reign have been researched, specific features of its bilateral and multilateral relations, their dynamic and evolution have been revealed based on comprehensive, critical and objective analysis of sources and the literature;
- elements and main features of the foreign policy model of the 35-year long single party rule of the Baath regime in Iraq has been studied;
- Iraq's participation in the solution of the regional problems based on the Baathist ideology and principles have been demonstrated;
- the social side of the evolution of the ruling party's foreign policy conception has been revealed, its struggle to turn Iraq into the leader of the Arab world and into the regional center of power was presented against the background of geopolitical and regional processes;
- the foreign policy course of nationalist Arab regimes has been observed based on the example of the Iraqi Baath party;
- the impact of internal factors on formation of the Iraqi foreign policy was researched;
- the essence and main goals of Iraq's Arab policy based on the example of Iraq's relations with the leading Arab states has been presented, the attempts to fulfil "the special mission" in the Arab world has been demonstrated;
- Iraq's foreign policy during the Iran-Iraq War, the Kuwait Crisis and its aftermath and on the eve of the 2003 War has been assessed and summarized within the context of the regional interests of the global powers, along with the international and regional processes;
- the process of formation of the foreign policy course of Iraq based on the status of the country after the war has been studied; the attempts to find new formats of relations with the outside world

against the background of global and regional challenges has been researched;

- the main directions and aspects of the Iraqi foreign policy with global and regional forces following the war has been determined;

- the real condition of regional stability and security envisaging peaceful coexistence of regional states with their neighbours regardless of their national interests and ideological goals and perspectives of ensuring it has been studied;

- provisions on necessity to prepare a general security strategy by taking into consideration the conflict potential of the Middle East, decreasing the level of military conflict, cutback on weapon purchase and military expenses have been suggested.

The theoretical and practical significance of the research consists of academic conclusions revealed from study of works on modern history and foreign policy of Iraq, along with being useful for preparation of comprehensive researches and monographies on classification of the foreign policy of the nationalist Arab regimes and problems of foreign policy and international relations of the Middle East. Provisions of the study and academic conclusions can be interesting for researchers and scholars of academic centers investigating political development problems of the Middle East, Arab and non-Arab states. Along with that, they can be used in practical work of ministries of foreign affairs, other foreign policy bodies, think tanks and non-governmental organizations.

The dissertation can be useful for relevant bachelor and master level education at universities, for preparation of courses, textbooks and study programs on the modern history of Middle East, Arab countries and Iraq.

The approbation of the study. The main provisions and conclusions of the dissertation have been reflected in 3 monographies and numerous articles published in Azerbaijan and abroad. Conclusions of the study have been shared at numerous international and national level scientific and practical symposiums and conferences held abroad and in the country.

Name of the organization where the dissertation work is performed. The dissertation has been completed at the Department of History of Asian and African Countries of the Baku State University. The dissertation has been discussed at the broadened meeting of the Department with the participation of leading specialists on this particular sphere and the dissertation was deemed suitable for defense.

The structure and total volume of the dissertation. The structure of this dissertation has been determined in accordance with the specificities of the subject, the methodology, along with aims and duties of this research. It consists of the introduction (56993 marks), 4 chapters with 12 subchapters (Chapter I - 91535 marks, Chapter II - 98903 marks, Chapter III - 95056 marks, Chapter IV - 145251 marks), the conclusion - 17833 marks and the list of sources - 45755 marks. The total volume of the dissertation is 314 pages, 506796 characters, excluding the list of sources. The total volume of the dissertation together with the list of used the list of sources consists of 552551 characters.

II. BASIC CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The introduction of the dissertation talks about the urgency of topic and its processing level, object and subject of the research, objectives and tasks of the research, research methods, main provisions presented for defense, academic (scientific) novelty of the study, theoretical and practical significance of the research, along with research approbation and structure.

The first chapter, which consists of 4 sub-chapters is called **The Main Directions of the Iraqi Foreign Policy in 1970s**. The first subchapter of this chapter investigates the conditions of ascent to power of Baath Party and first steps it took towards solution of complex internal and external problems based on the analysis of the socio-political development of Iraq in the late 1960s. It also focuses on the main ideological concepts of Baathism, strategical and tactical steps taken by the party leadership.

