

**FARG‘ONA DAVLAT UNIVERSITETI HUZURIDAGI ILMIY
DARAJALAR BERUVCHI PhD.03/2025.27.12.Tar.10.01 RAQAMLI ILMIY
KENGASH ASOSIDAGI BIR MARTALIK ILMIY KENGASH**

FARG‘ONA DAVLAT UNIVERSITETI

MUSEYIBZADA JOVHAR SHAMSADDIN O‘G‘LI

**O‘ZBEKISTON VA OZARBAYJON RESPUBLIKALARINING XALQARO
TASHKILOTLARDAGI FAOLIYAT VEKTORLARI VA ULARNING
QIYOSIY TAHLILI**

07.00.05 – Xalqaro munosabatlar va tashqi siyosat tarixi

**TARIX FANLARI bo‘yicha falsafa doktori (PhD) dissertatsiyasi
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KIRISH (falsafa doktori (PhD) dissertatsiyasi anotatsiyasi)

Dissertatsiya mavzusining dolzarbligi va zarurati. XX asrning 90-yillarida sotsialistik tizimning inqirozi oqibatida tubdan o'zgargan siyosiy-iqtisodiy muhit, mintaqaviy mojarolarning yuzaga kelishi va globallashuv jarayonining kuchayishi dunyo miqyosida xalqaro tashkilotlarning ahamiyatini yanada oshirdi. Ushbu voqealar fonida suverenligini barpo etgan O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalari mustaqilligini yanada mustahkamlash, jahon maydonida nufuzli o'rin egallash, legitimlikka erishish, shuningdek, xalqaro hamjamiyatga integratsiyalashish maqsadida o'z tashqi siyosatida xalqaro hamda mintaqaviy tashkilotlar bilan yaqin aloqalarni yo'lga qo'yib kelmoqda. Bugungi kunga kelib har ikki davlat huquqiy tamoyillar asosida xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan munosabatlarini to'laqonli amalga oshirmoqda.

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalarining xalqaro munosabatlar tizimidagi faolligi, xususan, nufuzli tashkilotlar doirasida olib borayotgan tashabbuskor siyosati tadqiqot markazlari nazarida bo'lib kelmoqda. Yevropa, Osiyo, AQSh va Rossiyadagi yetakchi ilmiy-tadqiqot markazlari tomonidan ularning tashqi siyosat strategiyasi va xalqaro tashkilotlardagi ishtiroki bo'yicha qator ilmiy tahlillar olib borilmoqda¹. Shu jihatdan, mazkur dissertatsiya bugungi kunda ilmiy jamoatchilikning e'tiborini tortayotgan dolzarb yo'nalishlaridan biri sanaladi. Ushbu omillar bois O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning tashqi siyosat maqsadlarini xalqaro tashkilotlar vositasida amalga oshirish strategiyalarini zamonaviy metodologiyalar asosida tadqiq etish zarurati tug'ilmoqda.

Tashqi siyosiy va iqtisodiy yo'lning samarali davom ettirilishi mamlakatda keng ko'lamli islohotlarni muvaffaqiyatli ro'yobga chiqarish hamda "milliy brend" deb ataladigan imijini xalqaro maydonda mustahkamlashda eng muhim omil hisoblanadi. O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti Sh.M.Mirziyoyev aytganidek, "O'zbekiston ochiq, va pragmatik tashqi siyosatni faol olib bormoqda. Xalqaro maydondagi qat'iy sa'y-harakatlarimiz natijasida yurtimizning nufuzi va obro'-e'tibori tobora yuksalmoqda²." O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti tomonidan xalqaro tashkilotlarni tashqi siyosatning asosiy vektorlaridan biri ekanligi, hamda Birlashgan Millatlar Tashkiloti, boshqa nufuzli xalqaro va mintaqaviy tuzilmalar bilan yaqin hamkorlikni rivojlantirish masalalari doimo e'tibor markazidaligi alohida ta'kidlanmoqda³.

2018-yil 9-yanvardagi O'RQ-458-son "O'zbekiston Respublikasining Mudofaa doktrinasini to'g'risida"gi Qonuni, O'zbekiston Respublikasi

¹ Sharqiy Yevropa, Janubiy Kavkaz va Markaziy Osiyo bo'yicha Gaaga tadqiqot instituti; Shvetsiyada joylashgan Xavfsizlik va taraqqiyot siyosati instituti; Fransiya xalqaro munosabatlar instituti qoshidagi Rossiya/Yevrosiyo markazi; Turkiyadagi Yevrosiyo tadqiqotlari markazi (AVIM); Turkiya Tashqi ishlar vazirligi qoshidagi Strategik tadqiqotlar markazi (SAM); Xitoy Ijtimoiy fanlar akademiyasi qoshidagi Sharqiy Yevropa, Rossiya va Markaziy Osiyo tadqiqotlari instituti; shuningdek AQShdagi Jorjtaun universiteti qoshidagi Yevrosiyo, Rossiya va Sharqiy Yevropa tadqiqotlari markazi; Amerika tashqi siyosat Kengashi qoshidagi Markaziy Osiyo va Kavkaz instituti; Carnegie Rossiya Yevrosiyo markazi; RFA Sharqshunoslik instituti qoshidagi O'rta Osiyo, Kavkaz va Ural-Volgani o'rganish markazi (CAUCAVUS) kabi markazlar.

² Мирзиёев Ш.М. Янги Ўзбекистонда Эркин ва фаровон яшайлик!. – Tashkent: Tasvir nashriyot uyi, 2021. – Б. 7.

³ O'sha manba. – Б. 27.

Prezidentining 2022-yil 28-yanvardagi PF-60-son “2022–2026-yillarga mo‘ljallangan Yangi O‘zbekistonning taraqqiyot strategiyasi to‘g‘risida”gi, 2023-yil 11-sentabrdagi PF-158-son “O‘zbekiston–2030 strategiyasi to‘g‘risida”gi Farmonlari, 2017-yil 30-iyundagi PQ-3105-son “O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Fanlar akademiyasi qoshidagi O‘zbekistonning eng yangi tarixi bo‘yicha jamoatchilik kengashi faoliyatini tashkil qilish to‘g‘risida”gi qarori, 2024-yil 31-dekabrdagi PQ-467-son “Mamlakatning ijtimoiy, siyosiy va iqtisodiy rivojlanish sohalaridagi strategik tahlil va tadqiqot qilish faoliyatini samarali tashkil etish chora-tadbirlari to‘g‘risida”gi qarorlari, shuningdek, sohaga oid boshqa normativ-huquqiy hujjatlarda belgilangan vazifalarni amalga oshirishda ushbu dissertatsiya muayyan darajada xizmat qiladi.

Tadqiqotning respublika fan va texnologiyalarini rivojlantirishning ustuvor yo‘nalishlariga mosligi. Mazkur tadqiqot respublika fan va texnologiyalar rivojlanishining I. “Axborotlashgan jamiyat va demokratik davlatni ijtimoiy, huquqiy, iqtisodiy innovatsion g‘oyalar tizimini shakllantirish va ularni amalga oshirish yo‘llari” nomli ustuvor yo‘nalishiga muvofiq bajarilgan.

Muammoning o‘rganilganlik darajasi. O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalari tashqi siyosiy faoliyatlarining turli aspektlariga mahalliy va xorijlik mualliflarning bir qator ishlari bag‘ishlangan. Ularni shartli ravishda uch guruhga ajratib, tahlil etish maqsadga muvofiq.

Birinchi guruhni mustaqillik davrida o‘zbekistonlik olimlar tomonidan o‘tkazilgan tadqiqotlar tashkil etadi. O‘zbekiston Respublikasining tashqi siyosati va uning xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasidagi faoliyatini F.Xakimov, A.Komilov, S.Jo‘rayev, T.Dadabayev, A.Kadyrov, F.Kobilov, M.Boltayev, A.Urazoliyev, O.Allaberganov, Z.Jumaxanov, A.Toshpulatov, F.Najimov va M.Raximov kabi tadqiqotchilar o‘rgangan⁴. Ularning maqolalarida mamlakatning mintaqaviy va global miqyosdagi diplomatik faoliyati, tashqi siyosatdagi ustuvor yo‘nalishlari, shuningdek, xalqaro va mintaqaviy hamkorlikni rivojlantirish masalalarining ma’lum bir jihatlarini tahlil etilgan. Ayniqsa, R.Maxmudovning hozirgi O‘zbekiston tashqi siyosatini o‘rgangan tadqiqotida yangi bir tendensiya, ya’ni “ko‘p qirrali

⁴ Хакимов Ф. Ўзбекистоннинг ташқи сиёсати: асосий устувор йўналишлар ва эришилган натижалар. // Strategy of Uzbekistan – Ўзбекистон, 2021. – Б. 96–103; Хакимов Ф. Халқаро ва минтақавий ташкилотлар доирасида Ўзбекистоннинг кўп томонлама дипломатияси. – Ўзбекистон: 2022; Комилов А. Ўзбекистоннинг имижли тубдан ўзгармоқда // Strategy of Uzbekistan. – Ўзбекистон, 2021. – Б. 166–173; Жўраев С. Марказий Осиёдаги тизимли муаммолар ечимининг янги трендлари (Таҳлилий маъруза). // Oriental Journal of History, Politics and Law. – 2022. – Б. 340–352; Dadabaev T. Uzbekistan as Central Asian Game Changer? Uzbekistan’s Foreign Policy Construction in the Post-Karimov Era // Asian Journal of Comparative Politics. – 2018. – Pp. 1–14; Kadyrov A. Key Foreign Policy Priorities of a Renewed Uzbekistan. – Uzbekistan: Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 2020; Kobilov F. From Geopolitical Pendulum to Regional Player: Uzbekistan’s Regional Foreign Policy Following the Leadership Change in 2016. // Central Asian Survey. – 2025. – Pp. 1–21; Болтаев М. Марказий ва Жанубий Осиё ўртасидаги минтақавий боғлиқликни таъминлаш йўлида // Xalq so‘zi, 2021; Urazoliyev A. Birlashgan Millatlar Tashkiloti O‘zbekiston Faoliyatida. // Education and Research in the Era of Digital Transformation. – 2025. – Pp. 91–96; Allaberganov O. O‘zbekiston va Birlashgan millatlar tashkiloti hamkorligi tarixiga bir nazar. – 2025. – Б. 65–68; Jumaxanov Sh. and Toshpulatov A. Geographical and Geopolitical Factors of Uzbekistan’s Foreign Policy. // Центральноазиатский Журнал Географических исследований. – 2023. – С.39–48; Nadzhimov F. Cultural and Public Diplomacy in the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Uzbekistan. // International Journal of History and Political Sciences. – 2025. – Pp. 22–27; Рахимов М. Приоритеты внешней политики Республики Узбекистан. // Россия и новые государства Евразии. – 2020. №3. – С. 111–23; Gabdulhakov R. The Highly Securitized Insecurities of State Borders in the Fergana Valley // The Central Asia Fellowship Papers, 2015. – 10 p.

strategik hamkorlik” konsepsiyasining shakllanishi va yumshoq kuch instrumentlarining mintaqaviy darajada samarali qo‘llanilishi tahlil qilingan⁵. D.Sayfullayev esa O‘zbekiston diplomatiyasi tarixini 1991–2015-yillar davrida asosiy tarixiy voqealarga tayanib olti bosqichga ajratgan hamda har bir bosqichda mamlakatning faol va pragmatik tashqi siyosatini alohida ta’kidlab o‘tgan⁶.

Dissertatsiya doirasida o‘zbekistonlik olimlar tomonidan yozilgan monografiyalar ham tahlil qilindi. Ularning asarlarida xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan hamkorlikning O‘zbekiston tashqi siyosatidagi o‘rni, hamda mamlakatning mintaqaviy barqarorlikni ta’minlashdagi roli yoritilgan⁷. Xususan, M.Saidazimxo‘jayeva hammuallifligida chop etilgan kollektiv monografiyada O‘zbekistonning xalqaro maydondagi imijini mustahkamlash, islohotlar va tashqi siyosatdagi yangi strategiyalar haqida ma’lumot berilgan⁸. Shuningdek, S.G‘afurov o‘z tadqiqotida O‘zbekiston tashqi siyosatining ochiqlik va faol diplomatiya tamoyillari asosida rivojlanayotganini, Orolbo‘yi mintaqasidagi ekologik inqiroz va Afg‘oniston masalasiga qaratilgan mamlakatning xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasidagi tashabbuslari haqida tahliliy mulohazalar bildirgan⁹.

O‘zbekiston Respublikasining tashqi siyosati va ko‘p tomonlama hamkorligi masalalari doimo tadqiqotchilarning e’tiborida bo‘lgan. Natijada ayni masalalarga bag‘ishlangan dissertatsiyalarni ham uchratishimiz mumkin. O‘zbekistonda amalga oshirilgan ushbu tadqiqotlar qatoriga Sh.Xaydaraliyev, O.Abdimo‘minov, Sh.Toshturov, A.Xamidova, F.Usarova va A.Ibraimovanning ishlari kiradi¹⁰. Ularning dissertatsiyalarida, asosan, O‘zbekistonning ayrim xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan siyosiy, iqtisodiy va madaniy munosabatlari hamda mintaqaviy xavfsizlikni

⁵ Махмудов Р. Внешняя политика современного Узбекистана // Россия и новые государства Евразии – Москва, 2021. №1. – С. 121–134.

⁶ Sayfullayev D. Uzbekistan’s Diplomacy in the Modern International Relations System // Journal of Public Affairs. – 2016. №4. – Pp. 415–422.

⁷ Dadabaev T. Decolonizing Central Asian International Relations: Beyond Empires. – London: Routledge, 2021. – 168 p.; Шарапова С. Многосторонность и внешняя политика Республики Узбекистан. – Ташкент: Ташкентский гос. ин-т востоковедения, 2007. – 178 с.; Nazarov O. va Ne‘matov R. O‘zbekistonning xalqaro tashkilotlari bilan aloqalari (YUNESKO MISOLIDA). – Guliston: Ziyoy, 2020. – 96 b.; Abdullayev S., Xajiyev B., va Mambetjanov Q. O‘zbekistonning ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy rivojlanish strategiyasi. – Toshkent: Toshkent davlat iqtisodiyot universiteti, 2018. – 424 b.; Xoliqova R. O‘zbekistonning eng yangi tarixi. – Toshkent: Toshkent davlat texnika universiteti, 2021. – 269 b.; Jurayev H., Iminov B., Begimqulova I., Oxunjonova Sh. O‘zbekistonning Eng Yangi Tarixi. – Farg‘ona: 2023. – 296.

⁸ Saidazimkhujayeva M. Modern Central Asia: Regional Connectivity & Capacity Building (Collective Monograph). – Tashkent: Fan Ziyosi, 2022. – 254 p.

⁹ G‘afurov S. Markaziy Osiyo: mintaqaviy tahdidlar, integratsiya, zamonaviy siyosiy jarayonlar. – Toshkent: Merit Print, 2023. – 108 p.

¹⁰ Xaydaraliyev Sh. Markaziy Osiyo mintaqasida xavfsizlik va barqarorlikni ta’minlashda xalqaro tashkilotlar va O‘zbekistonning o‘rni. Tarix fan. bo‘yicha fals. dokt. (PhD) Diss. – Namangan: Namangan davlat universiteti, 2012. – 165 b.; Abdimo‘minov O. O‘zbekiston Respublikasining birlashgan millatlar tashkiloti bilan munosabatlari tarixi. Tarix fan. bo‘yicha fals. dokt. (PhD) Diss. – Toshkent: O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Fanlar akademiyasi Tarix instituti, 2018. – 213 b.; Toshturov Sh. O‘zbekiston Respublikasining BMT global dasturlaridagi ishtiroki tarixi. (PhD) Diss. – Buxoro: Navoiy davlat pedagogika instituti, 2022. – 142 b.; Xamidova A. O‘zbekiston Respublikasining BMT bilan hamkroligini xalqaro-xuquqiy jihatlar. (PhD) Diss. – Toshkent: Jahon iqtisodiyoti va diplomatiya universiteti, 2008; Usarova F. Globallashuv sharoitida O‘zbekiston Respublikasi tashqi siyosatining milliy-g‘oyaviy negizlari. Siyosiy fan. nomzodi diss. – Toshkent: Jahon iqtisodiyoti va diplomatiya universiteti, 2009. – 161 b.; Шарапова С. Основные проблемы становления и развития внешней политики Республики Узбекистан. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата политических наук. – Ташкент: Государственный институт востоковедения, 1997. – 131 с.; Ibraimova A. O‘zbekiston Respublikasini Markaziy Osiyo davlatlari bilan tashqi iqtisodiy aloqalarining geografik jihatlar. – Toshkent: Mirzo Ulug‘bek nomidagi O‘zbekiston milliy universiteti, 2012. – 152 b.

ta'minlashdagi roli o'rganilgan. Bu o'rinda A.Adigezalov tomonidan yozilgan ilmiy ishga e'tibor qaratishimiz zarur¹¹. U dissertatsiyasida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tuzilmalar doirasidagi o'zaro hamkorligini tahlil etgan. Mazkur dissertatsiyada esa har ikki davlatning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi tashqi siyosat faoliyati alohida o'rganilgan. Shuningdek, ularni o'rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar sifatida qiyosiy tahlil qiladi.

Ikkinchi guruhga ozarbayjonlik olimlar tomonidan olib borilgan ilmiy izlanishlar kiradi. Xususan, L.Guliyeva, Sh.Abilov, B.Hajiyev, A.Geybulla, A.Habibbeyli, M.Ismayilov, G.Shiraliyeva, T.Faradov, Sh.Mammadli, Z.Shiriyev, K.Makili-Aliyev, A.Valiyev, N.Ahmadov, F.Mammadov va A.Rasizade tomonidan Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan hamkorligi, tashqi siyosiy yo'nalishlari turli jihatlar bilan o'rganilgan¹². Ularning asarlarida asosan Ozarbayjonning xalqaro maydondagi faoliyati hamda mintaqaviy va global tashkilotlar orqali milliy manfaatlarini ilgari surish strategiyalari yoritilgan. A.Mammadovning tadqiqoti Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatida xavfsizlik va muvozanat tamoyillari qanday shakllanganini nazariy asosda tahlil qilganligi bilan ajralib turadi. M.Baylarovning izlanishlari esa Ozarbayjonning hududiy yaxlitlik tahdidlari bilan kurashi va energiya resurslarini tashqi siyosat omili sifatida baholashi ko'rsatib o'tilgan.

Ozarbayjonlik olimlar hamda o'z monografiyalarida Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlarda ishtiroki tarixi, davlat nufuzining shakllanishi va tashqi siyosiy kursining rivojlanishiga bag'ishlangan tadqiqot ishlarini amalga oshirganlar¹³. Bu

¹¹ Адигезалов А. Сотрудничество Республики Узбекистан с Азербайджанской Республикой в деятельности региональных и международных организаций. Диссертация (DSc) по историческим наукам. – Ташкент: Международный институт Центральной Азии, 2025. – 260 с.

¹² Гулиева Л. Азербайджан и Международные Институты в Сфере Культуры: Механизмы и Основные Направления Сотрудничества. // Вестник Московского Государственного Лингвистического Университета – Москва, 2013. – С. 138–143; Abilov Sh. and Hajiyev B. Why the Neutrality of Azerbaijan Is Important for the European Union. // Insight Turkey. – 2019. №3. – Pp. 53–67; Geybulla A. The Third Powers and Azerbaijan. – European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2018. – Pp. 101–110; Habibbeyli A. Reconsidering Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy on the 25th Anniversary of Restored Independence. // PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs. – 2017. №1. – Pp. 29–48; Ismayilov M. Power, Knowledge, and Pipelines: Understanding the Politics of Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy. // Caucasus Survey. – 2014. №1-2. – Pp. 79–129; Şirəliyeva G. İslam Əməkdaşlıq Təşkilatının Fəaliyyətində Heydər Əliyevin Rolu. // Academic Journal of History and Idea. – 2023. №4. – Pp. 1057–1066; Faradov T. Foreign Policy Orientations in Azerbaijan: Public and Elite Opinion. – Baku: North Atlantic Treaty Organization Final Report, 2003. – 76 p.; Mammadli Sh. Azərbaycan İslam əməkdaşlıq təşkilatının üzvü kimi. // Bakı: Tarix, İnsan və Cəmiyyət. – 2019. №2. – Pp. 125–132; Shiriyev Z. Azerbaijan's Perspectives on the OSCE Minsk Group. // Security and Human Rights. – 2016. №3-4. – Pp. 442–466; Makili-Aliyev K. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: Between East and West... // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2013. – 14 p.; Valiyev A. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: What Role for the West in the South Caucasus? / Eastern Voices: Europe's East Faces an Unsettled West. – Washington: 2017. – Pp. 133–149; Ahmadov N. 20 Years of Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A View from Azerbaijan. // Modern Diplomacy, 2021; Mammadov F. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy – A New Paradigm of Careful Pragmatism. The South Caucasus Between Integration and Fragmentation. – 2015. – Pp. 29–36; Rasizade A. Azerbaijan in Transition to the "New Age of Democracy". // Communist and Post-Communist Studies. – 2003. №3. – Pp. 345–372.

