

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER (İNGİLİZCE) BİLİM DALI

**ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN
REGIONAL COOPERATION: CASE STUDY OF AZERBAIJAN IN
THE SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC
COOPERATION**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

ELMADDİN MEHDİYEV

İstanbul, 2019

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER (İNGİLİZCE) BİLİM DALI

**ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN
REGIONAL COOPERATION: CASE STUDY OF AZERBAIJAN IN
THE SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC
COOPERATION**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

ELMADDİN MEHDİYEV

DANIŞMAN: DR. ÖĞR. ÜYESİ İBRAHİM MAZLUM

İstanbul, 2019



T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

TEZ ONAY BELGESİ

SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER Anabilim Dalı
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER (İNGİLİZCE) Bilim Dalı TEZLİ YÜKSEK LİSANS öğrencisi
ELMADDİN MEHDIYEV'nin ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN
REGIONAL COOPERATION: CASE STUDY OF AZERBAIJAN IN THE SYSTEM OF
ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION adlı tez çalışması, Enstitümüz Yönetim
Kurulunun 8.08.2019 tarih ve 2019-25/6 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından oy birliği /~~oy~~
çokluğu ile Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Tez Savunma Tarihi 22 / 11 / 2019

Öğretim Üyesi Adı Soyadı

İmzası

1.	Tez Danışmanı	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi İBRAHİM MAZLUM	
2.	Jüri Üyesi	Doç. Dr. SUNA GÜLFER İHLAMUR ÖNER	
3.	Jüri Üyesi	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi MUZAFFER ŞENEL	

GENEL BİLGİLER

İsim ve Soyadı	:Elmaddin Mehdiyev
Anabilim Dalı	:Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler
Programı	:Uluslararası İlişkiler (İng.)
Tez Danışmanı	:Dr. Öğr. Üyesi İbrahim Mazlum
Tez Türü ve Tarihi	:Yüksek Lisans – Kasım 2019
Anahtar Kelimeler	:Uluslararası Organizasyonlar, Bölgesel İşbirliği, İslam İşbirliği Teşkilatı, Azerbaycan

ÖZET

BÖLGESEL İŞBİRLİĞİNDE ULUSLARARASI ÖRGÜTLERİN ROLÜ: İSLAM İŞBİRLİĞİ TEŞKİLATI SİSTEMİNDE AZERBAYCAN ÖRNEĞİ

İslam İşbirliği Teşkilatı (İİT) odaklı uluslararası örgütlerin bölgesel işbirliğindeki rolünü yorumlayan literatürün yakından incelenmesi, bu konuların yüzeysel araştırılmasının yanı sıra ilgili literatürün çok yetersiz olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Genel olarak, uluslararası örgütlerin bölgesel işbirliğine belirli katkıları hakkında literatür fazla değildir. Bu boşluklara dayanarak, bu çalışmada İslam İşbirliği Teşkilatı kapsamında Azerbaycan örneğini ele alarak, söz konusu uluslararası örgütün bölgesel işbirliğindeki rolünün araştırılması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın hedefi, İslam İşbirliği Teşkilatı (İİT) gibi uluslararası bir kuruluşun Azerbaycan'ı ekonomik, kültürel ve politik olarak nasıl etkilediğini araştırmaktır. Ayrıca, araştırma Azerbaycan'ın İİT'e üyeliğinin hem bölgesel hem de uluslararası açıdan üye ülkelerle ikili ve çok taraflı ilişkilerini nasıl etkilediğini incelemeye çalışmıştır.

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE

Name and Surname	:Elmaddin Mehdiyev
Field	:Political Science and International Relations
Programme	:International Relations (Eng.)
Supervisor	:Dr. İbrahim Mazlum
Degree Awarded and Date	:Master – November 2019
Keywords	:International Organizations, Regional Cooperation, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Azerbaijan

ABSTRACT

ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN REGIONAL COOPERATION: CASE STUDY OF AZERBAIJAN IN THE SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION

A close look of literature commenting on the role of international organizations in regional cooperation with a view of Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) reveals very scant as well as superficial examination of such issues. In general, literature on the specific contributions of international organizations in regional cooperation are few. Based on such gaps, this study aims to investigate the role of specific international organization in regional cooperation by examining a case study of Azerbaijan within the realms of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. The purpose of this study is to research how an international organization like the OIC influences Azerbaijan economically, culturally, and politically. In addition, the study sought to examine how Azerbaijan's membership to the OIC affects its bilateral and multilateral relations with member countries, both, from the regional and international point of view.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ÖZET	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.2. Objectives of the Study.....	5
1.3. Research Questions.....	5
1.4. Research Methodology	6
1.5. Importance of the Study.....	7
1.6. Organization of the Study	8
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCES TO THE REGIONAL COOPERATION.....	9
2.1. International Organizations: History and Conceptual Basis	9
2.1.1. History.....	12
2.1.2. Conceptual Basis.....	15
2.2. The Role of International Organizations in Regional Cooperation.....	19
2.3. The Features of International Organizations	26
2.3.1. Internationalism	26
2.3.2. Supranationalism	28
2.3.3. War Prevention and Collective Security	31
2.3.4. Defensive Alliances	32
2.3.5. Preventive Diplomacy	33

CHAPTER 3: ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION.....	34
3.1. Institutional Background.....	34
3.1.1. Emergence of the OIC.....	36
3.1.2. Institutional Structure of the OIC	40
3.2. Priorities of the OIC in Serving to the Enforcement of Regional Cooperation.....	43
3.3. Effectiveness of the OIC in Regional Cooperation	51
3.4. Major Challenges for the OIC.....	55
 CHAPTER 4: MEMBERSHIP TO THE OIC THROUGH THE AZERBAIJAN’S FOREIGN POLICY AND REGIONAL COOPERATION PRIORITIES	59
4.1. Foreign Policy Priorities of Azerbaijan	60
4.2. Cooperation with International Organizations	68
4.3. Azerbaijan as the Member State of the OIC	69
4.4. Bilateral Relations of Azerbaijan with selected OIC Member States	75
4.4.1. Relations with Turkey	75
4.4.2. Relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.....	76
4.4.3. Relations with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan	77
4.4.4. Relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran	78
 CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	89

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIPM: Bureau of International Weights and Measures

BSEC: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation

CDHRI: Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam

CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States

EC: European Community

ECO: Economic Cooperation Organization

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GUAM: Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova)

HRC: United Nations Human Rights Council

IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

ICDT: Islamic Centre for the Development of Trade

ICYF: Islamic Cooperation Youth Forum

IDB: Islamic Development Bank

IGOs: Intergovernmental Organizations

IINA: International Islamic News Agency

ILO: International Labour Organization

IMF: International Monetary Fund

INGOs: International Nongovernmental Organizations

INTERPOL: International Police Organization

IPHRC: Independent Permanent Human Right Commission

IRCICA: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture

ISBO: Islamic States Broadcasting Organization

ISESCO: Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

LAS: League of Arab States

LoN: League of Nations

MNLF: Moro National Liberation Front

MWL: Muslim World League

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NAM: Non-Alignment Movement

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

OIC: Organization of Islamic Cooperation

OIC-PCSP: Organization of Islamic Cooperation – Peace Committee for Southern Philippines

OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization

PSMU: Peace, Security and Mediation Unit

TYPOA: Ten-Year Programme of Action

UN: United Nations

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

WFP: World Food Program

WTO: World Trade Organization



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Explorations on international organizations and regional cooperation are not a new phenomenon in international politics. Many scholars consider international organizations as central units of politics and globalisation. For instance, it is challenging to discuss sovereignty of a nation with mentioning the United Nations. According to Abate and Tilahun, studies on international organizations date back to the 1800s even if they were not considered as a legal discipline.¹ Since then, the discipline of international organizations has grown, making its inputs to be embraced in other studies like anthropology, economics and sociology.² Besides international organizations existing for many decades, their debated have been marred by lack of a unifying definition of what they entail and the precise roles they play in regional cooperation. Sands and Klein indicate that there are several definitions and confusing roles of international organizations since there are many theoretical dimensions.³ Other scholars have noted that international organizations are frequently discussed casually without defining their roles.⁴ Such state of affairs has hindered clear understanding and advancement of international institutions.⁵ Accordingly, not field or discipline can advance without the participants sharing a common definition and understanding. International organizations usually pursue various objectives guided by the intent of their establishment by the agreement of sovereign states. Such objectives can include social, political, environment and economic interests.⁶

¹ Mizanie Abate and Alemayehu Tilahun, "The Historical development of International Organizations", *Abyssinia Law*, 08 April 2012, <https://www.abysiniaw.com/online-resources/study-on-line/item/475-the-historical-development-of-international-organizations>, 26 June 2019, p.1.

² Philippe Sands and Pierre Klein, **Bowett's Law of International Institutions**. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 2009, p.6.

³ Sands and Klein, p.7.

⁴ Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (Ed.), **Handbook of International Relations**, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: SAGE Publications LTD, 2002, p.14.

⁵ Abate and Tilahun, p.1.

⁶ Carlsnaes, Risse, and Simmons, p.18.

Their roles involve not punishing or imposing sanctions on member states but ensuring compliance with mutually agreed upon standards and rules. It does not entail going against the sovereignty of any country. A classical example includes the UN whose role involves negotiating the implementation and respecting of set agreements ranging from economic, political conflict, social and humanitarian issues like climate change, refugees and terrorism.⁷ Such issues need multilateral or bilateral approaches among the international organizations and its representatives from every members state. Such organizations provide platforms for continuous dialogue or regulatory matters and facilitate the comparability of approaches. Also, international organization develop international policy and legal instruments including contributing the creation of mutual regulatory language and standards.

In follow up to the disbanding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was established and these states have sought cooperation with international organizations and regional bodies playing a significant role.⁸ One of the states that has sought enjoyment into regional bodies and international institutions includes Azerbaijan. The development of cooperation between Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Azerbaijan is one of the prioritised foreign policy direction of strategic importance of the country. Since the country gained its independence, it was among the first among the CIS nations to appeal to be enjoined into the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in 1991.⁹ During this period, Azerbaijan had poor informative capabilities and was exposed to Armenian aggression. Therefore, it sought to gain support from Islamic Ummah and convey its grievous consequences to the universal community. The intent of the regional and universal intergovernmental organizations in the region involve improving the efficiency of governmental agencies, conflict resolution by promoting dialogue among member states. Azerbaijan has accomplished cooperation with Organization of Islamic Cooperation and other bodies

⁷ Sands and Klein, p.12.

⁸ Nordin Haji Mohamad and Fatimah Binti Said, "Comparing macroeconomic performance of OIC member countries", **International Journal of Economics and Management Sciences**, Vol. 1, no. 3, 2011, p. 91.

⁹ Center for the Research of the Heritage of Heydar Aliyev, **Azerbaijan in the Organization of Islamic Conference**, Baku: "Apostrof", 2008, p.9.

since then with the international organizations playing a significant part in such cooperation.¹⁰

Numerous scholars have discussed on the effectiveness of international organizations. Practitioners have explored their impacts on environment, diplomacy, justice, peace and stability as well as policy formulation.¹¹ Nonetheless, it is not still clear the exact way in which activities of international organizations impact on regional cooperation. This study will attempt to isolate and depict the exact manner in which international organizations have affected regional cooperation in the framework of Organization of Islamic of Cooperation and Azerbaijan case study. In undertaking the study, various cases of international organizations (World Bank, IMF, UNDP, UN and others) will be reviewed in understanding the establishment of bilateral and multilateral relationships and cooperation.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

International organizations both, at universal and regional levels have become progressively common phenomenon in global life. The generation of such organizations and growth of treaty agreements among nations coupled with deepening of regional integrations throughout the world show a formal expression of the degree to which international politics is becoming institutionalised with time.¹² Scholars and studies on international organizations and regional cooperation have in turn burgeoned devoting their time to comprehend why such phenomena exist, their roles and their impacts on the world politics. Besides these organizations existing for numerous decades, discussions about them lack unifying definition including what are their specific roles. In the majority of academic work of international politics, international organizations and regional cooperation, scholars seem to hold varying opinions concerning the exact functions of

¹⁰ Mohamad and Said, p. 94.

¹¹ Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Delegation and Pooling in International Organizations", **The Review of International Organizations**, Vol.10, no. 3, 2015, p.305-328.

¹² Susan Park, **International Organizations and Global Problems: Theories and Explanations**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, p.4.

international systems in state and regional actions.¹³ For instance, there are divided views concerning whether international institutions influence region policy making (state and foreign policies). Scholarly work from realist school of thought imply that international institutions do not affect regional policies since states and regional organizations are too protective and do not want to give away power to an external supranational organization in order to shape, enforce and influence policy setting.¹⁴ Contrarily, the liberal institutionalists claim that international organizations can impact on policy making due to the efficiency established by information sharing and the ability to minimise transactional cost increasing the cost of non-compliance.

Also, it remains to be answered about whose interests the international organizations serve at state and regional levels. Some claim the international system has led to erosion of political, economic and social spaces in various nations and regions while others indicate they advance imperialistic policies of their originating countries.¹⁵ Moreover, despite of general consensus regarding the role of regional entities in facilitating cooperation, there remains concerns regarding the effectiveness of international organizations in enabling cooperation.¹⁶ Also, it is not still clear the exact way in which activities of international organizations impact on regional cooperation.¹⁷ Regarding the role of international organizations in regional cooperation within the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, a close examination of literature reveal scanty literature or superficial commentary on the issues. These gaps and problems have stalled clear understanding of international organizations and regional cooperation. The specific role such organizations play in regional cooperation of Azerbaijan is not totally researched or understood. Thus, the study will clarify the usefulness and role of

¹³ Douglas Howland, "An Alternative Mode of International Order: The International Administrative Union in the Nineteenth Century", **Review of International Studies**, Vol. 41, no. 1, 2015, p.162.

¹⁴ John Glenn, **Neorealism Versus Strategic Culture**, London: Routledge, 2018, p.22.

¹⁵ Hooghe and Marks, p.307.

¹⁶ Park, p.12.

¹⁷ Diana Panke, "Regional Cooperation Through the Lenses of States: Why do States Nurture Regional Integration?", **The Review of International Organizations**, 2019, p.5.

international organizations in regional cooperation in the framework of relations between the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Azerbaijan as a case study.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

This thesis seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- i) Exploring the theories of international organizations and regional cooperation with a view of OIC – Azerbaijan relations.
- ii) Appraising the major international organizations with considerable influence on the cooperation within the OIC and foreign policy of Azerbaijan.
- iii) Examining the major impacts various international organizations are having on the policy matters related with the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Azerbaijan.
- iv) Critically assessing the role of international organizations in regional cooperation examining as a case study the OIC as an influential international organization and Azerbaijan as a member state.

1.3. Research Questions

In accordance with the above stated objectives, the subsequent research questions have been designed in line with the topic of the study:

- i) How the main priorities of the foreign policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan are applied in the OIC system?
- ii) How the main tools and cohesiveness of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation causes effective regional cooperation, including in the case of Azerbaijan?
- iii) Why Azerbaijan's membership to the system of Organization of Islamic Cooperation is important for the country and what are the main outcomes and prospects of this integration?

1.4. Research Methodology

This study is guided by the pragmatist research philosophy which is based on the postulation that a research can be utilised both interpretivist and positivist stances based on which philosophy fits best. This philosophy is perceived to be relatively new and lies between the interpretivist and positivist philosophies.¹⁸ The positivism philosophy is guided by the naturalistic of obtaining data from observation as the basis of credible knowledge. On the other hand, interpretivism is guided by subjectivist ontological premises that objects are constituted of discourse hence they existing or constructed knowledge is research through social constructions. Pragmatism philosophy is relevant in this study as it focuses on using both interpretivism and positivism viewpoint including theories and observation in finding knowledge.¹⁹ A deductive approach will be utilised whereby the researcher will move from general rules to specific inferences including testing theory of international organizations. This will ensure that the study can explain relationships between theories, concepts and obtained data to generalise findings.

Case study research method has been chosen to answer the questions of this study whereby the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Azerbaijan is considered as the case under exploration.²⁰ A case study involves comprehensive investigation of a group, organization or individual. The method is very useful when why and who questions need to be answered. It can be used to explore and explain causal interconnection in real-life context. This research method offers a more flexible strategy of conducting a study and emphasises in-depth content. Furthermore, data is collected within a natural setting and context of the study.²¹

¹⁸ Mark Saunders NK and Philip Lewis, **Doing Research in Business & Management: An Essential Guide to Planning Your Project**, Harlow: Pearson, 2012, p.26.

¹⁹ Adrian Thornhill, Mark Saunders and P. Lewis, **Research Methods for Business Students**, 5, Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009, p.68.

²⁰ Robert K. Yin, **Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods**, Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2017, p.93.

²¹ Yin, p.94.

The most significant choice that researchers have to make is using either a quantitative or a qualitative methodology. A case study is typically qualitative which results in detailed description of a phenomenon. This study will employ a qualitative research approach founded on rich and in-depth exploration of a given phenomenon.²² Secondary literature and data will be collected through desktop research whereby existing data will be utilised. The study collated and summarised the existing data to enhance the overall efficiency of the study. Secondary literature entails using materials published in public libraries, websites, company reports, governmental and non-governmental reports as well as international reports.

It will contain the related academic publications, official documents and massive information available on the internet concerning the OIC and the Republic of Azerbaijan as well as international organizations with a view of getting answers to the raised questions within the research. All the sources, in particular academic publications including books, scientific articles and journals, academic papers; official documents and online newspapers were scrutinised extensively and information was cross-checked for validity and reliability. From the aspect of accessing official documents regarding topical issues relevant to the study (resolutions, communiqués, declarations and etc.), the internet attested to be a very useful source of information for this study. Recent activities that were still under academic exploration were reviewed using raw data from the online sources, but due diligence was taken to verify the factual and validity of such information.

1.5. Importance of the Study

According to Hooghe and Marks, an exploration of the impact of international organizations reveal slapdash attention of the subject.²³ Seemingly, the issue has either attracted insufficient attention or is generally not extensively explored. The justification of this study is founded on these contours with an intent of providing the necessary understanding of the function of international organizations in regional cooperation.

²² David Silverman (Ed.), **Qualitative Research**, Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2016, p.399.

²³ Hooghe and Marks, p.315.

Therefore, the study is significant in taking stock of the roles and impacts of international organizations to provide insights to political scientists, scholars, policymakers and academicians interested in the subject. To the policy makers and state actors, the exploration is important since it will offer necessary knowledge of how international systems impact policy formulation and regional cooperation. Hopefully, findings of this study will further contribute to understand better how international organizations impact the regional cooperation.

1.6. Organization of the Study

The subsequent Chapter Two presents an informative theoretical framework regarding international organizations. Chapter Three examines the OIC as the second largest inter-governmental organization, focusing on its historical background, institutional structure, priorities challenges and effectiveness. Chapter Four namely Membership to the OIC through the Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy and Regional Cooperation Priorities examines the Azerbaijan – OIC relations as a case study, mostly focusing on foreign policy priorities of Azerbaijan and both, Azerbaijan – OIC Member States relations and Azerbaijan – OIC relations. Chapter Five is the final one presenting an outcome summary of the entire study along with the relevant recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCES TO THE REGIONAL COOPERATION

In the recent past, efforts of numerous eminent scholars and researchers have been witnessed trying to examining international organizations. However, a common message expressed by these scholars includes the regret due to somewhat impediment of international organization research in relation to methodological and theoretical sophistication. While the field of international organisation is increasingly broad, one research has utilised it to indicate the subfield.²⁴ Such delay can be attributable largely to the continued overemphases of legalistically-based researchers. At the same time, the rapid appearance of review articles and books surveying the historical progressions plus the current conditions of international organization signify that many scholars acknowledge the inadequacies in the discipline and are pursuing new strategies to go in line with the progress achieved in social sciences.²⁵ Notwithstanding these gaps, explorations on international organization are not a new sensation in politics and international relations. It is well-established in literature that international organizations underpin many disciplines in international life especially in the fabric of global engagements.

2.1. International Organizations: History and Conceptual Basis

International organisations have expanded in number, influence and range of activities they are engaged in.²⁶ Historically, international organizations have been established for various reasons. They are perceived as important actors in international

²⁴ Bob Reinalda (Ed.), **Routledge Handbook of International Organization**, London: Routledge, 2013, p.1.

²⁵ Tamar Gutner, **International Organizations in World Politics**, Washington DC: CQ Press, 2016, p.46.

²⁶ Xu Yi-Chong and Patrick Weller, **The Working World of International Organizations: Authority, Capacity, Legitimacy**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, p.1.

politics including dispute resolution, mediation, peace keeping, provision of aid, dispute resolution and others.²⁷ In this section, we examine literature and theories regarding international organization.

The term of international organization was employed throughout the past decades to imply a wide range of phenomena. During the post-World War II (WWII) era, it implied formal international institutions or organizations which were part or organs in the United Nations. It is not surprising that during this era, these organizations were vastly studied as a manifestation of the international relations during the post-war.²⁸ At this time, explorations were mostly descriptive in nature and concentrated on formal international legal agreements like Security Council treaties and the United Nations Charter.