Baath Party, which came to power as a result of a military coup “*had a clear socio-political platform, organizational structure, a long experience of political struggle, and certain degree of social support*”.⁴¹ Baath reign launched a new era of the Iraqi history manifesting in a radical nationalist party substituting the army as the leading force of the society. Baath, which faced complex internal and external problems chose the path of establishment of the centralized party political system and of a mass support base for the regime.

In this subchapter issues in the agenda of the VII (November 1968) and VIII (January 1974) regional congresses of Baath Party, along with the main directions, goals and tasks of the Iraqi foreign policy in the 1970s has been studied as well⁴². The priority directions of this policy have been focused on improving relations with the Arab countries within the framework of the Arab Policy; conduct of active regional policy; deepening of multi-faceted relations with the USSR and other socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc; adjusting political relations with developed countries of the West based on the criteria of “*Friendship and animosity towards the Arab nation*”⁴³.

Based on these provisions the second subchapter of the first chapter analyzed the main vectors of Iraq’s Arab Policy in the 1970s based on its bilateral relations with the leading Arab countries. Baath considered this to be a special part of its foreign policy. The reference point of this was *The Provision on ethnic, linguistic, historical and culturo-psychological belonging of Iraq to the Arab World*⁴⁴. While there was a significant ideological and theoretical base with regards to confirmation of importance and priority of the Arab Policy for the country, on most occasions its aims and targets were declarative, and

الزبيدي ل. ع. ج. ثورة ١٤ تموز ١٩٥٨ في العراق. بغداد، دار الحرية، ١٩٧٩، ص ٤٥٨

⁴² The Political Statement of the 7-th Regional Conference of the Socialist Arab Ba’th Party/ – Baghdad: Al-Hurriya, – 1969, – p.8; Арабская нация едина, ее миссия бессмертна. Партия Арабского Социалистического Возрождения. Иракский регион. Политический отчет восьмого регионального съезда / – Хельсинки, – 1975, – p.153.

⁴³ ibidem, – pp.10; 154-155.

⁴⁴ وزارة الثقافة و الاعلان . الدستور الموقت ، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٧٩، ص ١٢٠

a void emerged between the slogans, theory behind the ideas and their actual implementation. It is possible to conclude based on the general analysis of relations between the Arab states in that period that its characteristic feature was a struggle between centrifugal and centripetal forces. Increase of social and political differences between the Arab states, struggle for leadership, ideological clashes and interference of foreign forces had a negative impact on inter-Arab relations. Since coming to power Baath had demonstrated leadership ambition of Iraq in the Arab World. This position caused clashes of its interests with interests of other Arab countries both with regards to bilateral relations and in terms of fundamental problems of the Arab World and the Middle East in general. Competition and controversies among them transformed into various forms and configurations passing through complex international, regional and national interest systems.

Iraq's relations with leading Arab states in the 1970s expressed the unity of the tendencies of centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. Most complicated bilateral relations of Iraq were with Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait among Arab states. On one hand, the overlapping interests of these countries with regards to fundamental problems of the Arab World made these countries potential allies, on the other hand the struggle for leadership and influence, different socio-economic and political leanings, ideological clashes, territorial claims etc. caused significant obstacles for their integration and cooperation.

One of the issues, which had a conceptual and practical importance for Baath Party in the 1970s was the issue of Arab Union, which *"emerged under the influence of the provision on belonging of common historical and socio-cultural union"* of Arabs⁴⁵. Baath, which claimed the role of a leader of the Common Arab State, comprehensively investigated the grounds of the idea of the Arab Union. According to Baath, this state was supposed to emerge *"under*

⁴⁵ نضال البعث في سبيل الوحدة و الحرية و الاشتراكية، ١٩٧٦-١٩٤٢، ج ١١ - ١ بيروت، دار الحكمة، ٥٦٠.

the auspices of Baath and based on its slogans”⁴⁶. Gradually the radical position of the early period Baath transformed into a more careful and pragmatic approach. Whereas the Baath leaders had to affirm their acceptance of the reality of “*existence of independent Arab states based on the internationally recognized state borders*”, “*they continued their efforts to create conditions for a deeper integration of the Arab World*”⁴⁷. The analysis of the “unity” experience of the Arab countries demonstrated that the characteristic feature of their socio-economic development have not been a tendency for coexistence and integration, on the contrary, there have been a tendency of increasing distance among them. We can see a good example of this based on the ideological-organizational division of Baath, which was how they operated since the 1960s.