¹³ Hasanov A. Современные международные отношения и внешняя политика Азербайджана. – Баку: Zərdabi, 2013. – 1008 с.; Abdullayev B. Azərbaycan və ATƏT. – Bakı: İqtisad Universiteti, 2010. – 100 s.; Qarayev R. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan, Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsinin nizamlanmasında beynəlxalq təşkilatların qərarlarının əhəmiyyəti və beynəlxalq hüquq. – Bakı: Təknur, 2012. – 344 s.; Gurbanova S. Гейдар Алиев и внешнеполитический курс Азербайджанской Республики. – Баку: Şərq-Qərb, 2010. – 58 с.; Мехтиев Р. Азербайджан: вызовы глобализации. – Баку: XXI-Yeni Nəşrlər Evi, 2004. – 584 с.; Ягизаров Ш. Институт Президентства Азербайджана и Его Роль в Формировании Имиджа Страны. – Баку: Академия государственного управления при президенте Азербайджанской Республики, 2024. – 442 с.; Фейзиов Д.

asarlarda Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatining institutsional asoslari va davlat suverenitetini mustahkamlashdagi xalqaro omillar kabi masalalarga e'tibor qaratilgan. Xususan, F.Mammadov, J.Valiyev va A.Mammadov tomonidan tayyorlangan kollektiv monografiya Ozarbayjonning 9 ta xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan munosabatlari ochib berilgani holda energetika diplomatiyasining tashqi siyosatdagi ahamiyati ta'kidlangan¹⁴. N.Mammadovning monografiyasida esa Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatining qattiq kuchdan yumshoq kuch konsepsiyasiga o'tish jarayoni va yangi global tartibot sharoitida uning olib borgan muvozanatli siyosati mohiyati ochib berilgan¹⁵.

H.Mammadova, A.Aliyev, E.Mehdiyev, Z.Ibrahimov, S.Quliyeva va M.Barxudarovlar tomonidan dissertatsiyalarida Ozarbayjon Respublikasi tashqi siyosatining dolzarb muammolari va xalqaro hamkorlik mexanizmlariga e'tibor qaratilgan¹⁶. Ushbu tadqiqotlar Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatining shakllanishi va diplomatiya sohasidagi yutuqlarini o'rganishga muayyan darajada hissa qo'shgan.

Uchinchi guruh xorijiy mamlakatlarda nashr qilingan adabiyotlarni qamrab oladi. Xususan, R.Burnashev, B.Toktogulov, V.Avatkov, J.E.Strakes, D.Sauerborn, M.Laruelle, J.Daly, E.Fuller, C.Loda, A.C.Kuchins, K.Bashlar, H.Plater-Zyberk, A.Monaghan, A.Muratbekova, A.Pikalov, R.Schaefer, V.Romashov, C.Poujol, D.Degterev, B.T.Fazendeiro, S.N.Cummings, P.J.Luong va N.Drostning asarlarini ko'rsatib o'tish lozim¹⁷. Xorijlik olimlar tomonidan

Значение создания союзов в международной политике и международном праве. / Союз тюркских государств: Евразийская модель глобальной интеграции, 2014. – С. 206-261.

¹⁴ Mammadov F., Valiyev J., Mammadov A. Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasətinin əsas istiqamətləri: 1991-2016. – Bakı: Poliart, 2017. – 904 s.

¹⁵ Məmmədov N. Xarici siyasət: reallıqlar və gələcəyə baxış. – Bakı: Qanun, 2013. – 264 s.

¹⁶ Məmmədova H. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsi Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasətində. tarix e. d-ru el. dər. a. üçün təq. ol. dis.. – Bakı: Institute of History named after A.A.Bakikhanov, 2011. – 332 s.; Əliyev A. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan, Dağlıq Qarabağ probleminin həlli beynəlxalq təşkilatların etno-siyasi münaqişələri tənzimləmələri kontekstində. tarix e. n. a. dər. al. üçün təq. ed. dis. – Bakı: AMEA, Arxeologiya və Etnoqrafiya İn-tu., 2010. – 142 s.; Mehdiyev E. Role of International Organizations in Regional Cooperation: Case Study of Azerbaijan in the System of Organization of Islamic Cooperation. – Türkiyə: Marmara University, 2019.; Ibrahimov Z. The Role of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation in the Development of Foreign and Cultural Relations of Azerbaijan. Annotatsiya (PhD). – Bakı: Bakı State University, 2022; Quliyeva S. Heydər Əliyevin əsərləri Azərbaycan Respublikasının İslam Konfransı Təşkilatı ilə əlaqələrini öyrənmək üçün mənbə kimi. – Bakı: Bakı Dövlət Universiteti, 2014. – 186 s.; Bərxudarov M. Qloballaşma şəraitində Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici iqtisadi əlaqələrin formalaşması xüsusiyyətləri və problemləri. iqt. e. n. a. dər. al. üçün təq. ed. dis.– Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət İqtisad Universiteti, 2003. – 176 s.

¹⁷ Toktogulov B. Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy under Mirziyoyev: Change or Continuity?. // Eurasian Research Journal. – 2022. №1. – Pp. 49–67; Avatkov B. и Рожкова З. Концептуальные основы внешней политики Республики Узбекистан на современном этапе. // Постсоветские исследования – Москва: 2022. – С. 825–834; Strakes J.E. Azerbaijan and the Non-Aligned Movement: Institutionalizing the 'Balanced Foreign Policy' Doctrine." // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2015. – 24 p.; Sauerborn D., Scianna B.M. and Mazziotti M. Multipolarity Is Key: Assessing Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy. – Center for Economic and Social Development, 2013. – 14 p.; Burnashev R. Uzbekistan's New Course and the Construction of Central Asia. // CABAR, 2021.; Laruelle M. Factoring the Regional Impact of Uzbekistan's Withdrawal from the CSTO. // Foreign Policy and Civil Society Program, 2012. – 3 p.; Daly J.C.K. Outside View: Uzbek Afghanistan Proposal Relevant and Timely. / United Press International, 2009; Daly J.C.K. Implications of Azerbaijan Moving Closer to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. // Eurasia Daily Monitor. – 2016. №61; Fuller E. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy and the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict. // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2013. – 12 p.; Loda C. Azerbaijan, Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy. // Irish Studies in International Affairs – Dublin, 2016. – Pp. 39–55; Kuchins A.C., Mankoff J. and Backes O. Azerbaijan in a Reconnecting Eurasia: Foreign Economic and Security Interests. – Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016. – 44 p.; Başlar K. The Commonwealth of Independent States: Decayed within a Decade. // The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations. – Ankara, 2001. №32. – Pp. 91–125; Plater-Zyberk H. and Monaghan A. Strategic Implications of the Evolving Shanghai Cooperation Organization. – Carlisle Barracks

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi faolligi, ularning Markaziy Osiyo va Kavkaz mintaqalarida ko'p vektorli diplomatiyasi bo'yicha tadqiqotlar olib borilgan. Ularning tadqiqotlarida har ikki mamlakatning xalqaro platformalardagi ishtiroki, mintaqaviy tashabbuslari va global o'zgarishlarga moslashuv jarayonlari qisman o'rganilgan. Tadqiqot mavzusini ilmiy-metodologik jihatdan boyitgan va nazariy asosini tashkil etgan xorijiy adabiyotlar esa dissertatsiya ishining I bobining birinchi paragrafida to'raligicha yoritilgan.

Keltirilgan keng ko'lamli adabiyotlarning ilmiy salmog'ini inkor etmagan holda O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi global tashabbuslari hamda tashqi siyosiy strategiyalarini qiyoslash orqali ularning xalqaro maydondagi o'rinlarini zamonaviy nazariyalar asosida aniqlash bo'yicha alohida tadqiqot olib borilmagan. Biroq yuqorida aytib o'tilgan olimlarning ishlarida mazkur masala alohida ko'rib chiqilmaganligi dissertatsiya mavzusini o'rganish ilmiy-nazariy jihatdan dolzarb vazifa ekanligidan dalolat beradi.

Tadqiqotning dissertatsiya bajarilgan oliy ta'lim muassasasining ilmiy-tadqiqot ishlari rejalari bilan bog'liqligi. Dissertatsiya Farg'ona davlat universiteti ilmiy-tadqiqot ishlari rejasiga muvofiq "O'zbekiston tarixining dolzarb muammolari" mavzusi (№9, FDU IK 2019.30.05) doirasida bajarilgan.

Tadqiqotning maqsadi O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalarining xalqaro maydondagi o'rni, xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasidagi tarixiy-diplomatik tashabbuslari, ularning tashqi siyosatini shakllantirish jarayoni, o'xshashlik, farqlari hamda bir-biriga namuna bo'la oladigan jihatlarini ochib berishdan iborat.

Tadqiqotning vazifalari:

1991–2025 yillar oralig'ida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning tashqi siyosatini shakllantirgan normativ-huquqiy hujjatlar va mavjud materiallarni o'rganish;

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatlarini belgilovchi va shakllantiruvchi omillarni aniqlash, jumladan ushbu davlatlarning tashqi siyosat strategiyalarini qanday amalga oshirayotganligini izohlash;

xalqaro tashkilotlarning O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning muvaffaqiyatli tashqi siyosat olib borishdagi ahamiyatini ilmiy adabiyotlar tahlili asosida yoritib berish;

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi ishtirokining tarixiy rivojlanish yo'llarini va har ikki davlatning 7 ta xalqaro tashkilotlarga bo'lgan turli

Strategic Studies Institute, 2014. – 66 p.; Muratbekova A. 2022 SCO Summit in Samarkand: Key Takeaways. / Eurasian Research Institute; Pikalov A. Uzbekistan between the Great Powers: A Balancing Act or a Multi-Vectorial Approach? // Central Asian Survey. – 2014. №3. – Pp. 297–311; Schaefer R. and Whitney A. The Uzbek Wild Card in the New Great Game in Central Asia. // Region: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia. – 2015. №2. – Pp. 291–308; Romashov V. Uzbekistan's Balancing Act: A Game of Chance for Independent External Policies. / The Regional Security Puzzle around Afghanistan: Bordering Practices in Central Asia and Beyond. – Toronto, 2016. – Pp. 161–90; Poujol C. International Relations in Central Asia: A Focus on Foreign Policies (1991–2020). / European Handbook of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics, and Societies. – Stuttgart: ibidem, 2021. – Pp. 685–751; Degterev D. and Kurylev K. Foreign Policies of the CIS States: A Comprehensive Reference. – London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2019. – 517 p.; Fazendeiro B.T. Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy: The Struggle for Recognition and Self-Reliance under Karimov. – London: Routledge, 2018. – 192 p.; Cummings S.N. Understanding Central Asia: Politics and Contested Transformations. – London: Routledge, 2013. – 256 p.; Luong P.J. Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions, and Pacts. – 2002. – 24 p.; Drost N., Giulia C. and van Giersbergen B. Central Asia Emerging from the Shadows. – The Netherlands: Clingendael, 2025. – 79 p.

qarashlarini o'rganib, davlatlarning faoliyatini tashqi siyosatning ustuvorliklari bilan bog'lash;

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosat faoliyatlarini ilmiy jihatdan bosqichlarga bo'lish hamda izohlash uchun nazariy asos yaratish;

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tomonidan amalga oshirilgan muhim tashabbuslar, egallangan asosiy lavozimlar va tashkil etilgan yirik tadbirlarni aniqlash hamda ularning davlat nufuzi va imij shakllantirishga qo'shgan hissasini o'rganish;

qiyosiy-komparativ tahlil qilish asosida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning kelgusida xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan o'zaro aloqalarini optimallashtirish maqsadida tavsiyalar ishlab chiqishdan iborat.

Tadqiqotning obyekti sifatida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalarining tashqi siyosati va ko'ptomonlama diplomatiyasi belgilab olindi.

Tadqiqotning predmetini O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon respublikalarining xalqaro tashkilotlardagi faoliyat vektorlari va ularning o'rta kuch sifatida namoyon bo'lishi, o'z mintaqalarida ta'siri, tashqi siyosatidagi o'ziga xosliklari hamda bu boradagi ilg'or tashabbuslari tashkil qiladi.

Tadqiqotning usullari. Dissertatsiya ishida tarixiy-sistematik, qiyosiy-komparativ, mantiqiy-tahliliy, xronologik, pragmatik, tavsifiy hamda sifatli mazmun tahlili kabi usullardan foydalanilgan.

Tadqiqotning ilmiy yangiligi quyidagilardan iborat:

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosat maqsadlarini ilgari surishda xalqaro tashkilotlar vositasida ustuvorlik belgilash strategiyasidan foydalanib muayyan sohalarda mutaxassis, ishonchli hamkor va qudrat markazlari sifatida namoyon bo'lishi ko'rsatib berilgan;

“o'rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar” tushunchasini joriy qilish orqali O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning “kichik davlat” emas balki “o'rta kuch” maqomiga o'tish jarayonida ekanligi dalillangan;

xalqaro tashkilotlar keng xalqaro auditoriya bilan o'zaro aloqani ta'minlab, “yumshoq kuch” va o'ziga xos o'rin yaratish uchun ideal platforma sifatida xizmat qilishi, bu esa o'z navbatida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning nufuz va imijini shakllantirishga hamda milliy manfaatlariga muvofiq tashqi siyosat yuritish salohiyatlarini oshirishga ko'maklashishi asoslangan;

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatidagi umumiylik va o'ziga xosliklar aniqlanib, ularning o'z mintaqalarida ta'siri, nufuzini oshirish uchun o'xshash geosiyosiy ambitsiyalarga egaligi, ilg'or xalqaro tashabbuslari asoslab berilgan.

Tadqiqotning amaliy natijalari quyidagilardan iborat:

O'zbekiston tashqi siyosatidagi o'zgarishlar 2016-yildan izohlanib, uning liberal, hamkorlikka moyil va institutsionalist yondashuvni qabul qilgani aniqlangan;

Ozarbayjonning barcha xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasida har bir uchrashuv va imzolangan hujjatlarda Qorabog' masalasi bo'yicha qa'tiyatlilik namoyish etgani va ustuvor ahamiyat bergani asoslangan, qolaversa, 2020-yildan tashqi siyosat ustuvorligining “hududiy yaxlitlikni tiklash”dan Qorabog'dagi “qayta qurish” tomon yo'naltirilishi izohlangan;

O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro muhokamalarni yetaklashga qodirligi, mintaqaviy loyihalarda markaz sifatidagi roli hamda atrof-muhit, energetika, xavfsizlik va savdo sohalaridagi ilg‘or xalqaro tashabbuslari ko‘rsatib berilgan;

O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatida belgilangan ustuvor yo‘nalishlarning jahon hamjamiyatida o‘ziga xosligi bilan ajralib turishi birinchi marotaba “strategik narrativlar” nazariyasi yordamida ko‘rsatib berilgan;

O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalarining nufuzi va imijini mahkamlashga hissa qo‘shishi mumkin bo‘lgan yo‘nalishlar aniqlangan holda taklif va tavsiyalar ishlab chiqilgan;

O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning 7 ta xalqaro tashkilotlardagi faoliyati birinchi bor keng qamrovda o‘rganilgan va bir nechta manbalar (birlamchi hujjatlar) ilk marotaba ilmiy muomalaga kiritilgan;

keng turdagi xorijiy va mahalliy adabiyotlar tahlili misolida O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning “o‘rta kuch” statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar bo‘lishi bois xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan munosabatlarni rivojlantirish ahamiyati aniqlangan. Ular asosida O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning tashqi siyosat hamda xalqaro munosabatlar tarixini o‘rganish, o‘qitishda foydalanish mumkin bo‘lgan ma‘lumotlar ko‘rsatib berilgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining ishonchliligi. Vatan tarixini o‘rganishdagi yangi yutuqlar, samarali nazariy usullarga tayanilganligi, fanlararo yondashuvning qo‘llanilganligi, O‘zbekiston, Ozarbayjon va xalqaro tashkilotlarning arxivlarida saqlanayotgan mavzuga oid rasmiy hujjatlardan olingan ma‘lumotlar keng turdagi ilmiy adabiyotlar bilan tahlil qilinib, tegishli xulosalar chiqarilganligi, taklif va tavsiyalarining amaliyotga joriy etilganligi, olingan natijalarning vakolatli tuzilmalar tomonidan tasdiqlanganligi bilan izohlanadi.

Tadqiqot natijalarining ilmiy va amaliy ahamiyati. Tadqiqotning ilmiy ahamiyati shundaki, nazariy va empirik ma‘lumotlarning uzviyligini ta‘minlagan holda O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tizimdagi o‘rni, ularning diplomatik tashabbuslari ortidagi o‘xshash motivlar, tashqi siyosatni shakllantirish va ilgari surish jarayonlari hamda ularning nufuz va ta‘sirini namoyon etish usullari kabi xalqaro munosabatlarda yetarlicha o‘rganilmagan masalalarni chuqur anglashga xizmat qiladi.

Tadqiqot natijalarining amaliy ahamiyati shundaki, O‘zbekiston Respublikasining tashqi siyosati va xalqaro munosabatlari tarixi bilan bir qatorda davlatning milliy g‘oyasi, siyosiy rivojlanish jarayonlarini o‘rganish bo‘yicha o‘tkaziladigan tadqiqotlarda, ilmiy asarlar yaratishda, oliy ta‘lim muassasalari uchun o‘quv adabiyotlarining yangi avlodini yaratishda, xususan, dissertatsiyadagi umumlashtirilgan ma‘lumotlardan “Xalqaro munosabatlar”, “O‘zbekiston tarixi”, “Jahon tarixi” fanlaridan ma‘ruzalar o‘qishda foydalanish mumkinligi bilan asoslanadi. Shuningdek, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Tashqi ishlar vazirligi hamda tashqi siyosatga oid bo‘lgan idoralarning konsepsiya, strategiya va chora-tadbirlarini ishlab chiqishda tadqiqot materiallaridan keng foydalanish mumkin.

Tadqiqot natijalarining joriy qilinishi. Zamonaviy xalqaro munosabatlar tizimida O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalarining xalqaro tashkilotlar

doirasidagi faoliyat vetkorlarini tadqiq etish bo'yicha qo'lga kiritilgan natijalar, ilmiy xulosa va takliflar asosida:

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosat maqsadlarini ilgari surishda xalqaro tashkilotlar vositasida ustuvorlik belgilash strategiyasidan foydalanib muayyan sohalarda mutaxassis, ishonchli hamkor va qudrat markazlari sifatida namoyon bo'lishi kabi ilmiy xulosalardan O'zbekiston Milliy teleradiokompaniyasi "O'zbekiston tarixi" telekanalining "Taqdimot" ko'rsatuvi senariysini shakllantirishda foydalanilgan (O'zbekiston Milliy teleradiokompaniyasi "O'zbekiston tarixi" teleradiokanali davlat muassasasining 2025-yil 14-maydagi 01-33/319-son ma'lumotnomasi). Natijada, ko'rsatuvning O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi tarixiy-diplomatik tashabbuslariga oid ma'lumotlar va ilmiy dalillarga boy bo'lishi ta'minlangan;

"o'rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar" tushunchasini joriy qilish orqali O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning "kichik davlat" emas balki "o'rta kuch" maqomiga o'tish jarayonida ekanligiga doir ma'lumotlardan O'zbekiston Respublikasi Millatlararo munosabatlar va xorijdagi vatandoshlar masalalari bo'yicha Qo'mitasining Ozarbayjon bilan do'stona xalqaro madaniy-ma'rifiy aloqalarini yanada mustahkamlash, o'zaro manfaatli hamkorlikni rivojlantirish mavzusidagi konferensiya, seminar, davra suhbatlari, shuningdek madaniy-gumanitar sohalardagi tadbirlarini tashkil etishda foydalanilgan (O'zbekiston Respublikasi Millatlararo munosabatlar va xorijdagi vatandoshlar masalalari bo'yicha Qo'mitasining 2025-yil 11-iyundagi 14/140-son ma'lumotnomasi). Natijada, har ikki mamlakatning xalqaro maydondagi o'rnini va salohiyati yangi konsepsiya asosida keng ommaga talqin etilgan;

xalqaro tashkilotlar keng xalqaro auditoriya bilan o'zaro aloqani ta'minlab, "yumshoq kuch" va o'ziga xos o'rin yaratish uchun ideal platforma sifatida xizmat qilishi, bu esa o'z navbatida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning nufuz va imijini shakllantirishga, milliy manfaatlariga muvofiq tashqi siyosat yuritish salohiyatini oshirishga ko'maklashishi singari ilmiy tafsilotlardan O'zbekiston Milliy teleradiokompaniyasi "O'zbekiston tarixi" telekanalining "Taqdimot" ko'rsatuvi senariysini shakllantirishda foydalanilgan (O'zbekiston Milliy teleradiokompaniyasi "O'zbekiston tarixi" teleradiokanali davlat muassasasining 2025-yil 14-maydagi 01-33/319-son ma'lumotnomasi). Natijada, ko'rsatuvning ikki turkiy davlat tashqi siyosatiga oid yangi ma'lumotlarga boy bo'lishiga xizmat qilgan;

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatidagi umumiylik va o'ziga xosliklar aniqlanib, ularning o'z mintaqalarida ta'siri va nufuzini oshirish uchun o'xshash geosiyosiy ambitsiyalarga egaligi, ilg'or xalqaro tashabbuslari borasidagi ilmiy xulosalardan O'zbekiston Respublikasi Millatlararo munosabatlar va xorijdagi vatandoshlar masalalari bo'yicha Qo'mitasining Ozarbayjon bilan madaniy-gumanitar aloqalarni mustahkamlash va o'zaro manfaatli tadbirlarni tashkil etish sohalardagi tadbirlarini tashkil etishda foydalanilgan (O'zbekiston Respublikasi Millatlararo munosabatlar va xorijdagi vatandoshlar masalalari bo'yicha Qo'mitasining 2025-yil 11-iyundagi 14/140-son ma'lumotnomasi). Natijada,

O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalarining xalqaro miqyosdagi yutuqlarini yanada kengroq targ‘ib qilinishiga xizmat qilgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining aprobatyasi. Tadqiqot natijalari 5 ta ilmiy-amaliy konferensiyalarda, shu jumladan 3 ta xalqaro, 2 ta respublika ilmiy-amaliy anjumanlarda aprobatyalardan o‘tgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining chop etilganligi. Dissertatsiya mavzusi bo‘yicha jami 13 ta ilmiy ish e‘lon qilingan. Jumladan, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy attestatsiya komissiyasining doktorlik dissertatsiyalari asosiy ilmiy natijalarini chop etish tavsiya etilgan ilmiy nashrlarda 8 ta maqola (4 tasi respublika va 4 tasi xorijiy) nashr etilgan.