Before examining the studies on international organizations, it is essential to define and classify them. The term international organization is invoked to describe several and different bodies. Reinalda defines international organizations as formal organizations that have continuous structures established by authoritative instrument of treaties among members which can include two or more sovereign states.²⁹ The members use these organizations to pursue common interests. In understanding the above definition, international organizations must have a formal as well as continuous frameworks implying that they are stable with well-defined structures including a headquarter, a formal set of standards or rules, an international secretariat with a responsibility to that organization, consultative organization meetings regularly during plenary sessions and decision-making procedures. Such definition differentiates international organizations from one-time conferences that seek to solve immediate problems or informal summit meetings like G20 and G8.

The authoritative instruments of treaties between the member states take various forms but are usually international agreements endorsed by nations. Some of the

²⁷ Reinalda, p.113.

²⁸ Gutner, p.61.

²⁹ Reinalda, *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, p.117.

international organizations are outgrowths of the existing organizations.³⁰ Numerous significant emanations like UNCTAD and World Food Program (WFP) are included since even though they depend on their main organizations in terms of budget as well as mandate, they are substantially independent in terms of their management and the programs they run. Additionally, they consist of a separate legal framework, work in domains that are not strictly covered by the parent organizations and accept voluntary contributions for some undertakings. The voluntary nature of these organizations, including their openness to states that wish to be members differentiate them from other organizations.³¹ Concerning the element of common interests sought by member states of international organizations, they are usually described in a formal treaty like a formation convention or charter. Common interests do not imply that all members have identical motives for joining or establishing an international organization.

The definition of international organization is clear. However, it is not very clear the bodies that meet such benchmarks. Even the definition adopted in this study and by other scholars accommodate organizations with varied features ranging from the United Nations system with over fifty thousand staff and with nearly global membership and probing into almost all aspects of life, to the International Copper Study Group consisting of limited members, narrow purpose and one secretariat. Accordingly, international organizations entails a transnational membership organization that has presence and a scope of more than one nation.

Membership or the likelihood of joining international organizations is usually characterized as being limited or global. The global international organizations involve those that which all countries are eligible to be members while the limited membership are only open to countries that meet a specific criteria.³² Such criteria can be based on scientific, political or economic aspects but most importantly geographic. The restricted

³⁰ Richard Collins and Nigel D. White (Ed.), **International Organizations and the Idea of Autonomy: Institutional Independence in the International Legal Order**, London: Routledge, 2011, p.143.

³¹ Akira Iriye, **Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World**, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002, p.2.

³² Gutner, p.63.

entities can involve trans-regional and sometime assume a regional structure. Nonetheless, the lack of a consistent definition of what make a region implies that the definition of international organizations need to be treated with caution. The membership to most of the restricted international organizations stem from political, ideological and historical affiliations.³³

International organizations are mainly divided into two types: Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). The IGOs are made up of mainly sovereign nations called the member states. Some of the examples of intergovernmental organizations include United Nations (UN), International Non-Allignment Movement, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Commonwealth of Nations and League of Arab States among many others.³⁴ In contrast, INGOs involve non-profit organizations like Medecins Sans Frontieres and World Organizations of Scout Movement. In differentiating INGOs from international organizations, signatories of the founding treaties need to involve at least two sovereign nations. This does not imply that international organization membership is limited to nations. Several international organizations began as private entity and countries later recognized the issues they address propelling them to join them. Therefore, some international organizations are hybrid of countries and private actors.³⁵

One of the aims of this study is to shed light on the specifications of the international inter-governmental organizations from the perspective of their contribution to the regional cooperation. Contrast in structure, type and mission of international inter-governmental organizations makes necessary to differentiate and classify them based on their contribution to regional and global cooperation.

2.1.1. History

There is a view that international institutions are a phenomenon of the 20th century. However, certain institutions were existed as early as the 19th century, especially

³³ Iriye, p.2.

³⁴ Collins and White, p.17.

³⁵ Reinalda, *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, p.124.

in Europe. The advancements and innovations linked with industrialism plus to establishment of new modes of communication as well as transport are perceived to have triggered the development of specific-purpose international organizations known as public unions in international scale with intention to facilitate cooperation of countries in addressing technical, political, social and economic problems.³⁶ Notably, International Telegraphic Union (1865) and Universal Postal Union (1874) are among the first international organizations that came into existence.³⁷ These unions survived times and in the post–WWII era became specialized organization of the United Nations as the International Telecommunication Union.

Within the political realms, efforts of institutionalizing the domineering role of the super powers in Europe began in 1815 and was carried out by the Congress of Vienna.³⁸ Even though the resulting Concert of Europe was not able to become a political organization, such pattern was functional up to the First World War as a framework utilized by great-power conference making the Europeans state seem to be united. Such concept was widened by the Hague Conference that took place in 1899 and 1907 admitting small nations as well as big nations to take part in collecting political negotiations and discussions.³⁹ Emergence of several inter-American conferences in the late XIX century, in particular creation of Pan-American Union was able to strengthen Monroe Doctrine. Furthermore, Simon Bolivar’s pronouncements that expressed the ideology of nations of Western Hemisphere constituting of a distinct group in the larger multi-state.⁴⁰

The 19th century offered to a large extent the foundation for the extraordinary instituting of international organizations since the First World War (WWI). Various

³⁶ James David Armstrong, **The Rise of the International Organization: A Short History (Making of the 20th Century)**, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982, p.122.

³⁷ Bob Reinalda, **Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day**, London: Routledge, 2009, p.85.

³⁸ Ibid., p.44.

³⁹ Ibid., p.85.

⁴⁰ Armstrong, p.37.

differences that emerged during this era between political and non-political agencies, super powers and small states and between geographical and regionally undefined entities proved the importance in the later developments of international organizations. Their basic structures and procedure changed and the trend of widening them to include states beyond Europe began. Notably, the dual motivations of building international organizations: i) the motivation to promote cooperative responses to problems of peace between states in the period of growing technical, economic, political and social interdependence; and ii) the recognition of the importance of regulating conflicts in military and political domains became essential during this era.⁴¹

After the WWI, the emergence of League of Nations plus associate institutions can be considered as an important development towards collection of all features, principles and aspects of organizational progress of that time in one international organization. It was the first international organization that had permanent international secretariat. It had several purposes but its basic focus entailed political and security challenges of peace and war.⁴² The League of Nations was perceived as a global organization even though it maintained focus on the centrality of Europe in global affairs.

After the WWII, the League of Nations was succeeded by the United Nations (UN) as a global organizational obtained its main features from the 19th and 20th centuries' heritage as well as the negative and positive lessons of the League of Nations.⁴³ It was developed as a central element of distinct and decentralized systems of universal organizations that included autonomous specialized entities following public international union structure and organizations created by limited nations. The UN Charter envisages an intensive cooperation as well as coordination of undertakings of the dedicated entities (its subsidiary and specialized institutions) by central organization

⁴¹ Maurizio Ragazzi (Ed.), **Responsibility of International Organizations: Essays in Memory of Sir Ian Brownlie**, Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013, p.378-81.

⁴² Jonas Brendebach, Martin Herzer and Heidi JS Tworek (Ed.), **International Organizations and the Media in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Exorbitant Expectations**, London: Routledge, 2018., p.42.

⁴³ Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day*, p.44.

through its Social and Economic Council. Furthermore, it tried to control regional entities by utilizing the Security Council.⁴⁴

According to Armstrong, the organizational structure of the post-Second World War period involved operations of nearly a dozen of specialized purpose entities with most of them being established, run with different extents of effectiveness by the UN.⁴⁵ Additionally, systems established after 1945 included the proliferation of regional entities with the majority functioning autonomously without any ties to the central institutions. Thus, United Nations system can imply United Nations and its specialized institutions but does not include a reasonable number of regional organizations that were created independently. Moreover, the entire international organizations consists of more than hundred intergovernmental entities beyond the United Nations scope that address vast problems and offer various mechanisms particularly the conduct of relations between countries.⁴⁶ They are supplemented by more than 1,500 non-governmental institutions that advance international consultations and activities in various fields⁴⁷.

2.1.2. Conceptual Basis

The international relations conception perceived as the root of international organizations is usually believed to be idealistic with the intent of minimizing conflicts. It emphasizes the potentialities of cooperation as well as harmony of states.⁴⁸ International organizations are characterized by opponents and supporters similar to the structures of cooperation between states. Brendebach and colleagues note that international organizations depend on dualistic formulation of international relations which admits cooperative and conflictual associations as the main features of multistate systems.⁴⁹ Principally, international organizations denote an attempt to reduce the

⁴⁴ Ragazzi, p.79.

⁴⁵ Armstrong, p.39.

⁴⁶ Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day*, p.46.

⁴⁷ <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/ngo889.doc.htm> (19.11.2019)

⁴⁸ Armstrong, p.51.

⁴⁹ Brendebach et al., p.48.

occurrence of conflicts while maximizing cooperation between nations. They perceive a conflict as an evil that need to be regulated while collaboration is good and should be promoted. Based on these ideologies, international organizations deny the certainty of war among other expressions of aggression among countries and express assurance to harmonization of international relations.⁵⁰

An analysis of international organizations has however revealed a much multifaceted approach to conflict and cooperation facets of international relations. Some of the international institutions are fundamentally concerned about the challenges of a conflict while other organizations promote cooperation.⁵¹ For instance, within the UN system, the roles of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are different with a view of dealing with challenges derived from conflicts and issues related with economic and social collaboration and cooperation. Furthermore, the conflicting interests of nations affect cooperation programs forcing cooperative institutions to dwell on conflict matters. Also, the common interests of nations offer a way through which conflict-oriented organizations try to cope with international disorder. For instance, we can describe the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a regional entity which is formulated to deal with the East-West conflict occurring after the WWII.⁵² However, it depends on cooperation among the member nations to allow it to address the dangers from the conflict. In the same manner, the ideology of collective security is grounded on the principle of cooperation as a way to deal with, deter and defeat hostility.⁵³

It is worth mentioning that the UN and the League of Nations were created as a result repercussion of major wars and were established mainly to prevent the relapse of these tragic events. The Charter of the UN starts with expressing its determination to

⁵⁰ Marc Frey, Sönke Kunkel and Corinna R. Unger. "Introduction: International Organizations, Global Development, and the Making of the Contemporary World", Marc Frey, Sönke Kunkel and Corinna R. Unger (Ed.), in **International Organizations and Development 1945–1990** (pp. 1-22), London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p.20.

⁵¹ Reinalda, *Routledge Handbook of International Organizations*, p.57.

⁵² Reinalda, "The Evolution of International Organization as Institutional Forms and Historical Processes to 1945", **International Studies Encyclopedia**, Vol 3, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, p.19.

⁵³ Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (Ed.), **International Organization and Global Governance**, New York: Routledge, 2014, p.65.

prevent the future generations from facing plague of war that previously brought agony to humankind.⁵⁴ Generally, the international organizations emerged throughout the 20th century are considered as a collective reaction towards violent conflicts among nations and the likely occurrence of conflicts in future. Within the realms of the UN system, the preoccupation with conflict is so big that their official ideology calls for formal justification of collaborative projects however important it might promise to be in relation to putative contribution to avoiding conflicts. The UN Charter's article 55 seeks for cooperative activities in educational, human rights, economic, health and social disciplines with an intention of creating an environment of stability as well as the well-being of members which is essential for friendly and peaceful coexistence.⁵⁵ Further, Article 76 lists as its first goal to foster trusteeship system including the furtherance of global security and peace.⁵⁶ Additionally, the functional framework of international institutions that explicitly advance the creation of entities that are devoted to collaborative solution of challenges in social and economic arenas is concerned with military and political struggles. Functionalism perceives the advancement of welfare to be an indirect approach towards preventing warfare.⁵⁷ Generally, international organizations concentrated on the probability of conflict than cooperation.

From another viewpoint, governmental leadership of the member states are believed to impose the conception of international relation on international institutions and determine the end to which and the manner in which international organizations operate.⁵⁸ Even though international organizations tend to have restricted corporate perspectives and functions, through professional members who are aligned with the organizations they serve, are organizational instruments of their member nations. Thus, international organizations reflect a variety of worldviews and functions that are evident among states and governments. For instance, within the realms of the UN, a primary issue

⁵⁴ Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (Ed.), **International Organization and Global Governance**, New York: Routledge, 2014, p.67.

⁵⁵ Reinalda, *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, p.27.

⁵⁶ Frey et al., p.3.

⁵⁷ Reinalda, *Routledge Handbook of International Organization* , p.23.

⁵⁸ Weiss and Wilkinson, p.69.

is whether the universal organizations need to serve fundamentally as a peace or battlefield conference; a platform for settling conflicts or waging war. Some leaders are predominantly occupied with waging of political conflicts and others focus on mitigating battles. Furthermore, some statesmen have given priority to stimulating effective global cooperation and treat the UN as a workshop for social and economic cooperation instead of an agency for conflict resolution. Whether the organization stress cooperative of conflict agendas is determined by a less official statement of the international organization's function and nature outlined in their charter instead of the day-to-day results of political undertakings of the organization with members vying to control the use of mechanism.⁵⁹ While international organizations do not provide a characteristic formulation of international relations, the institutions offer expressions to the perspectives that dominant international politics.

From the above assertions, international organization can be seen as a process of creating a novel procedural and structural model for the interplay of state governments in the context of multi-state. It denotes an attempt by governmental leaders to enhance the operations of that system by improving the institutional equipment available for promoting relations among nations and enhancing acceptance of general standards. These standards define the behavior of nations and are compatible with the minimum requirements that make a system to be orderly. To the extent that international organizations signify reformist movement in multistate, it implies that state leaders are aware that international order is an essential commodity for promoting and protecting of their most basic desires.⁶⁰ The quest for security order through international institutions do not entail negation of state interests or subordinating of state interests to a given domineering internationalism, but it entails redefining of state interest to conform with the essentiality of interdependence and a commitment of leaders in pursuing interests within the framework of international institution.⁶¹ Therefore, it should not be a surprise that administrations or state utilize international organizations to advance their state

⁵⁹ Weiss and Wilkinson, p.71.

⁶⁰ Reinalda, *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, p.29.

⁶¹ Weiss and Wilkinson, p.98.

interests. Such organizations are established and maintained by states for instrumental reasons and the significance is dependent on the disposition of leaders to resort to these organization to promote values that are perceived to be compatible with state interests.⁶² Accordingly, they reflect the perception that world order is not significant as compared to national interests but it is pivotal to state interests.

2.2. The Role of International Organizations in Regional Cooperation

Empirical explorations on international organizations have mushroomed in recent decades. Growing works have emerged addressing the theoretical underpinnings deliberated on in the previous sections while others have come up with competing tests implied from International Organizations theories.⁶³ This part discusses an important works regarding the role of international organization in regional or transnational cooperation. One way to determine the role and impact of international organizations is to explore their coercive effects. As previously discussed, activities pursued by various international organizations not necessarily match with primary vision and mission envisaged by their charters but mostly depend on their capability, performance and expertise of the staff exposed towards achieving the goals and realization of the mandate.⁶⁴ At one extreme, there exists international organizations which cover the entire area of policy-making, whereas others are tasked to work on specific issues (like International Atomic Energy Agency). In general, their mandate mostly focus on political and economic aspects.⁶⁵

As the agents of their member state, international organizations are to some extent utilised as a platform to enforce values, ideas and norms as well as preferred outcomes by nations. In explaining why coercion in international organization vary from

⁶² Frey et al., p.7.

⁶³ Bob Reinalda and Bertjan Verbeek (Ed.), **Autonomous Policy Making By International Organizations**, London: Routledge, 2003, p.14.

⁶⁴ Jan Orbie (Ed.), **Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union**, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009, p.127.

⁶⁵ Thomas Pedersen, "Cooperative Hegemony: Power, Ideas and Institutions in Regional Integration", **Review of International Studies**, Vol.28, no. 4, 2002, p.679.

unilateral state, Chasek et al. note that cooperation guided by economic sanctions intensify when sanctions are levied within an institutionalised setting.⁶⁶ Instead of free-riding on the sanctions, a highly institutionalised setting helps powerful states to impose different type of sanctions on targeted states.

Various scholars have examined the impacts of coercion by international organizations, while these organizations are capable to establish some price for the states for breaching all-accepted standards.⁶⁷ At one end, some explorations have revealed that international organizations' levied sanctions can enhance the probability of resolving a conflict within civil war environment particularly when the targeted state enjoys the membership of that specific organization levying the sanctions. However, when the UN has previously sanctioned nations for violating human rights, some studies seem to suggest that the outcomes might not be productive. Chasek et al. believe that collective levying of different type of sanctions, in particular economic ones by the international organizations (UN, EU) led to worsening of human rights violations based on integrity indices measurements.⁶⁸ However, Reinalda and Verbeek indicate that a threat to punishment is vital in human rights violations.⁶⁹ While there may arise endogeneity matters to be resolved, trade agreements that have precise implications coupled with soft human rights provision are usually not. Thus, generalisations regarding effectiveness and implications of multilateral sanctions via international organizations are elusive.

Also, coercion can be undertaken by economic international organizations and their members. By providing benefits such as recognition, loans, trade and aid, or imposition of costs like military interventions, exclusion and levying sanctions, international organizations can coerce decision-makers at national level to execute the preferred economic strategies. For instance, Pedersen indicates that the World Bank and

⁶⁶ Pamela Chasek, David Leonard Downie and Marc Levy, **The Global Environment in the 21st Century: Prospects for International Cooperation**. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000, p.61.

⁶⁷ Rodrigo Tavares, **Regional Security: The Capacity of International Organizations**, New York: Routledge, 2009, p.210.

⁶⁸ Chasek, Downie, and Levy, p.68.

⁶⁹ Reinalda and Verbeek, *Autonomous Policy Making by International Organizations*, p.16.

IMF coerced the implementation of economic type of reforms through changing the balance and supporting a party or circles which favour reforms by offering to this group more resources, rhetorical arguments and legitimacy.⁷⁰ Consequently, other groups or nations were prompted to be enjoined in the pro-reform agendas. The study found that international coercive forces measured as loans from IMF to enhance the probability of regulatory separation and privatisation but does not affect liberation of competition and depoliticization in electricity and telecommunication sectors. Other exploration associate conditional loans by IMF with financial reforms like independent central banks as well as agreements that safeguard the interests of investors. Recent studies have examined powerful nations working via multilateral funding organizations like IMF and World Bank to influence states represented in the UN Security Council with the aim of buying political support in the UN agendas.⁷¹

Some organizations are explicitly created for enforcing policies by tying actors through costs that stop them from violations certain standards. For instance, the bilateral investment agreements seek international arbitration when the investors claim that they are not being treated fairly by their host nations⁷² The prospect financial awards enforceable in the majority of national courts throughout the universe might encourage some nations to respect the rights of the investors. Furthermore, International Criminal Court (ICC) has the capability to imprison persons for atrocious war criminalities including life imprisonment. This accounts for ratification trends and hiatuses within civil disputes. Such models offer punishment to threaten states from committing some actions.⁷³

However, the majority of empirical explorations in the rational functionalist realms indicate that international organizations increase the cost for non-compliance not by organised punishment but through reputational implications. Reputation was one of

⁷⁰ Pedersen, p.680.

⁷¹ Constantine V. Vaitos, "Crisis in Regional Economic Cooperation (Integration) Among Developing Countries: A Survey", **World Development**, Vol.6, no. 6, 1978, p.721.

⁷² Pedersen, p.683.

⁷³Chasek, Downie, and Levy, p.72.

the elements that Keohane proposed in his original framework of functionalism. Since then, several studies have depended on reputational cost to determine the implications of international organizations. In a study by Reinalda and Verbeek, they sought to understand if IMF's restrictions influence nations' financial behaviours.⁷⁴ The study deduces that common membership to international organizations escalate the passive influence of international organizations but it is not clear which kind of influences the international organizations exert. The majority of reputational studies document instead of showing the actual damage to reputation since it is challenging to test reputation experimentally.

Other empirical studies have been designed to measure whether international organizations enhance cooperation by developing focal points that assist in coordinating behaviours.⁷⁵ A theoretical assertion has been advanced that mutual liberalization of markets lead to classic collaboration dilemma. In case organizations play a significant role, it should include the continual commercial relations where transaction costs are normally high and the temptation of defecting from free trade might exist. However, it is surprising that Pederson found that international organizations such as WTO has not influenced regional commercial activities.⁷⁶ Conversely, Smith found that organization controlling various nations like GATT/WTO had remarkably enhance trade inflows.⁷⁷ Some explorations demonstrate that multilateral trade organizations assist in minimising trade volatility. Accordingly, trade agreements promote policy transparency as well as convergence of expectations and policy like Preferential Trading Arrangements (PTAs) and WTO which have been documented to minimise volatility of exports resulting in high volumes of exports. Chasek et al. attribute WTO's trade liberalising impact to its capability to connections bargains from different sectors, enhancing the number of actors

⁷⁴ Reinalda and Verbeek, *Autonomous Policy Making by International Organizations*, p.17.