The **third subchapter** is dedicated to research of Iraq’s relations with non-Arab states of the Middle East – Iran and Turkey. Iraq’s claim of leadership over the Gulf region against the background of deepening of conflict between the leading global and regional powers in this region in the 1970s was going to increase problems with Iran and lead to clash of interests. The author, who briefly talks about the history of relations of these states, describes main reasons of problems between them: territorial dispute over the border in connection with the Shatt al-Arab river, disputes with regards to division of territorial waters, the Gulf islands and the continental shelf, the problems of Kurds, Shia and ethnic Arabs in Khuzistan, exploitation of disputed oil reservoirs, the issue of use of transborder rivers and border areas etc. The relations between Turkey and Iraq have been impacted by several regional and global impacts in the studied period. Despite political differences, Iraq, whose relations with Iran, Syria and other Arab countries were tense, was interested in normalization of the relations with Turkey in order to end the regional isolation.

الزبيدي ل. ع. ج. ثورة ١٤ تموز ١٩٥٨ في العراق. بغداد، دار الحرية، ١٩٧٩، ٤٥٨ ص

⁴⁷ The Political Analysis of Present Arab Condition: issued by the National Leadership of the Arab Ba’th Socialist Party / – Baghdad: Al-Hurriya Press, – 1975, – p.9.

Relations with the leading countries of the West and with a countries of the Eastern bloc led by the USSR had a special significance in the foreign policy system of Iraq in the 1970s, which has been comprehensively analyzed in the 4th subchapter of this chapter. Iraq did not have practical capacity to actively resist against the Western plans in the region in that period, but the programmatic documents of the ruling party envisaged ideological justification of rejection of “*imperialist states preventing realization of national wishes*” and of “*fundamental, strong and continuous*”⁴⁸ disputes with them. Along with that, the ruling party narrowed the concept of “*hostile imperialist states*”⁴⁹ thanks to states like France, Germany, Japan etc., which had a “*relatively positive approach towards Arab countries*” in the Western world and chose a path of development of beneficial relations in the sphere of trade, economy.

Since the second half of the 1970s Iraq’s attitude towards the West changed as it changed in the practical steps of the ruling party, along with being reflected in its ideological and theoretical base. According to the leaders of Iraq, “*deepening of cooperation with the developed countries under equal footing without falling under their influence has been possible as a result of acquiring economic and financial independence of the country, along with a strong “political” will of the ruling Baath*”⁵⁰. Analysis of the foreign policy course of the ruling party since the second half of the 1970s allows to conclude that ascent of Saddam Hussein to power in July 1979 started prioritization of “the pragmatic approach” to Iraq’s foreign policy, the main goal of which was strengthening the country’s international positions and ensuring its leadership not only in the Arab world, but in the Middle East in general.

In general, the anti-Western course of foreign policy of Baath has been predetermined by several ideological principles of Baath, along with choosing the leading partner from the latter in the West-East

⁴⁸Арабская нация едина, ее миссия бессмертна..., – с.154.

⁴⁹ ibidem, – p.155.

⁵⁰ Министерство культуры и информации. Саддам Хусейн по случаю 12-ой годовщины революции 17 июля / – Багдад: Дар-аль-Мамун, – 1980, – p.13.

confrontation for strengthening of the country's political and economic independence through the necessity of receiving foreign economic, military, technical etc. support for the purpose of solution of some of the internal and regional problems. But in the second part of the 1970s, the processes going in the socio-economic and political sub-structure of Iraq, such as Baathization of the political system and the country becoming a single-party dictatorship gradually led to the abandoning of the course of strategic alliance with the USSR. "*The pragmatic position*" in the foreign affairs, "*balanced policy*" in relations with the West and the East, the policy of maintaining a "*similar distance*" from both "*centers of power*", abandoning the inclination to the Eastern block and giving up "*the strategic alliance*" with the USSR "*was going to ensure the fundament*" for Iraq to turn into the leader of the Arab world and "*the center of power*" in the Middle East.⁵¹

The second chapter, which is called the **Gulf Region – a special direction of the Iraqi foreign policy**, is dedicated to demonstrating the impact of the war on Iraq's foreign policy based on the analysis of the reasons and nature of the Iran-Iraq War, and bilateral and multilateral relations with regional states and the leading states of the world, along with the study of the primary reasons and causes of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, which caused a significant international crisis.