Dissertatsiyaning tuzilishi va hajmi. Dissertatsiya kirish, uchta bob, xulosa hamda foydalanilgan manbalar, adabiyotlar ro‘yxati va ilovalardan iborat. Dissertatsiyaning tadqiqot qismi 137 betni tashkil qiladi.

DISSERTATSIYANING ASOSIY MAZMUNI

Dissertatsiyaning **kirish** qismida tanlangan mavzuning dolzarbligi asoslanib, tadqiqotning maqsad va vazifalari, ob‘ekti va predmeti aniqlangan. Tadqiqotning ilmiy yangiligi va amaliy natijalari bayon qilingan, olingan natijalarning ishonchlilik asoslangan hamda ularning nazariy va amaliy ahamiyati, tadqiqot natijalarining amaliyotga joriy etilishi, ishning aprobatyasi va tarkibiy tuzilishi bo‘yicha ma‘lumotlar keltirilgan.

“O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi ishtirokiga oid nazariy va tashqi siyosiy asoslar” deb nomlangan birinchi bob mazkur davlatlarning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi ishtirokini tushunish uchun zarur bo‘lgan nazariy-tahliliy yondashuvlar hamda tashqi siyosiy ustuvorliklarni ochib beradi. “Qiyosiy-komparativ tahlilni o‘rnatish uchun nazariy-metodologik asoslar” deb nomlangan birinchi paragraf tegishli atamalar va nazariy ta‘riflarini keltirish orqali ushbu dissertatsiyaning nazariy asosini yaratishda muhim ahamiyatga ega.

O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon imkoniyatlari jihatdan xalqaro tizimda aksariyatni tashkil etuvchi kichik davlatlar bilan o‘rta kuchga ega davlatlar o‘rtasida o‘rin egallaydi¹⁸. O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning moddiy qudratini o‘lchaydigan ko‘rsatkichlar va xalqaro tashkilotlarga yondashuvda bir qator o‘xshashliklar mavjudligi sababli ushbu dissertatsiyada O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon bir guruhga kiritilgan bo‘lib, “o‘rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar” deb atalgan.

“O‘rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar” atamasi O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonni mustaqil tashqi siyosat yuritish qobiliyati, tayyorligi va resurslarga egaligi belgisi sifatida “kuch” jihatiga urg‘u bergan holda tavsiflaydi. Ularning “intilayotgan” deb atalishi esa harbiy va iqtisodiy salohiyatlarining o‘lishi hamda xalqaro jarayonlarda yuqori mavqega erishish uchun aniq diplomatik ambitsiyaga ega bo‘lishlari bilan izohlanadi.

¹⁸ **Izoh:** Xalqaro Valyuta Jamg‘armasining 2024-yilgi ma‘lumotlariga ko‘ra, yalpi ichki mahsulot hajmi bo‘yicha 189 ta davlat orasida O‘zbekiston 67- va Ozarbayjon 82-o‘rinlarni egallaydi. Shuningdek, harbiy salohiyatni baholovchi 2025-yilgi “Global Firepower Index” reytingida O‘zbekiston 58-, Ozarbayjon esa 60-o‘rinni egallagan (145 ta davlat ichida). Ushbu ko‘rsatkichlar bizga o‘rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar tushunchasini empirik va ob‘ektiv asosda aniqlash imkonini beradi.

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon, bir tomondan, o'rta kuchga ega bo'lgan davlatlarga hos tendensiyalarni ham ko'rsatmoqda. Masalan, ular ko'p tomonlama diplomatiya, vositachilik, koalitsiya tuzish va tor doirada ixtisoslashgan (niche) diplomatiya bilan faol shug'ullanib, o'z ta'sirini sezdirishi mumkin bo'lgan global boshqaruvning muayyan sohalariga e'tibor qaratadi¹⁹. Tahliliy nuqtai nazardan, ko'p tomonlama va "niche" diplomatiya bilan shug'ullanish O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning o'rta kuchga ega davlatlar toifasiga o'tish jarayonini mustahkamlashda muhim qadam.

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon o'rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar sifatida namoyon bo'lish uchun "strategik narativ"lardan²⁰ foydalanadilar. "Davlatlar strategik narrativlar vositasida muammo shakllantiradi, unga yechim taklif qiladi va shu orqali o'zining ijobiy qiyofasini yaratishga hamda tashqi siyosiy maqsadlariga erishishga urinadi²¹." Strategik narativlar legitimlik o'rnatish, xalqaro darajadagi masalalarga ta'sir ko'rsatish, davlatlar o'zlari olib borgan siyosat va faoliyatlarga ma'no yuklash, boshqa davlatlarning qarash va tasavvurlarini boshqarish hamda diskursiv muhitni o'zgartirish vositasi sifatida xizmat qiladi.

Tadqiqotda O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning (aktorlar) tashqi siyosiy ustuvorliklarini (muammolar) xalqaro tashkilotlar orqali (muhit/sahna) ko'p tomonlama diplomatiya (vosita) va "o'rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar" diskursi (qurb/qobiliyat) yordamida amalga oshirishi strategik narrativlarning elementlari deb aniqlangan.

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon o'z narativlarini keng targ'ib²² etish uchun xalqaro tashkilotlarning maqsadga muvofiqligiga ishonadi. Xalqaro tashkilotlarda davlatning imiji va obro'sini keng ko'lamli strategiyalardan (masalan, ko'p tomonlama tadbirlarni o'tkazish) foydalangan holda puxta va tizimli shakllantirish davlatning ijobiy qabul qilinishiga, mutaxassis, vositachi, xolis va ishonchli hamkor sifatida ko'rinishiga olib keladi. O'rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar o'zlarining cheklangan resurslarini eng ustuvor masalalarga yo'naltirib, global boshqaruvga ta'sir ko'rsatish va samarali natijalarga erishish uchun ko'p tomonlama diplomatiyaga singdirilgan strategik narrativlardan foydalanadilar²³.

Birinchi bobning "O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatini vujudga keltirgan omillar, ustuvorliklar va strategik narrativlar" deb nomlangan ikkinchi paragrafida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning tashqi siyosati o'rganilgan bo'lib,

¹⁹ Aydin U. *Emerging Middle Powers and the Liberal International Order*. – Oxford University Press, 2021. – Pp. 1379–1380.

²⁰ **Izoh:** "Narrativ" so'zi (lotincha *narrare* – so'zlab berish, hikoya qilish) adabiy termin bo'lib, xalqaro munosabatlarda davlat siyosatini o'ziga xos yo'nalish va maqsadlar yordamida hikoya qilish demakdir.

²¹ Zhukova E., Sundström M.R. and Elgström O. *Feminist Foreign Policies (FFPs) as Strategic Narratives*. – *Review of International Studies*, 2021. – Pp. 1-22.

²² **Izoh:** Narrativ tarqatish jarayoni strategik narrativlar nazariyasining muhim bir jihatidir. Bu narrativlarni nutqlar, xalqaro tadbirlar, forumlar yoki ko'p tomonlama diplomatiya kabi turli kanallar orqali yetkazib berishni nazarda tutadi (Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle, *Forging the World*, 39–40).

²³ Karns M.P., Mingst K.A. and Stiles K.W. *The Challenges of Global Governance*. – London: Lynne Rienner, 2015. – P. 11; Wivel A. and Pedi R. *The Power (Politics) of the Weak Revisited: Realism and the study of small-state foreign policy*. / *Agency, Security and Governance of Small States: A Global Perspective*. – London: Routledge, 2023. – P. 23; Hasanov A. *Присоединение Азербайджана к системе международных отношений: формирование и развитие внешнеполитической деятельности*. – Баку: Zərdabi, 2013. – С. 571–72.

ularning tashqi siyosatini belgilovchi omillar va ustuvor yo‘nalishlar normativ-huquqiy hujjatlar hamda rasmiy bayonotlar asosida yoritib berilgan.

Tarixan, O‘zbekistonning 2000-yillarning boshlaridan 2016-yilgacha bo‘lgan tashqi siyosati xavfsizlik asosli, iqtisodiy avtarkiya va texnokratiya bilan tavsiflangan bo‘lib o‘z imkoniyatlariga tayanish prinsipi bilan qat’iy ajralib turgan. Bunday yondashuv ikki tomonlama diplomatiyaga ustunlik bergan tashqi siyosatga olib keldi. Biroq, Prezident Shavkat Mirziyoyev davrida O‘zbekistonning tashqi siyosati xalqaro tashkilotlarga nisbatan konstruktiv va hamkorlikka moyil pozitsiyaga o‘tdi. Hozirgi kunda O‘zbekiston diplomatiyasi bir vaqtning o‘zida ko‘plab xalqaro subyektlar bilan aloqalarni yuksak darajada tashkil etmoqda. Masalan, birgina 2022–2023-yillarda O‘zbekiston uchta nufuzli xalqaro tashkilotga raislikni o‘z zimmasiga olgan edi.

O‘zbekiston tashqi siyosiy doktrinasining shakllanishi mustaqillikka erishgandan so‘ng 1996-yilda “O‘zbekiston Respublikasi tashqi siyosiy faoliyatining asosiy prinsiplari to‘g‘risida”gi qonunning qabul qilinishi bilan boshladi. Ushbu qonunning 4-moddasiga ko‘ra, O‘zbekiston tashqi siyosatining asosiy maqsadlaridan biri xalqaro tashkilotlar ishida faol ishtirok etish bo‘lgan²⁴. Keyinchalik ushbu qonun 2012-yilda “O‘zbekiston Respublikasining tashqi siyosiy faoliyati konsepsiyasi” bilan yangilandi. Prezident Shavkat Mirziyoyev tomonidan imzolangan “2017–2021-yillarda O‘zbekiston Respublikasini rivojlantirishning beshta ustuvor yo‘nalishi bo‘yicha Harakatlar strategiyasi” farmoni bilan yangi davr boshlandi. Harakatlar strategiyasida tashqi siyosiy manfaatlarni himoya qilish, xalqaro hamkorlikni kengaytirish, O‘zbekistonning xalqaro munosabatlarning to‘laqonli subyekti sifatidagi mavqeini mustahkamlash, muvozanatli, konstruktiv tashqi siyosat yuritishga erishish yo‘llari ko‘rsatib o‘tilgan.

Harakatlar strategiyasidan kelib chiqib, “2022–2026-yillarga mo‘ljallangan Yangi O‘zbekistonning taraqqiyot strategiyasi to‘g‘risida”gi farmon qabul qilindi. Taraqqiyot strategiyasida 73-maqсад O‘zbekistonning boy ilmiy merosini xalqaro hamkorlik orqali targ‘ib qilish, 79-maqсад dolzarb ekologik muammolarni hal qilish, 94-maqсад Markaziy Osiyoda barcha sohalarda hamkorlikni kengaytirishga qaratilgan²⁵. Nihoyat, “O‘zbekiston–2030” strategiyasida ochiq, pragmatik, faol va yaxshi qo‘shnichilikka asoslangan tashqi siyosatni davom ettirish, xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasida mintaqaviy va global masalalar bo‘yicha muvozanatli va barqaror muloqotlar olib borish zarurligi alohida qayd etilgan.

Ushbu paragrafda O‘zbekiston tashqi siyosatining olti asosiy yo‘nalishi ta’kidlab o‘tilgan. Tashqi siyosat sohasidagi ustuvor yo‘nalishlarning quyidagi ro‘yxati tuzilishi mumkin: 1) Markaziy Osiyo; 2) Afg‘onistonni reabilitatsiya qilish; 3) Orol dengizi; 4) xavfsizlik; 5) savdo-iqtisodiy hamkorlik va o‘zaro bog‘liqlik; va 6) xalqaro tashkilotlar va boshqa barcha davlatlar bilan hamkorlik.

O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatini belgilovchi omillar qatoriga

²⁴ Закон Республики Узбекистан «Об основных принципах внешнеполитической деятельности Республики Узбекистан». 336–I § (1996). // <https://lex.uz/docs/39322>; Закон Республики Узбекистан «Об Оборонной доктрине Республики Узбекистан». ЗРУ-458 § (2018). // <https://lex.uz/docs/3495906>.

²⁵ Указ Президента Республики Узбекистан «О Стратегии развития Нового Узбекистана на 2022-2026 годы». УП-60 § (2022). // <https://lex.uz/ru/docs/5841077>.

ularning hududiy-geografik joylashuvi, tabiiy resurslari, rivojlanib borayotgan iqtisodiyoti hamda harbiy-siyosiy salohiyati kiradi. Xususan, uglevodorod resurslarini eksport qilish Ozarbayjonga ko'plab xalqaro o'yinchilar bilan faol tashqi siyosat olib borish imkoniyati berdi. Muvozanatli tashqi siyosat yoki "ko'p vektorlilik" 1990-yillar boshida Haydar Aliyev tomonidan o'tkir inqirozlar va mamlakat mavjudligiga tahdidlar sharoitida omon qolish strategiyasi sifatida ko'rilgan²⁶. Haydar Aliyev muvozanatli va ko'p vektorli tashqi siyosat yuritishning dolzarbligini his qilgan bo'lsa, Ozarbayjon o'z hududlarini qaytarib olishda harbiy muvaffaqiyatga erishgandan so'ng Ilhom Aliyev kuchlar muvozanatini saqlab qolishdan ko'ra milliy manfaatlarni birinchi o'ringa qo'yish uchun qat'iyroq pozitsiya egallay boshladi.

Tashqi siyosat sohasidagi muhim hujjatlardan biri 2007-yil may oyida qabul qilingan "Ozarbayjon Respublikasining milliy xavfsizlik konsepsiyasi" bo'ldi. Ta'kidlash joizki, Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatida Yevro-Atlantika tuzilmalariga bo'lgan qarashlarning o'zgarishi va hududiy yaxlitlikni tiklashning amalga oshirilganligi sababli ushbu hujjat kuchini yo'qotgan hisoblanadi. Milliy xavfsizlik konsepsiyasidan farqli o'laroq, 2010-yil iyun oyida qabul qilingan "Ozarbayjon Respublikasining harbiy doktrinasini" qonunida Yevro-Atlantika institutlari va Ozarbayjon o'rtasidagi kelajakdagi munosabatlarni tasvirlash uchun "integratsiya" so'zi ishlatilmagan. Ozarbayjon Harbiy doktrinasida "xalqaro tashkilotlar va barcha davlatlar tomonidan tajovuzkorni [Armaniston] qoralash va izolyatsiya qilish"²⁷ muhimligi ta'kidlangan.

Biroq, hozirda Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatining ustuvor yo'nalishlarida tub o'zgarishlar kuzatilmoqda. Ozarbayjon o'ttiz yillik mojarodan so'ng 2020-yilda Ikkinchi Qorabog' urushida g'alaba qozonib, o'zini mustaqil ravishda muhim harbiy qudrat sifatida ko'rsatdi. Natijada, Ozarbayjonning Janubiy Kavkazdagi mavqei mustahkamlandi va boshqa masalalar bo'yicha tashqi siyosat yuritish imkoniyati tug'ildi. Tashqi siyosatning ustuvor yo'nalishlarini qayta shakllantirish va diversifikatsiya qilish bo'yicha birinchi urinishlarni 2021-yil fevral oyida qabul qilingan "Ozarbayjon 2030: Ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy rivojlanishning milliy ustuvor yo'nalishlari" hujjatida kuzatish mumkin. Ushbu hujjat mamlakatni yetakchi xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan, ayniqsa, Qorabog' mintaqasini rivojlantirish bo'yicha samarali hamkorlik qilishga undamoqda. Bu bilan bir qatorda, "Ozarbayjon 2030" hujjatida "toza atrof-muhit va yashil rivojlanish" yo'nalishi beshta milliy ustuvor yo'nalishlardan biri sifatida kiritilgan. Barqaror rivojlanishning xalqaro obro'-e'tibor uchun muhimligi Ozarbayjon tomondan ushbu hujjatda e'tirof etilmoqda.

Ushbu paragrafda Ozarbayjonning hozirgi tashqi siyosatining to'rtta asosiy yo'nalishi, shuningdek, kuchini yo'qotgan bitta ustuvor yo'nalish (Qorabog' mojarosini hal qilish) aniqlangan. Tashqi siyosat sohasidagi ustuvor yo'nalishlarning quyidagi ro'yxati tuzilishi mumkin. Jumladan, birinchisi – Qorabog'ni mojarodan keyin tiklash, ikkinchisi – Energiya va mintaqalararo

²⁶ Strakes J.E. Azerbaijan and the Non-Aligned Movement: Institutionalizing the "Balanced Foreign Policy" Doctrine. // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2015. – P. 3-4.

²⁷ Decree of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan "Azərbaycan Respublikasının Hərbi doktrinası". (2010). // <https://anl.az/download/meqale/azerbaycan/2010/iyun/124735.htm>.

bog‘liqlikdan iborat. Uchinchisini – Toza atrof-muhit va yashil o‘shish, to‘rtinchisini – Xalqaro tashkilotlar va boshqa barcha davlatlar bilan hamkorlik tashkil qiladi.

Dissertatsiyaning **“O‘rta kuch statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar tomonidan xalqaro tashkilotlarda ishtirok etishning tarixiy qonuniyatlari va o‘zgaruvchan dinamikasi”** deb nomlangan ikkinchi bobida O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning yettita asosiy xalqaro tashkilot bilan o‘zaro aloqalari tarixiy kontekstda ochib berilgan. Tahlillar shuni ko‘rsatadiki, ikkala davlat ham o‘z tashqi siyosiy maqsadlarini ilgari surish uchun “forum shopping”²⁸ deb, atalgan eng maqbul xalqaro maydonni ya’ni xalqaro tashkilotni tanlashga ahamiyat beradi.

Ikkinchi bobning “BMT, IsHT va Qo‘shilmaslik harakati kabi xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasidagi faoliyat” deb nomlangan birinchi paragrafida O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan faoliyatlarining muhim bosqichlari qiyosiy-xronologik tartibda tahlil qilingan.

1992-yil 6-yanvarda O‘zbekiston Respublikasining birinchi Prezidenti Islom Karimov Birlashgan millatlar tashkiloti (BMT)ning o‘sha paytdagi Bosh kotibi Butros Butros-G‘oliy nomiga rasmiy murojaat yo‘llab, O‘zbekistonni tashkilotning to‘laqonli va teng huquqli a‘zosi sifatida qabul qilishni so‘radi²⁹. O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon 1992-yil 2-mart kuni Birlashgan Millatlar Tashkilotiga a‘zo bo‘ldilar.

1993-yil oktabr oyida Xolid Malik rahbarligida BMTning Toshkentdagi vakolatxonasi o‘z faoliyatini boshladi³⁰. Hozirgi kunda O‘zbekistondagi BMT idoralari tarkibiga 26 ta BMT agentligi, jamg‘arma va dasturlari kiradi, bu esa mamlakatda BMTning keng ko‘lamli ishtirokini ko‘rsatadi. Ozarbayjondagi BMT idoralari esa 10 ta BMT agentligi, jamg‘armasi va dasturlaridan iborat bo‘lib, bu ko‘rsatkich O‘zbekistondagiga nisbatan ancha kam³¹.

O‘zbekiston tomonidan ilgari surilgan taklif va tashabbuslar BMT doirasida keng xalqaro e‘tirofga sazovor bo‘lgan. Jumladan, BMT Bosh Assambleyasining 72-sessiyasida Prezident Shavkat Mirziyoyev “Ma‘rifat va diniy bag‘rikenglik” nomli rezolyutsiyani qabul qilish tashabbusi bilan chiqdi. “Ta’limdan umumiy foydalanishni ta‘minlash, savodsizlik va jaholatni bartaraf etish”ga³² qaratilgan mazkur rezolyutsiya 50 dan ortiq davlatning qo‘llab-quvvatlashi bilan qabul qilindi.