⁷⁵ Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston (Ed.), **Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p14.

⁷⁶ Pedersen, p.696.

⁷⁷ Michael Smith, "The EU as an International Actor", in Jeremy Richardson (Ed.), **European Union: Power and Policy-Making** (pp.289-311), 3, London: Routledge, 2006, p.297.

with high stake of successful negotiations.⁷⁸ The capability of international organizations to link issues increases the chances of international collaboration.

Rationalist scholars also stress the nature of information and the manner in which international organizations influence the use of information. A common hypothesis tested is whether international organizations actively enhance credible and unbiased information on the states that allows them to overcome markets challenges impeding cooperation. Vaitos credit the role of information in international organization and establishment of alliances which significantly minimise the risk of disputes among member states.⁷⁹ The ability of international organizations to make information available assists national audiences to hold their frontrunners answerable that can lead to moderation of the governmental behaviours towards international values. In a study of the Geneva Conventions, Pederson found that reciprocity is achieved through information availability fostering democratic state to cooperate.⁸⁰

The Security Council of the United Nations (UNSC) is considered as the fertile with the aim of testing theories of international organizations particularly on the role of information. The Security Council is perceived as a platform transmitting strategic information especially information regarding the level of international support provided to the coercive nations.⁸¹ Accordingly, international organizations are known for their autonomy, neutrality and independence with the ability to transmit information regarding the motives of coercive nations and the potential support from their allies.⁸² The absence of the Security Council resolutions would have made the UN face severe international opposition since most nations may have been highly sceptical regarding America's motives. Acharya and Alastair note that countries seek for the blessings of the Security Council and not to establish the right behaviour instead seeking to understand the

⁷⁸ Chasek, Downie, and Levy, p.73.

⁷⁹ Vaitos, p.724.

⁸⁰ Pedersen, p.697.

⁸¹ Nicklas Norling and Niklas Swanström, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, trade, and the roles of Iran, India and Pakistan", **Central Asian Survey**, Vol. 26, no. 3, 2007, p.431.

⁸² Smith, p.257.

opposition they will face in case they seek military intervention in addressing conflicts with other nations.⁸³ Therefore, the motives of approaching the Security Council is to determine what other political power will tolerate but not what they have internalised to be appropriate. The Security Council behaves inconsistently but states regard it as if it is valuable.

The constructivist frameworks have inspired substantial studies regarding the significant and effects of international organizations in providing standards of appropriateness, dispersing international values as well as mobilising socialisation mechanisms among groups in order to shape the states' behaviours.⁸⁴ Guided by works of political science and sociology, studies have examined how and when nations become socialised to transnational norms when enjoined to international organizations. Reinalda and Verbeek examined the promotion of norms in global politics and found that international organizations possess a vital role in spreading systematically the regulations and norms concerning the relevant behaviours.⁸⁵ Even in unbelievable circumstances, a nation like China has changed its behaviour due socialisation in the settings of international organizations. It has been found that international organizations promote the adoption of values promulgated by civil society groups as well as disseminating such norms to the member states.

A case study of the UNSC from a constructivist perspective indicate that the organization takes up standards of human security provided by various actors. Such standards surpass its conventional concerns of transnational conflicts to deal with issues like children rights, women equality, hunger and food security and HIV/AIDS.⁸⁶ Vaitos makes an observation regarding World Bank alleging that the institution's contacts with environmental agencies overtime has change its identity as an organization making it to

⁸³ Acharya and Johnston, p.25.

⁸⁴ Peter Drysdale and Shiro Armstrong, "International and Regional Cooperation: Asia's Role and Responsibilities", *Asian Economic Policy Review*, Vol.5, no. 2, 2010, p.159.

⁸⁵ Reinalda and Verbeek, *Autonomous Policy Making by International Organizations*, p.18.

⁸⁶Chasek, Downie, and Levy, p.78.

be sensitive to global warming and climate change of various development projects.⁸⁷ Such cases examine how international organizations consume and diffuse norms transnationally.

A major inquiry into the roles of international organizations in influencing outcomes transnationally involves the contributions of sociologists in advancing the models of world polity. The concept of world polity involves rationalised but decentralised universal order based on the cultural practices of the West and comprising models that shape nations, individual and organizational identities and eventually their behaviours.⁸⁸ This model disdains that radical individualism premised by rational functionalism and perceives nations to be embedded in a wider social structures within which members of international organizations are an expression. International organizations represent and teach nations the beliefs of modern nationalism: from independence, sovereignty to bureaucratic rationality and adopting human rights.⁸⁹ The inclusivity of world polity frequently in the context of international organization membership is utilised to explain various outcomes from public education to bureaucratization of science as well as the endorsement of human right agreements.

Various theorists of world politics are claiming that most of the impacts exposed by international organizations are increasingly cursory. Such assertion is evident in empirical studies that demonstrate that socialisation impacts of international organizational are conditional. Whereas some scholars indicate that Western democratic international organizations have a vital socialising impact on the new enjoined members from the eastern bloc, members into NATO and the EU which are perceived as organizations with the ability to socialise new members into accepting liberal human rights values of majority influence the issues of human rights, in particular with regard to liberal political groups. However, one can claim that they fail to affect the anti-liberal, xenophobic and racist political trends and groups in different parts and countries of

⁸⁷ Vaitos, p.726.

⁸⁸ Smith, p.257.

⁸⁹ Norling and Swanström.p.431.

Europe. Studies from human rights arena have found that international socialisation do not lead to complete internalisation of standards and decoupling of practices. Smith provides a possible explanation to such a conflicting stance indicating that short-term socialisation efforts have little impacts but long-term joint participation in international organization can result to convergence of interests among the members.⁹⁰ In the meantime, in East Asia, a research by Drysdale and Shiro found that the UN had a multifaceted and ambiguous effects including delaying democratisation for instance Taiwan.⁹¹ While it is clear that international organizations contribute to changes in values and opinions, to a big extent, empirical studies suggest that genuine internalisation is often speculative.

The major challenges of most empirical studies is that the impacts of international organizations need to show that they contribute to a casual explanations of outcome. Statistical explorations have had to struggle with a problem that members of international organizations and commitments are themselves that has created many problems when attempting to approximate the organizational impacts. Some studies represent scepticism such as attempting to question if environmental protocols have any causal impacts. Overly, studies on the topic of international organizations in the past few decades have been rich, sophisticated and varied. They range from military conflicts, human rights to trade associations with some embracing case studies and some other quantitative methods.

2.3. The Features of International Organizations

The international organizations can be examined in five main perspectives:

2.3.1. Internationalism

A common labeling of international organizations is internationalism. In stressing the national values of member countries, international organizations generally

⁹⁰ Smith, p. 257.

⁹¹ Drysdale and Armstrong, p.163.

function as loose associations which significantly depend on the voluntary acceptance of nations to membership obligations.⁹² This acceptance leads to consensus among nations regarding the policies and strategies and methods of persuasion as well as the political influence instead of the force and coercion. In restricted areas, the international organizations have struggled with legislative authority as well as the enforcement approaches. However, the capability to operate is dependent on political accommodation.⁹³ A significant aspect to the states is not powers over states.

The dependence of international organizations on nations' will is the veto which is officially regarded as the competence of a state to frustrate the decision of the majority states and even block their action which they considered incompatible with national interests. Such constitutional ability has been abandoned progressively by nations while favouring decision-making through a qualified and simple majority. For instance, in the UN, such patterns has seen the veto power being accorded to the Security Council whereby only five nations hold permanent membership.⁹⁴ These states have the authority to veto certain verdicts perceived to be nonprocedural in nature. Even such restricted veto power is being eroded in order for its negative implications on the majority is infrequently conclusive. Notwithstanding the clear diminution of the veto power in international organizational, individual nations especially the super powers retain some ability to influence decision.⁹⁵ The influence is based on political reality as compared to constitutional principles to hinder the effective operations of international organizations. In case veto power is widened beyond the negative vote to comprise all available manifestations of opposition, it will become apparent that all international agencies are in the long run dependent on the ability to promote remarkable agreement among the

⁹² David Clark MacKenzie, **A World Beyond Borders: An Introduction To The History Of International Organizations**, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, p.64.

⁹³ Bob Reinalda and Bertjan Verbeek, **International Organizations and the Idea of Autonomy**, London: Routledge, 2011, p.106.

⁹⁴ Bob Reinalda, "*The evolution of international organization as institutional forms and historical processes to 1945*", p.26.

⁹⁵ Reinalda, *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, p.30.

members. Accordingly, the veto principle from a positive perspective is the principle of unanimity.⁹⁶

While the international institutions have to some extent been condemned for being too idealistic, predisposition of large-scale wars, in particular the WW II involves comparing unfavorably with the hypothetical universal government.⁹⁷ While noting the restricted abilities of the international organizations to regulate the behavior of members, the advocate of world government indicated that they are nothing more than replacing the multistate system with universal federations. This entails establishing a central organization endowed with intimidating and authoritative states similar to government that suffice to prevent catastrophic conflicts. Such arguments have gained significant acceptance resulting in the indication that the UN which is not a world government, has led to inadequacy of discussions about international government.⁹⁸ Some of the critical explorations on international organizations seem to measure these institutions against the standard of governmental agencies while attributing substantial value to them to an extent that conforms to set standards.

2.3.2. Supranationalism

Another viewpoint of examining international organization involves supranationalism. In this viewpoint, it is regarded that the evolution of international organizations after the WWII involves the establishment of European Community that started with the development of European Coal as well as the Steel Community by Italy, Netherlands, France, Belgium and West Germany.⁹⁹ Certain characteristics of these organizations like the conferment of policy-making plus executive power on commissions involved member states acting independently of the nations and on behalf of the entire

⁹⁶ MacKenzie, p.68.

⁹⁷ Clive Archer, **International Organizations**, London: Routledge, 2001. p.22.

⁹⁸ Reinalda and Verbeek, *International Organizations and the Idea of Autonomy*, p.109.

⁹⁹ Archer, p.81.

community.¹⁰⁰ They had the ability to directly and authoritatively deal with people and businesses within their nations resulting in supranational characterization of the organizations.

Supranationalism has been defined and it is intended to designate government-like features. Supranational organizations are perceived to fall between international organizational and federal governments. The use of this novel designation for organizations in the European Community imply a variation from the traditional international organization. The significant variation suggested by supranationalism is about the relationship between supranational organization and the governments of members. Supranational organizations are believed to be loftier with regard to its members and partially autonomous of approval or support from the member states in its functioning.¹⁰¹ Thus, supranationalism denotes the arguments that a given international organization have accomplished significant liberation from the control of administrations as well as independent function in international relations.

The European Community (EC) has created outstanding innovation in the structuring of international institutions showing a promise to spearhead the established of full-fledged federal structure among the member nations.¹⁰² Nonetheless, it seems like the characteristics of supranationalism are not impressive in practice like in theory. The accomplishment of the Community largely depends on the prosperous agreement of governments who are members but not evading the significance of this agreement. Also, the effectiveness of EC does not depend on eliminating veto, rather on achieving unanimity. According to Rittberger, the evidence offered by the EC experiences does not imply that supranationalism provides international organizations with an escape from depending on government.¹⁰³ It only suggested that under the right circumstances, the

¹⁰⁰ Reinalda, *"The evolution of international organization as institutional forms and historical processes to 1945"*, p.33.

¹⁰¹ Guy Fiti Sinclair, **To Reform The World: International Organizations And The Making Of Modern States**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, p.280.

¹⁰² Armstrong, p.52.

¹⁰³ Volker Rittberger, **Evolution And International Organization: Toward A New Level Of Sociopolitical Integration**, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 2013, p.69.

innovations linked to supranationalism can enhance the creation and implementations of governments' willingness to execute ambitious programs of common interest.

For the case on the UN, its evolution does not suggest a move to global federal system or a quasi-federalism of supranational organizations. Its expanding membership validates the proliferation of new states and the augmenting dominance in the UN as being a universal organization complicates the multistate structure. Such expansions of the organization has finalized the process of abolishing the European narrow-mindedness of international organizations. This has led to formal acknowledgement of universal feature of international organization.¹⁰⁴ The rise of primacy of the General Assembly with the UN, where members enjoy equality in voting and status can be attributed to having unprecedentedly wide-ranging number of leaders for multistate.

Far from dejecting that value of states as the fundamental actors within the international arena, the international organizations since the Second World War have attempted to enhance their position by promoting their effectiveness as well as viability.¹⁰⁵ The nations that were newly formed from their colonial masters have especially relied on their membership in the UN to offer symbolic validation of their acquisition of independence and offered them a political foundation for promoting the course that they perceive to be essential in consolidating their positions, including the elimination of colonial systems, aid to economically underdeveloped nations, prevention of war and provision of technical aid. By offering post-independence help and diplomatic training bases, the UN and its agencies have ensured multistate system work during difficult time including during drastic alteration of its dimensions as well as during the intensification of heterogeneity.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Armstrong, p.54.

¹⁰⁵ Sinclair, p.167.

¹⁰⁶ Rittberger, p.74.

2.3.3. War Prevention and Collective Security

From another perspective, international organizations are perceived to prevent war. The radical changes experienced within the international organization have seen innovation and embracing of technology to improve military capability.¹⁰⁷ This is combined with ideological and political association between the nations that have exceptional military technology. Such developments have changed the challenge of security and offered a new urgency to preventing military wars. The critical test of international institutions involved their relevance to preventing destruction of multistate arrangements.¹⁰⁸

International organizations act as a significant tool in achieving collective security. Before establishment of international organizations, states depended on the independent manipulation of power relationships of their units singly and using competitive alliances to achieve stability and security of the member nations.¹⁰⁹ Such arrangement branded as the balance-of-power was not challenged until when the League of Nations was established. The 1899 and 1907 Hague Conferences formulated plans for disarmament treaties and institutionalized approaches for placatory solution of conflicts as an alternative to procedures related with collective peace and common security.¹¹⁰ Founders of the new international organization - League of Nations offered institutional meaning to such approaches by integrating them into the basic agreement of the new international organization. In restructuring international relations, the international organizations have added collective security aspect. Nonetheless, in practice the members of the League of Nations were by then unwilling to accept their responsibilities and risks that were implied by the collective security.¹¹¹ Apart from during the half-hearted and

¹⁰⁷ Michael Davies and Richard Woodward, **International Organizations: A Companion**, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014, p.36.

¹⁰⁸ Armstrong, p.56.

¹⁰⁹ Davies and Woodward, p.48.

¹¹⁰ MacKenzie, p.71.

¹¹¹ Armstrong, p.101.

unsuccessful attempt to petition Italian violence against Ethiopia in 1935, they almost discarded the strategy to peace and conflict.

Notwithstanding the League of Nations' unsuccessful endeavors to provide collective security, the notion behind establishing such arrangements caught hold. When scholars and leaders contemplated the challenge of launching a novel organization after the WWII, they seemed to take it for granted that a global organization need to adopt collective security and the major strategy to achieving and keeping international peace. The Charter of the UN adopted during the conference in San Francisco (1945), the ideology of collective security was endorsed but its general applicability was repudiated by providing the super powers statutory authority to veto undertakings of the SC. However, political realism has triumphed and rather than growing the scope of coercive system that was envisioned by the charter, the UN members have actually abandoned its establishment.

2.3.4. Defensive Alliances

International organizations have also been perceived to be defensive alliances. For instance during the blocs of nations during the Cold War era led by the United States and the Soviet Union. During this era, international organizations were utilized to form defensive alliances to respond to the war risks due to powerful states' threatening policies.¹¹² One of the most perfect examples of combination of traditional alliances with the contemporary approaches and institutional utilities is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).¹¹³ By the virtue of UN Charter, the member states that were confronted with aggression challenges from the great power should not expect the UN to offer security in such situations. Furthermore, in Article 51, it clearly articulates the arrangements of collective self-defense. As far as the international organizational have a realistic function of overcoming the aggressive and militaristic endeavors of powerful states, obviously that becomes clear that such function devolves on regional and selective-

¹¹² Armstrong, p.103.

¹¹³ Reinalda and Verbeek, p.115.

membership organizations comprising nations that are perceived to share a common threat.¹¹⁴ Thus, they can resolve to come together and enhance their strength to ensure a defensive alliance that cannot be achieved under the generalized organizations like the UN.

2.3.5. Preventive Diplomacy

Even if the pragmatic division of labour between international organizations allocate the fundamental function of military defense to entities in NATO but not to universal institutions attempting ensure the principle of collective security works, such allocation makes the UN to have significant functions.¹¹⁵ Since its establishment, the United Nations has offered a political platform and set a stage for diplomacy including informal or formal, public and private. This has ensured flexibility in providing procedures and mechanisms for helping nations to negotiation and settle disputes.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Rittberger, p.77.

¹¹⁵ Armstrong, p.103.

¹¹⁶ Sinclair, p.168.

CHAPTER 3

ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), which has membership of 57 states (including suspended membership of Syria¹¹⁷), is considered as the 2nd biggest inter-governmental organization with permanent Secretariat, following the United Nations, and the organization galvanizes its resources and unites its efforts and speaks collectively to defend the interests of the member states and provide the wellbeing of its nations as well as all Muslims worldwide.¹¹⁸ Headquarters of the Organization – the OIC General Secretariat is hosted in Jeddah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (both, the Final Declaration of the 1st Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers [1970]¹¹⁹ and the Charter of the OIC underlines that *the Headquarters of the general Secretariat shall be in the city of Jeddah until the liberation of the city of Al-Quds so that it will become the permanent Headquarters of the Organization*¹²⁰). OIC was established by the decision of the Heads (respectively, kings, presidents and prime ministers) of Muslim States in Rabat, the Kingdom of Morocco, on 22 September 1969. Main goal of the decision was to establish an organization that would achieve the unity and solidarity of the Ummah and enhance joint action of all member states.¹²¹

3.1. Institutional Background

Throughout the period of existence, the membership of the organization has increased from 25 (founding members) to 57 states. The 11th Islamic Summit Conference held in Dakar, Senegal, on 13-14 March 2008, has adopted the current Charter of the OIC

¹¹⁷ OIC CFM Resolution 2/4-EX (IS) On the Situation in Syria, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=26&refID=8> (05.07.2019).

¹¹⁸ Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), **Compendium of OIC Legal Texts**, Jeddah: OIC General Secretariat, 2013, p.5.

¹¹⁹ Final Declaration of the First OIC CFM, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=4404&refID=1237> (07.07.2019)

¹²⁰ Charter of the OIC, Article 21.

¹²¹ Compendium of OIC Legal Texts, p.2.

which comprehensively revised the goals and objectives of the Organization. Its name became the Organization of Islamic Cooperation by the virtue of the Resolution 4/38-ORG adopted by the 38th Session of the Islamic Council of Foreign Ministers (current name: OIC Council of Foreign Ministers) held in Astana, the Republic of Kazakhstan, on 28-30 June 2011.¹²²

OIC enjoys consultative and cooperative relations with numerous important international organizations, in particular with the UN, to ensure the member states' interests and to act towards the resolution of member states involved conflicts and disputes.

Under the current Charter of the OIC, the main objectives of the Organization are as following:¹²³

- To enhance and consolidate the bonds of fraternity and solidarity among the Member States;
- To safeguard and protect the common interests and support the legitimate causes of the Member States and coordinate and unify the efforts of the Member States in view of the challenges faced by the Islamic world in particular and the international community in general;
- To respect the right of self-determination and non-interference in the domestic affairs, the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each Member State;
- To support the restoration of complete sovereignty and territorial integrity of any Member State under occupation, as a result of aggression, on the basis of international law and cooperation with the relevant international and regional organizations;

¹²² OIC CFM Resolution on Organic Matters, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=385&refID=27> (27.07.2019)

¹²³ Charter of the OIC, https://www.oic-oci.org/upload/documents/charter/en/oic_charter_2018_en.pdf (28.07.2019)

- To ensure active participation of the Member States in the global political, economic and social decision-making processes to secure their common interests;
- To promote inter-state relations based on justice, mutual respect and good neighbourliness to ensure global peace, security and harmony;
- To reaffirm its support for the rights of peoples as stipulated in the UN Charter and international law;
- To support and empower the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and establish their sovereign State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital, while safeguarding its historic and Islamic character as well as the Holy places therein;
- To strengthen intra-Islamic economic and trade cooperation; in order to achieve economic integration leading to the establishment of an Islamic Common Market;
- To protect and defend the true image of Islam, to combat defamation of Islam and encourage dialogue among civilisations and religions;

According to the Article 2 of the OIC Charter the Member States shall act in accordance with the certain principles, including: *All Member States commit themselves to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter*; and *Member States are sovereign, independent and equal in rights and obligations*;¹²⁴

3.1.1. Emergence of the OIC

The concepts of *Ummah* (a universal Muslim community) plus Caliphate (*Ummah* leadership) are fundamental in comprehending the origins of OIC. The obliteration of Caliphate in the year 1924 made Muslims to feel that they need an organization that can represent them symbolically if not politically as solidarity of Muslims.¹²⁵ *Ummah* can be

¹²⁴ Charter of the OIC, https://www.oic-oci.org/upload/documents/charter/en/oic_charter_2018_en.pdf (28.07.2019)

¹²⁵ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, **The Islamic World in the New Century: The Organization of the Islamic Conference, 1969-2009**, London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 2010, p.67.

traced back to Prophet Muhammad as well as the Quran teachings. Considered as a central principle in Islam, *Ummah* has a powerful resonance among Muslims and appears 64 times in the Quran as well as in Hadith literature. It symbolises a common spiritual bond and Muslim unity. Rezaei indicates that the very description of *Ummah*, a community of shared beliefs, has a political implication.¹²⁶ It involves a sense of nationhood and recognition of economical, intellectual, cultural, political and social lives of the Muslims.