The author views the Gulf Region as one of the key points of the system of international relations and analyzes the internal and external factors impacting political processes and international relations in this subregion. In the 1970-80s, the Gulf turned into the special direction of the Iraqi regional policy. Its claim of a subregional center of power rested on the following factors: Iraq's geographical position in the center of the Middle East and in the Northeast of the Gulf region, predetermined its broad regional interests and active political interference; emergence of a financial

⁵¹ Министерство культуры и информации. Саддам Хусейн по случаю 12-ой годовщины революции 17 июля... – p.17.

base for implementation of socio-economic projects and an active regional policy thanks to major revenues as the biggest oil extractor and exporter of the region; the activization of the foreign policy of Iraq based on the stability of the ruling Baath regime; Iraq had a modern and well-equipped army⁵². In February 1980, Iraq's leader S.Hussein declared "*the special mission*"⁵³ of his country in the document called the National Statement and made the proposal to sign a pact on regional cooperation in military sphere, on collective security and coordination of action in the sphere of foreign policy and defense with the emirates of the Gulf.

Iran, which tried to establish its strategic hegemony over the regions, remained as the chief obstacle over the ambitions of the leadership of Iraq. Ascent to power of the radical Shia clerics in Iran, which were guided by the concept of Islamization of the region and aiming to realize this through the export of the Islamic revolution, created a real threat for the Sunni power in Iraq, the population of which was almost 60% Shia, along with the existing status-quo in the region. The border disputes, territorial claims, artificial exploitation of national and religious differences, personal ambitions of the leaders led to the 8-year long war (1980-1988). Iraq aimed to do the following by starting the war: achieving the leadership status in the Gulf, the Arab world and in the Middle East in general; solving the border issue, first of all, the Shatt ul-Arab problem in its own favour; decreasing the impact of the Iranian revolution on Iraq's internal policy; strengthening the positions of the S.Hussein group in the country and allowing the president to present himself as the hero and saviour of the Arab world; examining the army in large-scale operations and demonstrating its potential. But despite their calculations, the war not only failed to strengthen Iraq's positions in the Gulf, on the contrary, it caused major political, financial, economic and human losses, its economy, oil infrastructure,

⁵² Лукин, В.П. «Центры силы». Концепции и реальность / В.П.Лукин. – Москва: Международные отношения, – 1983, – p.168-169.

⁵³ حسين ص. العراق و السياسة الدولية ، بغداد، دار التليعة، ١٩٨١، ص ١٩٦

communication and transportation system suffered damage, its currency revenues drastically fell, while foreign debt and military expenses increased.

The second subchapter of the Chapter 2, discusses the impact of the war on its foreign policy based on the comprehensive analysis of its relations with leading states of the region and the world. Here the main focus is on the evolution of the country's foreign policy course, which manifested itself in changes to the Arab Policy and in prioritizing the relations with the Arab countries, which provided financial, military and humanitarian support to Iraq during the war. There was another significant shift in the foreign policy course of the Iraqi regime, which in the 1980s was a proponent of "*a balanced policy between the East and the West*"⁵⁴. This manifested in cooling of relations with the USSR, deepening of political and economic cooperation with Western Europe and Japan and gradual normalization of relations with the US. This subchapter also analyzes the factors impacting the policy of Washington and Moscow, which operated based on their geopolitical and economic interests, during the Iran-Iraq war.

The **third subchapter** of Chapter Two focuses to the primary conditions and reasons of the Kuwait Crisis, which worsened Iraq's relations with the international community. The study of processes going on in the Gulf in the late 1980s and early 1990s allows to conclude that the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the bipolar international system following the fall of the USSR did not end the threat of regional wars and conflicts. The Gulf region continued being one of the most unstable regions of the world. The results of the war against Iran could not have satisfied the ambitions of the Iraqi leaders. Despite tough political and socio-economic outcomes of the war, Iraq continued its course of strengthening its army and military-economic potential in quest to solidify the claim of being a regional center of power. The role of active "assistance" of several states in selling of modern weapons and technologies to the Iraqi regime must

حسين ص. العلان القومي: استجابة لدعوة المؤليات القومية ، بغداد، الثورة، ١٩٨٠، ١٠٥ ص 54

be noted here. Iraq, which had collected more weapon than it needed in the peace time and got military experience, used any pretext it could find to pressure its neighbours and openly threatened and blackmailed them. S.Hussein had a particularly negative attitude towards Kuwait, which he considered to be “*a historical land*”⁵⁵ of Iraq.

