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ABSRTACT

Turkish influence on Israel-Azerbaijan relations

This thesis analyses the Israeli-Azerbaijan relations and Turkish influence to this relations. Despite the fact that these attitudes were lined up in 1991 after the restoration of the independence of Azerbaijan, these relations have deep historical roots and traditions. Since ancient times, despite the ethnic and confessional differences, the Azerbaijani and Jewish people lived peacefully and worked together.

In addition to geopolitical reasons, these ties played a decisive role in the formation of good relations between states. In a short time, this attitude has become strategic and plays an important role in regional geopolitics as a whole. An interesting point is that this attitude was built in parallel with Turkey and the latter played a positive role in this. Despite the long and promising history of relations between Turkey and Israel after the arrival of the “Justice and Development Party” to power, these attitudes have been shaken and deteriorated. The reason for that can be crossed, but the main factor was the geopolitical ambitions of Turkey. Turkey is for Azerbaijan not only a strategic partner but also a fraternal country. The confrontation between Israel and Turkey had a negative impact on Azerbaijan, but in no way affected the relationship between Azerbaijan and Israel. Today we become a witness that Azerbaijan is playing as a role of mediator between the conflicting parties and this activity is bearing fruit.

REFERAT

İsrail-Azərbaycan münasibətlərinə Türkiyənin təsiri

Bu dissertasiya İsrail-Azərbaycan münasibətləri və bu münasibətlərə Türkiyənin təsirini təhlil edir. Baxmayaraq ki, bu münasibətlər 1991-ci ildə Azərbaycanın müstəqilliyini bərpa etdikdən sonra qurulub, bu münasibətlər dərin tarixi köklərə və ənənələrə malikdir. Etnik və konfessional fərqlərə baxmayaraq qədim dövrlərdən bəri Azərbaycan və Yəhudi xalqları sülh içində birgə yaşayıb yaratmışlar.

Geosiyasi səbəblərlə yanaşı, həmin münasibətlər dövlətlər arasında yaxşı əlaqələrin formalaşmasında həlledici rol oynamışdır. Qısa müddət ərzində həmin münasibətlər strateji xarakter daşımış və bölgənin geosiyasi həyatında mühüm rol oynamışdır. Maraqlı məqam ondan ibarətdir ki, bu münasibətlər Türkiyə ilə paralel olaraq qurulmuşdur və sonralar bu sahədə müsbət rol oynamışdır. Baxmayaraq ki, Türkiyə və İsrail uzun və perspektivli münasibətlər tarixinə malikdir, “Ədalət və İnkişaf partiyasının” gəlməsindən sonra həmin münasibətlər sarsılmış və pozulmuşdur. Buna səbəb kimi bir çox faktor sadalamaq olar, lakin əsas amil kimi Türkiyənin geosiyasi ambisiyalarını göstərmək olar. Türkiyə Azərbaycan üçün yalnız strateji tərəfdaş deyil, həm də qardaş ölkədir. İsrail ilə Türkiyə arasındakı qarşıdurma Azərbaycana mənfi təsir göstərdi, lakin Azərbaycanla İsrail arasında münasibətlər sarsılmadı. Bu gün biz, Azərbaycanın münaqişə tərəfləri arasında mediator rolunu oynadığının və bu fəaliyyətin bəhrəsinin şahidi oluruq.

I. INTRODUCTION

There are a few countries and regions in the current geopolitical map of the world in which the global processes occurring manifested most clearly. Azerbaijan was for centuries one of the main fields of the collision of geopolitical interests of the leading world powers and regional players. In the end of the twentieth century, when Soviet Union collapsed as result Azerbaijan get independence and appeared in the center of conflicting interests of different states. Azerbaijan is at a crossroads between East and West and is an ancient center of trade and migration. Azerbaijan described as a “Caspian Sea cork” in Z.Brzezinski work, for its importance geopolitical location and transition for new independence states of central Asia. It’s geopolitical location allowing it to play a necessary figure in the political, economic and cultural relations between the countries of the region.

If in nineteenth and twentieth centuries law of geopolitics was fighting for occupation colonies, territories, in 21-th century the central interests replaced energy. Energy is main condition part of national security which we name energy security. Great industry states are nothing without energy. States like people, like nature cannot survive without energy. Today there are a lot of sources of energy but main of them is gas and oil. Today main confrontation, struggle is going for achieving this resources, for its’ survive for its’ security. The role of states which has energy resources is rising and they dictate their vision, their policy. Today energy is tool for achieving other goals. It is a tool for influences to other states, is tool to dictate to others. The second important part of energy policy is to transition it safely. Each side are interesting about alternative transition way for its’ national security. Azerbaijan has set of pipelines for exporting its’ energy and also playing transition role for others. It is important how state use its’ potential. Azerbaijan has great resources oil and gas.