Among the Sunni Muslims, the Caliphate stemmed from *Ummah* that was achieved by having a single ruler. The political nature of *Ummah* coupled with its boundaries during the ancient Islamic era, Muslims invoked the concept in the 19th century in response to European rule making it the foundation of pan-Islamism. As a political movement, pan-Islamism envisioned unity and mobilising Muslims. The First World War had significant implications for pan-Islamism, *Ummah* and the Caliphate. Furthermore, after the WWII, various developments led to establishment of OIC with decolonisation leading the way. The newly independent Muslim countries were increasingly enthusiastic to assert their autonomy and sovereignty by being enjoined in international treaties. Because national liberation movements were perceived to be anti-European, collaborating with other post-colonial nations was appealing.¹²⁷ Since some Muslim nations were poor, they had faith that cooperation with other Muslim nations would offer more economic opportunities.

The other incentive came into existence after the birth of Israel. After the Six-Day War and losing Al-Aqsa Mosque as well as the Dome of the Rock to Israeli, Muslims were stunned and utilised this grief to advance the importance of Islamic unity. Another contributor to the birth of OIC involved Saudi's security and foreign policies. While many nations like Malaysia and Pakistan had tried to establish an international Islamic institution, they never had sufficient oil wealth as well as leadership of King Faisal Abdul

¹²⁶ Alireza Rezaei, "The Islamic World in the New Century: The Organization of the Islamic Conference, 1969-2009 (review)", **Middle East Journal**, Vol.66, no. 1, 2012, p.196.

¹²⁷ Shahram Akbarzadeh and Kylie Connor, "The Organization of the Islamic Conference: Sharing an Illusion", **Middle East Policy**, Vol. 12, no. 2, 2005, p.80.

Aziz.¹²⁸ While King Faisal was not entirely responsible for the establishment of OIC, he saw the socialism and pan-Arabism of Gamal Abdul Nasser to be secular as well as nationalist. Gamal Abdul Nasser was able to create a short-lived a united Syria and Egypt and then United Arab Republic with North Yemen. The League of Arab States (LAS) created in 1945 was also considered to be less susceptible to Saudi Arabia influence since it was dominated by Egyptian nationalists considered to be secular.¹²⁹ An international agency offer King Faisal an opportunity to counter Nasser in order to burnish their religious credential for notional groups as well as further Saudi's claim to Islamic leadership and advance pro-united stance.

During the course of the 1960s, King Faisal was forced to travel to various Muslim countries to advance the importance of international Islamic organization. In the year 1962, he called representatives from Muslim countries to Saudi to establish the Muslim World League (MWL).¹³⁰ As a nongovernmental organization sponsored by Saudi, MWL proved to have limited capacity to unite Muslims since it had narrow focus on Islamic organizations and Muslims researchers. It was within this regional and transnational political settings that the Six-Day War of 1967 offered an immediate trigger to establish OIC. The defeat of Egypt humiliated Nasser's pan-Arab mission compelling him to soften his stand toward Saudi Arabia to obtain financial aid. Furthermore, Muslims were increasingly infuriated to see East Jerusalem been crowned as the third Islam's holy city that now fell under Israeli.¹³¹

The 1969 arson attack on the Al-Aqsa mosque provided further catalyst galvanising the public opinion of Muslims. King Faisal capitalised on such opportunities to launch an ambitious plan of bringing Muslim countries together. While cooperating with Morocco's King Hassan, King Faisal set up another Islamic Summit of 1969 at Morocco. This summit saw 24 nations and Indian Muslims and Palestine representative

¹²⁸ Rezaei, p.196.

¹²⁹ İhsanoğlu, p.70.

¹³⁰ Doebbler, p.5.

¹³¹ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.82.

attending. The Organization of Islamic Conference was established in 1969 by 24 states coupled with representative of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Indian Muslims (currently, according to the OIC legal texts the founding members are accepted as 25 states, including Palestine). OIC appealed to the Muslims and gave them a powerful claim of unity.¹³² It invokes the belief of *Ummah* by making them believe that they are a unified religion and presumably a political organization that transcends cultural, ethnic, nation and linguistic boundaries. In 1972, OIC came up with a charter defining the objectives of the organization including representing the collective voice of Muslims and defending interests and the cause of Muslims in global politics.¹³³

Today, OIC is perceived as the second biggest international organization coming after the UN. It is headquartered in Jeddah, in Saudi Arabia with its present-day Secretary General being Dr. Yousef Bin Ahmad Bin Abdul Rahman Al-Othaimeen a Saudi diplomat who was elected at the Emergency Meeting of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers held in Makkah Al-Mukarramah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on 17 November 2016 in pursuant of the resignation of Dr. Iyad Ameen Madani from his post of Secretary General of the OIC effective 31 October 2016 for health reasons.¹³⁴ One of the most successful Secretary Generals of the Organization was Prof. Dr. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, a Turkish diplomat who was elected in 2005.¹³⁵ Under the leadership of Ihsanoglu, OIC has developed considerable relations with other nations and international agencies.

Currently, OIC involves 57 member states spanning four continents, Asia (26), Latin America (two), Africa (27) and Europe (two). Geographically, OIC has evolved into transnational and regional organization with members in Central Asia, Sub-Saharan

¹³² İhsanoğlu, p.71.

¹³³ Marie Juul Petersen and Turan Kayaoglu (Ed.), **The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights**, Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019, p.45.

¹³⁴ OIC CFM Resolution, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=464&refID=33> (28.07.2019)

¹³⁵ Mashood Baderin, "The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights: Between Pessimism and Optimism", in Marie Juul Petersen and Turan Kayaoglu (Ed.), **The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights**, Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019, p.11.

Africa and the Balkans.¹³⁶ Two significant event led to the growth of membership. For instance, the 1970s saw many African nations gaining independence particularly in West Africa which then joined. Also, in the 1990s, newly independent nations of the former Soviet republics were enjoined into the organization including Azerbaijan (1991). The recent additions include Togo (1997), Cote d'Ivoire (2001) and Guyana in 1998.¹³⁷ Additionally, OIC has five observer nations: Thailand, Russian Federation, The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Central African Republic.

3.1.2. Institutional Structure of the OIC

In accordance with the current OIC Charter, the Organization contains the below described main bodies:¹³⁸

Islamic Summit

The Islamic Summit is composed of Kings and Heads of State and Governments of the OIC Member States. It is the highest decision making body – supreme authority of the Organization and convenes once every three years to deliberate, take policy decisions and provide guidance on all issues pertaining to the realization of the objectives.¹³⁹

The current chair of the Islamic Summit Conference (starting from May 2019) is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which followed the previous Chair – the Republic of Turkey (2016-2019) in pursuant of handover the chairmanship at the 14th Islamic Summit Conference held in Makkah, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on 31 May 2019¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁶ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.85.

¹³⁷ Rezaei, p.196.

¹³⁸ Compendium of OIC Legal Texts, p.5-14.

¹³⁹ Baderin, p.13.

¹⁴⁰ Final Communique of the 14th Islamic Summit Conference,
<https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=4496&refID=1251> (28.07.2019)

Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM)

OIC CFM meets once a year and considers the means for the implementation of the general policy of the OIC by: a) adopting decisions and resolutions on matters of common interest in the implementation of the objectives and the general policy of the Organization; b) reviewing progress of the implementation of the decisions and resolutions adopted at the previous Summits and CFMs.¹⁴¹

Executive Committee

The Executive Committee has decision-making powers between two CFM sessions. The committee was established in 2005 to improve the organization's capacity to act effectively and hasten issues of international concern affecting member states.¹⁴² The Executive Committee is comprised of the Chairs of the succeeding, current and preceding Islamic Summits and Councils of Foreign Ministers, the Host Country of the Headquarters of the OIC General Secretariat (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) as well as the Secretary-General as an exofficio member.¹⁴³

Committee of Permanent Representatives

The Committee of permanent representatives involves Member States' ambassadors / permanent representatives which are accredited to the OIC and its prerogatives and modes of operation are subject to the decision of the OIC CFM.¹⁴⁴

International Islamic Court of Justice

The International Islamic Court of Justice established in Kuwait in 1987 shall be the principal judicial organ of the OIC, upon the entry into force of its statute.¹⁴⁵ It is

¹⁴¹ Charter of the OIC, Article 10.

¹⁴² Turan Kayaoglu, **The Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Politics, Problems and Potential**, New York: Routledge, 2015, p.32.

¹⁴³ Charter of the OIC, Article 12.

¹⁴⁴ Charter of the OIC, Article 13.

¹⁴⁵ Compendium of OIC Legal Texts, p.8

envisaged to be independent, based on Islamic Shariah and operate in accordance with both, the provisions of the OIC Charter and the provisions of its Statute.

Independent Permanent Commission on Human Rights

The Independent Permanent Commission on Human Rights (IPHRC) is an expert body with advisory capacity established by the OIC as one of the principal organs working independently in the area of human rights.¹⁴⁶ IPHRC was formally launched with the adoption of its Statute (2011) and its Secretariat relocated to its Headquarters hosted by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 2017. According to the Article 15 on IPHRC of the OIC Charter, the Commission *shall promote the civil, political, social and economic rights enshrined in the organization's covenants and declarations and in universally agreed human rights instruments, in conformity with Islamic values.*

OIC General Secretariat

The General Secretariat is the executive organ of the OIC, entrusted with the implementation of the decisions of the particularly Islamic Summit Conferences and OIC CFM sessions. It was established by the relevant decision of the 1st Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1970).¹⁴⁷ The General Secretariat is headed by the OIC Secretary General.¹⁴⁸

The Secretary General is elected by the OIC CFM from among nationals of the Member States in accordance with the principles of equitable geographical distribution, rotation and equal opportunity for all Member States with due consideration to competence, integrity and experience, for a period of five years, renewable once only.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Official website of IPHRC, <https://www.oic-iphrc.org/en/about> (10.07.2019)

¹⁴⁷ Relevant OIC CFM Resolution, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=4404&refID=1237> (12.07.2019)

¹⁴⁸ Charter of the OIC, Article 16.

¹⁴⁹ Compendium of OIC Legal Texts, p.7

Other Organs of the OIC

In accordance to the Charter of the OIC other important bodies/organs of the OIC are comprised of Standing Committees, Subsidiary Organs, Islamic Universities, Specialized Institutions and Organs and finally Affiliated Institutions. These branches and agencies of OIC have been created to accomplish OIC goals in various domains including legislation, education, culture, media, economics, finance, vocational, humanitarians, technology and social areas.¹⁵⁰

3.2. Priorities of the OIC in Serving to the Enforcement of Regional Cooperation

The founding goal of OIC involved strengthening Muslim unity. In its first decades, OIC concentrated on Palestinian cause, strengthening economic cooperation among its member states as well as protecting the holy sites of Islam. Modelled after the UN, OIC takes lead on several issues: protecting rights of Muslims; conflict resolution and peace building; promoting intra-OIC trade and commercial activities; promoting the rights of children and women; combating Islamophobia; promoting educational and cultural exchange programs; and providing humanitarian aid.¹⁵¹ OIC has permanent missions in Brussels, New York and Geneva work including strengthening ties with the United Nation as well as the European Union.¹⁵² Beyond these missions, as an intergovernmental institution, it intends to advance and ensure the interests of all Muslims universally as it epitomises the consciousness of the Muslim World and its commitment to solidarity. Other roles include implementing consultations in other transnational organizations, advancing cancelation of racial discrimination and any kind of colonisation as well as ensuring international peace, security, justice, supporting liberation of countries

¹⁵⁰ Baderin, p.13.

¹⁵¹ Rezaei, p.196.

¹⁵² İhsanoğlu, p.73.

and guaranteeing inviolability.¹⁵³ Also, OIC intends to create mutual understanding and ensure cooperation of member nations.

Against the criticism received, 2000s has been a decade of reforms for the OIC. The Organization put in place a Ten-Year Programme of Action (TYPOA) involving an extensive plan for change that was launched in 2005. While the main branches of OIC (General Secretariat, Islamic Summit and the Council of Foreign Ministers) did not stop undertaking their essential functions, these results saw numerous changes.¹⁵⁴ These changes include the revision of the OIC Charter, expanding the organization to cover more issues such as human rights, renaming it to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and increasing its budget. Such reforms are believed to have put the organization back on track.¹⁵⁵

In the last two decades, OIC has increased its attention related with human rights. OIC presented the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (CDHRI) in 1990, which was adopted by the OIC CFM held in Cairo. This declaration launched several human rights considered to be an alternative set of rights but from the conservative Islamic law.¹⁵⁶ The CDHRI adopted in 1990 affirms that the Islamic law is the sole source of human rights perspectives.¹⁵⁷ OIC has also sponsored various controversial resolutions at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). In its 2005 reforms, OIC created an Independent Permanent Human Right Commission (IPHRC) that plays the role of advancing human rights of its members.¹⁵⁸

Recently, OIC IPHRC to enforce implementation of its earlier declaration. The first meeting of this independent commission took part in 2012. In its Statute, the

¹⁵³ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.84.

¹⁵⁴ Juul Petersen and Turan, p.89.

¹⁵⁵ Kayaoğlu, p.34.

¹⁵⁶ Ann Elizabeth Mayer, **Islam and Human Rights: Tradition and Politics**, New York: Routledge, 2018, p.221.

¹⁵⁷ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.90.

¹⁵⁸ İhsanoğlu, p.75.

commission advances fundamental freedom as well as human rights of the member nations especially the Muslim minority groups and other communities of non-members. This is in line with globally recognised human rights values with added perspective of Islamic norms of equality and justice. Over the years, OIC's main concerns have evolved remarkably but Palestine has remained to be the central agenda throughout history.¹⁵⁹ OIC is the leading Islamic organization globally. It is commonly referred to as Muslim United Nations since it claims to represent all Muslims. Being a religion-based entity, the majority of its member states are Muslim but not all (there are some member states likewise Uganda where Muslims are only 15-20 percent of country population). It claims to represent over 1.5 billion Muslims universally which makes it a unique religion-based cosmopolitan institution.¹⁶⁰ However, the dynamic members who are selfishly guarding their sovereignty and attempting to advance their personal interests makes the organization an intergovernmental institution.

OIC has progressively forged, monitored and created policies for promoting collective Islamic world especially on Arab-Israeli conflict. Originally motivated by religious principle of *Ummah* and born out of Palestinian cause, the organization changed into a multifaceted entity handling various issues facing Muslims: economic, political, social and cultural.¹⁶¹ They hold Conferences of Islamic Summits once in every three years as well as sessions of the CFM each year to set new agendas or launch novel initiatives. From the onset, the members intended to keep institutionalisation levels low with the Rabat Communique being envisioned as the General Secretariat to liaise between states. OIC was created as a forum to facilitate consultations, discussion and deliberations among members in an array of conferences instead of becoming a body for making or implementing rules. Such reluctance to empower OIC is reflected in its original name (Organization of the Islamic Conference).¹⁶² Without any remarkable supranational power and capability, the General Secretariat has taken up a coordinating function,

¹⁵⁹ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.90.

¹⁶⁰ Rezaei, p.196.

¹⁶¹ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.91.

¹⁶² Petersen and Turan, p.90.

arranging conferences and summits as well as supervising technical agencies with minimal power of autonomous action. It was four decades after the organization was established, in 2011, that the members altered the name to Organization of the Islamic Cooperation showing a desire to strengthen the OIC and give it more authority in global politics. Besides the new branding, there were institutional changes like strengthening the function of OIC General Secretariat and introduction of novel human rights initiatives.

Since the mid-1970s, matters associated to poverty and economic development were added to Organization of the Islamic Cooperation in accordance with the demands made by poor nations facing challenges with increasing oil price due to other oil-rich members. Consequently, OIC's scope increased including the establishment of Islamic Solidarity Fund (ISF) in 1976.¹⁶³ The institution offered funds to poor nations and minorities as well as to support religious agencies. Similarly, the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) was established in 1974 and then the Islamic Centre for the Development of Trade (ICDT) in 1981 with the intent of encouraging intra-OIC commerce, economic cooperation and investments. Makkah Declaration was made in 1981 to foster economic relationships between members as the fundamental agendas of OIC.¹⁶⁴ These initiatives altered OIC from a one-issue entity that advance Palestinian cause to an institution advancing cooperation in the Islamic world.

Another area that OIC has enhanced cooperation involves cultural collaboration with efforts of preserving, promoting and reviving Muslim heritage. In this regard, OIC has created several institutions: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) established in 1980 and International Islamic Fiqh Academy (1981).¹⁶⁵ IRCICA intends to create robust understanding of Islamic civilisation as well as culture. Fiqh Academy studies and creates Islamic jurisprudence. Additionally, Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) was founded in 1981 as a comparable institution to UNESCO. In relation to information, the Islamic States

¹⁶³ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.91.

¹⁶⁴ Rezaei, p.196.

¹⁶⁵ Petersen and Turan, p.91.

Broadcasting Organization (ISBO) was created in 1975 as well as the International Islamic News Agency (IINA) that was established in 1972.¹⁶⁶ The two organizations are considered ineffective. The progressive rise of agencies has enabled OIC to engage in several issues within the Islamic world but most of the agencies remain weak with their prosperity dependent on their directors.

In line with the increasing youth agenda globally in late 1990s, OIC has also reacted to the issues related specifically to the youth, taking into consideration that youth constituted more than 30 percent of total population of the OIC Member States and currently the OIC Member States together account for 27 percent of young population in the world.¹⁶⁷ Dominantly, with the initiatives of Azerbaijan and Turkey the Islamic Conference Youth Forum for Dialogue and Cooperation (ICYF-DC) was established in 2004, in its Founding General Assembly held in Baku, the Republic of Azerbaijan, on 1-4 December 2004. With its current name Islamic Cooperation Youth Forum (ICYF), the Forum is an affiliated institution to the OIC granted with this status by the virtue of the resolution adopted by the OIC CFM held in San'a. Yemen, in 2005.¹⁶⁸

OIC also ventured into new political matters. Since its establishment, it started with addressing the issues of monitories and conflicts existing among its members. The 2000s experienced an increased attention to eradicating Islamophobia as well as promoting human rights. In recent times, OIC has begun paying more systematic attention to military as well as political matters like peace building, mediation, negotiation and conflict resolution. Such expansions have gone to an extent to formation of agencies like Islamophobia Observatory for reporting on universal Islamophobia, with IPHRC promoting the human rights in its members as well as the Peace, Security and Mediation Unit (PSMU) to facilitate peace-building capacity for OIC.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Petersen and Turan, p.92.

¹⁶⁷ The OIC Youth Strategy, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=1847&refID=1077> (17.07.2019), p.4.

¹⁶⁸ Resolution N. 3/32-C on Social Matters, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=477&refID=35> (23.07.2019)

¹⁶⁹ Mayer, p.66.

In eradicating Islamophobia, the organization started result-oriented discussions with the West. In 2011, OIC sponsored a resolution adopted by the United Nations Human Rights Council. The mentioned document involves eradicating intolerance, stigmatisation, incitement, negative stereotyping, discrimination and violence against people based on religious beliefs. The intent of the resolution is combating discriminatory practices against Muslims due to their beliefs and faith. Adoption of the resolution was a milestone event with a view of looking new strategies for eradicating ideological and religious animosity.¹⁷⁰ Since then, OIC has hosted various follow-up events to monitor the implementation of this resolution. The organization has gained significant recognition from Westerners for eradication of Islamophobia. Notably, an array of meetings called 'Istanbul Process' have been undertaken jointly.

Also, OIC has attempted to protect Muslims and resolve issues surrounding their members through peaceful strategies. For instance, in its early years, the organization performed exceptionally while acting as an intermediary between Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).¹⁷¹ The heads of states of Egypt as well as Saudi Arabia played a strong role. Also, it tried to resolve conflicts between Pakistan and Bangladesh whereby the Secretary-General of OIC played a leading role. The success witnessed in resolving these conflicts can be attributed to the sincere and capable leadership of the OIC.