In August 1990 Iraq occupied Kuwait and started the long-term international crisis in the Gulf. Iraq realized this action with an aim to ensure several of its strategic, military-political and economic goals: Iraq would become a country with the second largest oil reserves in the region after Saudi Arabia with the occupation and annexation of Kuwait, which gave Iraq an advantage over its rivals based on its increased economic and military potential; Iraq would solve its financial and economic problems, along with ending its debt problem; taking over the Kuwaiti oil and the country’s financial reserves enabled an opportunity for Iraq to influence the formation of oil prices in the region; getting an opportunity to regulate and control the oil process and maintaining military-political and economic pressure on the regional country’s producing oil would allow Iraq to gain the leadership not only in the Gulf, but in the Arab world in general; Iraq hoped that the regional states, which it “*protected from the Irani threat and interference*” would turn a blind eye to its occupation of Kuwait, and its debts “*would be fairly divided*”⁵⁶ among these states; Iraq hoped that the United States would tolerate these steps; it was considered that the allied relations with the USSR would help to avoid the use of force against Iraq; there was a confidence that the international community would fail to act from a unified position with regards to the Iraqi attack.

This subchapter studies the position of the global powers and the international community during the Kuwait crisis, along with analyzing the behaviour of the official Baghdad. The positions of the global powers during the Kuwait crisis had been formed in

⁵⁵ حسين ص. ارادها الله شرفا و عزا و مجدا، بغداد، دار الحرية، ١٩٩٢، ١٩٣ ص

⁵⁶ ibidem, – p.145.

accordance with geopolitical and regional factors, and their national interests. The systemic crisis in the USSR and the demise of the bipolar world order, made the USA the sole superpower in the world and the United States became the initiator, the organizer and the executor of all actions against Iraq. Washington also worked on winning a support of a broad international coalition, using the UN mechanisms and ensuring a legal guise for a potential military action. The USA and its NATO allies gathered a formidable military group in the Gulf region and defeated the Iraqi army in January-February 1991 after forming a multination coalition.

The analysis of the political actions of the Iraqi leadership in this period allows to conclude that their aim was to manage the events based on the conflict scenario. This manifested itself in a decision to annex Kuwait, ignoring the demands of the international community to withdraw its armies, taking foreign nationals hostages, moving its armies to the border with Saudi Arabia and occupying the neutral zone, trying to disguise the solution of the problem with unrealistic demands, avoiding the peace offers under made up pretexts, making baseless radical calls and threats. Iraq, which caused the renewal of conflict in the region hoped for actual support and help of the USSR. They considered the USSR-USA confrontation for Iraq, which had an alliance and a very large economic and military-technical cooperation, inevitable, which would force Washington to opt out from large-scale military operations.⁵⁷ But the developments demonstrated that Iraq's political and economic calculations were not realized. Iraq's ambition of leadership in the Gulf region, in the Arab and Muslim world not only failed, Iraq also faced a long-term international and regional isolation. The defeat by the coalition forces turned Iraq into a second-degree country of the Middle East and it lost the chance to realize its regional plans.

The third chapter is called **the Foreign Policy of Iraq in the 1990s** and it analyzes the impact of the Kuwait crisis on Iraq's

⁵⁷ Багирова, А. Внешняя политика Ирака (1968-2003) / А.Багирова. – Баку: Адильоглы, – 2003. – р. 293.

internal and foreign policies, along with the changes in this country's regional policies following this crisis.

The **first subchapter** of this chapter is dedicated to the study of the Iraqi foreign policy under the conditions of international sanctions. The UN SC resolution 687 (3 April 1991) caused weakening of Iraq's economic and military-technical potential, limiting of its special military programs and the legal ground for establishment of a strict control over it by the international community. International sanctions prevented Iraq from rebuilding its destroyed military industry and infrastructure, along with import of weapons and military equipment and had a negative impact on all spheres of life of the society, along with the country's internal and foreign policies.