Ozarbayjon esa BMT organlari tomonidan qabul qilingan bir qator

²⁸ Karns M.P., Mingst K.A. and Stiles K.W. The Challenges of Global Governance. – London: Lynne Rienner, 2015. – P. 24.

²⁹ Абдимўминов О. Марказий Осиё ва Бирлашган Миллатлар Ташкилоти. – Тошкент: Akademnashr, 2025. – С. 70.: Ўзбекистон Республикаси Президенти ҳузуридаги Ўзбекистоннинг Биринчи Президенти Ислон Каримов номидаги илмий-матрифий ёдгорлик мажмуаси Илмий-тадқиқот ва таълим маркази жорий архиви. 2023 йил сентябрь.

³⁰ Раҳимов М., Абдимўминов О. Ўзбекистон ва БМТ: Муносабатлар тарихи ва барқарор ривожланиш омиллари. – Тошкент: Hamkornashr, 2021. – Б. 211-215.: O‘zMA, M-37-fond, 1-ro‘yxat, 55-yig‘ma jild, 17–18-varaqlar.

³¹ UN Entities in Uzbekistan. / United Nations Uzbekistan. <https://uzbekistan.un.org/en/about/un-entities-in-country>; UN Entities in Azerbaijan. / United Nations Azerbaijan. // <https://azerbaijan.un.org/en/about/un-entities-in-country>

³² Uzbekistan-UN: Cooperation for Universal Sustainable Development. // <https://www.eureporter.co/world/uzbekistan/2023/10/02/uzbekistan-un-cooperation-for-universal-sustainable-development/>.

rezolyutsiyalarning homiysi sifatida faoliyat yuritgan. Ushbu rezolyutsiyalar “Bedarak yo‘qolgan shaxslar” hamda “Qurolli mojarolar davomida garovga olingan va keyinchalik qamoqqa olingan ayollar va bolalarni ozod etish” kabi masalalarni qamrab oladi. Ozarbayjon, ayniqsa, qurolli mojarolar sharoitida inson huquqlarining ommaviy ravishda buzilishi holatlariga xalqaro hamjamiyat e’tiborini yanada kuchaytirish zarurligini ta’kidlab kelmoqda³³.

Shunga qaramay, Prezident Ilhom Aliyev BMTning o‘z rezolyutsiyalarini ijro etish borasidagi imkoniyatlari cheklanganidan noroziligini bildirgan. Xususan, Ozarbayjon hududlaridan Armaniston qo‘shinlarini olib chiqishni talab qilgan BMT Xavfsizlik kengashining 4 ta rezolyutsiyasi amalda bajarilmaganini tanqid qilgan³⁴. Prezident Shavkat Mirziyoyev esa BMTning nizolar va mojarolarni hal etishdagi markaziy roliga qat’iy ishonch bildirib kelmoqda³⁵. Shuningdek, Birinchi Prezident Islom Karimov 2000-yilda BMT Bosh assambleyasining Mingyillik sammitida so‘zlagan nutqida BMTning mintaqaviy va global tahdidlarga qarshi kurashish salohiyatini mustahkamlash hamda bosh kotib vakolatlarini kengaytirish zarurligini ilgari surgan³⁶.

Ozarbayjon mustaqillikka erishganidan ko‘p o‘tmay, 1991-yil dekabr oyida Islom hamkorlik tashkilotiga (IsHT) a’zo bo‘lgan. IsHT Ozarbayjon qo‘shilgan birinchi xalqaro tashkilotdir. Bundan farqli o‘laroq, O‘zbekiston IsHTga 1996-yil oktyabr oyida a’zo bo‘ldi va tashkilotning jarayonlarida nisbatan kamfaol ishtirokni saqlab qoldi. Masalan, O‘zbekiston 2017-yilda Ta’lim, fan va madaniyat masalalari bo‘yicha Islom tashkilotiga (ICESCO) to‘laqonli a’zo bo‘lgan bo‘lsa, Ozarbayjonning ICESCOga a’zo bo‘lishi 1991-yilga to‘g‘ri keladi. Ozarbayjonning mustaqillikka erishganidan keyingi dastlabki davrda IsHT bilan faol hamkorlikka kirishishining asosiy sabablaridan biri shundaki, ushbu tashkilot Qorabog‘ mojarosi bo‘yicha xalqaro maydonda muammoni yoritishda muhim vositaga aylangan edi.

O‘zbekiston 2016-yili IsHT Tashqi ishlar vazirlari kengashiga raisligi davrida ayniqsa “Johillikka qarshi ma’rifat” shiori bilan Toshkentda Islom sivilizatsiyasi markazini tashkil etish kabi aniq tashabbuslar ko‘rsatdi. Natijada, O‘zbekiston “oliyjanob maqsadlarni ilgari suruvchi kuch” sifatida tan olindi. Ozarbayjon esa 2017-yil may oyida 54 ta davlatdan sportchilar qatnashgan, ulkan tadbir bo‘lgan IV Islom birdamlik o‘yinlarini tashkil etdi. Ushbu tashabbus Ozarbayjonning islom olamini birlashtiruvchi kuch sifatida obro‘cini oshirdi.

O‘zbekiston mustaqillikka erishganidan ko‘p o‘tmay, 1992-yil sentabr oyida Qo‘shilmaslik harakatiga (QH) a’zo bo‘ldi. Ozarbayjon esa 2011-yil may oyida qo‘shildi. QHga qo‘shilish orqali Ozarbayjon Qorabog‘ mojarosi bo‘yicha o‘z xavotirlarini xalqaro hamjamiyatga yetkazish uchun qo‘shimcha platformaga ega

³³ International Organisations. / Ministry of Foreign Affairs. // <https://mfa.gov.az/en/category/xin.gov.az>.

³⁴ “Ilham Aliyev Received Participants of the 53rd Meeting of CIS Council of Heads of Security Agencies and Special Services.” / President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. – 2023. // <https://president.az/en/articles/view/61538>.

³⁵ “Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the Meeting of the Heads of the Member-States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.” / President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. – 2023. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/6457>.

³⁶ Jurayev H., Iminov B., Begimqulova I., Oxunjonova Sh. O‘zbekistonning eng yangi tarixi. – Toshkent: 2023. – 206 b.

bo'lishni maqsad qilgan. Nisbatan yaqinda qo'shilganiga qaramay, Ozarbayjon 2019-yilda Boku sammiti chog'ida QH raisligini qabul qilib oldi va 2023-yilgacha harakatga yetakchilik qildi. O'zbekistonning raisligi esa mamlakat tarixida ilk bor 2027-yildan 2029-yilgacha bo'lib o'tadi.

Ozarbayjon QHga raisligi davrida 120 ta davlat hamda 42 ta xalqaro tashkilotdan yuqori darajadagi vakillarni qabul qildi. Ozarbayjon pandemiyadan keyingi tiklanishni qo'llab-quvvatlash maqsadida QH doirasida Afrika va rivojlanayotgan kichik orol davlatlari uchun ikkita global tashabbusni ilgari surdi va ushbu tashabbuslarning birinchi donori sifatida har biriga 1 million AQSh dollari miqdorida mablag' ajratdi. 2021-yilda Ozarbayjon QHga a'zo davlatlar parlamentlari o'rtasida qonunchilik sohasida hamkorlikni kuchaytirish uchun QH Parlament tarmog'ini tashkil etishga boshchilik qildi.

Ikkinchi bobning "TDT, IHT, MDH va ShHT kabi mintaqaviy tashkilotlar doirasida faoliyat" deb nomlangan ikkinchi paragrafida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning mintaqaviy tashkilotlardagi faoliyatlarining muhim bosqichlari qiyosiy-xronologik tartibda tahlil qilingan.

Turkiy davlatlar tashkiloti (TDT) yaqin tarixda, ya'ni 2009-yil oktabr oyida Ozarbayjonda tashkil etilgan. Aslida, Turkiy tilli davlatlar rahbarlarining birinchi sammiti Ozarbayjon, Qozog'iston, Qirg'iziston, Turkmaniston, O'zbekiston va Turkiya ishtirokida 1992-yil oktabr oyida Anqarada bo'lib otgan. Biroq, 2000-yillarda O'zbekistonning turkiy hamkorlik formatidagi ishtiroki ancha cheklanib, mamlakatning keyingi ko'plab sammitlar va tashabbuslardan uzoqlashishiga sabab bo'ldi. Umumiy siyosiy vaziyat tufayli O'zbekistonning sust ishtiroki tashkilotni tuzish jarayonini kechiktirdi. O'zbekistonning tashqi siyosatidagi o'zgarish esa Prezident Shavkat Mirziyoyev davrida yuz berdi. Natijada, 2019-yil sentabr oyida O'zbekiston TDTga rasmiy qo'shildi.

2018-yil sentabr oyida bo'lib o'tgan TDTning VI sammitida Ozarbayjon Turkiy davlatlar parlament assambleyasi hamda Turkiy madaniyat va meros jamg'armasi (TMMJ) uchun maxsus Kotibiyat binolarini ajratish mas'uliyatini o'z zimmasiga oldi. 2023-yilda O'zbekistonning TDT raisligi davomida hamkorlik yo'nalishlari 30 dan ortiq sohani qamrab oldi³⁷. Hozirgi kunda O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashkilot maqsadlarini ilgari surishga qat'iy intilmoqda. Prezident Shavkat Mirziyoyev global o'zgarishlar sharoitida turkiy dunyoning ahamiyati ortib borayotganini ta'kidlamoqda³⁸.

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Iqtisodiy hamkorlik tashkilotiga (IHT) 1992-yil noyabr oyida a'zo bo'lgan. Lekin, O'zbekiston 2026-yil holatiga ko'ra IHT Savdo va taraqqiyot banki a'zosi emas, Ozarbayjon esa 2013-yil fevral oyida bankka qo'shilib, uning aksiyadoriga aylangan. Ozarbayjon 2006 va 2012-yillarda IHT sammitlariga mezbonlik qilgan. Ozarbayjon davlat rahbari darajasida IHTning sammitlarida 14 marta (jami 16 ta sammit bo'lgan) ishtirok etgan. Taqqoslash uchun, O'zbekiston davlat rahbarlari ushbu sammitlarning 8 tasida ishtirok etgan.

³⁷ "Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan H.E. Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the Tenth Summit of the Heads of State of the Organization of Turkic States." – 2023. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/6831>.

³⁸ "New Opportunities for Integration and Cooperation." / The Government portal of the Republic of Uzbekistan. – 2019. // <https://old.gov.uz/en/news/view/24569>.

O'zbekiston 2023-yil noyabr oyida birinchi bor IHTning yuqori darajadagi sammitiga mezbonlik qildi. 2016-yilgacha O'zbekiston IHTni sof iqtisodiy tashkilot sifatida ko'rib, iqtisodiy hamkorlikni kuchaytirish g'oyasiga tayangan edi. Bugungi kunda O'zbekiston IHT mamlakatlari o'rtasidagi savdo aloqalari bilan birga chuqur tarixiy va madaniy aloqalarga ham urg'u bermoqda.

2021-yil mart oyida IHT Tadqiqot markazi Nizomi imzolandi va Ozarbayjon ushbu markazga mezbon davlat qilib belgilandi. Markazning asosiy maqsadi strategik rejalashtirish va empirik dalillarga asoslangan mintaqaviy hamkorlikni kuchaytirishdan iborat. Bu bilan bir qatorda, 2021-yil noyabr oyida IHT mintaqasi uchun Toza energiya markazi Nizomi qabul qilindi va yana Ozarbayjon yangi markazga mezbonlik qilish uchun tanlandi.

Ozarbayjon 1993-yilning sentabrigacha Mustaqil davlatlar hamdo'stligiga (MDH) a'zo bo'lmagan, O'zbekiston esa asoschi davlatlarda biri hisoblanadi. O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning MDHga nisbatan rasmiy qarashlari tashkilotni mintaqaviy hamkorlikning ijobiy kuchi sifatida namoyon etadi. Biroq, ilmiy manbalarga ko'ra, MDH postsovet davlatlari o'rtasida haqiqiy hamjihatlikni ta'minlash yo'lidagi cheklangan qobiliyati tufayli o'z integratsiya maqsadlarini to'liq amalga oshira olmagan³⁹. Masalan, tashkilot hujjatlarining kamdan-kam ratifikatsiya qilinishi sababli MDH doirasidagi integratsiya to'siqlarga uchragan. Bir tadqiqotga ko'ra, 1998-yil martigacha tashkilot jarayonlarida eng kam ishtirok etgan davlatlar qatoriga Ozarbayjon va O'zbekiston kirgan⁴⁰.

2023-yil oktabr oyida bo'lib o'tgan MDH yig'ilishida Prezident Mirziyoyev import o'rnini bosish dasturlarini o'zaro muvofiqlashtirish, qo'shma logistika markazlarini qo'llab-quvvatlash hamda MDH doirasida elektron tijoratni rag'batlantirish zarurligini ta'kidladi⁴¹. MDH tarkibida Ozarbayjon gumanitar, madaniy va sport sohalaridagi tashabbuslarga alohida e'tibor qaratmoqda. Mamlakat gumanitar yo'nalishdagi faoliyat boshqa sohalardagi integratsiyani jadallashtirishga xizmat qiluvchi "multiplikator" ta'sirga ega deb hisoblaydi. Ozarbayjonning ushbu sohadagi sa'y- harakatlari 2025-yil sentabr oyida MDHning uchinchi o'yinlariga mezbonlik qilish tashabbusida yaqqol namoyon bo'lmoqda.

Ushbu paragrafda Ozarbayjonning a'zoligi bo'lmasa-da, O'zbekiston a'zo bo'lgan Shanxay hamkorlik tashkiloti ham tahlil qilingan. Ozarbayjon o'z ta'sir doirasini kengaytirish va mintaqaviy hamkorlikni mustaqil ravishda ilgari surish uchun ShHTning muloqot bo'yicha hamkor maqomini qo'lga kiritgan. O'zbekiston esa ShHT doirasida institutsional yetakchilik va xavfsizlikka yo'naltirilgan hamkorlikka ustuvor ahamiyat bergan.

Dissertatsiyaning uchinchi bobi **“Strategik narrativlarni ilgari surishda xalqaro tashkilotlarning maydon sifatidagi o'rne”** deb atalgan. Unda O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning ustuvor yo'nalishlarda global tashabbus ko'rsatish,

³⁹ Kubicek P. The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism? // Review of International Studies. – 2009. – Pp. 237–238; Laruelle M. Factoring the Regional Impact of Uzbekistan's Withdrawal from the CSTO. // Foreign Policy and Civil Society Program, 2012. – 3 p.

⁴⁰ Başlar K. The Commonwealth of Independent States: Decayed within a Decade. // The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations. – Ankara, 2001. №32. – P. 123.

⁴¹ “Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Mr. Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the Meeting of the CIS Heads of State Council.” – 2023. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/6753>.

yetakchilik qilish hamda siyosiy jarayonlarga hissa qo'shishi o'rganilgan. Uning "O'zbekistonning xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasida olib borayotgan tashabbuslari zaminida ustuvorliklariga erishishi" deb nomlanuvchi birinchi paragrafida mamlakatning tashqi siyosiy ustuvorliklarini ilgari surish maqsadida xalqaro tashkilotlardagi a'zolidan qanday foydalanayotgani hamda bu jarayon orqali uning xalqaro maydondagi o'ziga xosligini qanday shakllantirayotgani tahlil qilingan.

"O'zbekiston atrofida xavfsizlik, barqarorlik va yaxshi qo'shnichilik kamarini yaratish"ni O'zbekiston o'z tashqi siyosatining asosiy yo'nalishi etib e'lon qilgan⁴². Natijada, mamlakat rahbari Markaziy Osiyo mamlakatlarini turli sohalarda yaqinlashtirish borasidagi sa'y-harakatlarni birlashtirish taklifini ilgari surgan⁴³. 2022-yil sentabr oyida bo'lib o'tgan ShHTning Samarqand sammiti chog'ida Shavkat Mirziyoyev Markaziy Osiyoni tashkilotning geografik o'zagi sifatida belgilagan⁴⁴.

O'zbekiston Afg'onistonni mintaqaning ajralmas qismi ekanligiga ishonadi. O'zbekistonning Afg'onistonda tinchlik jarayonlariga ko'maklashish borasidagi tajribasi o'tgan asrning 90-yillari boshlariga borib taqaladi. O'zbekiston "6+2" formatini ishlab chiqib, qator uchrashuvlar o'tkazishni boshlagan. Bundan tashqari, O'zbekiston Afg'oniston bilan muloqot qilish uchun TDT va ShHTda muloqot va maslahatlashuv formatlarini tiklashni taklif qilgan. Ushbu tashabbuslar "O'zbekistonning mintaqadagi barqarorlashtiruvchi imijini" yanada kuchaytirgan⁴⁵.

O'zbekiston hamda atrof-muhitga befarq bo'lmagan davlat sifatida o'zini namoyon qilmoqda. Orolni qutqarish xalqaro jamg'armasining 1995-yil sentabr oyida O'zbekistonda bo'lib o'tgan yig'ilishida "Nukus deklaratsiyasi" imzolangan. Deklaratsiya Orol dengizi havzasini barqaror rivojlantirish bo'yicha xalqaro konventsia tuzishga chaqirgan. 2018-yil noyabr oyida tashkil etilgan BMT shafeligida Orolbo'yi mintaqasi uchun Inson xavfsizligi bo'yicha ko'p tomonlama sheriklik trast jamg'armasiga moliyaviy jihatdan eng katta hissani O'zbekiston qo'shmoqda.

Markaziy Osiyoning global transport tarmog'idagi strategik o'rnini oshirish maqsadida Prezident Shavkat Mirziyoyev BMT huzurida "Transport va kommunikatsiyalarni rivojlantirish bo'yicha mintaqaviy markaz" tashkil etishni taklif etdi⁴⁶. 2021-yil iyul oyida Toshkentda bo'lib o'tgan "Markaziy va Janubiy Osiyo: mintaqaviy bog'liqlik, tahdidlar va imkoniyatlar" nomli xalqaro konferensiyada O'zbekiston Markaziy Osiyoni Hind okeani bilan temiryo'l orqali bog'lovchi Trans-Afg'on transport yo'lagini qurish tashabbusini e'lon qildi.

⁴² Foreign Policy and Safety. // https://gov.uz/activity_page/foreign_policy.

⁴³ "Выступление Президента Республики Узбекистан Шавката Мирзиёева на международной конференции «Центральная Азия: одно прошлое и общее будущее, сотрудничество ради устойчивого развития и взаимного процветания» в Самарканде." – 2017. // <https://president.uz/ru/lists/view/1227>.

⁴⁴ The SCO Samarkand Summit: Dialogue and Cooperation in an Interconnected World. – 2022. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/5495>.

⁴⁵ Fazendeiro B.T. Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy: The Struggle for Recognition and Self-Reliance under Karimov. – London: Routledge, 2018. – 153 p.

⁴⁶ "Speech by President Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the 75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly." – 2020. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/3851>.

So‘nggi bobning ikkinchi paragrafi “O‘zbekistonning xalqaro tashkilotlardagi tashabbuslari orqali ustuvorliklarini ilgari surishi” deb nomlanib, O‘zbekistonning turli xalqaro tashkilotlardagi tashabbuslarini ustuvorliklari doirasida ko‘rib chiqadi.

Dastlab, O‘zbekistonning xalqaro tashkilotlar bilan hamkorligining asosiy yo‘nalishi Armanistonning soxta da‘volariga qarshi kurashish va hududiy yaxlitligi hamda suverenitetiga qarshi kuch ishlatilishini to‘xtatishdan iborat bo‘lgan. O‘zbekistonning 2012-yildan 2013-yilgacha BMTXKga a‘zo bo‘lishdek tarixiy yutug‘i mamlakatning Qorabog‘ mojarosini xalqaro hamjamiyatning birinchi kun tartibiga olib chiqish borasidagi sa‘y-harakatlarini faollashtirdi. 2012-yil yanvar oyida IsHT Parlament ittifoqi O‘zbekistonda tinch aholiga qarshi uyushtirilgan Xo‘jali fojiasini xalqaro organ darajasida tarixda birinchi bor genotsid akti sifatida rasman tan oldi.

Bugungi kunda Qorabog‘da faol mintaqaviy qurilish va tiklanish bilan bir qatorda, O‘zbekiston butun mamlakat bo‘ylab yashil rivojlanishga urg‘u bera boshladi va iqlim bo‘yicha muzokarlarda o‘zining global rolini kuchaytirdi. Orol dengizi inqiroziga javoban O‘zbekiston mustaqillikning dastlabki yillaridan boshlab iqlim va atrof-muhit muhofazasi masalasida siyosiy narrativ shakllantira boshlagan bo‘lsa, O‘zbekiston iqlim bo‘yicha o‘ziga maxsus narrativlarni ishlab chiqishga yaqinda kirishdi. 2024-yil noyabr oyida BMT Iqlim o‘zgarishi to‘g‘risidagi hadli konvensiyasi Tomonlari konferensiyasining 29-sessiyasini (COP29) o‘tkazilishi O‘zbekistonning iqlim bo‘yicha global muzokaralar va siyosatga ta‘sir ko‘rsatish borasidagi eng muhim sa‘y-harakatlaridan biridir. COP29 sammitida 80 dan ortiq davlat va hukumat rahbarlari O‘zbekistonda jamlanadi.