Nonetheless, since 1980s, OIC failed to urge Iraq and Iran to follow the recommendations of Islamic Peace Committee. Beside this failures, OIC facilitated peaceful resolution in southern Mindanao between the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and Philippines but the peace agreement of 1996 was not implemented. The organization's peace efforts were undertaken by its Peace Committee for Southern Philippines (OIC-PCSP). OIC offered approximately \$16 million aid to this troubled

¹⁷⁰ Azin Tadjini, "The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Regional Challenges to International Law and Security", **Amsterdam Law Forum**, Vol.4, no.2, 2012, p.36.

¹⁷¹ Mahmoud Mohieldin, Zamir Iqbal, Ahmed Rostom and Xiaochen Fu, **The Role of Islamic Finance in Enhancing Financial Inclusion in Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Countries**, Washington DC: The World Bank, 2011, p.87.

region via IDB.¹⁷² Moreover, OIC supports Thailand in resolving conflicts with the southern province of Pattani as well as providing humanitarian help to Somalia.

The Organization's promises in conflict mediation domain in the OIC geography originates from its religious nature. While the organization is not capable to affect the conflict involved entities through coercion and power, the organization's moral influence is considered effective: for instance, in the 2006 Mekkah Declaration between the Shia and Sunni leaders of Iraq. The organization serves as a valuable partner to the UN and other global entities like the Africa Union, European Union and the Arab League as well as playing a complementary role especially in mediating conflicts between member nations.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, in the meanwhile, the Secretary-General do not have the needed human resources and financial muscle as well as political support from members to mobilise comprehensive mediation missions. Currently, there are OIC Contact Groups on specific Member States involved conflicts, such as OIC Contact Group on Jammu and Kashmir, OIC Contact Group on the Aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The General Secretariat of OIC has attempted to expand the influence of the Organization by taking advantage of the votes of member nations which they enjoy in other transnational institutions especially the United Nations. While on various issues, especially of interreligious and intercultural nature, the OIC members have common interest, this is not the case in other matters. In 2012, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, who are member nations of OIC abstained voting in the General Assembly of the UN concerning if Palestine should be granted status of United Nations non-member observer.¹⁷⁴ The issues was discussed in the 2013 Cairo Summit whereby they emphasised that a failure to vote for such resolutions that were submitted by the OIC at a

¹⁷² Tadjini, p.36.

¹⁷³ Petersen and Turan, p.95.

¹⁷⁴ Mohieldin et al., p.89.

global fora demonstrates a departure from the common values including the duty of Islamic solidarity among members of OIC.¹⁷⁵

In 2011, the consensual adoption of the UN HR resolution by the Council that promoted religious tolerance marked a turning point concerning the association between EU and OIC. While the fundamental objectives of EU engaging OIC involves advancing intercultural dialogue and eradicating intolerance as well as religious fights and hatred, their mutual cooperation surpasses these domains. For instance, the OIC and the European Union are donors to the United Nations' peace-keeping mission and have collaborated on issues like Syria in promoting human rights. Furthermore, humanitarian aid is another joint venture. The ten-year strategic plan adopted by OIC in 2005 expanded the scope of its interests to encompass civil liberties, women rights, social justice and political participation.

However, the cohesiveness of OIC on such matters is not outright. In a joint statement released by the EU and OIC, they indicated that a mutual agreement is valuable with the EU intending to utilise the engagement to raise sensitive issues vital to the EU including protecting the rights of Christians plus other religious groups which are predominantly the minority in Muslim nations. Respect of human rights and tolerance are global principles that need to be jointly promoted and applied.

The relationship between the OIC and EU have not been good all the time. One of the noteworthy issue involves OIC General Secretariat's relentless efforts to upgrade the position of the Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic. The EU members responded strongly to OIC's resolution to grant observer status after a merger plan was overruled. The EU members perceived the decision of OIC as a contravention of the universal law and it impeded cooperation and relationship between the EU and OIC. Another challenge that OIC has faced while trying to work with the EU includes the religious split between the Shia and Sunni Muslims. The severity of the political dimensions of such split can

¹⁷⁵Petersen and Turan, p.95.

catalyse the future of OIC.¹⁷⁶ This explains the reason for OIC's silence but the issue cannot be ignored since the cataclysmic conflict being experienced in Syria accentuates today.

3.3. Effectiveness of the OIC in Regional Cooperation

As an international institution, OIC was established to cement the solidarity among Muslim nations and address political concerns like the Palestinian cause. Since then, the organization has evolved into an international forum for cooperation in various domains (political, technology, education, culture, politics, social and economic) among the member states in the entire universe.¹⁷⁷ To some extent, OIC has been effective in enhancing regional cooperation for countries like Azerbaijan that were in need of allies to solve their domestic in particular economic issues and restore territorial integrity, after independence.

Despite the predicament that befall OIC, the organization has made itself very relevant by increasing its visibility as a representative organization to Muslim unity.¹⁷⁸ It is trying to promote its mandate of trusted speaker of the Muslim world globally. OIC's capability to affect disputes in the OIC geography is evident in 3 arenas: partnerships, cultural expertise and moral power. In terms of the second one, OIC has cultural expertise and understanding regarding what drives disputes among members.¹⁷⁹ Therefore, it can undertake culturally sensitive mediation. Mohieldin et al. note that OIC has greater vested interests in solving the challenges within its backyard and a better capability to mobilise mechanisms that can address the root causes of wars or disputes.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, its cultural capability has allowed the organization to access particular regions that are affected by conflicts that are unreachable by other international organizations. For example, its understanding of Somali culture has enabled the OIC to intervene in provision of

¹⁷⁶Petersen and Turan, p.96.

¹⁷⁷ Mohieldin et al., p.90.

¹⁷⁸ Doebbler, p.10.

¹⁷⁹ Mayer, p.94.

¹⁸⁰ Mohieldin et al. p.132.

humanitarian aid. The United Nations World Food Program worked closely with OIC to reach Somalis.

The OIC has shown moral power in undertaking its conflict resolution process. Contrastingly to the interventions by other international institutions such as the United Nations, OIC undertakes its mediation outside the legal frameworks. In its mediation efforts, there are no legal implications nor use of forceful techniques like for the Security Council. There are various aspects that make OIC's mediation approaches more effective. First, other institutions like the United Nations utilises force-based mediation.¹⁸¹ Thus, the OIC technique can be complementary when use of force fails. Secondly, entering intermediation on a voluntary basis with physical force or any legality can elicit positive response from parties affected. This is because the parties realise that the final verdict is their own decision by not imposed by another party. Agreements reached on voluntary basis are more sustainable since they emerge from convictions of the parties involved.¹⁸² Thirdly, a mediation guided by moral power enables OIC to utilise several tactics that are not available in other international organizations. While utilising moral power mediation, the OIC can use moral pressurising approach such as shaming in order to stop escalatory behaviours or honouring to reward actions resulting in constructive settlement.

While the OIC offers a useful platform for discussing member states' issues, the organization lacks the means of implementing its resolutions, making its resolutions disregarded declarations.¹⁸³ For instance, despite the call to reinforce its position and endeavours to ensure the liberation of Al-Quds and instituting economic boycott on Israel, some members have maintained commercial ties with Israel. Besides ideological differences and seeking self-interests, the member states of OIC are widely spread in term of geography leading to some sort of heterogeneity. Their differences are not restricted to power but include variations in cultural and political systems and values. The OIC members are not completely connected in term of a common language, interests or ethnic

¹⁸¹ Tadjini, p.32.

¹⁸² Gokhan Bacik, "The Genesis, history, and functioning of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC): A formal-institutional Analysis", **Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs**, Vol.31, no. 4, 2011, p.596.

¹⁸³ Mohieldin et al. p.134.

origin.¹⁸⁴ The sole denominator is having a population which has majority Muslims (with some exceptions mentioned above). Such denominator has not been able to offer the essential motivation for unity and solidarity and pursuing a common agenda under the framework of regional and international cooperation.

There are some factors that constrained the effectiveness of the organization since most of the nations have varying political orientations from conservatism to modernism. Some members are also in deep dispute with each other like Iran, Gulf countries, Turkey and Egypt.¹⁸⁵ The conflicts between OIC nations are often tenser than disputes with the external world. The countervailing military and diplomatic alignments are more decisive than as professed. The net impact of such variations is usually a weak resolutions and lack of honouring of resolutions passed. Sometimes, members have boycotted conferences like in the 1991 conference where 12 Arab heads of states did not attend the Senegal summit as they were protesting against the presence of Jordan as well as PLO that had sided with Baghdad during Iraq invasion of Kuwait.¹⁸⁶

Also, many differences exist among the OIC Member States. Due to swelling unrest in the Middle East recently, OIC member states have been facing severe challenges in promoting unity. In the yester years, concerns of al-Quds and burning of al-Aqsa Mosque plus the Arab-Israeli conflict, in particular Palestinian cause were fundamental in establishing the organization. However, currently, the Muslim world is facing worst kinds of internal conflicts among the Islamic nations that have never been experienced in the past.¹⁸⁷ The rise of Daesh and Takfiri terrorism who are excommunicating all Muslim group has escalated the need for quick action to restore security as well as stability in the Middle East which is the centre of the Muslim world. Also, numerous requests and

¹⁸⁴ Tadjdini, p.34.

¹⁸⁵ Ly Slesman, Ahmad Zubaidi Baharumshah and Wahabuddin Ra'ees, "Institutional infrastructure and economic growth in member countries of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)", **Economic Modelling**, Vol.51, 2015, p.216.

¹⁸⁶ Bacik, p.606.

¹⁸⁷ Tadjdini, p.37.

demands addressed by some member states of OIC or Muslim groups affected by wars or other problems are frequently not met fully.¹⁸⁸

Due to the inherent contradictions between policy and practice, difficulties are evident when attempting to decipher the policy objectives of OIC. While evaluating the policy goals and priorities, it appears to be economic and social development coupled with cooperation.¹⁸⁹ Nonetheless, since its inception in 1969 and in the last five decades, OIC was not totally effective organization in terms of inter-OIC economic development and commerce despite its members comprising over 70% of the universal crude oil reserves plus 50% of natural gas reserves in the world.¹⁹⁰ Accordingly, economic development is largely restricted to nations that have gas and oil resources leading to uneven distribution of wealth and resources. The gaps between the poor and wealthy class in the OIC member states is significant. In 2010, the parity of purchasing power per capita GDP in the richest nations was at 17.1 higher than the average countries in the OIC. Furthermore, in the UN list of the least developed countries (LDCs), 21 out of 48 were found in OIC.¹⁹¹ Hence, the substantial imbalance among OIC nations indicate that even though economic development is stipulated as a significant goal in their Charter, it is as good as reserved for rich oil exporting nations instead of being an overall goal for all OIC members. Surprisingly, two policy goals including spreading Islamic influence and employing Islamic rhetoric have been distributed evenly and are prioritised to be vital to all member nations. This is demonstrated in in their budget whereby the Islamic Centre for Development of Trade is assigned less resources than Islamic Fiqh Academy which teaches Islam and other conservative issues.

One more factor indicating the ineffective sides of OIC is the internal state of affairs among its members. Civil liberties of states are encroach on and political pluralism

¹⁸⁸ Mayer, p.96.

¹⁸⁹ Saeed-Ul Hassan, Raheem Sarwar and Amina Muazzam, "Tapping into intra-and international collaborations of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation states across science and technology disciplines", **Science and Public Policy**, Vol.43, no. 5, 2016, p.692.

¹⁹⁰ Mohieldin et al., p.136.

¹⁹¹ Tadjini, p.36.

is significantly circumscribed or is absent in the majority of nations.¹⁹² However, enhancing the role of law, political freedoms and safeguarding civil liberties are not among the priorities of OIC. Some scholars claim that there is also an element of sectarian law being imposed on pluralistic member nations¹⁹³, which is obviously disputable.

3.4. Major Challenges for the OIC

Due to some specific reasons and various factors, including political and economic situation of its Member States as well as shortcomings in institutional capacity, OIC has not always been very effective in enhancing regional cooperation. It has been hard to balance against the members' reluctance to offer support to OIC financially and politically. Some authors pretend that in critical situations, OIC mostly submits to the powerful nations than the universal Muslim sentiments when the two are conflicting.¹⁹⁴ The conflicting interests of member states coupled with the divergent interests in international politics implies that OIC can only assume a restricted role on the international arena.

Also, there is no uniformity in terms of domestic force of OIC official documents. Additionally, the role of religion as a source of political system as well as main dynamic of social life is not the same in all member states. Some Member States are ruled based Islamic Shariah while most of the Member States are secular

While it has been able to sustain itself amid split and fragmented Muslim world, some scholars claim that OIC has disappointed members who hoped that it could achieve its ambitious objectives documented in its Charter like preserving and promoting the Islamic values of tolerance, human dignity, peace, equality, compassion and justice. Such values have not been matched by its universal actions and influence.¹⁹⁵ Instead, OIC

¹⁹² Ibrahim Sharqieh, "Can the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) resolve conflicts?", **Peace and Conflict Studies**, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2012, p.212.

¹⁹³ Slesman, Baharumshah and Ra'ees, p.219.

¹⁹⁴ Doebbler, p.5.

¹⁹⁵ Akbarzadeh and Connor, p.91.

overpromises but often underperforms while taking words as substitutes for actions and accomplishments. The organization has little to show but just statements and resolutions. Many reasons have been offered for failure of OIC: conflicting interests of member states, financial challenges, vagueness of its Charter, lack of political will among some of its members and lack of executive autonomy.¹⁹⁶

While the membership of OIC has grown plus its clout in the United Nations agencies where each seat is equivalent to one vote, this has contributed to a challenge of forging a collective vision as well as identity. Due to the varying opinion of Islam's public function and differing level of commitment to OIC by members, Islamic identity has increasingly diluted the core of OIC. Consequently, in 2008, OIC reacted by limiting more membership with Muslim majority populace. Since then, no nation have joined OIC and presently no other countries are eligible to apply to be enjoined because all states with Muslim majority are already members.¹⁹⁷ From a 25 founding member states to a diverse organization of 57 nations driven by emergence of sophisticated interests and problems, OIC is now burden with a myriad of problem: social, religious, economic, technological, cultural and political challenges of members and Islamic monitories. While the expansions are impressive, they are messy since OIC and its agencies lacks clear plans.¹⁹⁸ Besides putting the Palestinian cause as a priority, there are no clear prioritisation of objectives to guide organizational developments. Furthermore, the escalation financial problems and human resources has overstretched the efforts of OIC.

The intensity and number of conflicts and wars within OIC are on the rise. Approximately 60 percent of all conflicts of all universe conflicts arise in OIC geography. For many years, an evolving grave problem of terrorism has arisen in the OIC states. Many members are involved or are victims of terrorism menace that has threatened the peace and security.¹⁹⁹ Countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Libya and Iraq are victims of

¹⁹⁶ İhsanoğlu, p.71.

¹⁹⁷ Petersen and Turan, p.89.

¹⁹⁸ Petersen and Turan, p.89.

¹⁹⁹ Doebbler, p.7.

political instability due to terrorism. The terrorism problem is highlighted in global media and most superpowers as well as universal multilateral organizations are trying to eliminate it vigorously. Notably, terrorism had tainted the image of Muslims including those who are members to OIC with Ummah being labelled as an identity that advance terrorism ideologies. Therefore, it is challenging for OIC to show Muslims are not terrorists but are guided by principles of peace and love.²⁰⁰

Such conflicts creep around in shadows of frustration as well as fear and breed despair and disenchantment coupled with extremism and shortages. These conflicts are a manifestation of growing rage, injustice, helplessness, oppression and denial of the fundamental basic rights and freedoms.²⁰¹ The outcome of intense violence in OIC nations include devastation and a human tragedy taking toll on individual lives. Millions of persons have been displaced from their homes with two-thirds of refugees originating from OIC nations. Additionally, some Muslim minorities and groups living in non-OIC states are in wars or facing insecurities problems.

The major causes and implications of these conflicts is inequality that is plaguing most OIC member states. In the event that social differences coincide with political and economic variations between communities, the outcome involves deep resentment that results in hostile struggles. Another fundamental agenda in discussion is human development regarding what facilitates conflicts and its effect on the society.²⁰² A significant number of OIC nations with low human development index have in the past suffered or are presently suffering from conflicts. Moreover, social and political exclusions are powerful facilitators of the turmoil. In OIC member states, the extent of political participation as well as social and political integration are increasingly weak. Such aspects have rendered many nations vulnerable to unrest as experienced since the Arab Spring in 2011.²⁰³ Also, conflicts arising since the mid-1990s have been experienced

²⁰⁰ Tadjini, p.36.

²⁰¹ Mayer, p.70.

²⁰² Doebbler, p.7.

²⁰³ Mayer, p.70.

in weak nations where conflicts occur repeatedly. The occurrences of weak institutions are a major factors causing the outbreak of disputes and weak institutions can be an outcome of hostile conflicts. Regrettably, many of the OIC member states experience poor governance coupled with weak institutions. According to Petersen, Marie and Turan (2019), peace and security architecture increasingly misses a peace force to offered security.²⁰⁴ Also, there is lack of early warning system essential for OIC to become aware of likely conflicts before they occur.



²⁰⁴ Petersen and Turan, p.95.

CHAPTER 4

MEMBERSHIP TO THE OIC THROUGH THE AZERBAIJAN'S FOREIGN POLICY AND REGIONAL COOPERATION PRIORITIES

The Republic of Azerbaijan with its ten million population²⁰⁵, rich natural resources – predominantly oil and gas fields and difficult geopolitical location is one of the rapidly developing countries in the OIC geography. The total area of the Republic is 86,600 km²²⁰⁶. The ethnic composition of the population according to the 2019 population census²⁰⁷ is: 91.60% Azerbaijanis, 2.00% Lezgis, 1.30% Armenians (almost all Armenians live in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of Azerbaijan), 1.30% Russians, 1.30% Talyshs, 0.60% Avars, 0.40% Turks, 0.30% Tatars, 0.30% Tats, 0.30% Ukrainians, 0.10% Zakhurs, 0.10% Georgians, 0.10% Jews, 0.10% Kurds and 0.20% other ethnicities. According to the Chairman of the State Committee for Religious Organizations of the Republic of Azerbaijan about 96% of total population of Azerbaijan are Muslims and the rest 4% belongs to other religious confessions²⁰⁸ (predominantly Christians).

Azerbaijan along with Uzbekistan is in the 1st ranks for the literacy rate (almost 100%) among the OIC Member States²⁰⁹, also its fiscal balance percentage of GDP was the second after Kuwait among all OIC Member States (2017). Again, according to the

²⁰⁵ State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan, **Population of Azerbaijan 2018**, Baku, 2019, pp.21-22.

²⁰⁶ E-Government, **Area of Azerbaijan**, <https://www.e-gov.az/az/content/read/21> (14.06.2019).

²⁰⁷ Population of Azerbaijan 2018, p.21.

²⁰⁸ “Komitə sədri: “Azərbaycan əhalisinin 96 faizi müsəlmandır”, **AzVision.az online newspaper**, 05 March 2019, available at: <https://azvision.az/news/171991/--komite-sedri--azerbaycan-ehalisinin-96-faizi-muselmandir--.html> (13.06.2019).

²⁰⁹ SESRIC, **OIC Economic Outlook 2018**, Ankara, October 2018, p.82.

statistics of 2017, its GDP is the 20th among the 57 OIC Member States²¹⁰ and it is among the OIC top 10 hosts of inward FDI flows and stocks.²¹¹ Azerbaijan (1,654) is in the 4th rank after Tunisia (3,074), Malaysia (2,909) and Turkey (2,342) for distribution of researchers per million people among the OIC Member States (2015).²¹²

Throughout the history geographically being in the crossroads of major political and military invasions and developments as well as part of the Great Silk Way Azerbaijan actively took part in political, military, cultural and economic processes happening in geography at large. Proclaiming its independence on 28 May 1918, Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (ADR) became the first secular democratic state in Muslim world. ADR was also the first state in Muslim world granting women with voting rights (1918)²¹³. Upon invasion by the Russian Red Army in April 1920, the country was incorporated into the Soviet Union and consequently was named as the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic²¹⁴. The modern Republic of Azerbaijan gained its independence on 18 October, 1991 upon adoption of the constitutional act “On the State Independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan” by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Azerbaijan²¹⁵ which was affirmed by a nationwide referendum on 29 December 1991.

4.1. Foreign Policy Priorities of Azerbaijan

During its 28 years of independence, the country’s foreign policy was among the most successfully developing and implemented fields of its modern statehood. Its geopolitical location, being bounded by the Caspian Sea to the east, Russian Federation to the north, Islamic Republic of Iran to the South, Armenia to the west and Georgia to

²¹⁰ IMF, **World Economic Outlook Database 2018**, Washington DC, April 2018.

²¹¹ UNCTAD STAT, **World Investment Report 2018**, p.4.

²¹² OIC Economic Outlook 2018, p.158.