Therefore, in the 1990s one of the main directions of the Iraqi foreign policy were attempts to gradually soften and remove the sanctions. The continuous confrontation with the Special Commission established by the UN (a body, which monitored the biological, chemical and rocket potential of Iraq) was not effective. Not only Baghdad failed to abolish the sanction regime, on the contrary, the confrontation with this body had been used by the USA and the UK to impose political pressure and use of force against Iraq. In that period the American policy of dual containment used against Iraq envisaged support to the Iraqi opposition; use of sanctions to weaken the regime; benefit from the control mechanisms over the UN arms and military programs; use of force against Iraq to enforce implementation of all provisions of the UN SC resolutions.⁵⁸ The analysis of the Iraq-USA relations demonstrated that the 1990s was a period of continuous crisis and hostility and a stronger side tried to solve the problems through force and pressure.

The situation in Iraq at the end of the XX century under the international sanctions was as follows: while the regime was

⁵⁸ Bymen, D., Waxman, M. Confronting Iraq: U.S. Policy and the Use of Force since the Gulf War. Rand Corporation Publication. 2000: [Electronic resource] / URL: <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1146>

weakened, it was able to persist; maintenance of sanctions deepened the confrontation between Iraq and the United States; S.Hussein used difficult life conditions of the Iraqi people to overcome the international and regional isolation; despite the expectations, the population did not revolt against the regime; the Iraqi opposition failed to become an alternative force to the regime; the unified position and the principle of joint responsibility ensuring the support to sanctions on the international arena corroded.

The **second subchapter** of the Chapter 3 is dedicated to the study of changes in the Iraqi regional policy in the 1990s. As a result of sanctions the Iraqi regime was isolated, which significantly restricted Iraq from realizing its foreign policy and economic potential. The deformation of the regional status of Iraq forced them to adjust its general foreign policy, especially its relations with regional states. Baghdad was able to partially restore its political and economic relations with some of its neighbours, but it lost its previous status of the regional center of power.

The Gulf region, where Iraq's priority political and economic interests were centered, continued being one of the main vectors of its regional policy. The aggression against Kuwait halted Iraq's bilateral and multilateral relations with the Gulf emirates. But following the restoration of Kuwait's territorial integrity and sovereignty, moderate countries like Qatar, Oman and UAE at first, restored their trade and economic cooperation with Iraq and then established full-scale political relations⁵⁹, whereas Saudi Arabia and Kuwait maintained their strict line of demanding complete and unconditional implementation of the UN SC resolutions. In 1993 Baghdad was forced to make concessions with regards to demarcation of the borders with Kuwait under the international pressure, while the Iraqi parliament abolished the April 1994 decision to annex it and in

⁵⁹ Бордунов, М.В. Зона Персидского залива: особое направление в региональной политике Ирака //— Москва: Востоковедный сборник, ИВ РАН, — 2002. №3, —р. 145.

November recognized Kuwait as an independent country within the existing borders.⁶⁰

After the crisis, the relations with Syria remained as the most complex and controversial direction of Iraq's regional relations. Syria, which unequivocally condemned the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, joined the multinational coalition. Syria also acted as a supporter of a hard line against Iraq in the Arab world and in the UN, as they supported Iraq's regional and international political isolation. But since the second half of the 1990s, the process of normalization of bilateral relations in connection with regional changes and economic problems started.

The Iranian direction of Iraq's regional policy was one of its priorities in the studied period. The regional and international isolation Iraq had faced following the occupation of Kuwait made the resolution of territorial problems with Iran necessary. Despite the fact that in September 1990 diplomatic relations were restored numerous problems prevented emergence of genuine friendly atmosphere between these two countries: absence of an agreement on de jure end of the war; failure to regulate the issue of Shatt al-Arab river and its cleaning for proper navigation through it; failure to demarcate the land border and to determine the territorial shelf; inability to complete the process of exchange of prisoners of war; absence of an agreement on the amount of military compensation and period of its payment; refusal to give up the support of opposition groups.