Shunga qaramay, energetika diplomatiyasi hamon O‘zbekiston tashqi siyosati arsenalida muhim vosita bo‘lib qolmoqda. O‘zbekiston o‘z energetika sektoridan xorijiy investitsiyalarni jalb qilish va o‘zini tranzit markazi sifatida ko‘rsatish uchun sharq-g‘arb energetika infratuzilmasini rivojlantirishda foydalanadi. O‘zbekiston, shuningdek, o‘z energiya resurslaridan yangi hamkorliklar o‘rnatish uchun tashqi siyosat vositasi sifatida foydalanadi. Masalan, “Kaspiy yashil energiya yo‘lagi” loyihasi yakunlangandan so‘ng O‘zbekiston va Qozog‘istonda ishlab chiqarilgan qayta tiklanuvchi energiyani O‘zbekiston orqali Yevropaga yo‘naltirishni kafolatlamog‘da. Shu bilan bir qatorda O‘zbekiston xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasida, jumladan IHTda, “Zangazur yo‘lagi” tashabbusini bayon qilib, mintaqadagi asosiy geosiyosiy ishtirokchilarning e‘tiborini ushbu yangi transport yo‘nalishiga qaratmoqda.

XULOSA

“O‘zbekiston va O‘zbekiston Respublikalarining xalqaro tashkilotlardagi faoliyat vektorlari va ularning qiyosiy tahlili” mavzusi yuzasidan olib borilgan tadqiqot natijasida quyidagi xulosalarga kelindi:

1. O‘zbekiston va O‘zbekiston xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasida qo‘mita faoliyatlarida ishtirok etishi, raisligi, sammitlarga mezbonlik qilishi, rezolyutsiyalar ilgari surishi, tashabbuslarga homiylik qilishi bilan global

diplomatik manzarani shakllantirmoqda, xalqaro muloqot va hamkorlikni rivojlantirmoqda hamda o'zlarining tashqi siyosiy muammolariga global masala sifatida yechim topmoqda. O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjonning ko'p tomonlama tashabbuslar bilan chiqishi tasodifiy emas, balki har ikki davlat ham xalqaro tashkilotlarni tashqi siyosat faoliyatlarini qo'llab-quvvatlay oladigan samarali aktor sifatida e'tirof etadi.

2. O'zbekiston 1991-yildan 2000-yillarning boshlarigacha institutsional darajada mintaqaviy integratsiyaga yo'naltirilgan yondashuvni amalga oshirib, Markaziy Osiyoda siyosiy va iqtisodiy hamkorlikni rivojlantirish hamda ko'p tomonlama maslahatlashuv mexanizmlarini qo'llab-quvvatlashga alohida e'tibor qaratdi. 2000-yillarning boshlaridan 2016-yilgacha esa O'zbekiston ko'p tomonlama hamkorlikda ehtiyotkor va xavfsizlikka yo'naltirilgan yondashuvni qabul qilib, barqarorlikni ta'minlash, terrorizmga qarshi hamkorlikni rivojlantirish hamda xalqaro tashkilotlardagi ishtirokini tanlab amalga oshirishni ustuvor vazifa sifatida belgiladi. O'zbekiston 2017-yildan esa xalqaro tashkilotlarda faol ishtirok etib, mintaqaviy hamkorlik, xavfsizlik va iqlim bo'yicha narrativlar asosida moslashuvchan tashqi siyosat yondashuvini qo'llab kelmoqda.

3. Ozarbayjon uchun 2020-yilgacha tashqi siyosatning asosiy omili Qarabog'ni bosqinchilikdan ozod qilish bo'lgan. Aynan shu maqsadda, Ozarbayjon barcha diplomatik vositalardan foydalangan holda Qarabog' masalasining yoritilishini barcha tashkilotlardan qat'iy talab qilgan. 2020-yildan buyon esa Ozarbayjon xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasida e'tiborni mintaqani tiklash hamda iqlim masalalari bo'yicha faol tashviqot yuritishga yo'naltirgan.

4. Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatining 2020-yildan boshlab diversifikatsiyalanishi, shuningdek, Prezident Sh.M.Mirziyoyev rahbarligida O'zbekistonning ko'p tomonlama hamkorlikka yuz tutishi ularning mintaqaviy va global dinamikalariga strategik moslashuvini ko'rsatadi.

5. O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Markaziy Osiyo va Kavkaz mintaqasining ikki muhim o'yinchilari bo'lib, tashqi siyosatda o'zligini shakllantirish maqsadida strategik narrativlardan foydalanadi. Shunday qilib ular xalqaro miqyosda o'ziga xos ustuvor yo'nalishlarni yaratadi. Tashqi siyosatning ustuvor yo'nalishlariga mos narrativlar tuzish orqali O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon xalqaro tizimda o'z yo'lini belgilab olmoqda hamda o'zlarini "o'rta kuch" statusiga intilayotgan davlatlar sifatida namoyon qilmoqda.

6. O'zbekiston xalqaro maydonda o'zligini quyidagicha shakllantirmoqda. Xususan, birinchisi – Markaziy Osiyo bo'yicha olib borilayotgan siyosatiga mos ravishda, ishonchga asoslangan hamkorlik va taraqqiyotni ta'minlaydigan kuchdir. Ikkinchisi – Afg'oniston bo'yicha siyosatiga mos ravishda, eng kam rivojlangan mamlakatlarga barqarorlik va farovonlik olib keluvchi kuch sanaladi. Hamda Orol dengizi bo'yicha siyosatiga mos ravishda, atrof-muhitni barqaror boshqarishni ilgari suruvchi kuch hamdir. O'zbekiston xalqaro tashkilotlar minbaridan xalqaro xavfsizlik va mintaqaviy hamkorlikni mustahkamlash, ekologik tiklanish, barqaror rivojlanishga erishish, amaliy-texnik yordam ko'rsatish, shuningdek, turizm, transport va logistika sohalariga investitsiya kiritish kabi yo'nalishlarda bir qator tashabbuslarni ilgari surgan.

7. Ozarbayjon xalqaro maydonda o'zligini Qarabog' bilan bog'liq siyosatiga mos ravishda konfliktidan keyingi tiklanish va bu jarayonlarni boshqarish bo'yicha tajribaga ega, energiya siyosatiga mos ravishda mintaqalarni bog'lovchi boy tabiiy resurslarga ega ishonchli tranzit markazi sifatida faoliyat yurituvchi, hamda toza atrof-muhitga oid siyosatiga mos ravishda yashil iqtisodiy o'sishni ilgari suruvchi kuch sifatida shakllantirmoqda. Jumladan, Ozarbayjon xalqaro tashkilotlardan keng miqyosda foydalanib, Qarabog' mojarosini hal etish borasidagi sa'y-harakatlarini kuchaytirgan, hududlarining bosib olinishi natijasida yuzaga kelgan xavfsizlik masalalarini ilgari surgan, shuningdek, ekologik yetakchilik, mintaqaviy energetika, savdo va transport loyihalarida e'tirofga erishgan.

8. O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon tashqi siyosatini belgilashda ularning geosiyosiy joylashuvi asosiy omil sifatida o'zini ko'rsatmoqda. Ozarbayjon holatida esa tabiiy boyliklar qo'shimcha omil bo'lib xizmat qiladi. Mintaqaviy va global savdo yo'llari chorrahasida joylashgan har ikki davlat o'zining strategik ahamiyati hamda iqtisodiy salohiyatini oshirish maqsadida ushbu geografik ko'rsatkichdan faol foydalanmoqda. Ayniqsa, global siyosiy beqarorlikning kuchayishi va ko'pqutblilikning chuqurlashuvi sharoitida O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon mintaqalar hamda qit'alar o'rtasida ishonchli iqtisodiy va siyosiy koridorlar vazifasini bajarish salohiyatiga ega. Bu holat ularning Transkaspiy xalqaro Sharq-G'arb O'rta yo'lagi kabi yirik transport-kommunikatsiya loyihalarida, shuningdek, ShHTning o'zaro bog'liqlikni rivojlantirish va samarali transport yo'laklarini yaratish bo'yicha hamkorlik konsepsiyasi kabi ko'p tomonlama tashabbuslarda faol ishtirok etishida yaqqol namoyon bo'lmoqda. Mazkur sa'y-harakatlar orqali O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon o'zlarining tranzit markazlari sifatidagi mavqeini mustahkamlash hamda shakllanib borayotgan mintaqaviy va transregional tarmoqlarning ajralmas ishtirokchilari sifatida o'rin egallashga intilmoqda.

9. Umuman olganda, Ozarbayjonning tashqi siyosati nisbatan qat'iyroq xarakterga ega ekani kuzatiladi. O'zbekiston esa tashqi siyosat strategiyasini konseptual jihatdan yoritishda o'zini dinamikroq namoyon etadi. O'zbekiston tomonidan qabul qilingan tashqi siyosatga oid asosiy hujjatlar soni ushbu jarayonga mamlakat tomonidan jiddiy e'tibor qaratilganini namoyon etadi. Shuningdek, tashqi siyosat yo'nalishlarini aniqlashtirish, takomillashtirish va konseptual asosini belgilashga katta sarmoya kiritilganini ko'rsatadi.

O'zbekiston va Ozarbayjon Respublikalarining xalqaro tashkilotlardagi yutuqlari hamda strategik yondashuvlarini qiyosiy tahlil etish natijalariga ko'ra, quyidagi **taklif va tavsiyalar** ishlab chiqildi:

1. O'zbekiston xalqaro tashkilotlardagi ishtirokini yangi moliyaviy imkoniyatlardan foydalanish uchun Iqtisodiy hamkorlik tashkilotining Savdo va taraqqiyot bankiga qo'shilish, Turkiy davlatlar Parlament Assambleyasiga a'zo bo'lish, "YUNESKOning nomoddiy madaniy merosi" ro'yxatiga kiritilgan madaniy unsurlar sonini oshirish (2025-yil holatiga ko'ra bu ro'yxatda O'zbekistondan 16 ta, Ozarbayjondan esa 24 ta madaniy unsur mavjud) shakllarda kengaytirish;

2. Qo‘shilmaslik harakatiga bo‘lajak raisligi davomida O‘zbekistonning global sahnadagi yetakchilik mavqeini isbotlashi hamda tashqi siyosiy maqsadlarini ilgari surishi lozim. Shu bilan birga, Ozarbayjon Osiyo mamlakatlari bilan aloqalarni kengaytirishga qaratilgan strategik maqsadlariga muvofiq ravishda, Shanxay hamkorlik tashkilotidagi muloqot bo‘yicha hamkor maqomini to‘laqonli a‘zolik darajasiga ko‘tarish yo‘lida izchil harakatni davom ettirish;

3. Turkiy davlatlar tashkiloti qoshida “Turkiy davlatlar tarixi va siyosati tadqiqotlari markazi” kabi qo‘shma ilmiy platformani tashkil etish maqsadga muvofiq. Mazkur markaz O‘zbekiston, Ozarbayjon hamda boshqa turkiy davlatlarning yetakchi oliy ta‘lim muassasalari va ilmiy-tadqiqot institutlari hamkorligida faoliyat yuritib, tarixiy rivojlanish yo‘llari va zamonaviy siyosiy jarayonlarni tizimli ravishda o‘rganishga qaratiladi. Natijada ilmiy nashrlar, siyosiy tavsiyalar va tahliliy hisobotlar tayyorlash orqali mintaqaga oid yuqori sifatli ilmiy tadqiqotlar hajmini kengaytirish;

4. O‘zbekistonning tashqi siyosatini takomillashtirish va uning xalqaro maydondagi nufuzini oshirish uchun mamlakatning ijobiy xalqaro imijini shakllantirishga bag‘ishlangan maxsus konsepsiyani qabul qilishi maqsadga muvofiq. Darhaqiqat, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidentining 2019-yil noyabr oyida “O‘zbekistonning xalqaro maydondagi ijobiy imijini mustahkamlash konsepsiyasi to‘g‘risida”gi qaror loyihasi ishlab chiqilgan bo‘lib, unda mamlakatning ijobiy xalqaro rolini shakllantirish va targ‘ibot qilish bo‘yicha ustuvor yo‘nalishlar hamda mexanizmlar belgilab berilgan edi. Biroq, ushbu tashabbus hanuzgacha huquqiy hujjat sifatida rasman qabul qilinmagan. Bundan tashqari, Ozarbayjon O‘zbekiston tajribasidan foydalanib, tashqi siyosatining konseptual asoslarini chuqurroq belgilab, bu yo‘nalishda keng qamrovli hujjatlarni ishlab chiqish;

5. Atrof-muhitga oid muammolarning transchegaraviy xususiyatga egaligi muvofiqlashtirilgan choralar ko‘rishni taqozo qiladi. Markaziy Osiyo va Kaspiy kabi qo‘shni mintaqalarda joylashgan O‘zbekiston va Ozarbayjon umumiy ekologik xatarlarni bartaraf etish bo‘yicha ko‘p tomonlama diplomatiya tamoyillari asosida qo‘shma chora-tadbirlar ishlab chiqish;

6. Ozarbayjon Janubiy Kavkazda “uch tomonlama hamkorlik (Ozarbayjon-Gruziya-Armaniston)” formatida ishlash sari yo‘nalayotgan bir paytda, u O‘zbekistonning xalqaro tashkilotlar tarkibida Markaziy Osiyodagi mintaqaviy masalalarga yechim topish tajribasidan foydalanish zarur.

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FERGANA STATE UNIVERSITY

MUSEYIBZADA JOVHAR SHAMSADDIN

**DIRECTIONS OF UZBEKISTAN'S AND AZERBAIJAN'S
INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

07.00.05 – History of International Relations and Foreign Policy

ABSTRACT
of the doctor of philosophy (PhD) dissertation in HISTORICAL SCIENCES

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INTRODUCTION (abstract of the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) dissertation)

Relevance and significance of the dissertation topic. The profound transformation of the political and economic environment, the emergence of regional conflicts, and the intensification of globalization following the collapse of the socialist system in the last decade of the 20th century have significantly increased the importance of international organizations worldwide. Against this backdrop, the Republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, having established their sovereignty, have been actively fostering close relations with international and regional organizations in their foreign policy to further consolidate their independence, secure an influential position on the global stage, achieve legitimacy, and integrate into the international community. To date, both countries have been fully conducting their relations with international organizations based on legal principles.

The active role of the Republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan in the system of international relations, particularly their proactive policies within reputable organizations, has attracted the attention of leading international research centers. Prominent research institutions across Europe, Asia, the United States, and Russia have conducted a series of scientific research regarding their foreign policy strategies and participation in international organizations⁴⁷. In this regard, the topic of the present dissertation represents a highly relevant and timely area of scholarly inquiry for the academic circles today. These factors underscore the necessity of studying Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's strategies for achieving foreign policy objectives through international organizations, using contemporary methodologies.

The effective continuation of the country's foreign political and economic course is a crucial factor for the successful implementation of wide-ranging reforms and for strengthening its internationally recognized image, often referred to as the "national brand." As the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev stated, "Uzbekistan pursues an open and pragmatic foreign policy. As a result of our determined efforts on the international stage, the influence and reputation of our country are steadily increasing⁴⁸." According to him, the relations with international organizations is one of the main vectors of foreign policy, and the development of close cooperation with the United Nations (UN) and other reputable international and regional structures remains a constant priority⁴⁹.

This dissertation, to a certain degree, contributes to the implementation of tasks outlined in Uzbekistan's key legal and strategic documents, such as the Law

⁴⁷ The Hague Institute for Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus and Central Asia; the Institute for Security and Development Policy in Sweden; the Russia/Eurasia Center at the French Institute of International Relations; the Center for Eurasian Studies (AVIM) in Türkiye; the Center for Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Türkiye (SAM); the Institute for East European, Russian and Central Asian Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; as well as the Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies at Georgetown University in the United States; the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute at the American Council on Foreign Relations; the Carnegie Russian Eurasia Center; and the Center for Central Asian, Caucasus and Ural-Volga Studies (CAUCAVUS) at the RFA Institute of Oriental Studies.

⁴⁸ Мирзиёев Ш.М. Янги Ўзбекистонда Эркин ва фаровон яшайлик!. – Tashkent: Tasvir nashriyot uyi, 2021. – P. 7.

⁴⁹ Ibid. P. 27.

No. O'RQ-458 of January 9, 2018, "On the Defense Doctrine of the Republic of Uzbekistan"; Decree No. PF-60 of January 28, 2022, "On the Development Strategy of the New Uzbekistan for 2022–2026"; Decree No. PF-158 of September 11, 2023, on the "Uzbekistan–2030" Strategy; Resolution No. PQ-3105 of June 30, 2017, "On the Organization of the Activities of the Public Council on the Contemporary History of Uzbekistan under the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan"; and Resolution No. PQ-467 of December 31, 2024, "On Measures to Effectively Organize Strategic Analysis and Research Activities in the Areas of the Country's Social, Political, and Economic Development," as well as in other normative-legal acts.

Alignment of the research with the priorities of the republic for the development of science and technology. This research has been carried out in accordance with the priority area titled "I. Formation and Implementation of a System of Innovative Social, Legal, and Economic Ideas for Information Society and Democratic State" within the framework of the development of science and technology in the republic.

Existing literature on the research problem. Both domestic and foreign authors have dedicated numerous works, focusing on various aspects of the foreign policy activities of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan. For analytical purposes, it is appropriate to categorize these studies into three main groups.

The first group consists of research conducted by scholars from Uzbekistan. The foreign policy of the Republic of Uzbekistan and its activities within international organizations have been examined by researchers such as F. Khakimov, A. Komilov, S. Juraev, T. Dadabaev, A. Kadyrov, F. Kobilov, M. Boltaev, A. Urozaliyev, O. Allaberganov, Z. Jumakhonov, A. Toshpulatov, F. Najimov, and M. Rakhimov⁵⁰. Their articles analyze various aspects of the country's diplomatic engagement at the regional and global levels, its foreign policy priorities, and issues related to the development of international and regional cooperation. In particular, R. Makhmudov's study on Uzbekistan's contemporary foreign policy explores a new trend – the emergence of a "multi-

⁵⁰ Хакимов Ф. Ўзбекистоннинг ташқи сиёсати: асосий устувор йўналишлар ва эришилган натижалар. // Strategy of Uzbekistan. – Ўзбекистон, 2021. – Б. 96–103; Хакимов Ф. Халқаро ва минтақавий ташкилотлар доирасида Ўзбекистоннинг қўп томонлама дипломатияси. – Ўзбекистон: 2022; Комилов А. Ўзбекистоннинг имижли тубдан ўзгармоқда. // Strategy of Uzbekistan. – Ўзбекистон, 2021. – Б. 166–173; Жўраев С. Марказий Осиёдаги тизимли муаммолар ечимининг янги трендлари (Таҳлилий маъруза). // Oriental Journal of History, Politics and Law. – 2022. – Б. 340–352; Dadabaev T. Uzbekistan as Central Asian Game Changer? Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy Construction in the Post-Karimov Era. // Asian Journal of Comparative Politics. – 2018. – Pp. 1–14; Kadyrov A. Key Foreign Policy Priorities of a Renewed Uzbekistan. – Uzbekistan: Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 2020; Kobilov F. From Geopolitical Pendulum to Regional Player: Uzbekistan's Regional Foreign Policy Following the Leadership Change in 2016. // Central Asian Survey. – 2025. – Pp. 1–21; Болтаев М. Марказий ва Жанубий Осиё ўртасидаги минтақавий боғлиқликни таъминлаш йўлида. // Xalq so'zi, 2021; Urozaliyev A. Birlashgan Millatlar Tashkiloti O'zbekiston Faoliyatida. // Education and Research in the Era of Digital Transformation. – 2025. – Pp. 91–96; Allaberganov O. O'zbekiston va Birlashgan millatlar tashkiloti hamkorligi tarixiga bir nazar. – 2025. – Б. 65–68; Jumaxanov Sh. and Toshpulatov A. Geographical and Geopolitical Factors of Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy. // Центральноазиатский Журнал Географических исследований. – 2023. – С. 39–48; Nadzhimov F. Cultural and Public Diplomacy in the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Uzbekistan. // International Journal of History and Political Sciences. – 2025. – Pp. 22–27; Рахимов М. Приоритеты внешней политики Республики Узбекистан. // Россия и новые государства Евразии. – 2020. №3. – С. 111–23; Gabdulhakov R. The Highly Securitized Insecurities of State Borders in the Fergana Valley. // The Central Asia Fellowship Papers, 2015. – 10 p.

vector strategic partnership” and the effective use of soft power tools at the regional level⁵¹. Meanwhile, D. Sayfullayev periodizes the history of Uzbekistan’s diplomacy from 1991 to 2015 into six stages based on major historical events, underscoring the country’s active and pragmatic foreign policy in each period⁵².