²¹³ Yagub Mahmudov (Ed.), **Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti Ensiklopediyası**, Vol.2, Baku: Lider Press, 2005. p.220.

²¹⁴ Tadeusz Swietochowski, **Russia and Azerbaijan: A Borderland in Transition**, Columbia University Press, 1995, p.69.

²¹⁵ Azerbaijan National Library, **18 October is the State Independence Day of Azerbaijan**, <http://www.anl.az/18oktyabr.html> (03.07.2019).

the north-west and having just 11 km long border with Turkey through the exclave Nakhchivan fostered Azerbaijan's balanced and multipolar foreign policy. In particular, the Armenian aggression starting from the late 1980s causing bloody and large-scale military conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabakh region of Azerbaijan and occupation of 20 percent of Azerbaijani territories was the main dynamic behind the multi-dimensional and bold foreign policy strategy of Azerbaijan. In the first years of independence Azerbaijan faced very dangerous threats pushing the state towards loss of independence or breakup. With its one million refugees, 20 percent occupied territories and incapable political leadership Azerbaijan was close to be the failed-state. Political and economic transformation following the collapse of the USSR being characteristic for the whole geography coupled with the political turmoil in the country was triggering this failure. Although the war with Armenia was going on Azerbaijan's late President Heydar Aliyev's returning to power and taking necessary political steps towards stabilization of domestic situation and signing the Contract of the Century with 11 international oil companies representing 7 countries (Azerbaijan, US, UK, Russia, Turkey, Norway and Saudi Arabia) as contractor parties on 20 September 1994²¹⁶ gave its yields shortly. The course of history was changed in a short period of time and proved pessimistic predictions wrong.²¹⁷ President Ilham Aliyev in his speech at the official reception dedicated to the 25th anniversary of independence characterizing that period said: "Foreign policy priorities were determined precisely in those years. Azerbaijan began its development as a modern secular state. That's to say it was precisely in those years that strategic steps were taken in relation to the future of our country. Today history shows that this was the only right way."²¹⁸

The successful domestic policy and developing economic growth enabled Azerbaijan to conduct an independent foreign policy based on its national interests and

²¹⁶ Official Website of President of Azerbaijan, "Oil and Gas Projects", <https://en.president.az/azerbaijan/contract> (17.07.2019).

²¹⁷ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, "A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities", People newspaper, 20 October 2016, N.231, p.9-10.

²¹⁸ Official Website of President of Azerbaijan, "Speech of H.E. President Ilham Aliyev at the official reception dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the independence of Azerbaijan", 17 October 2016, <https://president.az/articles/21414> (17.07.2019)

geopolitical needs. Basically, in forming its foreign policy Azerbaijan refers to the norms and principles of international law and the UN Charter and is guided by the principles of equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs of the states, mutually beneficial cooperation and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states.²¹⁹

Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov, referring to the development dynamics of Azerbaijan and the new stage of independence as well as the changing requirements of time and international relations, defined the updated priorities on foreign policy agenda of Azerbaijan as following:

- *Maintaining and strengthening the independence and sovereignty of Azerbaijan*²²⁰

Despite of 28 years of existence, solid economic and social development accompanied with stable political line this issue still remains in the first line of foreign and domestic policies agenda. In the light of the realities of modern world and challenges numerous states are facing in the Middle East as well as other regions of the world as well as increasing tensions between the West and Russian Federation, Azerbaijan is committed not to face the repeat of invasion in 1920 and to protect its statehood and independence.

- *Eliminating the consequences of Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan and ensuring the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan within its internationally-recognized borders and a lasting peace and security in the region*²²¹

As mentioned above, the military aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan resulted with occupation of 20 percent of Azerbaijani territories and large-scale humanitarian catastrophe as almost one million refugees and IDPs were forced to leave their homelands and to be settled in different parts of Azerbaijan. Despite the fact that, the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is recognized by all the UN Member States and UN

²¹⁹ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, "A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities", People newspaper, 20 October 2016, N.231, p.9-10.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid.

Security Council adopted four resolutions (822, 853, 874 and 884) condemning use of force against Azerbaijan, occupation of its lands, expressing its respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Azerbaijan and demanding the immediate, full and unconditional withdrawal of occupying forces from all occupied territories²²², the conflict still remains unresolved and Armenia undermines peace negotiations closing the doors for peacefully settlement of the conflict. The foreign policy of Azerbaijan utilizes every possibility to reflect its just position in the important international documents. As such, in 2008 the General Assembly of UN adopted resolution reaffirming territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and demanding withdrawal of all Armenian forces.²²³ In this regard, the OIC as an important intergovernmental organization has also adopted numerous resolutions on Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan.

- *Strengthening international peace and security and identifying and preventing foreign threats to Azerbaijan's security*²²⁴

In the light of shortcomings towards struggling against violations of the fundamental norms and principles of international law globally; helplessness of the international security system to fight effectively against different terrorist groups; growing tendencies of xenophobia, violent extremism, extreme racial discrimination and Islamophobia; continuation of creating military blocs; deepening financial-economic crisis; manipulation of the world oil market and global trade being also affected by the political situation, Azerbaijan prioritizes to put all the efforts to contribute to the establishment of a system of international relations based on the norms and principles of international law to serve international peace and security.

²²² UN Security Council Resolution no.853, 29 July 1993, <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/853> (10.07.2019)

²²³ UN General Assembly Resolution no.10693, 14 March 2008, available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2008/ga10693.doc.htm> (10.07.2019)

²²⁴ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, "A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities", p.9-10.

- *Developing bilateral relations*²²⁵

From many aspects this constitutes one of the main priorities of the Azerbaijani foreign policy. The Constitution of Azerbaijan legally defines the framework of establishing bilateral relations *based on the norms of international law and principles conceding the national interests of the country.*²²⁶ During the past 28 years Azerbaijan successfully established and developed diplomatic relations with 177 countries of the world, there are in total more than 80 diplomatic missions (embassies and consulates) of Azerbaijan in 62 countries.²²⁷ Another important statistics is that during the voting at the UN General Assembly in 2011, Azerbaijan was elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council with the support of 155 states.²²⁸ Due to its geographical location and historical background, comprehensive cooperation with neighboring states constitutes one of the main priorities in the development of bilateral relations (except for Armenia). In the recent years Azerbaijan successfully participates and contributes to the trilateral format as a mechanism of regional cooperation.

- *Expanding multilateral diplomacy*²²⁹

Attaching particular importance to cooperation with the leading international organizations, mainly with the UN and its specialized bodies as a universal platform, Azerbaijan prioritizes expanding of its multilateral diplomacy. Being the member of such regional international organizations as OIC, OSCE, the Council of Europe, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Cooperation Council of Turkic-Speaking States, Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC), GUAM and

²²⁵ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, “A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities”, p.9-10.

²²⁶ Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Article 10.
<http://www.president.az/azerbaijan/constitution#xalq> (17.07.2019)

²²⁷ Center for Strategic Studies under the President of Azerbaijan (SAM), **Main Directions of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2016**, Baku: Poliart LTD, 2017, p.30-31

²²⁸ Azerbaijan State News Agency, “Azerbaijan elected as non-permanent member of UNSC”, 25 October 2011, available at:
https://azertag.az/en/xeber/Azerbaijan_elected_as_non_permanent_member_of_UNSC-284386 (20.07.2019).

²²⁹ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, “A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities”, p.9-10.

others, Azerbaijan fruitfully uses its opportunities to contribute to creation of common grounds for the activities leading to multilateral and mutual cooperation. Upon the initiative of Azerbaijan, while non-permanent membership to the UN Security Council (2012-13), a high-level meeting of the UN Security Council on strengthening the partnership between the United Nations and OIC was held in October 2013.²³⁰ The meeting chaired by Azerbaijan was attended by the Secretary Generals of the UN and OIC as well as senior representatives of the Security Council members.

Another successful example for multilateral diplomacy performed by the Government of Azerbaijan is initiation of the “*Baku Process*” for the promotion of intercultural dialogue. “Baku Process” was launched at the Conference of Ministers of Culture of the Council of Europe Member States held in Baku, on 2-3 December 2008, attended also by the Ministers of Culture of number of Muslim countries (invited by Azerbaijan) which made the Conference another major step in the development of dialogue and mutual understanding in the world.²³¹

- *Developing bilateral economic relations and implementing Azerbaijan’s energy and transport strategy*²³²

This strategy started its implementation with signing of the Contract of the Century in 1994 and enabled Azerbaijan to become a leading economic power in the South Caucasus region. Active economic cooperation with regional and international actors, including the numerous OIC Member States, has positively contributed to regional cooperation. Azerbaijan actively takes part in the realization of the North-South and East-West transport corridors, creation of the trans-Caspian international route and construction of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway.²³³ Also, Azerbaijan is the initiator of the Southern Gas Corridor which is a major and important energy project implying to be a

²³⁰ UN Security Council meeting focuses on strengthening partnership with OIC, <https://www.azernews.az/nation/61088.html> (07.06.2019)

²³¹ Global Strategy for Intercultural Dialogue, <http://bakuprocess.az/baku-process/about-process/>

²³² Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, “A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities”, p.9-10.

²³³ Ibid.

comprehensive cooperation corridor with participation of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania and Italy.

- *Developing the Caspian Sea as an area of peace and cooperation*²³⁴

One of the most successful developments towards achieving this aim was signing the Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea in August 2018, which ended the dispute started since 1991 and brought to agreement in principle Russia, Iran, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan – all bordering the Caspian Sea on how to divide it up.²³⁵

- *Developing the dialogue between civilizations and multiculturalism*²³⁶

Azerbaijan pays a great attention to contribute to global processes of inter-cultural and inter-civilizational dialogues through promoting its rich and successful tradition of multiculturalism. Thus, with the relevant presidential decree, 2016 was declared by the President of Azerbaijan as a “Year of Multiculturalism”.²³⁷ As an active member and contributor to the UN Alliance of Civilizations (UN AoC) initiative Azerbaijan hosted the 7th Global Forum of the UN AoC under the subject “Living Together in Inclusive Societies: A Challenge and A Goal” which ended up with adoption of Baku Declaration setting the principles for international actors to promote international dialogue and multiculturalism as a tools of struggle against violent extremism and xenophobia.²³⁸

²³⁴ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, “A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities”, p.9-10.

²³⁵ “Caspian Sea: Five countries sign deal to end dispute”, BBC News, 12 August 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-45162282> (12.04.2019)

²³⁶ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, “A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities”, p.9-10.

²³⁷ Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated 11 January 2016, <https://president.az/articles/17437> (15.07.2019)

²³⁸ 7th UN AoC Global Forum Baku Declaration, <https://www.unaoc.org/unaoc-in-the-news/az-vision/> (29.07.2019)

- *Continuing cultural, humanitarian and sports diplomacy*²³⁹

Taking the advantage of being at the cross-roads between the West and East, Azerbaijan invests a lot to different kind of cultural, humanitarian and sports activities serving promotion of friendship as well as potentials of the country, including the touristic ones. Azerbaijan hosted the 1st European Games in 2015 in partnership with the European Olympic Committee, and the 4th Islamic Solidarity Games in 2017, which was the biggest gathering and activity in the entire history of the OIC.

Also, Heydar Aliyev Foundation (HAF) under the leadership of Mrs. Mehriban Aliyeva, the 1st Vice-President of Azerbaijan carries out international projects and charity activities serving to expand Azerbaijan's partnership on cultural-humanitarian grounds.²⁴⁰

- *Defending and restoring the rights of Azerbaijani citizens living in abroad and working with the Azerbaijani diaspora*²⁴¹

Azerbaijani diaspora mostly living in Russia and other post-Soviet countries as well as Turkey, US, Europe, Gulf countries and other regions of the world bears a great potential of promoting Azerbaijani culture and history and to serve to the best of the interests of Azerbaijani people. Thus, the Government of Azerbaijan prioritizes to closely work with Azerbaijani citizens living in abroad and those with Azerbaijani descent. Especially, in the last one year the activity of the State Committee for Work with Diaspora was considerably increased and different kind of international projects were implemented to this end.

²³⁹ Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, *A look at the 25-year period of independence and modern foreign policy priorities*, People newspaper, 20 October 2016, N.231, p.9-10.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

4.2. Cooperation with International Organizations

As mentioned above cooperation with international organizations constitutes one of the main directions of the foreign policy of Azerbaijan and serves as one of the main tools of realization of the priorities of its foreign policy. Since regaining its independence in 1991, Azerbaijan has established very cooperative vertical links with different international organizations and became an active member to the numerous leading international organizations such as the UN (1992) and its specialized bodies, OIC (1991) and its subsidiary, specialized and affiliated organs, Council of Europe (2001), CIS (1993), Turkic Council (2009), Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (1992) and Economic Cooperation Organization (1992). Additionally, Azerbaijan is conducting successful cooperation with the European Union and NATO. One of the most successful achievements of the Azerbaijani foreign policy in this field was joining (2011) and becoming an active member of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) which is the second largest international platform after the UN joined by 120 states. In 2018 Azerbaijan hosted the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Movement and upon the decision of the 17th Summit of Heads of States and Governments of the Movement held in Venezuela, the 18th Summit of the Movement was held in Baku in 2019 and Azerbaijan chairs the NAM for 2019-22.²⁴²

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan in its official website systemizes its cooperation with international organizations in two categories: global international organizations (UN, UNESCO and NAM) and regional international organizations (OIC, CIS, EU, GUAM, BSEC, NATO, ECO, CoE, ISESCO, LAS and others).²⁴³

²⁴² Baku to host Ministerial Conference of Non-Alignment Movement, (01.02.2018). https://azertag.az/en/xeber/Baku_to_host_Ministerial_Conference_of_Non_Aligned_Movement-1133389 (12.05.2019)

²⁴³ Official Website of MFA Azerbaijan, "Cooperation with International Organizations", <http://www.mfa.gov.az/content/953> (20.07.2019)

Many of these organizations, in particular OIC, CoE, CIS, BSEC and ECO are of great importance for Azerbaijan to develop its ties with the region states and to achieve sustainable and developing regional cooperation.

4.3. Azerbaijan as the Member State of the OIC

Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is the first international organization for Azerbaijan to become a full member (December 1991) right after the proclamation of independence, also the first application for the membership among the post-Soviet countries the OIC General Secretariat has received from Azerbaijan.²⁴⁴ The membership of Azerbaijan to the Organization was approved during the 6th Islamic Summit Conference held in Dakar, Senegal, on 8 December 1991.²⁴⁵ The Membership to the OIC granted Azerbaijan with several important opportunities

Before then, as the country was part of the USSR, it was not possible to pursue independent foreign policy even if it was eager to develop relations with other Islamic nations.²⁴⁶ The development of collaborative cooperation between Azerbaijan and the OIC is among the prioritised strategy lines of Azerbaijan's foreign policy since it possesses strategic significance. The declaration of independence enhanced further links with the Islamic world with Muslim nations being among the first to put a stamp on recognition of the newly established Republic of Azerbaijan as well as creating diplomatic ties. Turkey, Pakistan and Iran established diplomatic ties with Azerbaijan in November and December of 1991. Later on, it established links with Syria, Saudi Arabia (was among the firsts to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan), Iraq, Kuwait, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates.

²⁴⁴ Center for the Research of the Heritage of Heydar Aliyev, **Azerbaijan in the Organization of Islamic Conference**, Baku: "Apostrof", 2008, p.9.

²⁴⁵ *Main Directions of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2016*, p.620.

²⁴⁶ Shirin Akiner, "Radical Islam in the Former Soviet Union", Edited by Galina Yemelianova, **Journal of Islamic Studies**, Vol.22, no.1, January 2011, p.97.

In December 1991, Azerbaijan was the first post-Soviet Islamic nation to be accorded full membership to OIC.²⁴⁷ In January 1992, representatives from Azerbaijan visited the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. By the end of the same month, a meeting held in Egypt asked Arab nations to quicken Azerbaijan in view of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Azerbaijan paid attention to its links with its vital Muslim neighbours: a) the secular Turkey that had Sunni Islamic legacy; and b) the theocratic Iran encompassing Shi'ite Muslim background. On one side, such links were promoted by the common Shi'ite backgrounds of Iran and many of Azerbaijanis and on the other side, the ethno-linguistic similarities between Turks and Azerbaijanis.²⁴⁸

Henceforth, active cultural as well as diplomatic engagement of Azerbaijan with Turkey, Iran and other Muslim nations has progressed. The intent at this time was to gain support from Islamic Ummah regarding its status and pass its grievous matters to the global community.²⁴⁹ In 1991, delegation representing the OIC had visited the country to examine the challenges they faced and try to explore peaceful settlement of the on-going conflict with Armenia. Thus, the OIC offered a platform for consultations with the United Nations, Russia, Armenia and Turkey. Nonetheless, the non-constructive status of the official Erevan led to the end of consultations regarding the problem and the common status of the OIC concerning the hostility by Armenia against Azerbaijan was evident.²⁵⁰

Upon granting the Ambassador of Azerbaijan to Saudi Arabia with the permanent representative mandate to the OIC, the embassy began to work closely with the General Secretariat.²⁵¹ Also, good relations were established with other bodies within the OIC, in particular with the Islamic Development Bank (IDB). Additionally, the visit of the National Leader Heydar Aliyev to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in July 1994 crowned with productive meetings and Umrah pilgrimage enhanced the interests of all

²⁴⁷ Kamal Makili-Aliyev, **Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: Between East and West**, Saale: Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2013, p.112.

²⁴⁸ Akiner, 98.

²⁴⁹ Tom Muller, **Political Handbook of the World 2012**, Los Angeles: SAGE, 2012, p.99.

²⁵⁰ Akiner, 98.

²⁵¹ Makili-Aliyev, p.114.

Islamic countries towards Azerbaijan. This created a basis for the development of collaborative relations with OIC.²⁵²

Visit of the OIC Secretary General to Azerbaijan in November 1994 and meeting with late President Heydar Aliyev followed by the historical participation of Heydar Aliyev at the 7th session of the Islamic Summit Conference held in Casablanca, Morocco, on 13-15 December 1994 and consequently, upon the request of the OIC Secretary General and some Member States President Heydar Aliyev's making speech on behalf of the Asia group considerably empowered the positions of Azerbaijan within the Organization.²⁵³ Casablanca Summit of OIC Heads of States and Governments for the first time adopted a political resolution on "Armenia – Azerbaijan conflict".²⁵⁴ Since then, it was achieved that OIC began to include Armenia – Azerbaijan conflict as one of the challenges being deliberated on in the framework of OIC and the United Nations cooperation. Furthermore, various resolutions on economic cooperation and aid to Azerbaijan as well as *Destruction and Desecration of Islamic Historical and Cultural Relics and Shrines in the Occupied Azerbaijan Territories Resulting from the Aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan* became an agenda of the organization.²⁵⁵ OIC unanimously adopted these resolutions in the subsequent gatherings.

From Azerbaijan's perspective, the constructive stance was exposed in deliberating on the fundamental challenges of Islamic Ummah as well as adopting the resolutions on principle matters of the OIC, particularly the Palestinian Cause. Azerbaijan in solidarity with the principle position of the OIC as well as certain member states has not opened any diplomatic mission in Israel. While the first years after joining OIC the country intended dissuade Armenian hostility and bringing the problem to international

²⁵² Mohammad Karim, "Globalization and Post-Soviet Revival of Islam in Central Asia and the Caucasus", **Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs**, Vol. 25, no. 3, 2005, p.440.

²⁵³ Azerbaijan in the Organization of Islamic Conference, p.10.

²⁵⁴ Muller, p.101.

²⁵⁵ Azerbaijan in the Organization of Islamic Conference, p.10

attention, cooperation has not been restricted to this problem but several domains of mutual benefit have been prioritised recently.²⁵⁶

The participation of Azerbaijan's president in the 3rd Extraordinary Summit in 2005 that took place in Mecca has brought OIC member nations in continuous contact with Azerbaijan. Also, Azerbaijan hosted the 33rd session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers Conference in Baku (June 2006), along with many sectorial ministerial meetings, among them Conference of Ministers responsible for Culture, the 35th Annual Meeting of Islamic Development Bank (2010), Conference of Ministers in charge of Child, Conference of Labour Ministers (2013) and Conference of Youth and Sports Ministers (2018).

Baku hosts two offices related with the activities of the OIC. As a result of the 2nd Session of the Islamic Conference of Labour Ministers (25-26 April 2013, Baku) upon the proposal of President Ilham Aliyev the OIC Labour Center was established with its Headquarters located in Baku.²⁵⁷ Since 2010, the Government of Azerbaijan also hosts the Eurasian Regional Center of the OIC Youth Forum (ICYF) which was the first OIC related entity hosted in Baku.

In April 2016, H.E. Ilham Aliyev, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan took part in the work of the 13th Session of the Islamic Summit Conference that took place in Istanbul with the mission of Unity and Solidarity for Justice and Peace. The main outcome of the meeting for Azerbaijan was establishment of the involved the establishment of the OIC Contact Group on the aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan.²⁵⁸

The testimony of Azerbaijan's investment to the OIC and its agenda was organization of the biggest event in the OIC history – the 4th Islamic Solidarity Games with participation a total of 2800 athletes representing more than 50 OIC Member States,

²⁵⁶ Akiner, p.97.