Numerous internal and external factors impacted the dynamic of relations between Iraq and Turkey. In the 1990s one of the priority spheres in bilateral relations of these two countries was trade and economic cooperation. Turkey was the only state, through which Iraq was able to establish communication with the outside world. But the sanctions regime had a significant negative impact on all this. In 1993 the sides agreed on restoring diplomatic relations, in 1994 they agreed on opening of the Habur border checkpoint, which played a

⁶⁰ Юрченко, В.П. Иракско-кувейтские отношения: будет ли свет в конце тоннеля? //— Москва: Иракский кризис. —ИИИиБВ, — 2003. — р.84.

role in transportation of goods envisaged under the UN sanctions such as food, medicine and other products to Iraq. In 1996 Kirkuk-Yumurtalik oil pipeline was launched. The agreement on exporting of 50% of the Iraqi oil through Turkey based on the Oil for Food program brought the economic relations between these two countries outside of the embargo regime.⁶¹

The analysis of the regional policy of Iraq in the 1990s demonstrated Iraq's more active policy with several countries, particularly Arabic countries. Along with that, Iraq's policy clashed with political and economic interests of regional and non-regional powers, which created significant problems for the course to alleviate Iraq's international isolation and the sanctions regime.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation, which is called **The Iraq problem in the XXI century in the context of international relations** analyzes the main reasons leading to the deepening of the Iraq crisis at the turn of the millenium and to the 2003 War. It also studies the main directions of the Iraq foreign policy within the context of the international and regional relations in the first years after the war.

The **first subchapter** of the Chapter 4 analyzes the reasons behind worsening of the Iraq crisis in the early XXI century. This was connected to significant changes on the geopolitical level in a response to new threats and challenges to the existing global order. The main threat to the new world order and global security were the rogue states. The regimes included in this list were accused of supporting international terrorism, attempts to get weapons of mass destruction, in aggressive policies etc. 9/11 events and the US War on Terror had a direct impact on the Iraqi regime, as it was accused of producing weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, particularly supporting Al Qaeda.⁶² In this period, along with being active in the UN SC and taking broad range of diplomatic steps,

⁶¹ Kayar, M. Türk Amerikan İlişkilerinde Irak Sorunu / M. Kayar. İstanbul: İQ Kültürsanat Yayıncılık, – 2003, – p.334.

⁶² National Security Strategy of the United States. September 2002: [Electronic resource] / URL: // <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.htm>.

Washington also prepared for military resolution of the Iraq problem and deployed a large military contingent in areas close to its borders. One of the major directions of its work was related to the establishment of the international coalition, which were supported by 47 states, only 8 of which deployed their troops for military operations.⁶³

The political behaviour and the steps taken by the official Baghdad in that period did not serve to alleviate tension. Iraq did not respond to the calls of the international community for return of international experts and for continuation of monitoring of military potential to produce WMDs and to use it. The Iraqi leadership, which hoped for the end of the crisis due to its differences with the leading powers of the world, tried to earn some time through various maneuvers. Under immense pressure and the threat of the immediate start of military operations, the official Baghdad stated its readiness *“to obey the demands of the international community”*⁶⁴, but the regime had no real intention to cooperate with international organizations.

In March 2003 the crisis entered its last concluding stage, as on March 20 the coalition forces consisting of the US, British and Australian troops launched the operation under code name the Iraqi Freedom and by mid-April the military operations entered their active phase after capture of S. Hussein’s native city Tikrit. The coalition achieved its goals and the Baath regime under the leadership of S. Hussein collapsed in Iraq. The political regime, which was in power for 35 years, which singlehandedly decided on its socio-economic and political development, on its internal and external policies, left the stage and this party was banned.

The **second subchapter** of the Chapter 4 is dedicated to analysis of the main directions of the Iraqi foreign policy in the first year after the war. The United States undertook the duty to rebuild Iraq, but

⁶³ Багирова, А. Иракский кризис: внутренний и международный аспекты / А.Багирова. – Баку: Elm və təhsil, – 2017. – p.92.