Within the framework of the dissertation, monographs authored by scholars from Uzbekistan were also analyzed. These works examine the role of cooperation with international organizations in Uzbekistan’s foreign policy and highlight the country’s contributions to ensuring regional stability⁵³. In particular, a collective monograph co-authored by M. Saidazimkhojayeva presents insights into Uzbekistan’s efforts to strengthen its international image, implement reforms, and adopt new foreign policy strategies⁵⁴. Furthermore, in his research, S. Gafurov offers an analytical perspective on the development of Uzbekistan’s foreign policy based on the principles of openness and active diplomacy, as well as on the initiatives of the country within the international organizations aimed at addressing the environmental crisis in the Aral Sea region and the situation in Afghanistan⁵⁵.

The foreign policy and multilateral cooperation of the Republic of Uzbekistan have consistently been the subject of scholarly attention. As a result, a number of dissertations have been dedicated to this subject. Among the notable studies conducted in Uzbekistan are those by Sh. Khaydaraliyev, O. Abdimuminov, Sh. Toshturov, A. Khamidova, F. Usarova, and A. Ibraimova⁵⁶. These dissertations primarily examine Uzbekistan’s political, economic, and cultural relations with certain international organizations, as well as the country’s role in ensuring regional security. Special attention should be given to the work of A. Adigezalov,

⁵¹ Махмудов Р. Внешняя политика современного Узбекистана. // Россия и новые государства Евразии – Москва, 2021. №1. – С. 121–134.

⁵² Sayfullayev D. Uzbekistan’s Diplomacy in the Modern International Relations System. // Journal of Public Affairs. – 2016. №4. – Pp. 415–422.

⁵³ Dadabaev T. Decolonizing Central Asian International Relations: Beyond Empires. – London: Routledge, 2021. – 168 p.; Шарапова С. Многосторонность и внешняя политика Республики Узбекистан. – Ташкент: Ташкентский гос. ин-т востоковедения, 2007. – 178 с.; Nazarov O. va Ne’matov R. O‘zbekistonning xalqaro tashkilotlari bilan aloqalari (YUNESKO MISOLIDA). – Guliston: Ziyoy, 2020. – 96 b.; Abdullayev S., Xajiyev B., va Mambetjanov Q. O‘zbekistonning ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy rivojlanish strategiyasi. – Toshkent: Toshkent davlat iqtisodiyot universiteti, 2018. – 424 b.; Xoliqova R. O‘zbekistonning eng yangi tarixi. – Toshkent: Toshkent davlat texnika universiteti, 2021. – 269 b.; Jurayev H., Iminov B., Begimqulova I., Oxunjonova Sh. O‘zbekistonning Eng Yangi Tarixi. – Farg‘ona: 2023. – 296.

⁵⁴ Saidazimkhojayeva M. Modern Central Asia: Regional Connectivity & Capacity Building (Collective Monograph). – Tashkent: Fan Ziyosi, 2022. – 254 p.

⁵⁵ G‘afurov S. Markaziy Osiyo: mintaqaviy tahdidlar, integratsiya, zamonaviy siyosiy jarayonlar. – Toshkent: Merit Print, 2023. – 108 p.

⁵⁶ Xaydaraliyev Sh. Markaziy Osiyo mintaqasida xavfsizlik va barqarorlikni ta’minlashda xalqaro tashkilotlar va O‘zbekistonning o‘rni. Tarix fan. bo‘yicha fals. dokt. (PhD) Diss. – Namangan: Namangan davlat universiteti, 2012. – 165 b.; Abdimo‘minov O. O‘zbekiston Respublikasining birlashgan millatlar tashkiloti bilan munosabatlari tarixi. Tarix fan. bo‘yicha fals. dokt. (PhD) Diss. – Toshkent: O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Fanlar akademiyasi Tarix instituti, 2018. – 213 b.; Toshturov Sh. O‘zbekiston Respublikasining BMT global dasturlaridagi ishtiroki tarixi. (PhD) Diss. – Buxoro: Navoiy davlat pedagogika instituti, 2022. – 142 b.; Xamidova A. O‘zbekiston Respublikasining BMT bilan hamkroligini xalqaro-xuquqiy jihatlar. (PhD) Diss. – Toshkent: Jahon iqtisodiyoti va diplomatiya universiteti, 2008; Usarova F. Globallashuv sharoitida O‘zbekiston Respublikasi tashqi siyosatining milliy-g‘oyaviy negizlari. Siyosiy fan. nomzodi diss. – Toshkent: Jahon iqtisodiyoti va diplomatiya universiteti, 2009. – 161 b.; Шарапова С. Основные проблемы становления и развития внешней политики Республики Узбекистан. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата политических наук. – Ташкент: Государственный институт востоковедения, 1997. – 131 с.; Ibraimova A. O‘zbekiston Respublikasini Markaziy Osiyo davlatlari bilan tashqi iqtisodiy aloqalarining geografik jihatlar. – Toshkent: Mirzo Ulug‘bek nomidagi O‘zbekiston milliy universiteti, 2012. – 152 b.

whose dissertation focuses on the cooperation between Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within the framework of international organizations⁵⁷. This dissertation, however, provides a comparison of the two after separate analysis of the foreign policy activities of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within international organizations, framing them as aspiring middle powers.

The second group comprises scholarly studies conducted by researchers from Azerbaijan. In particular, scholars such as L. Guliyeva, Sh. Abilov, B. Hajiyeu, A. Geybulla, A. Habibbeyli, M. Ismayilov, G. Shiraliyeva, T. Faradov, Sh. Mammadli, Z. Shiriyeu, K. Makili-Aliyeu, A. Valiyeu, N. Ahmadov, F. Mammadov, and A. Rasizade have examined various aspects of Azerbaijan's cooperation with international organizations and the directions of its foreign policy⁵⁸. Their works primarily highlight Azerbaijan's international engagements and the strategies employed to promote national interests through regional and global institutions. A. Mammadov's research stands out for its theoretical analysis of how the principles of security and balance have evolved within Azerbaijan's foreign policy. Meanwhile, M. Baylarov's investigations emphasize Azerbaijan's efforts to address threats to its territorial integrity and its use of energy resources as a foreign policy instrument.

Azerbaijani scholars have also conducted research as monographs on Azerbaijan's participation in international organizations, the formation of the country's international standing, and the evolution of its foreign policy course⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Адигезалов А. Сотрудничество Республики Узбекистан с Азербайджанской Республикой в деятельности региональных и международных организаций. Диссертация (DSc) по историческим наукам. – Ташкент: Международный институт Центральной Азии, 2025. – 260 с.

⁵⁸ Гулиева Л. Азербайджан и Международные Институты в Сфере Культуры: Механизмы и Основные Направления Сотрудничества. // Вестник Московского Государственного Лингвистического Университета – Москва, 2013. – С. 138–143; Abilov Sh. and Hajiyeu B. Why the Neutrality of Azerbaijan Is Important for the European Union. // Insight Turkey. – 2019. №3. – Pp. 53–67; Geybulla A. The Third Powers and Azerbaijan. – European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2018. – Pp. 101–110; Habibbeyli A. Reconsidering Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy on the 25th Anniversary of Restored Independence. // PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs. – 2017. №1. – Pp. 29–48; Ismayilov M. Power, Knowledge, and Pipelines: Understanding the Politics of Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy. // Caucasus Survey. – 2014. №1-2. – Pp. 79–129; Şirəliyeva G. İslam Əməkdaşlıq Təşkilatının Fəaliyyətində Heydər Əliyevin Rolu. // Academic Journal of History and Idea. – 2023. №4. – Pp. 1057–1066; Faradov T. Foreign Policy Orientations in Azerbaijan: Public and Elite Opinion. – Baku: North Atlantic Treaty Organization Final Report, 2003. – 76 p.; Mammadli Sh. Azərbaycan İslam əməkdaşlıq təşkilatının üzvü kimi. // Bakı: Tarix, İnsan və Cəmiyyət. – 2019. №2. – Pp. 125–132; Shiriyeu Z. Azerbaijan's Perspectives on the OSCE Minsk Group. // Security and Human Rights. – 2016. №3-4. – Pp. 442–466; Makili-Aliyeu K. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: Between East and West... // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2013. – 14 p.; Valiyeu A. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: What Role for the West in the South Caucasus? / Eastern Voices: Europe's East Faces an Unsettled West. – Washington: 2017. – Pp. 133–149; Ahmadov N. 20 Years of Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A View from Azerbaijan. // Modern Diplomacy, 2021.; Mammadov F. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy – A New Paradigm of Careful Pragmatism. The South Caucasus Between Integration and Fragmentation. – 2015. – Pp. 29–36; Rasizade A. Azerbaijan in Transition to the “New Age of Democracy”. // Communist and Post-Communist Studies. – 2003. №3. – Pp. 345–372.

⁵⁹ Hasanov A. Современные международные отношения и внешняя политика Азербайджана. – Баку: Zərdabi, 2013. – 1008 с.; Abdullayev B. Azərbaycan və ATƏT. – Баку: İqtisad Universiteti, 2010. – 100 с.; Qarayev R. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan, Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsinin nizamlanmasında beynəlxalq təşkilatların qərarlarının əhəmiyyəti və beynəlxalq hüquq. – Баку: Təknur, 2012. – 344 с.; Gurbanova S. Гейдар Алиев и внешнеполитический курс Азербайджанской Республики. – Баку: Şərq-Qərb, 2010. – 58 с.; Мехтиев Р. Азербайджан: вызовы глобализации. – Баку: XXI-Yeni Nəşrlər Evi, 2004. – 584 с.; Ягизаров Ш. Институт Президентства Азербайджана и Его Роль в Формировании Имиджа Страны. – Баку: Академия государственного управления при президенте Азербайджанской Республики, 2024. – 442 с.; Фейзиов Д. Значение создания союзов в международной политике и международном праве. / Союз тюркских

These works focus on such issues as the institutional foundations of Azerbaijan's foreign policy and the role of external determinants in strengthening state sovereignty. Particularly, a collective monograph prepared by F. Mammadov, J. Valiyev, and A. Mammadov examines Azerbaijan's relations with nine international organizations, highlighting the significance of energy diplomacy in the country's foreign policy⁶⁰. Meanwhile, N. Mammadov's monograph discusses Azerbaijan's shift from a hard power approach to a soft power strategy, and analyzes the country's balanced foreign policy under the conditions of a new global order⁶¹.

In their dissertations, H. Mammadova, A. Aliyev, E. Mehdiyev, Z. Ibrahimov, S. Quliyeva, and M. Barkhudarov focused on the pressing issues of the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the mechanisms of international cooperation⁶². These studies have made a certain contribution to the understanding of the formation of Azerbaijan's foreign policy and its achievements in the field of diplomacy.

The third group encompasses literature published in other countries. Notable among these are the works of R. Burnashev, B. Toktogulov, V. Avatkov, J. E. Strakes, D. Sauerborn, M. Laruelle, J. Daly, E. Fuller, C. Loda, A. C. Kuchins, K. Bashlar, H. Plater-Zyberk, A. Monaghan, A. Muratbekova, A. Pikalov, R. Schaefer, V. Romashov, S. Ch. Kim, C. Poujol, D. Degterev, B. T. Fazendeiro, S. N. Cummings, P. J. Luong, and N. Drost⁶³. Foreign scholars have conducted

государств: Евразийская модель глобальной интеграции, 2014. – С. 206-261.

⁶⁰ Mammadov F., Valiyev J., Mammadov A. Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasətinin əsas istiqamətləri: 1991-2016. – Bakı: Poliart, 2017. – 904 s.

⁶¹ Məmmədov N. Xarici siyasət: reallıqlar və gələcəyə baxış. – Bakı: Qanun, 2013. – 264 s.

⁶² Məmmədova H. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan Dağlıq Qarabağ münaqişəsi Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici siyasətində. tarix e. d-ru el. dər. a. üçün təq. ol. dis.. – Bakı: Institute of History named after A.A.Bakikhanov, 2011. – 332 s.; Əliyev A. Ermənistan-Azərbaycan, Dağlıq Qarabağ probleminin həlli beynəlxalq təşkilatların etno-siyasi münaqişələri tənzimləmələri kontekstində. tarix e. n. a. dər. al. üçün təq. ed. dis. – Bakı: AMEA, Arxeologiya və Etnoqrafiya İn-tu., 2010. – 142 s.; Mehdiyev E. Role of International Organizations in Regional Cooperation: Case Study of Azerbaijan in the System of Organization of Islamic Cooperation. – Türkiyə: Marmara University, 2019.; Ibrahimov Z. The Role of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation in the Development of Foreign and Cultural Relations of Azerbaijan. Annotatsiya (PhD). – Bakı: Bakı State University, 2022.; Quliyeva S. Heydər Əliyevin əsərləri Azərbaycan Respublikasının İslam Konfransı Təşkilatı ilə əlaqələrini öyrənmək üçün mənbə kimi. – Bakı: Bakı Dövlət Universiteti, 2014. – 186 s.; Bərxudarov M. Qloballaşma şəraitində Azərbaycan Respublikasının xarici iqtisadi əlaqələrin formalaşması xüsusiyyətləri və problemləri. iqt. e. n. a. dər. al. üçün təq. ed. dis.– Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət İqtisad Universiteti, 2003. – 176 s.

⁶³ Toktogulov B. Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy under Mirziyoyev: Change or Continuity?. // Eurasian Research Journal. – 2022. №1. – Pp. 49–67; Avatkov B. и Рожкова З. Концептуальные основы внешней политики Республики Узбекистан на современном этапе. // Постсоветские исследования – Москва: 2022. – С. 825–834; Strakes J.E. Azerbaijan and the Non-Aligned Movement: Institutionalizing the 'Balanced Foreign Policy' Doctrine." // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2015. – 24 p.; Sauerborn D., Scianna B.M. and Mazziotti M. Multipolarity Is Key: Assessing Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy. – Center for Economic and Social Development, 2013. – 14 p.; Burnashev R. Uzbekistan's New Course and the Construction of Central Asia. // CABAR, 2021.; Laruelle M. Factoring the Regional Impact of Uzbekistan's Withdrawal from the CSTO. // Foreign Policy and Civil Society Program, 2012. – 3 p.; Daly J.C.K. Outside View: Uzbek Afghanistan Proposal Relevant and Timely. / United Press International, 2009.; Daly J.C.K. Implications of Azerbaijan Moving Closer to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. // Eurasia Daily Monitor. – 2016. №61.; Fuller E. Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy and the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict. // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2013. – 12 p.; Loda C. Azerbaijan, Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy. // Irish Studies in International Affairs – Dublin, 2016. – Pp. 39–55; Kuchins A.C., Mankoff J. and Backes O. Azerbaijan in a Reconnecting Eurasia: Foreign Economic and Security Interests. – Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016. – 44 p.; Başlar K. The Commonwealth of Independent States: Decayed within a Decade. // The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations. – Ankara, 2001. №32. – Pp. 91–125; Plater-Zyberk H. and

research on the international organizational activities of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, as well as their multi-vector diplomacy strategies in the Central Asian and Caucasus regions. Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan's participation in global platforms such as the UN, OIC, SCO, OSCE, and CIS, along with their regional initiatives and adaptation processes to global transformations, have been partially explored in their research. The literature that enriches this research from scientific and methodological perspectives and forms its theoretical foundation is fully investigated in the first section of chapter 1 of the dissertation.

While acknowledging the academic value of the extensive body of literature presented, it is important to note that no particular research has been conducted to comparatively analyze the global initiatives and foreign policy strategies of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within international organizations in order to determine their positions on the international stage based on contemporary theoretical frameworks. The fact that this specific issue has not been addressed in detail in the aforementioned scholars' works highlights the scientific and theoretical relevance of the dissertation topic and underscores its significance as an important academic undertaking.

Connection of the research with the scientific research agenda of the higher education institution, where the dissertation was conducted. The dissertation has been carried out in accordance with the research plan of Fergana State University within the framework of the topic, named "Current Issues in the History of Uzbekistan" (No. 9, FDU IK 2019.30.05).

Research aim is to explore the position of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan on the international stage, their historical and diplomatic initiatives within international organizations, the formation process of their foreign policies, their similarities, differences, as well as aspects in which they can serve as examples for one another.

Research tasks:

Studying the normative-legal documents and other materials, which shaped Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's foreign policies between 1991 and 2025;

laying out the determinants of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's foreign policies, elaborating on what factors shape their foreign policy, and what kind of foreign policy strategies they pursue;

illustrating the significance of international organizations in the successful

Monaghan A. Strategic Implications of the Evolving Shanghai Cooperation Organization. – Carlisle Barracks Strategic Studies Institute, 2014. – 66 p.; Muratbekova A. 2022 SCO Summit in Samarkand: Key Takeaways. / Eurasian Research Institute.; Pikalov A. Uzbekistan between the Great Powers: A Balancing Act or a Multi-Vectorial Approach?. // Central Asian Survey. – 2014. №3. – Pp. 297–311; Schaefer R. and Whitney A. The Uzbek Wild Card in the New Great Game in Central Asia. // Region: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia. – 2015. №2. – Pp. 291–308; Romashov V. Uzbekistan's Balancing Act: A Game of Chance for Independent External Policies. / The Regional Security Puzzle around Afghanistan: Bordering Practices in Central Asia and Beyond. – Toronto, 2016. – Pp. 161–90; Poujol C. International Relations in Central Asia: A Focus on Foreign Policies (1991-2020). / European Handbook of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics, and Societies. – Stuttgart: ibidem, 2021. – Pp. 685–751; Degterev D. and Kurylev K. Foreign Policies of the CIS States: A Comprehensive Reference. – London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2019. – 517 p.; Fazendeiro B.T. Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy: The Struggle for Recognition and Self-Reliance under Karimov. – London: Routledge, 2018. – 192 p.; Cummings S.N. Understanding Central Asia: Politics and Contested Transformations. – London: Routledge, 2013. – 256 p.; Luong P.J. Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions, and Pacts. – 2002. – 24 p.; Drost N., Giulia C. and van Giersbergen B. Central Asia Emerging from the Shadows. – The Netherlands: Clingendael, 2025. – 79 p.

conduct of the foreign policies of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan based on an analysis of the scholarly literature;

examining the historical evolution of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's participation in and their varying approaches toward 7 specific international organizations, while linking each country's activities to the priorities of their respective foreign policy agendas;

establishing a theoretical framework to academically periodize and explain the foreign policy actions of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan;

exploring the milestone initiatives undertaken, key positions held, and significant events organized by Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, and their potential contribution to reputation and image building;

developing recommendations for optimizing future interactions of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan with international organizations based on the comparative analysis.

Object of the research is foreign policy and multilateral diplomacy of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan.

Subject of the research is the vectors of activity pursued by the Republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within international organizations, their manifestation as middle powers, their influence in their respective regions, the distinctive features of their foreign policies, and their advanced initiatives in the international arena.

Research methods: Dissertation draws on strengths of historical-systematic, comparative, logical-analytical, chronological, pragmatic, descriptive and qualitative content analysis methods.

The scientific novelty of the research is as follows:

This research demonstrates how Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan excel in prioritizing and achieving certain goals through the means of international organizations, positioning themselves as experts, reliable partners, and influential centers of power in key areas;

By introducing the concept of "aspiring middle powers," it is proven that Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan are not "small states" but rather in the process of transitioning to "middle power" status;

It is illustrated that international organizations provide a broad international audience and serve as ideal platforms for soft power formation and niche creation, thereby facilitating reputation and image building for Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, while increasing overall capacity of both to achieve foreign policy objectives in line with their national interests;

The commonalities and unique characteristics of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's foreign policies have been identified by substantiating the countries' similar geopolitical ambitions aimed at enhancing their influence and authority, and by demonstrating their advanced initiatives.

The practical results of the research are as follows:

The shift in Uzbekistan's foreign policy since 2016 is identified, providing evidence for its adoption of a more liberal, cooperative, and institutionalist approach;

Azerbaijan's assertiveness regarding the Karabakh issue is substantiated by

observing its prioritization of this matter in every meeting and signed document within international organizations; furthermore, the recent redirection of Azerbaijan's foreign policy priority from 'restoration of territorial integrity' to 'reconstruction' in Karabakh is explained;

Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's capacity to lead international discussions, their central role in regional initiatives, and their advanced international engagement in the fields of environment, energy, security, and trade are demonstrated;

for the first time, by employing a new theoretical framework of "strategic narratives," the distinctiveness of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's foreign policy priorities within the international community is demonstrated;

recommendations and proposals are developed by identifying areas that could contribute to strengthening the reputation and image of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan;

the activities of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within 7 international organizations are examined at such a comprehensive level for the first time, and several sources (including primary sources) have been introduced into academic circulation;

based on the analysis of a wide range of academic literature, the significance of developing relations with international organizations is identified, given Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's aspiration to attain "middle power" status. Accordingly, the research presents information that can be utilized in the study and teaching of history of the foreign policy and international relations of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan.