²⁵⁷ Baku Declaration of the OIC Labour Ministers, <https://www.oic-oci.org/subweb/labour/2/en/docs/final/2-ICLM-BAKU%20DECLARATION-ENG-FIN.pdf> (13.07.2019)

²⁵⁸ Official Website of Cabinet of Ministers of Azerbaijan, <https://cabmin.gov.az/en/page/69/> (13.07.2019)

in Baku, on 12-22 May 2017.²⁵⁹ Also, the year of 2017 was declared by President Ilham Aliyev as the “Year of Islamic Solidarity” with the relevant presidential decree.²⁶⁰

OIC Approach to the Armenia – Azerbaijan Nagorno Karabkh Conflict

From the early years of membership of Azerbaijan to the OIC, different OIC gatherings, in particular Islamic Summits and OIC CFMs adopted numerous resolutions and other documents supporting the country’s territorial integrity along with calling immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Armenian military forces from the occupied Nagorno Karabakh region of Azerbaijan and surrounding territories. The political resolution on the *Aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan*²⁶¹ and cultural resolution on *Destruction and Desecration of Islamic Historical and Cultural Relics and Shrines in the Occupied Azerbaijan Territories Resulting from the Aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan*²⁶² are among the traditional resolutions in the agenda of the Organization. Additionally, as mentioned above OIC has established a special Contact Group on the aggression of the Republic of Armenia against the Republic of Azerbaijan which is comprised of Turkey, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Gambia, Djibouti and Sudan.²⁶³ The Contact Group in a short period started its activities towards acceleration of the conflict resolution and attracting the attention of big powers to the problem. It gathered the first meeting on the sidelines of the 71st General Assembly of the UN.²⁶⁴

Adoption of the principal documents on the occupied lands of Azerbaijan within the OIC also acts as supportive element towards discussion of the issue on the UN

²⁵⁹ NewTimes newspaper, “The 4th Islamic Solidarity Games: Azerbaijan’s new standards to the Games”, 25 May 2017, <http://newtimes.az/en/views/5153/> (09.06.2019).

²⁶⁰ Decree of the President of Azerbaijan on “2017 – Year of Islamic Solidarity”, 10 January 2017, <https://president.az/articles/22420> (13.07.2019)

²⁶¹ OIC CFM Resolution N. 12/46-POL, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=4444&refID=1250> (30.06.2019)

²⁶² OIC CFM Resolution N. 3.46-C, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=4456&refID=1250> (30.06.2019)

²⁶³ *Main Directions of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2016*, p.624.

²⁶⁴ “Aprel hadisələri göstərdi ki, hazırkı status-kvo təhlükəlidir”, Lent.az online newspaper, 20 September 2016, available at: <https://m.lent.az/news/254145>

margins. Having the support of 57 Member States expressed within the OIC facilitates to achieving the adoption of the likewise resolution in the UN. But this fact does not guarantee of course support of all the OIC Member States, some states sometimes are inclined to show different positions on the same matter in different international platforms. During the adoption of the UN General Assembly Resolution reaffirming territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and demanding withdrawal of all Armenian forces N. GA/10693 dated 14 March 2008 only 31 out of 57 OIC Member States voted in favor, while countries like Algeria, Cameroon, Egypt, Kazakhstan and Mozambique abstained and Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and some others were absent in voting.²⁶⁵

One of the important achievements of Azerbaijani diplomacy within the OIC was adoption of relevant resolutions by the OIC Parliamentarians (Parliamentary Union of the OIC Member States – PUIC), OIC Foreign Ministers and OIC Heads of States and Governments on recognition of Khojaly tragedy as *genocide* and *crime against humanity*. The resolutions on Islamic Conference Youth Forum for Dialogue and Cooperation (ICYF-DC) adopted by the relevant high-level conferences supported the “Justice for Khojaly” international civil awareness campaign initiated by Mrs. Leyla Aliyeva in the framework of the OIC Memorial Day and aimed at disseminating historical truth on Khojaly tragedy (26 February 1992).²⁶⁶ In reference to the adopted resolutions, the General Secretariat of the OIC issues an official statement annually on 26 February to commemorate the victims of the tragedy and condemn the perpetrators.

Multi-dimensional cooperation with the OIC has effectively and considerably contributed to strengthening position of Azerbaijan in international organizations and developing relations with Muslim states.

²⁶⁵ UN Press Service, “General Assembly Adopts Resolution Reaffirming Territorial Integrity of Azerbaijan, Demanding Withdrawal of All Armenian Forces”, 14 March 2008, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2008/ga10693.doc.htm> (18.07.2019)

²⁶⁶ OIC CFM Resolution N. 7/45-C, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=1878&refID=1078> (18.07.2019)

4.4. Bilateral Relations of Azerbaijan with selected OIC Member States

From the very beginning of the independence Azerbaijan prioritized establishing wide political relations and effective economic ties with the important states in the OIC. Especially, in the early years of independence and membership to the OIC it was of utmost importance for the foreign policy of the country to achieve the support of leading member states in just position of Azerbaijan on Nagorno-Karabakh conflict out of the Organization also and successfully cooperate with them within the OIC. Throughout the past 28 years the country managed to develop fruitful and friendly relations with almost all economically and politically important member states of the organization. In this regard, analysis of relations with selected member states can be an added value for this research to understand better the cooperation of Azerbaijan with some OIC member states both, within the OIC system and out of it. The study will elaborate the relations with four countries (*Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Iran*) selected based on the following criteria: geopolitical importance for Azerbaijan, economic power, cultural similarity and historical links, military power and active role in the OIC. However, the relations with the State of Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Indonesia, Malaysia and Qatar were also always promisingly developing.

4.4.1. Relations with Turkey

Collapse of the USSR and independence of the South Caucasian republics brought new opportunities for widening the political impact of *Turkey* and its wide economic projects. Despite the fact that Turkey has recognized the independence of Armenia also in 1991 and tried to establish bilateral relations with it the aggression of Armenia towards Azerbaijan and also Armenia's territorial claims towards Turkey itself defined the further position of Turkey, although Turkey was interested in resolution of the conflict as the stability in the region was of great importance for Turkey with a view of developing and participating in economic projects in the South Caucasus. Aftermath of brutal and bloody slaughter of 613 Azerbaijani civilians in Khojaly by Armenian armed forces and occupation of Kalbajar region of the Republic of Azerbaijan (one of the surrounding

districts to the Nagorno Karabakh autonomous region of Azerbaijan) resulted with Turkey's officially closing the borders with Armenia.²⁶⁷

Azerbaijani-Turkish relations are of strategic importance for both of the countries. Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline contributed much for Turkey's becoming the energy corridor testifies the success bilateral relations.²⁶⁸ Turkey is the main investor of the non-oil sector of Azerbaijan, while Azerbaijan is also considered as one of the main investors in Turkish economy with almost 10 billion USD investment. There are nearly 2600 Turkish companies acting in Azerbaijan and more than 1700 Azerbaijani companies in Turkey.²⁶⁹

4.4.2. Relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Another important country for Azerbaijan within the OIC realms is the *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. The Kingdom is one of the first Muslim States recognizing the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan (30 December 1991) and diplomatic relations between two states was established on 24 February 1992, although it took several years for opening Embassies both in Riyadh (1994) and in Baku (1999).²⁷⁰

From the very beginning of diplomatic relations Saudi Arabia has demonstrated very principal position in condemning the Armenian aggression and supporting Azerbaijan to deal with its humanitarian catastrophe related with hundred thousands of refugees and IDPs. Saudi Arabia in partnership with Kuwait and under the auspices of late President Heydar Aliyev organized in Baku in 1996 a big international media conference aimed at charity, with participation of high-level governmental

²⁶⁷ Itir Bagdadi, "Azerbaijan and the revision of Turkey regional policy", **Azerbaijan in the World**, Vol.4, N. 13, 2011, pp.83-89.

²⁶⁸ Hill F., Kirishchi K., Moffatt A., *Retracing the Caucasian Circle*, p.16.

²⁶⁹ "Azərbaycan 2020-ci ilədək Türkiyəyə investisiya qoyuluşunu 20 mlrd. dollara çatdırmağı nəzərdə tutur", Trend News Agency, 10 November 2016, available at: <https://az.trend.az/business/2683552.html> (10.06.2019).

²⁷⁰ "Azerbaijan-Saudi relations", Media Service of the Embassy of Azerbaijan to Saudi Arabia, <http://riyadh.mfa.gov.az/en/content/55> (09.06.2019)

representatives and charity foundations from all over the OIC geography.²⁷¹ It also should be mentioned that, in solidarity with people and state of Azerbaijan, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is one of the few OIC Member States which has not established diplomatic relations with Armenia. As it was mentioned above, Saudi Arabia was one of the partners of the Contract of the Century (1994) represented with its “Delta-Nimir” company. In April 2015, there was an official visit of President Ilham Aliyev to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and several important economic agreements were signed during this visit.²⁷² In addition to the fourteen agreements signed between two states so far, eight new agreements are also expected to be signed soon.

4.4.3. Relations with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Islamic Republic of Pakistan has special importance and place in foreign policy and bilateral diplomatic relations of Azerbaijan. It is the 3rd country (following Turkey and Romania) immediately recognized the independence of Azerbaijan in 1991. Like previous two OIC Member States, Pakistan also has no diplomatic relations with Armenia in solidarity with the people and state of Azerbaijan, moreover Pakistan has not recognized independence and statehood of Armenia.

Both countries have developed fruitful political and economic relations both within the OIC fora as well as out of the OIC. Pakistan is one of the active members of the Contact Group on aggression of Armenia established in Istanbul Summit (2016) and Azerbaijan also unconditionally supports the position of Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir problem.²⁷³

Also there are cultural and humanitarian cooperation between the two states. Heydar Aliyev Foundation of Azerbaijan implements different types of humanitarian and

²⁷¹ *Main Directions of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2016*, p.629.

²⁷² “Azerbaijan, Saudi Arabia plan to improve economic cooperation”, AzerNews, 15 May 2015, available at: <http://www.azernews.az/business/82108.html> (15.06.2019).

²⁷³ Azerbaijan fully supports Pakistan’s stance on Kashmir”, Pakistan Today, 02 February 2018, available at: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/02/02/azerbaijan-fully-supports-pakistans-stance-on-kashmir-envoy/> (02.04.2019)

charity activities in Pakistan. In the first years of the country's independence the Government of Pakistan allocated financial aid to Azerbaijan in contribution to the solution of humanitarian crisis.

4.4.4. Relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran

Among the most important states for Azerbaijan in the OIC as well as in the region the *Islamic Republic of Iran* has its own features attributed also to its being neighbor country and which has the longest border lines with Azerbaijan. The relations between Azerbaijan and Iran are more complicated in comparison to former three, although in bilateral meetings the parties always express their mutual will and support to develop relations more. Iran has also recognized the independence of Azerbaijan short after its proclamation and was among the firsts to open the Embassy in Baku. In terms of common historical past, Shia Islam and mutual cultural impact Azerbaijan and Iran are historically close states. It should also be mentioned that the number of Azerbaijanis living in Iran (28 million)²⁷⁴ is more than those living in the Republic of Azerbaijan (10 million). Actually, all these positive factors for development of successful cooperation causes big expectations in both of the sides which in itself creates in some cases further "disappointments". Azerbaijan's foreign policy in the early stage of its independence aimed at integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions, due to its historical and cultural background Azerbaijan's choosing the secularism in political system of the state as well as close relations with Israel among several others were real disappointments for Iran. Meanwhile, Iran's humanitarian and economic aid to Armenia during and after the active phase of Nagorno Karabakh conflict, political statements of some Iranian officials targeting the Government of Azerbaijan, humiliation of Iranian Azerbaijanis in some media tools of Iran among many others were disappointments for Azerbaijani society and state.

Nevertheless, the political leadership of both countries always managed to keep positive spirit in bilateral relations. During the early 1990s, Iran several times attempted

²⁷⁴ Ali M. Koknar, "Iranian Azeris: A Giant Minority", **The Washington Institute**, 06 June, 2006, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iranian-azeris-a-giant-minority> (04.03.2019)

to take part in peace negotiations but its mediation efforts failed. Timely, Iran clarified its official position on Nagorno Karabakh conflict, recognizing the territorial integrity of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Tehran Summit of the OIC Heads of States and Governments (1997) also attended by late President Heydar Aliyev and chaired by Iranian President Seyed Mohammad Khatami in its Final Communique and Declaration condemned the aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan and called on the complete withdrawal of Armenian forces from all occupied territories.²⁷⁵

In light of the complicated political relations with Iran, the Republic of Azerbaijan is encouraging more transparent economic cooperation for the benefit of both parties. Both of the countries along with Russia invested into North-South Transport Corridor linking India, Middle East, Caucasus, Central Asia and Europe and aimed at creating rapid and more profitable economic ties between Europe and South-East Asia.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Outcome documents of the 8th Session of the Islamic Summit Conference, <http://ww1.oic-oci.org/english/conf/is/8/8th-is-summits.htm#FINAL%20%20COMMUNIQUE> (03.07.2019)

²⁷⁶ “Şimal-Cənub Nəqliyyat Dəhlizi nədir?”, **BBC Azerbaijan**, 09 August 2016, available at: https://www.bbc.com/azeri/azerbaijan/2016/08/160809_southern_corridor (03.05.2019).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The grand narrative of the 21st century international relations has become notably clear since the first years of the century. Much of globalisation is increasingly irreversible; with states facing new incentives to collaborate such as technology, trade, wars, disasters, crime, capital, and information. Transnational issues facing individual countries which they have limited control over have become a source of problem like resource scarcity that have created profound need for collective action. Furthermore, power is shifting and the rise of alliances have completely shifted the international order. Historically, the periods of the rise and fall of superpowers led to significant turmoil culminating in conflicts and problems throughout the universe. To minimise the reoccurrence of these problem, states have sought membership in international organizations resulting in converge and multilateralism.

Founded on the concepts of *Ummah* and the enthusiasm of the newly independent Muslim countries to assert their autonomy and sovereignty by joining international treaties, the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation was established in 1969. Since some Muslim nations were poor, they had faith that cooperation with other Muslim nations would offer more economic opportunities. Other incentive came into existence like the Six-Day War and losing Al-Aqsa Mosque as well as the Dome of the Rock to Israel. The Islamic nations were stunned and utilised such grief to advance the importance of Islamic unity. Since then, the OIC has grown to encompass 57 member states spanning four continents. Shortly after gain independence from USSR, Azerbaijan was among the leading nations among CIS states that sought to join of the OIC. Before gaining independence and shortly after, Azerbaijan had limited resources coupled with poor informative capabilities. These problems exposed it to hostility from Armenia. Therefore, the motive of joining OIC at the time was to gain support from Islamic Ummah regarding its status and pass its grievous implications to the global community.

Furthermore, visits to various nations and taking part in OIC conferences have enhanced the interests of all Islamic countries toward Azerbaijan. This created a basis for the development of collaborative relations with OIC.

Since then, Azerbaijan has established close links with OIC member states like Iran, Turkey and Pakistan as well as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Egypt and the United Arabs Emirates. The country has paid attention to its links with two vital Islamic neighbours: a) the secular Turkey that had Sunni Islamic legacy; and b) the theocratic Iran encompassing Shi'ite Muslim background. OIC has offered an important platform for cultural as well as diplomatic engagements between Azerbaijan and OIC Islamic nations.

Nonetheless, the relative capability of international organization to enhance cooperation and mitigate conflicts has been a source of contention among international relations researchers. The OIC had both its good and bad time in advancing cooperation among member states. The founding goal of OIC involved strengthening Muslim unity, it has since evolved to take lead on several issues: protecting rights of Muslims; conflict resolution and peace building; promoting intra-OIC trade and commercial activities; promoting the rights of children and women; combating Islamophobia; promoting educational and cultural exchange programs; and providing humanitarian aid. Beyond these missions, it has tried to promote and protect the interests of all Muslims universally as it epitomises the consciousness of the Muslim World and its commitment to solidarity. Other roles include implementing consultations in other transnational organizations, advancing cancelation of racial discrimination and any kind of colonisation as well as ensuring international peace, security, justice, supporting liberation of countries and guaranteeing inviolability.

In the last two decades, OIC has increased its focus on human rights to ensure globally recognised human rights values with added perspective of Islamic principles of equality and justice. The organization has progressively forged, monitored and created policies for promoting collective Islamic world especially on Arab-Israeli conflict. In fostering economic cooperation, the mid-1970s saw the organization include agendas of

poverty and economic development in response to the demands made by poor nations facing challenges with increasing oil price due to other oil-rich members. Another domain that OIC has enhanced cooperation involves cultural collaboration with efforts of preserving, promoting and reviving Muslim heritage. Also, OIC ventured into new political matters to deal with conflicts and eradicate Islamophobia through interreligious dialogue. In recent times, OIC has begun paying more systematic attention to military as well as political matters like peace building, mediation, negotiation and conflict resolution.

The Secretariat of OIC has attempted to expand the influence of the organization by taking advantage of the votes of member states which they enjoy in other transnational institutions especially the United Nations. Also, the OIC has advanced cooperation with other international organizations like the EU and UN with a motive of fostering intercultural dialogue and eradicating intolerance as well as religious fights and hatred, their mutual cooperation surpasses these domains.

Whereas the OIC has tried to improve cooperation and resolve issues facing its member states, it has not been very effective due to various factors. It has been hard to balance against the members' reluctance to offer support to OIC financially and politically. The conflicting interests of member states coupled with the divergent interests in international politics implies that OIC can only assume a restricted role on the international arena. This can be explained by the realism theory that suggests that are unforgiving, they try to seize every opportunity to coerce, exploit or deceive each other. The international system is therefore a product of anarchical conditions as well as self-interest founded on the ideology of self-help.

While it has been able to sustain itself amid split and fragmented Muslim world, OIC has disappointed members who hoped that it could achieve its ambitious objectives documented in its charter like preserving and promoting the Islamic values of tolerance, human dignity, peace, equality, compassion and justice. Such values have not been matched by its universal actions and influence. The organization overpromises but often

underperforms while taking words as substitutes for actions and accomplishments. The organization has little to show but just statements and resolutions.

Facets of neo-realism emerge in the OIC with the oil-rich nations taking the lead while the poverty-stricken nation adhere to their principles. According to neo-realists, a hegemon has massive power within an international system and tries by all means to sponsor international organizations in order to further its interests and legitimize its fortunate status. In comparison to other nations in the system, the powers of a dominant state are so overwhelming to an extent that it is willing to tolerate other states' relative gain of power as long as it makes an absolute gain itself. In the meantime, other nations comply with the hegemon's leadership in attempt to exchange gains. Furthermore, because of the varying opinion of Islam's public function and differing level of commitment to OIC by members, Islamic identity has increasingly diluted the core of OIC. Also, terrorism and other disputes are a major challenge impeding the mandate of OIC with most of its members being involved or are victims of terrorism menace that has threatened the peace and security. These conflicts are a manifestation of growing rage, injustice, helplessness, oppression and denial of the fundamental basic rights and freedoms.

Besides ideological differences and seeking self-interests, the member states of OIC are widely spread in term of geography leading to some sort of heterogeneity. Their differences are not restricted to power but include variations in cultural and political systems and values. Additionally, the inherent contradictions between policy and practice are evident when attempting to decipher the policy objectives of OIC. While evaluating the policy goals and priorities, it appears to be economic and social development coupled with cooperation. Nonetheless, since its inception in 1969 and in the last five decades, OIC has been a largely ineffective organization in terms of inter-OIC economic development and commerce despite its members comprising over 70 percent of the universal crude oil reserves plus 50 percent of natural gas reserves in the world.

Moreover, civil liberties of states are encroach on and political pluralism is significantly circumscribed or is absent in the majority of nations. This is in line with

liberal arguments who perceive states to plural instead of being unitary actors whose interests and ambitions differ, not just as an upshot of variations in the underlying balance of power within international systems but due to patterns of power, moral considerations and bartering among domestic and multinational entities. However, enhancing the role of law, political freedoms and safeguarding civil liberties are not currently among the priorities of OIC.

Azerbaijan's cooperation with OIC and getting benefit of this international platform is of great importance for the country. Nevertheless, due to geographical location and historical background OIC and OIC geography is not the most priority in the Azerbaijani foreign policy agenda. Meanwhile, some OIC Member States have their own speciality and importance in bilateral relations. We can separate them mainly into two categories: a) political interest b) economic interest. According to the findings of this study, the only country among the OIC Member States fitting both of the categories fully is Republic of Turkey. Both of the countries are closest allies in international arena and also have managed to establish strong economic ties with each other. As mentioned in the Chapter 4, Turkey is the main investor of the non-oil sector of Azerbaijan, while Azerbaijan is also considered as one of the main investors in Turkish economy with almost 10 billion USD investment. There are nearly 2600 Turkish companies operating in Azerbaijan and more than 1700 Azerbaijani companies in Turkey.