⁶⁴ اليسرى م. العراق و المجتمع الدولي، بيروت، دار السلام، ٢٠١٠، ص ٣٩٦

according to the provisions of the UN SC resolution 1483 (22 May 2003), which ended the international sanction and embargo regime implemented since 1991, financial structures like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund were engaged in this process. After establishing new executive bodies and granting them the authorities of a sovereign government, Iraq started to increase its attempts to strengthen its foreign policy positions and international relations. By the summer of 2004, diplomatic relations with the USA, Germany and France were restored, ambassadors were appointed in 43 countries, including all neighboring countries, as well as the USA and a number of leading states of Europe and Asia.⁶⁵

The main external partner of Iraq was the United States, which provided him with all-round assistance. In November 2007, the Declaration of Principles of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and the Republic of Iraq was signed, and a year later an agreement on the status of American troops in Iraq, which determined the conditions for their presence in the country after the expiration of the mandate of the coalition forces. In August 2010, US President Barack Obama officially announced the end of hostilities in Iraq, after which the transfer of responsibility for ensuring security and law and order in the country began to the local authorities⁶⁶. In January 2010 the Memorandum on Strategic Energy Cooperation was signed, which was the continuation of the policy of diversification by Iraq in the energy sphere. One of the main directions of the work of the Iraqi government was attracting investment to the country, and ensuring financial assistance from international donors for restoration of its economy, infrastructure and other vital spheres. The oil-gas industry of Iraq was in need of the most of foreign investments. By 2007, agreements with 19 member states of the Paris Club were

⁶⁵ Багирова, А. Иракский кризис: внутренний и международный аспекты / А.Багирова. – Баку: Elm və təhsil, – 2017. – р. 199.

⁶⁶ National Security Strategy of the United States. May 2010: [electronic resource] / URL: // <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss.viewer/national.Security/strategy>.

signed, while the issue of foreign debt was resolved with 37 non-member states.

The Iraqi leadership, which supported diversification of Iraq's foreign relations was interested in comprehensive cooperation with Asian giants like Japan, China and South Korea.

Traditionally tight relations between Iraq and Russia underwent serious changes after the collapse of the regime. Since after the war the potential for Russia influencing the situation in Iraq was significantly restricted, Russia's steps were directed to protect its economic interests. Russia, which was one of the largest investors of Iraq, tried to assist restoration of the basic spheres of the Iraqi economy, most importantly, the energy sphere, participation of its companies in exploitation of the oil-gas reserves in exchange for forgiveness of part of its debt. Russia's 14-year long embargo of export of weapons and military equipment was liquidated in 2004.⁶⁷ Baghdad hoped that this bilateral relation would give them an opportunity for a more balanced foreign policy and to keep some distance from the USA.

The third chapter of the Chapter 4 researches the role and place of Iraq in the regional relations system in the first post-war years. Since the regional status of Iraq had changed, its policy underwent significant changes too. Along with that, the impact of external forces on establishment of the main provisions of its regional policy was not small.

The main direction of the Iraqi regional policy – relations with the Arab states, was quite complicated in the first post-War years. Regularly claimed ambition of regional leadership in the period of S. Hussein's reign, which threatened neighbouring countries, lost its force following the war. Despite this, the Arab states were careful in establishing relations with the Iraqi government, which was established under the occupation. They applied a middle ground policy towards Iraq. On paper they supported the government, but in

⁶⁷ Подцероб, А.Б. Россия и кризисные ситуации вокруг Ирака: история и современность // – Москва: Вестник МГИМО, – 2010. №5 (14), – р. 105.

practice they used different excuses to avoid opening diplomatic representation, deepening political contacts and developing broad economic cooperation

One of the major directions of Iraq's regional policy in the studied period was its relations with Turkey and a mutually beneficial economic cooperation between them was considered important. Its peak point was reached by the establishment of the High level Strategic Cooperation Council in 2009, which enabled the implementation of inter-state projects covering various spheres⁶⁸. Another factor impacting Iraq's regional policy in the post-War period was its relations with Iran, which need to be approached through the perspective of regional and global conjecture. Strengthening of positions of the Shia parties and groups turned Iran into one of the main players of the Iraqi political scene.

Thus, despite broad dependence of the country from the USA, the Iraqi leadership gradually demonstrated more independence in the regional policy. Despite the interests of global and regional forces and remaining challenges with regards to the emergence of new socio-political relations, Iraq remained as a potential centers of power in the Middle East.

The Conclusion concludes the dissertation, summarizes the work, and analyzes the findings of the research.

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⁶⁸ Türkiye-İrak Arasında İmzalanan yüksek Düzeyli Stratejik İşbirliği Konseyi Belgesi // <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data>.

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