The reliability of the research results is grounded in new achievements in the study of national history, effective utilization of theoretical methods, the application of an interdisciplinary approach, and the comprehensive analysis of information derived from official documents related to the topic, which are preserved in the archives of Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and international organizations, alongside a wide range of scholarly literature. Relevant conclusions have been drawn, proposals and recommendations have been implemented in practice, and the obtained results have been validated by authorized institutions.

Scientific and practical significance of the research results. The scientific significance of this study lies in its contribution to a deeper understanding of several understudied issues in international relations. By bridging theoretical and empirical data, this article sheds light on the roles of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan in the international system, the shared motives behind their diplomatic initiatives, the processes of foreign policy formation and projection, and the ways in which both states demonstrate their prestige and influence.

The practical significance of the research results lies in its applicability to academic studies focused on the foreign policy and international relations history of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as the state's ideological and political development processes. The findings of the dissertation can be used as a resource for producing scholarly works, developing a new generation of textbooks for higher education institutions, and delivering lectures in subjects such as "International Relations," "History of Uzbekistan" and "World History." Furthermore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan and

other institutions involved in foreign policy can potentially use the research materials for the development of concepts, strategies, and action plans.

Implementation of the research results. Based on the results, conclusions, and recommendations derived from the study of the vectors of activity pursued by Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within international organizations in the context of contemporary system of international relations, the dissertation was implemented in the following ways:

Conclusions established that Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan excel in prioritizing and achieving certain goals through the means of international organizations, positioning themselves as experts, reliable partners, and influential centers of power in key areas. This insight was used in the scenario for the “Taqqdimot” program on the “History of Uzbekistan” channel of the National Television and Radio Company of Uzbekistan (Reference No. 01-33/319, dated 14 May 2025). As a result, the program was enriched with detailed information and scholarly evidence concerning the historical-diplomatic initiatives of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within international organizations;

Findings related to the application of the concept of “aspiring middle powers,” which indicate that Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan are not “small states” but rather in the process of transitioning to “middle power” status, were used by the Committee on Interethnic Relations and Compatriots Abroad of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Reference No. 14/140, dated 11 June 2025) in organizing conferences, seminars, round-table discussions, and cultural-humanitarian events on strengthening friendly international cultural and educational ties with Azerbaijan, and developing mutually beneficial cooperation. Consequently, the position and potential of both countries in the international arena were interpreted and presented to the wider public through the lens of this new concept;

Scientific findings demonstrating that international organizations provide a broad international audience and serve as ideal platforms for “soft power” formation and niche creation, thereby facilitating reputation and image building for Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, while increasing overall capacity of both to achieve foreign policy objectives in line with their national interests, were used in the scenario for the “Taqqdimot” program on the “History of Uzbekistan” channel of the National Television and Radio Company of Uzbekistan (Reference No. 01-33/319, dated 14 May 2025). Consequently, this served to enriching the program with new insights into the foreign policies of the two Turkic states;

Conclusions regarding the commonalities and unique characteristics of Uzbekistan’s and Azerbaijan’s foreign policies identified through the countries’ similar geopolitical ambitions aimed at enhancing their influence and authority, and through their advanced initiatives were used by the Committee on Interethnic Relations and Compatriots Abroad of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Reference No. 14/140, dated 11 June 2025) in the organization of activities focused on strengthening cultural and humanitarian relations with Azerbaijan and fostering mutually beneficial cooperation. As a result, these efforts contributed to even broader promotion of the international achievements of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan.

Approbation of the research results. The research results have undergone approbation at 5 scientific-practical conferences, including 3 international and 2 national-level conferences.

Publication of the research results. A total of 13 scientific works have been published on the dissertation topic. Among them, 8 articles (4 in national and 4 in foreign journals) have been published in publications recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Republic of Uzbekistan for disseminating the main scientific results of doctoral dissertations.

Structure and volume of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of references and literature, and appendices. The main research body of the dissertation comprises 137 pages.

MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the **introduction** of the dissertation, the relevance of the selected topic is substantiated, and the research aim and tasks, as well as its object and subject, are clearly defined. The scientific novelty and practical results of the study are presented, the reliability of the findings is justified, and their scientific and practical significance is outlined. Additionally, information is provided on the implementation of the research results in practice, the approbation of the study, and the structural of the work.

Chapter 1, namely “**Theoretical and Foreign Policy Foundations of Uzbekistan’s and Azerbaijan’s Participation in International Organizations**” provides the theoretical approaches and foreign policy priorities necessary to understand Uzbekistan’s and Azerbaijan’s engagement in international organizations. Section 1.1, titled “*Theoretical and Methodological Foundations for Establishing a Comparative Analysis*,” is essential for establishing the theoretical framework of this dissertation by providing definitions of relevant terms and theories.

Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan in terms of capabilities rank between the middle powers and the small states that make up the majority of states in the international system⁶⁴. Due to several similarities that Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan share when it comes to indicators measuring their material power, and their approach towards international organizations, this dissertation categorized Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan in the same group, using a new category, called “aspiring middle powers.”

The term “aspiring middle power” describes Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan with emphasis on the “power” aspect as a sign of their capacity, willingness, and possession of resources to carry out an independent foreign policy. They are ‘aspiring’ in the sense that they have demonstrated growth in military and economic capabilities, coupled with a clear diplomatic ambition to achieve higher status in global affairs.

⁶⁴ **Note:** According to the IMF 2024 data, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan hold the 67th and 82nd positions, respectively, in terms of GDP among 189 countries. Additionally, the 2025 Global Firepower Index, which assesses military strength, ranks Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan 58th and 60th out of 145 countries, respectively. These indicators help us to construct empirical and objective definition of aspiring middle powers as opposed to normative accounts.

Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan show the middle power tendencies, as well. For instance, like middle powers, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan too actively engage in multilateral diplomacy, mediation, coalition-building, and niche diplomacy, focusing on specific global governance issues where their influence can be significant⁶⁵. From an analytical perspective, engaging in multilateralism and niche diplomacy – offering strategic value to other states – can serve as a crucial step in solidifying Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's transition from aspiring to recognized middle powers.

One of the core arguments in this dissertation is that Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan employ strategic narratives⁶⁶ to emphasize their role as aspiring middle powers. “[Strategic narratives are useful in] formulating a problem and proposing a solution that would create a positive image of their Selves on the international arena, help achieving their objectives, and persuade others to follow suit⁶⁷.” Strategic narratives serve as tools to establish legitimacy, influence international agendas, create meaning around policies and actions, manage perceptions and expectations, and modify the discursive environment.

This research identifies the conduct of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's (actors) foreign policy priorities (challenges), such as reconstructing Afghanistan, addressing Aral Sea desiccation in the case of Uzbekistan, and restoration and rebuilding of Karabakh region in the case of Azerbaijan, via international organizations (setting), with the help of multilateral diplomacy (tool) and the “aspiring middle power” discourse (agency) as the elements of the narratives.

Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan follow the method of projecting narratives⁶⁸ through international organizations, believing in the appropriateness of IOs for developing its narratives. Careful and systematic construction of state image and reputation across IOs, using broad repertoire of strategies (i.e. hosting multilateral events), may result in positive perception of a state and its acceptance as ‘expert, mediator, impartial, reliable’ etc. In short, aspiring middle powers focus their limited resources on the issues of highest priority, using strategic narratives embedded in multilateral diplomacy and networks to influence global governance and achieve impactful outcomes⁶⁹.

The second section of the first chapter, headed “*Determinants, Priorities and Strategic Narratives of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's Foreign Policies,*” studies

⁶⁵ Aydin U. *Emerging Middle Powers and the Liberal International Order*. – Oxford University Press, 2021. – Pp. 1379–1380.

⁶⁶ **Note:** The term “narrative” (from Latin *narrare* – to tell, to recount) is a literary concept that, in the context of international relations, refers to the articulation of a state's policy through distinctive objectives presented as a coherent story.

⁶⁷ Zhukova E., Sundström M.R. and Elgström O. *Feminist Foreign Policies (FFPs) as Strategic Narratives*. – *Review of International Studies*, 2021. – Pp. 1–22.

⁶⁸ **Note:** Narrative projection is an important aspect of strategic narratives theory. It is the process of disseminating narratives, which entails deploying narratives through various channels, such as speeches, international events, forums, or multilateral diplomacy (Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle, *Forging the World*, 39–40).

⁶⁹ Karns M.P., Mingst K.A. and Stiles K.W. *The Challenges of Global Governance*. – London: Lynne Rienner, 2015. – P. 11; Wivel A. and Pedi R. *The Power (Politics) of the Weak Revisited: Realism and the study of small-state foreign policy*. / Agency, Security and Governance of Small States: A Global Perspective. – London: Routledge, 2023. – P. 23; Hasanov A. *Присоединение Азербайджана к системе международных отношений: формирование и развитие внешнеполитической деятельности*. – Баку: Zərdabi, 2013. – С. 571–72.

Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's foreign policies, as well as illustrates determinants and priorities of their foreign policies based on normative legal documents and official statements.

Historically, Uzbekistan's foreign policy from early 2000s to 2016 was marked by a strict commitment to self-reliance, characterized by security-centeredness, economic autarky and technocracy. This approach led to a bilateral-centric foreign policy. However, Under President Shavkat Mirziyoyev Uzbekistan's foreign policy has shifted towards more a constructive and cooperative stance with regard to international organizations. Currently, Uzbekistan's diplomacy involves simultaneous engagement with many different international actors. For instance, in 2022-2023 period alone, Uzbekistan took on the chairmanship of three prominent international organizations.

Uzbekistan initiated the formation of its foreign policy doctrine after independence with the adoption of a law titled "On the Main Principles of Foreign Policy of Uzbekistan" in 1996. According to Article 4, one of the primary objectives of Uzbekistan's foreign policy is active participation in the work of international organizations⁷⁰. It was later amended in 2012 with the "Concept of Foreign Policy Activity of Uzbekistan." With the decree "2017–2021 Strategy of Actions for Five Priority Areas of Development," signed by President Shavkat Mirziyoyev, a new era started. The Strategy of Actions specifies ways to protect foreign policy interests, expand international cooperation, strengthen Uzbekistan's position as a full subject of international relations, and achieve implementation of a balanced, constructive foreign policy.

Following the action strategy for 2017–2021, a decree "On the Development Strategy of the New Uzbekistan for 2022–2026" was introduced. The development strategy for 2022-2026 outlines several goals, such goal no. 73 promotes the rich scientific heritage of Uzbekistan through international cooperation, goal no. 79 envisions solving current environmental problems, and goal no. 94 deals with increasing cooperation in Central Asia in all spheres⁷¹. Lastly, the "Uzbekistan–2030" Strategy prioritizes the continuation of an open, pragmatic, active, and good-neighborly foreign policy, while underscoring the need for balanced and sustained dialogue on regional and global issues through international organizations.

This section identifies six main avenues of Uzbekistan's foreign policy. The following is the list of foreign policy priorities: 1) Central Asia; 2) Rehabilitation of Afghanistan; 3) Aral Sea; 4) Security; 5) Trade, economic cooperation and connectivity; and 6) Cooperation with international organizations and all other states.

The determinants of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's foreign policies include their territorial and geographical location, natural resources, growing economy,

⁷⁰ Закон Республики Узбекистан «Об основных принципах внешнеполитической деятельности Республики Узбекистан». 336–I § (1996). // <https://lex.uz/docs/39322>; Закон Республики Узбекистан «Об Оборонной доктрине Республики Узбекистан». ЗРУ-458 § (2018). // <https://lex.uz/docs/3495906>

⁷¹ Указ Президента Республики Узбекистан «О Стратегии развития Нового Узбекистана на 2022-2026 годы». УП-60 § (2022). // <https://lex.uz/ru/docs/5841077>

and military and political potential. Particularly, export of hydrocarbon resources has enabled Azerbaijan to sustain an active foreign policy with numerous international players. The concept of a balanced foreign policy or rather a ‘multi-vectorism’ was introduced by Heydar Aliyev in the early 1990s as a strategy of survival amid acute crises and threats to the nation’s existence⁷². Since Azerbaijan’s military success in reclaiming its territories, Ilham Aliyev has adopted more assertive approach, leveraging Azerbaijan’s strengthened position and enhanced diplomatic capacity to prioritize national interests over merely maintaining power equilibrium.

One of the first prominent documents in the area of foreign policy was the “National Security Concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan”, adopted in May 2007. To note, this document is outdated due to Azerbaijan’s foreign policy shift away from an emphasis on integration into Euro-Atlantic structures and the achievement of some abovementioned goals, such as the restoration of territorial integrity. In contrast to the National Security Concept, the “Military Doctrine of the Republic of Azerbaijan,” a law passed in June 2010, does not explicitly use the word “integration” to depict future relations between Euro-Atlantic institutions and Azerbaijan. The Military Doctrine of Azerbaijan stresses the importance of “condemnation and isolation of the aggressor by international organizations and all states⁷³.”

However, a real paradigm shift is currently taking place in Azerbaijan’s foreign policy priorities. After emerging victorious from the decades-long conflict following the Second Karabakh War in 2020, Azerbaijan has proved itself as a significant military power in its own right. This reinforced Azerbaijan’s key position in the South Caucasus and further encouraged the country to pursue foreign policy in other issue areas by affording to have auxiliary goals. First attempts to reshape and diversify its foreign policy priorities can be observed in the “Azerbaijan 2030: National Priorities for Socio-Economic Development” document adopted in February 2021. This framework urges the country to effectively cooperate with leading international organizations, especially regarding the development of Karabakh region. Moreover, the inclusion of “a clean environment and a country of green growth” as one of the five national priorities in the “Azerbaijan 2030” document reflects a growing recognition of the importance of sustainable development for international credibility.

This section identifies four main avenues of Azerbaijan’s current foreign policy, as well as one defunct priority (settlement of the Karabakh conflict). The following is the list of foreign policy priorities: 1) Post-conflict recovery of Karabakh; 2) Energy and connectivity; 3) Clean environment and green growth; and 4) Cooperation with international organizations and all other states.

Second chapter of the dissertation, titled **“Historical Patterns and Varying Dynamics of Participation in International Organizations by Aspiring Middle**

⁷² Strakes J.E. Azerbaijan and the Non-Aligned Movement: Institutionalizing the “Balanced Foreign Policy” Doctrine. // Istituto Affari Internazionali. – 2015. – P. 3-4.

⁷³ Decree of the National Assembly of the Republic of Azerbaijan “Azərbaycan Respublikasının Hərbi doktrinası”. (2010). // <https://anl.az/download/meqale/azerbaycan/2010/iyun/124735.htm>

Powers,” lays out historical context for Uzbekistan’s and Azerbaijan’s engagement with seven key international organizations (IOs). The analysis reflects how both states engage in “forum shopping”⁷⁴ to advance their foreign policy goals in certain international platforms (i.e. international organizations).

The first section of the second chapter, under the name “*Activities within International Organizations: UN, OIC and the Non-Aligned Movement,*” examines the major stages of Uzbekistan’s and Azerbaijan’s engagement with international organizations through comparative and chronological analysis.

On 6 January 1992, the First President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, formally submitted an application to the then Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN), Boutros Boutros-Ghali, requesting the admission of Uzbekistan as a full and equal member of the organization⁷⁵. Both Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan joined the UN on 2 March 1992 following the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

In October 1993, the United Nations Office in Tashkent commenced its operations headed by Khalid Malik⁷⁶. The United Nations Country Team (UNCT) in Uzbekistan currently consists of 26 UN Agencies, Funds, and Programmes, indicating a substantial UN presence in the country, whereas Azerbaijan’s UNCT is composed of 10 UN Agencies, Funds, and Programmes, which is notably smaller compared to UNCT in Uzbekistan⁷⁷.

Uzbekistan’s proposals and initiatives have received broad international support and recognition at the UN-level. During the 72nd session of the UNGA, President Mirziyoyev proposed the adoption of the UNGA resolution “Enlightenment and religious tolerance.” This resolution, which aims “to ensure universal access to education, eliminate illiteracy and ignorance”⁷⁸, was adopted with the support of over 50 countries.

Azerbaijan has taken on the role of the sponsor for several resolutions endorsed by the UN bodies. These resolutions encompass topics such as “Missing Persons” and “Release of women and children taken hostage, including those subsequently imprisoned, in armed conflicts.” Azerbaijan emphasizes the need for heightened focus on instances of mass human rights violations, particularly in the context of armed conflicts⁷⁹.

Despite these efforts, President Ilham Aliyev expressed his disappointment in

⁷⁴ Karns M.P., Mingst K.A. and Stiles K.W. The Challenges of Global Governance. – London: Lynne Rienner, 2015. – P. 24.

⁷⁵ Абдимўминов О. Марказий Осиё ва Бирлашган Миллатлар Ташкилоти. – Тошкент: Akademnashr, 2025. – С. 70.: Ўзбекистон Республикаси Президенти ҳузуридаги Ўзбекистоннинг Биринчи Президенти Ислам Каримов номидаги илмий-маърифий ёдгорлик мажмуаси Илмий-тадқиқот ва таълим маркази жорий архиви. 2023 йил сентябрь.

⁷⁶ Раҳимов М., Абдимўминов О. Ўзбекистон ва БМТ: Муносабатлар тарихи ва барқарор ривожланиш омиллари. – Тошкент: Hamkornashr, 2021. – Б. 211-215.: O‘zMA, M-37-fond, 1-ro‘yxat, 55-yig‘ma jild, 17–18-varaqlar.

⁷⁷ UN Entities in Uzbekistan. / United Nations Uzbekistan. <https://uzbekistan.un.org/en/about/un-entities-in-country>; UN Entities in Azerbaijan. / United Nations Azerbaijan. // <https://azerbaijan.un.org/en/about/un-entities-in-country>

⁷⁸ Uzbekistan-UN: Cooperation for Universal Sustainable Development. // <https://www.eureporter.co/world/uzbekistan/2023/10/02/uzbekistan-un-cooperation-for-universal-sustainable-development/>

⁷⁹ International Organisations. / Ministry of Foreign Affairs. // <https://mfa.gov.az/en/category/xin.gov.az>

the UN's inability to enforce its own resolutions, particularly the 4 Security Council resolutions demanding Armenia's withdrawal from occupied Azerbaijani territories, which remained unimplemented by the UN⁸⁰. On the other hand, President Shavkat Mirziyoyev expressed his firm belief in the "the central role of the United Nations in the settlement of disputes and conflicts⁸¹." At the Millennium Summit of the UNGA, the First President Islam Karimov further advocated for strengthening the UN's capacity to address regional and global threats as well as enhancing the Secretary General's powers⁸².

Azerbaijan became a member of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in December 1991, shortly after its independence, making it the first international organization the country joined. In contrast, Uzbekistan joined the OIC later, in October 1996, and maintained a relatively low profile within the organization for most of the period. For instance, Uzbekistan became a full member of the ICESCO in 2017, while Azerbaijan's accession to the ICESCO dates back to 1991. One of the reasons for Azerbaijan's early engagement since independence is because the OIC became instrumental in helping Azerbaijan to raise awareness about the conflict over Karabakh on the global stage.

Uzbekistan's presidency of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers in 2016 was marked by specific initiatives like creating the Center of Islamic Civilization in Tashkent under the motto "Enlightenment against ignorance." Therefore, Uzbekistan gained recognition as the power promoting 'noble goals.' On the other hand, Azerbaijan organized the grandiose event of Fourth Islamic Solidarity Games in May 2017, which brought together athletes from 54 states. This initiative reinforced Azerbaijan's image as a unifying power within the Islamic world.

Uzbekistan joined the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in September 1992, shortly after gaining independence, whereas Azerbaijan became a member in May 2011. By joining NAM, Azerbaijan aimed to access an additional platform to voice its concerns regarding the Karabakh conflict. Despite joining relatively recently, Azerbaijan has already assumed NAM chairmanship in 2019 during the Baku Summit, effectively leading the movement until 2023. Uzbekistan's chairmanship, however, will take place from 2027 to 2029 for the first time in country's history.

Azerbaijan welcomed high-level representatives from 120 UN member states and 42 IOs during its leadership of the NAM. Within the NAM, Azerbaijan launched two global initiatives aimed at supporting post-pandemic recovery in Africa and small developing island states, with Azerbaijan contributing US\$1 million as the first donor to both causes. In 2021, Azerbaijan spearheaded the creation of the NAM Parliamentary Network, providing a platform for legislative collaboration among member states.

The second section of the second chapter, under the name "*Activities within*

⁸⁰ "Ilham Aliyev Received Participants of the 53rd Meeting of CIS Council of Heads of Security Agencies and Special Services." / President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. – 2023. // <https://president.az/en/articles/view/61538>

⁸¹ "Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the Meeting of the Heads of the Member-States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization." / President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. – 2023. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/6457>

⁸² Jurayev H., Iminov B., Begimqulova I., Oxunjonova Sh. O'zbekistonning Eng Yangi Tarixi. – Toshkent: 2023. – 206 b.

Regional Organizations: OTS, ECO, CIS and the SCO” provides the major stages of Uzbekistan’s and Azerbaijan’s engagement in international organizations through a comparative and chronological analysis.