The other countries examined in this study (Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Iran) are mainly bearing political importance for Azerbaijan, although active economic relations with Iran was witnessed in 1990s and early 2000s. Taking into consideration the decrease in oil prices and strategic direction taken by leadership of Azerbaijan to diversify the economy of Azerbaijan and to promote development of non-oil sectors, in particular last years Saudi Arabia along with other Gulf countries became economically attractive for Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani companies already started to export non-oil industry products, mainly agricultural ones to the Gulf markets.

In general, OIC is one of the priority organizations for Azerbaijan and even we can characterize it as an unique opportunity for Azerbaijan to implement its foreign policy

priorities as none of them contradicts with the principles of the OIC or national interests of its Member States. In this regard, the relations with OIC are always actual and on a developing track in Azerbaijani foreign policy. Resuming the study we can claim that membership to OIC and actively taking part in its gatherings and work positively affected Azerbaijan's integration to the Muslim world and establishing important relations and ties serving regional cooperation.

Meanwhile, it will be very useful to provide a critical evaluation of the issues handled by this study. For this purpose, the following part of conclusion is devoted to critically evaluating the issues raised by this research.

OIC

As a result of the study and guided by various shortcomings seen in the OIC, the study makes the following recommendations.

Enhancing capacity building of OIC and the Secretary General:

A fundamental step to capacity building encompasses the establishment of well-financed and staffed and human resources who are trained to undertake the mandate of OIC. The desire by OIC to be closely involved in conflicts affecting its members can only be sufficiently addressed when the members support OIC by providing the appropriate political support and devoting needed resources to make OIC to have the capacity to handling these challenges.

Establishment of an efficient internal mechanism to respond to the nature of problems facing members

This mechanism will deliver essential information in a timely manner to minimise obstacles to decision-making and OIC bureaucracy. OIC needs to recognise its responsibility to its members including contributing to lasting solutions to conflicts and enhancing constructive cooperation. The organization need to acknowledge that the problems of its members are sometimes context-specific and employ strategies that are context-specific to the problems.

Building expert-level linkages with other international institutions

There is need for OIC to widen its frameworks for cooperation that will help the organization in resolving problems befalling its member nations. Expert-based connections including joint conferences, events and working relationship with international entities like the UN can be helpful in enhancing a harmonious coexistence and laws to facilitate cooperation. Multiparty approach to cooperation and problem solving is more effective and therefore, OIC will need to coordinate its efforts with other institutions to ensure complementary bodies come together to enhance its mission.

Capitalising on impartiality and neutrality

While theoretically, the OIC General Secretariat is perceived not to have vested interests in specific outcomes in favour of any member state, there are different kind of claims and evidences that in reality it leans towards some states, especially in politically important issues and cases. However, it is vital that the General Secretariat strengths neutrality, impartiality and credibility in its processes. These kind of accusations were voiced by the governmental representatives of some member states during the gatherings of the OIC and also publicly in media. The practice of the UN on this matter could be ideally fitting for the OIC and its General Secretariat as the UN was almost always able to provide a space for the representatives of all member states despite of political tensions and problems emerged in different times and places. Obviously, for this kind of impartiality of the headquarters of any international institution, both factors are crucial: 1) the political tolerance and moral responsibility of the host country; 2) stand position, maturity and principality of the organization and its headquarters.

Azerbaijan

Following the multidimensional and balanced foreign policy and diplomatic endeavours with regard to the OIC and other International Organizations.

Every international organization has its own characteristics and specifications caused by its objectives as well as features of its member states. Thus, to be limited by one or several international organization in foreign policy will not be much efficient. For

example, all the Gulf countries are members to the OIC, additionally they are members of League of Arab States which is pure Arab organization and has different agenda than OIC. But apart from these two organizations the Gulf countries has created Gulf Cooperation Council which is more effective in sense of mobility and action. In this regard, having the umbrella of the UN universally, Council of Europe in Europe and OIC in Muslim world, it is important to be represented in thematic international or regional organizations to achieve more efficiency towards successful regional cooperation. In this regards, Azerbaijan's membership to Turkic Council, CIS, ECO, BSEC or recently joined Non-Alignment Movement are creating new opportunities for the country in terms of political, economic and cultural cooperation.

To conclude, from academic perspective, one of the outcomes of this study is related with the nature of inter-governmental organizations. As it was described in the structure of the OIC in the Chapter 3, the annual main decision making body of the OIC is the Council of Foreign Ministers Session. It clearly indicates the organization's pure political nature which in itself may not be assessed as a positive factor for regional cooperation. Nevertheless, this unity, despite of its political feature, is important platform for the member states to develop possible ways and opportunities for cooperation in different fields. In other words, as in any inter-governmental organization which main decision making and follow-up body is the Foreign Ministers meetings, OIC had also faced the necessity to establish new entities/international organizations under its own umbrella which will focus on specific fields of cooperation. Thus, throughout the 50 years of existence an important and effective international organizations as ISESCO, SESRIC, IsDB Group, ISSF, ICYF and some others were created by the member states. Actually, the main contribution of the OIC to the regional cooperation is being realized through this sectorial international bodies subsidiary, specialized or affiliated to the OIC. The same practice we can observe in the work of the UN which is an umbrella for numerous UN institutions dealing with specific fields and subjects directly.

From this point of view, based on the findings of this study it is also suggested to specify the classification of the international organizations based on their general approach and contribution to the regional and global cooperation. In this regard, while we

are differentiating the inter-governmental organizations and international non-governmental organizations, there could be also classification of inter-governmental organizations as inter-governmental umbrella organizations and inter-governmental sectorial organizations. Bearing in mind that one of the main purposes of any inter-governmental organization is to provide a platform serving to the dialogue and cooperation among the member states, no doubt, inter-governmental sectorial organizations are much more effective and visible in achieving tangible results to this end. In this regard, this suggested classification can be subject of further detailed research to prove its necessity from both academic and practical perspectives.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Acharya, Amitav and Alastair Iain Johnston (Ed.). **Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Archer, Clive. **International Organizations**. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Armstrong, James David. **The Rise of the International Organization: A Short History (Making of the 20th Century)**. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982.
- Baderin, Mashood. "The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights: Between Pessimism and Optimism", in Juul Petersen and Turan Kayaoglu (Ed.). **The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights**. Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.
- Brendebach, Jonas, Martin Herzer and Heidi J.S. Tworek (Ed.). **International Organizations and the Media in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Exorbitant Expectations**. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Center for Strategic Studies under the President of Azerbaijan (SAM). **Main Directions of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Azerbaijan 1991-2016**. Baku: Poliart LTD, 2017.
- Center for the Research of the Heritage of Heydar Aliyev. **Azerbaijan in the Organization of Islamic Conference**. Baku: "Apostrof", 2008.
- Chasek, Pamela, David Leonard Downie and Marc Levy. **The Global Environment in the 21st Century: Prospects for International Cooperation**. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000.
- Collins, Richard and Nigel D. White (Ed.). **International Organizations and the Idea of Autonomy: Institutional Independence in the International Legal Order**. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Davies, Michael and Richard Woodward. **International Organizations: A Companion**. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014.
- Frey, Marc, Sönke Kunkel and Corinna R. Unger. "Introduction: International Organizations, Global Development, and the Making of the Contemporary World", in Frey, Marc, Sönke Kunkel and Corinna R. Unger (Ed.). **International Organizations and Development 1945–1990**. The Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp.1-22.

- Gutner, Tamar. **International Organizations in World Politics**, Washington DC: CQ Press, 2016.
- Iriye, Akira. **Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World**, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.
- Ihsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin. **The Islamic World in the New Century: The Organisation of the Islamic Conference, 1969-2009**, London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 2010.
- Kayaoğlu, Turan. **The Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Politics, Problems, and Potential**. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- MacKenzie, David Clark. **A World Beyond Borders: An Introduction to the History of International Organizations**. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Mahmudov, Yagub. **Azərbaycan Xalq Cümhuriyyəti Ensiklopediyası**. Vol. 2, Baku: Lider Press, 2005.
- Makili-Aliyev, Kamal. **Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: Between East and West**. Saale: Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2013.
- Mayer, Ann Elizabeth. **Islam and Human Rights: Tradition and Politics**. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Mohieldin, Mahmoud, Zamir Iqbal, Ahmed Rostom and Xiaochen Fu. **The Role of Islamic Finance in Enhancing Financial Inclusion in Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Countries**, Washington DC: The World Bank, 2011.
- Muller, Tom. **Political Handbook of the World 2012**. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2012.
- Orbie, Jan (Ed.). **Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union**. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009.
- Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), **Compendium of OIC Legal Texts**. Jeddah: OIC General Secretariat, 2013.
- Park, Susan, **International Organisations and Global Problems: Theories and Explanations**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Petersen, Marie Juul and Turan Kayaoglu (Ed.). **The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Human Rights**. Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.
- Ragazzi, Maurizio (Ed.). **Responsibility of International Organizations: Essays in Memory of Sir Ian Brownlie**, Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013.

- Reinalda, Bob. **Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 To the Present Day**. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Reinalda, Bob. "The Evolution of International Organization as Institutional Forms and Historical Processes to 1945", **International Studies Encyclopaedia**. Vol.3, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Reinalda, Bob (Ed.). **Routledge Handbook of International Organization**, London: Routledge, 2013.
- Reinalda, Bob and Bertjan Verbeek (Ed.). **Autonomous Policy Making By International Organizations**. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Reinalda, Bob and Bertjan Verbeek (Ed.). **International Organizations and the Idea of Autonomy**, London: Routledge, 2011.
- Rittberger, Volker. **Evolution and International Organization: Toward a New Level of Sociopolitical Integration**. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973.
- Sands, Philippe, and Pierre Klein. **Bowett's Law of International Institutions**. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 2009.
- Silverman, David (Ed.). **Qualitative Research**. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2016.
- Sinclair, Guy Fiti. **To Reform The World: International Organizations And The Making Of Modern States**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Smith, Michael. "The EU as an International Actor". In Richardson, Jeremy (Ed.). **European Union: Power and Policy-Making**. 3. London: Routledge, 2006, pp.289-311.
- Swietochowski, Tadeusz. **Russia and Azerbaijan: A Borderland in Transition**. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Tavares, Rodrigo. **Regional Security: The Capacity of International Organizations**. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Thornhill, Adrian, Mark Saunders and P. Lewis. **Research Methods for Business Students**. 5. Essex: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009.
- Weiss, Thomas G. and Rorden Wilkinson, (Ed.). **International Organization and Global Governance**, New York: Routledge, 2014.
- White, Nigel D., **The Law of International Organisations**. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Yi-Chong, Xu and Patrick Weller. **The Working World of International Organizations: Authority, Capacity, Legitimacy.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Yin, Robert K., **Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods.** Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2017.



Academic Articles

- Abate, Mizanie and Alemayehu Tilahun. "The Historical Development of International Organizations", *Abyssinia Law*, 08 April 2012, <https://www.abysinnialaw.com/online-resources/study-on-line/item/475-the-historical-development-of-international-organizations>, 26 June 2019.
- Akbarzadeh, Shahram and Kylie Connor. "The Organization of the Islamic Conference: Sharing an Illusion". **Middle East Policy**. Vol.12, no. 2, 2005, pp.79-92.
- Akiner, Shirin. "Radical Islam in the Former Soviet Union", **Journal of Islamic Studies**. Vol.22, No.1, January 2011, p.97-99.
- Bacik, Gokhan. "The Genesis, History, and Functioning of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC): A Formal-Institutional Analysis". **Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs**. Vol.31, no. 4, 2011, pp.594-614.
- Bagdadi, Itir. "Azerbaijan and the Revision of Turkey Regional Policy". **Azerbaijan in the World**. Vol.4, no. 13, 2011, pp.83-89.
- Brown, William. "Restructuring North-South Relations: ACP-EU Development Cooperation in a Liberal International Order". **Review of African Political Economy**. Vol.27, no. 85, 2000, pp.367-383.
- Drysdale, Peter and Shiro Armstrong. "International and Regional Cooperation: Asia's Role and Responsibilities". **Asian Economic Policy Review**. Vol.5, no. 2, 2010, pp. 157-173.
- Hassan, Saeed-Ul, Raheem Sarwar and Amina Muazzam. "Tapping into intra-and international collaborations of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation states across science and technology disciplines". **Science and Public Policy**, Vol.43, no. 5, 2016, pp.690-701.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. "Delegation and pooling in international organizations". **The Review of International Organizations**. Vol.10, no. 3, 2015, pp.305-328.
- Howland, Douglas. "An alternative mode of international order: The international administrative union in the nineteenth century". **Review of International Studies**. Vol. 41, no. 1, 2015, pp.161-183.
- Karim, Mohammad. "Globalization and Post-Soviet Revival of Islam in Central Asia and the Caucasus". **Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs**. Vol. 25, no. 3, 2005, pp. 439-448.
- Koknar, Ali M. "Iranian Azeris: A Giant Minority". **The Washington Institute**. 2006. Available at: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iranian-azeris-a-giant-minority> (Accessed: 04.03.2019).

- Mammadyarov, Elmar (Foreign Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan). "A Look at the 25-year Period of Independence and Modern Foreign Policy Priorities". **People Newspaper**. 20 October 2016, N.231, p.9-10.
- Mohamad, Nordin Haji and Fatimah Binti Said. "Comparing Macroeconomic Performance of OIC Member Countries". **International Journal of Economics and Management Sciences**. Vol.1, no.3, 2011, pp.90-104.
- Norlin, Nicklas and Niklas Swanström. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Trade, and the Roles of Iran, India and Pakistan". **Central Asian Survey**. Vol.26, no.3, 2007, pp.429-444.
- Panke, Diana. "Regional Cooperation Through the Lenses of States: Why do States Nurture Regional Integration?". **The Review of International Organizations**. March 2019, pp.1-30.
- Paris, Roland. "International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice' ". **Review of International Studies**, Vol.28, no. 4, 2002, pp.637-656.
- Pedersen, Thomas. "Cooperative Hegemony: Power, Ideas and Institutions in Regional Integration". **Review of International Studies**. Vol.28, no. 4, 2002, pp. 677-696.
- Rezaei, Alireza. "The Islamic World in the New Century: The Organization of the Islamic Conference, 1969-2009 (review)". **Middle East Journal**, Vol.66, no.1, 2012, pp.196-197.
- Sharqieh, Ibrahim. "Can the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) resolve conflicts?". **Peace and Conflict Studies**. Vol. 19, no.2, 2012, pp.219-236.
- Slesman, Ly, Ahmad Zubaidi Baharumshah and Wahabuddin Ra'ees. "Institutional Infrastructure and Economic Growth in Member Countries of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)". **Economic Modelling**. Vol.51, 2015, pp. 214-226.
- Tadjini, Azin. "The Organization of Islamic Cooperation and Regional Challenges to International Law and Security", **Amsterdam Law Forum**, Vol.4, no.2, 2012, pp.36-48.
- Vaitos, V. Constantine. "Crisis in Regional Economic Cooperation (Integration) Among Developing Countries: A Survey", **World Development**, Vol.6, no.6, 1978, pp. 719-769.

Database and Reports

IMF, **World Economic Outlook Database 2018**, Washington DC, April 2018.

SESRIC, **OIC Economic Outlook 2018**, Ankara, October 2018.

State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan, **Population of Azerbaijan 2018**, Baku, 2019.

UNCTAD STAT, **World Investment Report 2018**, Geneva, August 2018.



Documents

Charter of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation

Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated 11 January 2016

Decree of the President of Azerbaijan on “2017 – Year of Islamic Solidarity” (2017)

Final Communiqué of the 8th Islamic Summit Conference (1997)

Final Communiqué of the 14th Islamic Summit Conference (2019)

Final Declaration of the 7th UNAoC Global Forum in Baku (2016)

OIC Youth Strategy (2018)

Resolution 2/4-EX (IS) “On the Situation in Syria”, adopted by the 4th Extraordinary Islamic Summit (2012)

Resolution of the First Islamic Summit Conference (1969)

Resolutions on Cultural and Social Affairs, adopted by the 32nd Session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers (2005)

Resolutions on Statutory and Organizational Matters, adopted by the 38th Session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers (2011)

Resolution on appointment of the Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), adopted by the extraordinary session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers (2016)

Resolutions on Cultural and Social Affairs (7/45-C), adopted by the 45th Session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers (2018)

Resolutions on Cultural and Social Affairs (3/46-C), adopted by the 46th Session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers (2019)

Resolutions on Political Affairs (12/46-POL), adopted by the 46th Session of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers (2019)

Tehran Declaration, adopted by the 8th Islamic Summit Conference (1997)

Online Sources

- “18 October is the State Independence Day of Azerbaijan”, **Azerbaijan National Library**, available at: <http://www.anl.az/18oktyabr.html> (Accessed: 03.07.2019).
- “19 Civil Society Organizations to Join 1,500 Non-Governmental Organizations Associated with United Nations Department of Global Communications”, **United Nations**, available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2019/ngo889.doc.htm> (Accessed: 19.11.2019)
- “Aprel hadisələri göstərdi ki, hazırkı status-kvo təhlükəlidir”, **Lent.az** online newspaper, 20 September 2016, available at: <https://m.lent.az/news/254145> (Accessed: 22.06.2019).
- “Azerbaijan elected as non-permanent member of UNSC”, **Azerbaijan State News Agency**, 25 October 2011, available at: https://azertag.az/en/xeber/Azerbaijan_elected_as_non_permanent_member_of_UN_SC-284386 (Accessed: 20.07.2019).
- “Azerbaijan fully supports Pakistan’s stance on Kashmir”, **Pakistan Today**, 02 February 2018, available at: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/02/02/azerbaijan-fully-supports-pakistans-stance-on-kashmir-envoy/> (Accessed: 02.04.2019).
- “Azerbaijan, Saudi Arabia plan to improve economic cooperation”, **AzerNews**, 15 May 2015, available at: <http://www.azernews.az/business/82108.html> (Accessed: 15.06.2019).
- “Azerbaijan-Saudi relations”, **Media Service of the Embassy of Azerbaijan to Saudi Arabia**, available at: <http://riyadh.mfa.gov.az/en/content/55> (Accessed: 09.06.2019)
- “Azərbaycan 2020-ci ilədək Türkiyəyə investisiya qoyuluşunu 20 mlrd. dollara çatdırmağı nəzərdə tutur”, **Trend News Agency**, 10 November 2016, available at: <https://az.trend.az/business/2683552.html> (Accessed: 10.06.2019).
- “Baku to host Ministerial Conference of Non-Alignment Movement”, **Azerbaijan State News Agency**, 01 February 2018, available at: https://azertag.az/en/xeber/Baku_to_host_Ministerial_Conference_of_Non_Aligned_Movement-1133389 (Accessed: 12.05.2019)
- “Caspian Sea: Five countries sign deal to end dispute”, **BBC News**, 12 August 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-45162282> (Accessed: 12.04.2019)
- “Cooperation with International Organizations”, Official Website of MFA Azerbaijan, available at: <http://www.mfa.gov.az/content/953> (Accessed: 20.07.2019)
- “General Assembly Adopts Resolution Reaffirming Territorial Integrity of Azerbaijan, Demanding Withdrawal of All Armenian Forces”, **UN Press Service**, 14 March

- 2008, available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2008/ga10693.doc.htm> (Accessed: 18.07.2019)
- “Komitə sədri: “Azərbaycan əhalisinin 96 faizi müsəlmandır”, **AzVision.az online newspaper**, 05 March 2019, available at: <https://azvision.az/news/171991/--komite-sedri--azerbaycan-ehalisinin-96-faizi-muselmanidir--.html> (Accessed: 13.06.2019).
- “Oil and Gas Projects”, **Official Website of President of Azerbaijan**, available at: <https://en.president.az/azerbaijan/contract> (Accessed: 17.07.2019).
- “Speech of H.E. President Ilham Aliyev at the official reception dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the independence of Azerbaijan”, **Official Website of President of Azerbaijan**, 17 October 2016, available at: <https://president.az/articles/21414> (Accessed: 17.07.2019)
- “Şimal-Cənub Nəqliyyat Dəhlizi nədir?”, **BBC Azerbaijan**, 09 August 2016, available at: https://www.bbc.com/azeri/azerbaijan/2016/08/160809_southern_corridor (Accessed: 03.05.2019).
- “The 4th Islamic Solidarity Games: Azerbaijan’s new standards to the Games”, **NewTimes newspaper**, 25 May 2017, available at: <http://newtimes.az/en/views/5153/> (Accessed: 09.06.2019).
- UN Security Council Resolution no.853, 29 July 1993, available at: <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/853> (Accessed: 10.07.2019)
- UN General Assembly Resolution no.10693, 14 March 2008, available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2008/ga10693.doc.htm> (Accessed: 10.07.2019)