The Organization of Turkic States (OTS) was established relatively recently, in October 2009, in Azerbaijan. Actually, the inaugural Summit of Heads of Turkic Speaking States was held in October 1992 in Ankara, bringing together leaders from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Türkiye. However, in 2000s, Uzbekistan’s participation in the format of Turkic cooperation became more restrained, causing the country to disengage from many subsequent summits and initiatives. Uzbekistan’s withdrawal, owing to the overall political situation, slowed down the process of establishing the organization. Uzbekistan’s shift in foreign policy came under President Shavkat Mirziyoyev, which led to the formal accession in September 2019.

At the Sixth Summit of the OTS, in September 2018, Azerbaijan took upon the responsibility to dedicate special Secretariat buildings for Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic States and for the Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation (TCHF) in Baku. Under Uzbekistan’s chairmanship in 2023, cooperative efforts expanded across 30 areas within OTS, being accompanied by over 100 events⁸³. Currently, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan share a strong determination to advance the goals of the organization. President Shavkat Mirziyoyev highlighted the growing importance of the Turkic world in the evolving global order⁸⁴.

Both Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan joined the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in November 1992. To note, Uzbekistan is not a member of the ECO Trade and Development Bank (ETDB) as of 2026, whereas Azerbaijan joined the bank in February 2013 and is a shareholder. Azerbaijan hosted ECO’s summits in 2006 and 2012. Besides, Azerbaijan attended high-level summits of the ECO 14 times (out of 16) at the level of the head of state. In comparison, leaders of Uzbekistan attended 8 of these summits. Uzbekistan hosted ECO summit in November 2023. This marked the first time Uzbekistan organized a high-level summit within the ECO framework since joining the organization. Prior to 2016, Uzbekistan’s position was firmly fixed on the idea of boosting merely economic cooperation, considering ECO as a pure economic organization. Uzbekistan currently emphasizes the deep historical and cultural connections between the ECO nations aside from trade links.

In March 2021, the Charter of the ECO Research Center was signed, with Azerbaijan being named the host country. Serving as the ECO think-tank, the center’s main objective will be the facilitation of regional cooperation based on strategic planning and empirical evidence. Moreover, in November 2021, the Charter for the Clean Energy Centre for the ECO region (CECECO) was adopted, with Azerbaijan selected as the host country for the new center.

Azerbaijan did not initially join the Commonwealth of Independent States

⁸³ “Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan H.E. Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the Tenth Summit of the Heads of State of the Organization of Turkic States.” – 2023. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/6831>

⁸⁴ “New Opportunities for Integration and Cooperation.” / The Government portal of the Republic of Uzbekistan. – 2019. // <https://old.gov.uz/en/news/view/24569>

(CIS) until September 1993, while Uzbekistan is the founding state. Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's official rhetorics towards the CIS present the organization as a positive force for regional cooperation. According to academic sources, however, CIS has largely failed to deliver on its integration goals due to limitations in its ability to foster genuine cohesion among post-Soviet states⁸⁵. For instance, CIS integration has been stymied by low ratification practices. According to one study, until March 1998, among the countries with the greatest non-participation were Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan⁸⁶.

In October 2023 meeting of the CIS, President Mirziyoyev pointed out the need to consider the abolition of exemptions in the Free Trade Agreement, synchronize import substitution programs, support joint logistics centers, and stimulate e-commerce within the CIS⁸⁷. Within the CIS Azerbaijan focuses on initiatives in humanitarian, cultural, and sports fields. Humanitarian cooperation is underscored as a fundamental aspect of CIS collaboration by Azerbaijan, which can potentially have a 'spillover effect' to resuscitate cooperation in all spheres. Azerbaijan's efforts are exemplified by its ambitious undertaking to host the 3rd CIS Games in September 2025.

Lastly, this section analyzes the activities within Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), in which Uzbekistan holds full membership while Azerbaijan does not. Azerbaijan has obtained the status of a dialogue partner within the SCO in order to expand its sphere of influence and promote regional cooperation independently. Uzbekistan, by contrast, has placed greater emphasis on institutional leadership and security-centric collaboration within the framework of the SCO.

Third chapter of the dissertation is titled **“International Organizations Serving as Platforms for Projection of Strategic Narratives”**. It studies Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's efforts to initiate, lead and/or contribute to global policies in priority areas. The first section of the last chapter, under the name *“Realizing Uzbekistan's Priorities through Initiatives in International Organizations,”* examines how Uzbekistan wields its membership within IOs in order to promote its foreign policy priorities, thereby shaping its international identity.

Uzbekistan declares that the main direction of its foreign policy is “creating security, stability and good neighborliness belt around Uzbekistan⁸⁸.” As a result, President Shavkat Mirziyoyev proposed to consolidate efforts in bringing countries of Central Asia together in various spheres⁸⁹. During the Samarkand Summit of the

⁸⁵ Kubicek P. The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism? // Review of International Studies. – 2009. – Pp. 237–238; Laruelle M. Factoring the Regional Impact of Uzbekistan's Withdrawal from the CSTO. // Foreign Policy and Civil Society Program, 2012. – 3 p.

⁸⁶ Başlar K. The Commonwealth of Independent States: Decayed within a Decade. // The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations. – Ankara, 2001. №32. – P. 123.

⁸⁷ “Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Mr. Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the Meeting of the CIS Heads of State Council.” – 2023. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/6753>

⁸⁸ Foreign Policy and Safety. // https://gov.uz/activity_page/foreign_policy

⁸⁹ “Выступление Президента Республики Узбекистан Шавката Мирзиёева на международной конференции «Центральная Азия: одно прошлое и общее будущее, сотрудничество ради устойчивого развития и взаимного процветания» в Самарканде.” – 2017. // <https://president.uz/ru/lists/view/1227>

SCO in September 2022, President Mirziyoyev designated Central Asia the geographical core of the SCO⁹⁰.

Uzbekistan's unique stance on Central Asia is based on the belief that Afghanistan is an integral part of the region. Uzbekistan's experience in facilitating peace processes in Afghanistan indeed dates back to early 1990s. Uzbekistan masterminded the "6+2" format and initiated series of meetings. Moreover, Uzbekistan proposed dialogue and consultation formats for OTS and SCO to engage with Afghanistan. These initiatives improved "the image of Uzbekistan's stabilizing role in the region"⁹¹.

Also, Uzbekistan is constructing an identity as a decision-maker concerned about the environment. At the September 1995 meeting of the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea held in Uzbekistan, "Nukus Declaration" was signed. It called for the establishment of an international convention on the sustainable development of the Aral Sea basin. Established in November 2018, the UN Multi-Partner Human Security Trust Fund for the Aral Sea Region, so far, received its highest financial commitment from Uzbekistan.

In order to claim Central Asia's strategic place in the web of global transportation, President Mirziyoyev proposed establishing a "Regional Centre for the Development of Transport and Communications" under the auspices of the UN⁹². In the international conference "Central and South Asia: Regional Connectivity, Challenges and Opportunities," which took place in Tashkent in July 2021, Uzbekistan announced the initiation of the Trans-Afghan transport corridor to link Central Asia with the Indian Ocean via railway.

The second section of the third chapter, named "*Advancing Azerbaijan's Priorities through Initiatives within International Organizations*," similarly studies Azerbaijan's initiatives within various international organizations in the context of its foreign policy priorities.

Initially, the primary focus of Azerbaijan's collaboration with the international organizations was to secure international support in calling off Armenia's claims and persistent use of force against Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Azerbaijan's historic accomplishment of becoming a non-permanent member in the UNSC from 2012 to 2013 reinvigorated the government's efforts to bring the Karabakh conflict to the forefront agenda of international community. The OIC Parliamentary Union recognized the Khojaly tragedy as an act of genocide in January 2012, marking the first time in history an international body officially acknowledging the Khojaly massacre as genocide.

Currently, in parallel with active regional development in Karabakh, Azerbaijan has begun to emphasize green growth throughout the country, and is enhancing its global role in climate negotiations. Unlike Uzbekistan, which began constructing a policy (and identity) narrative around climate and environmental

⁹⁰ The SCO Samarkand Summit: Dialogue and Cooperation in an Interconnected World. – 2022. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/5495>

⁹¹ Fazendeiro B.T. Uzbekistan's Foreign Policy: The Struggle for Recognition and Self-Reliance under Karimov. – London: Routledge, 2018. – 153 p.

⁹² "Speech by President Shavkat Mirziyoyev at the 75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly." – 2020. // <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/3851>

advocacy as early as the 1990s in response to the Aral Sea crisis, Azerbaijan has recently embarked on shaping its climate action narratives. Azerbaijan's hosting of the 29th session of the Conference of the Parties (COP29), in November 2024, is one of its most significant efforts to influence global climate negotiations and policies. The COP29 Summit brought together over 80 heads of state and government.

Nevertheless, energy diplomacy still remains a critical tool in Azerbaijan's foreign policy arsenal. Azerbaijan uses its energy sector to attract foreign investment and develop east-west energy infrastructure as a transit hub. Azerbaijan also utilizes its energy resources as an instrument in foreign policy to "repurpose" cooperation. For instance, upon its completion, 'Caspian Green Energy Corridor' project promises to transport renewable energy to Europe through Azerbaijan. Last but not least, Azerbaijan promotes the 'Zangezur corridor' within international organizations, such as ECO, drawing the attention of key regional players to this new transportation route via Azerbaijan.

CONCLUSION

The research undertaken on the topic of "Directions of Uzbekistan's and Azerbaijan's Involvement in International Organizations and their Comparative Analysis" has led to the following conclusions:

1. Within international organizations, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan have engaged in committee activities, chaired IOs, hosted summits, proposed resolutions, and sponsored initiatives to shape international diplomatic landscape, foster dialogue, cooperation, and address their foreign policy challenges by framing them as matters of global concern. It is not a coincidence that Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan take initiatives multilaterally, as both countries recognize the instrumental value of international organizations as effective actors that can support their foreign policy undertakings.

2. From 1991 to the early 2000s, Uzbekistan pursued an institution-building and regional integration approach, emphasizing political and economic cooperation within Central Asia and supporting emerging multilateral consultation mechanisms. From the early 2000s to 2016, Uzbekistan adopted a cautious and security-oriented approach to multilateral engagement, prioritizing stability, counterterrorism cooperation, and selective participation in international organizations. Since 2017, Uzbekistan has embraced a flexible approach to advancing its foreign policy priorities via international organizations along the axes of regional cooperation, security, and climate action narratives.

3. For Azerbaijan, the main determinant of the foreign policy was the restoration of the Karabakh region until 2020. For this reason alone, Azerbaijan used all diplomatic means, insisting on the inclusion of the Karabakh issue in several documents of international relevance. Since then, Azerbaijan's focus within international organizations has shifted toward the region's reconstruction

and increased engagement in climate advocacy.

4. Diversification of Azerbaijan's foreign policy since 2020 and Uzbekistan's shift towards multilateral engagement under President Shavkat Mirziyoyev demonstrate their strategic adaptations to regional and global dynamics.

5. Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, two key players in Central Asia and the Caucasus, respectively, employ strategic narratives to build their distinct foreign policy identities, contributing to narrative production and niche creation at the international level. By crafting coherent stories from foreign policy priorities, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan navigate the international system and assert their role as aspiring "middle powers."

6. Uzbekistan constructs following identities in the international arena: 1) a power maintaining trust-based cooperation and development, corresponding to policies regarding the Central Asia; 2) a power seeking stability and prosperity for least developed countries, corresponding to policies regarding Afghanistan; and 3) a power advocating for sustainable management of the environment, corresponding to policies regarding the Aral Sea. Uzbekistan announced various initiatives from the rostrum of international organizations in the field of strengthening international security and regional cooperation; ecological restoration; promoting sustainable development; rendering technical and advisory assistance; and investing in tourism, transportation and logistics among other things.

7. Azerbaijan constructs following identities in the international arena: 1) a power with expertise in post-conflict rehabilitation and conflict management, corresponding to policies regarding Karabakh; 2) a reliable power with valuable natural resources connecting regions as a transit hub, corresponding to policies regarding the energy; and 3) a power advocating for green growth, corresponding to policies regarding the clean environment. Similarly, Azerbaijan utilized IOs extensively to amplify its efforts regarding the resolution of the Karabakh conflict, voice its security concerns resulting from the occupation, and gain recognition in the environmental leadership, regional energy, trade and transportation projects among other things.

8. Both Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan pursue foreign policies that are heavily influenced by their geopolitical locations, while natural resources of Azerbaijan constitute another factor. Being located at the crossroads of regional and global trade routes, both countries leverage their positions with the aim of enhancing their strategic significance and economic potential. Especially, in the context of increasing global political instability and deepening multipolarity, both states can potentially become reliable economic and political corridors between regions and continents. This is reflected in their growing involvement in large-scale connectivity and infrastructure projects, such as the Trans-Caspian International East–West Middle Corridor, as well as in multilateral frameworks like the SCO Concept of Cooperation for the Development of

Connectivity and the Creation of Efficient Transport Corridors. Through these efforts, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan seek to reinforce their roles as transit hubs and indispensable actors in emerging regional and interregional networks.

9. Overall, it can be observed that Azerbaijan's foreign policy is more assertive, while Uzbekistan's foreign policy is more dynamic when it comes to conceptualization of the foreign policy strategy. The number of main foreign policy documents adopted by Uzbekistan demonstrates the considerable attention that the country has devoted to this process. It also indicates that substantial efforts have been invested in clarifying and refining the directions of its foreign policy and in defining their conceptual foundations.

Based on a comparative analysis of the achievements and strategic approaches of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan within international organizations, the following recommendations and proposals are formulated:

1. Uzbekistan could benefit from broadening its participation in international organizations: by joining the ECO Trade and Development Bank to access to development financing; by becoming a member of the TURKPA; and by accelerating the process of enlisting cultural works in the list of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage, where 16 cultural elements are listed from Uzbekistan, whereas from Azerbaijan 24 elements are included as of 2025;

2. Uzbekistan needs to redefine the country's leadership role and address foreign policy objectives on the global stage through its upcoming chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement. Meanwhile, Azerbaijan may continue advancing toward full membership in the SCO by upgrading its current dialogue partner status, in line with its strategic goal of expanding ties with Asian countries;

3. It is necessary to establish a joint research platform, called "Turkic States Center for Historical and Policy Studies," potentially under the auspices of the OTS. This center, led by leading universities and research institutes from Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and other Turkic states, would systematically analyze historical trajectories and contemporary policy developments, producing high-quality academic outputs, including scholarly publications, policy briefs and reports. Such an initiative would contribute to addressing the current gap in region-specific research while strengthening evidence-based policymaking;

4. To improve Uzbekistan's foreign policy toolkit and increase its international standing, the government can adopt a comprehensive state-level concept exclusively dedicated to enhancing the country's global image. Indeed, under the coordination of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in November 2019, a draft "Concept for strengthening the positive image of the Republic of Uzbekistan in the international arena" was proposed, which outlined priority areas and mechanisms aimed at cultivating and projecting positive international identity for Uzbekistan. However, this initiative has not been formalized yet as a binding legal document. Moreover, Azerbaijan may achieve greater conceptual articulation and codification of its foreign policy vision by developing

additional comprehensive foreign policy documents similar to Uzbekistan's approach;

5. As environmental issues transcend national borders, their transboundary nature makes coordinated responses especially urgent. Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan need to formulate joint multilateral approaches to shared ecological risks, being situated in neighboring regions within the broader Central Asia and Caspian space;

6. As Azerbaijan gears towards "collaboration in trilateral format" in South Caucasus (Azerbaijan-Georgia-Armenia), the country should learn from the experience of Uzbekistan in availing the capacity of international organizations to solve the regional issues locally.

**РАЗОВЫЙ НАУЧНЫЙ СОВЕТ НА ОСНОВЕ НАУЧНОГО СОВЕТА
PhD.03/2025.27.12.Tar.10.01 ПО ПРИСУЖДЕНИЮ УЧЁНЫХ СТЕПЕНЕЙ
ПРИ ФЕРГАНСКОМ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОМ УНИВЕРСИТЕТЕ**

ФЕРГАНСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ

МУСЕЙИБЗАДА ДЖОВХАР ШАМСАДДИН ОГЛУ

**ВЕКТОРЫ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ РЕСПУБЛИКИ УЗБЕКИСТАН И
АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ В МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ
ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯХ И ИХ СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ**

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**АВТОРЕФЕРАТ
диссертации доктора философии (PhD) по ИСТОРИЧЕСКИМ НАУКАМ**

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ВВЕДЕНИЕ (аннотация диссертации доктора философии (PhD))

Цель исследования состоит в изучении позиционирования Узбекистана и Азербайджана на международной арене, их исторических и дипломатических инициатив в рамках международных организаций, процесс формирования их внешней политики, выявлении сходств и различий, а также определении аспектов, в которых данные страны могут служить примером друг для друга.

Объект исследования состоит из внешней политики и многосторонней дипломатии Узбекистана и Азербайджана.

Предмет исследования составляют векторы деятельности Узбекистана и Азербайджана в международных организациях, особенности их проявления в качестве средних держав, влияние в соответствующих регионах, отличительные характеристики их внешней политики, а также передовые инициативы на международной арене.

Научная новизна исследования заключается в следующем:

В исследовании показано, как Узбекистан и Азербайджан определяют приоритетные направления и достигают поставленных целей посредством международных организаций, позиционируя себя в качестве экспертов, надежных партнеров и влиятельных центров силы в ключевых сферах;

Вводя в научный оборот концепцию «государств, стремящихся к статусу средних держав», доказано, что Узбекистан и Азербайджан не относятся к категории «малых государств», а находятся в процессе перехода к статусу «средней державы»;

Продemonстрировано, что международные организации обеспечивают взаимодействие с широкой международной аудиторией и выступают в качестве эффективной платформы для формирования «мягкой силы» и создания собственной ниши, способствуя укреплению репутации и международного имиджа Узбекистана и Азербайджана, а также расширению их возможностей по реализации внешнеполитических целей в соответствии с национальными интересами;

Выявлены общие и специфические особенности внешней политики Узбекистана и Азербайджана посредством обоснования сходства их геополитических устремлений, направленных на укрепление влияния и авторитета, а также на основе анализа выдвигаемых ими передовых инициатив.

Внедрение результатов исследования. На основе результатов, научных выводов и рекомендаций, полученных в ходе исследования векторов деятельности Узбекистана и Азербайджана в международных организациях в условиях современной системы международных отношений, диссертационная работа была внедрена по следующим направлениям:

Выводы о том, что Узбекистан и Азербайджан определяют приоритетные направления и достигают поставленных целей посредством международных организаций, позиционируя себя в качестве экспертов, надежных партнеров и влиятельных центров силы в ключевых сферах, были

использованы при подготовке сценария программы «Такдимот» на телеканале «История Узбекистана» Национальной телерадиокомпании Узбекистана (справка № 01-33/319 от 14 мая 2025 года). В результате программа была дополнена подробной информацией и научно обоснованными сведениями об историко-дипломатических инициативах Узбекистана и Азербайджана в рамках международных организаций.

Выводы, связанные с применением концепции «государств, стремящихся к статусу средней державы», которые свидетельствуют о том, что Узбекистан и Азербайджан не относятся к категории «малых государств», а находятся в процессе перехода к статусу «средней державы», были использованы Комитетом по вопросам межнациональных отношений и соотечественников за рубежом Республики Узбекистан (справка № 14/140 от 11 июня 2025 года) при организации конференций, семинаров, круглых столов, а также культурно-гуманитарных мероприятий, направленных на укрепление дружественных международных культурно-просветительских связей с Азербайджаном и развитие взаимовыгодного сотрудничества. Вследствие этого положение и потенциал обеих стран на международной арене были интерпретированы и представлены широкой общественности.

Научные выводы о том, что международные организации обеспечивают взаимодействие с широкой международной аудиторией и выступают в качестве эффективной платформы для формирования «мягкой силы» и создания собственной ниши, способствуя укреплению репутации и международного имиджа Узбекистана и Азербайджана, а также расширению их возможностей по реализации внешнеполитических целей в соответствии с национальными интересами, были использованы при подготовке сценария программы «Такдимот» телеканала «История Узбекистана» Национальной телерадиокомпании Узбекистана (справка № 01-33/319 от 14 мая 2025 года). Вследствие этого программа была обогащена новыми сведениями о внешней политике двух тюркских государств.

Выводы относительно общих и специфических особенностей внешней политики Узбекистана и Азербайджана, выявленных на основе сходства геополитических устремлений обеих стран, направленных на укрепление их влияния и авторитета, а также посредством анализа их передовых инициатив, были использованы Комитетом по межнациональным отношениям и вопросам соотечественников за рубежом Республики Узбекистан (справка № 14/140 от 11 июня 2025 года) при организации мероприятий, направленных на укрепление культурно-гуманитарных связей с Азербайджаном и развитие взаимовыгодного сотрудничества. В результате данные мероприятия способствовали более широкому продвижению международных достижений Узбекистана и Азербайджана.

Структура диссертации. Диссертация состоит из введения, 3 глав, заключения, списка использованных источников, литературы и приложений. Объем исследовательской части диссертации составляет 137 страниц.

E'LON QILINGAN ISHLAR RO'YXATI
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