Turkish-Azerbaijani relations can be framed in the following way: ethnic, cultural, confessional, economic, military, strategic. This construction can still continue to deepen, but the listed factors are the basis. The ethnic factor dominates the relationship between the two countries. Both nations share common values, speak the language very close to each other without problems. This factor contributed to the merger of the two communities and integration. On a confessional basis, the obligation of the people is practiced by Islam although sects differ. Differences during Islam sects do not interfere with the deepening of mutual relations, as both states keep to secular principles.

The economic factor is one of the most important foundations of which can be traced in all its aspects. I will not go into details, but briefly we can say that Turkey is the main economic partner of Azerbaijan. More than 200 agreements have been signed between Azerbaijan and Turkey. Of particular importance are projects aimed at energy cooperation. It should also be taken into account that due to the purposeful policy of Azerbaijan, the share of Turkey in the projects of Shah Deniz and TANAP has been significantly increased. It is planned in the next year of the launch of the TANAP project, which ultimately will further increase the role of Azerbaijan and Turkey in the energy security of Europe. This energy project, which will extend through Turkey to Europe, has enormous political and economic significance. In addition, the construction of the Star oil refinery in Izmir is one of the largest economic projects implemented between Azerbaijan and Turkey. The Baku-Tbilisi-Kars project, initiated by Azerbaijan, aims to connect Europe and Asia with a railway network, and after completion of all works it will become an example of a qualitatively new level in the system of cargo transportation. On the level of investments in the oil sector in Azerbaijan, Turkey holds a leading position. Turkey and Azerbaijan have a long history of relations in the military sphere. Turkey actively supported Azerbaijan during the military phase of the Karabakh conflict and even joined the economic blockade of Armenia. The Turkish Republic took an active part in modernizing and supplying the Azerbaijani army. Being a member of the North Atlantic alliance and an important military partner of the USA on the near Middle

East, Turkey played an important role in reformatting and re-equipping the Azerbaijani armed forces under NATO standards. Qualitatively, a new stage of military cooperation between Turkey and Azerbaijan began after signing an agreement on strategic partnership and mutual assistance. This agreement strengthened the achieved level of military cooperation between Azerbaijan and Turkey and elevated it to the rank of strategic partnership. Baku and Ankara agreed to cooperate in the training and retraining of military personnel and the modernization of the army to participate in joint military operations and regularly conduct joint military exercises. The main achievement of Azerbaijani and Turkish diplomats was the formal consolidation of the clause on rendering assistance to each other in case of aggression on the part of third countries.

Over the centuries, there were dozens of people and religious confessions living in peacefully in Azerbaijan. The high ethnic tolerance of the Azerbaijani people contributed to their successful integration. The Jews are the best example for that. It should be noted that for the compact living of Jews, Azerbaijan occupies the second place after Israel, which is the Jewish homeland of the Jews. Tolerant attitude towards Jews in Azerbaijan is the basis for the mutual relations of the two states. Israel is one of the first states to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The relationship between Israel and Azerbaijan can be structured mainly as follows: economic, cultural, military, diplomatic. The main direction of economic cooperation between Azerbaijan and Israel is energy. Israel is one of the main importers of the Azerbaijani oil. Israel and the Jewish lobby had a huge impact on the implementation of the BTC pipeline project. With the help of this corpse, Azerbaijan enters the Middle East market. Israel in turn acquires a reliable supply of oil. In addition, the relationship in the sphere of public health, agriculture, high technologies is highly developed. Israel is one of the main trade partners of Azerbaijan. Thanks to its close contacts with Israel, Azerbaijan gets access to the high-grade weapons systems required to strengthen its army, which cannot be purchased either in the US or Europe due to a number of restrictions. In addition to Israel selling the most advanced military resources to Azerbaijan, Israel shares high

technologies with Azerbaijan, as a result of which Azerbaijan itself produces unmanned equipment.

The study and the solution of this problem have a number of important implications both in ensuring regional security in the Caucasus and the Middle East in general, the economic development of the above said countries, stability and prosperity. Despite a lot of problems, Azerbaijan can become the orbiter of the decisions of these pranks and be a bridge between Turkey and Israel.

1.1 Methodology

The methodological and theoretical basis of the thesis research was the works of foreign and domestic research in the field of studying the international relations, geopolitics, and history, problems of functioning and transformation of political phenomena in the region. The great importance in researching process of theoretical and practical aspect and concepts was the foreign literature. Philosophical and general scientific approaches (systematization, structuration) and methods of scientific cognition (analysis, synthesis, historical and logical modulation) were applied during the research and presentation of the thesis.

1.2 Research question and hypotheses

The main issue of this topic is the influence of Turkey on Israel-Azerbaijan relations. For a detailed understanding of the problem, of the issue were researching and studied the Israel-Turkish attitude, the Israeli-Azerbaijani attitude, the historical, social aspects of these relations and existence. Each chapter separately contains a

comparative, descriptive, cause-and-effect questions and analytical reviews for better understanding of the problem. The key words and main questions that affect this study are the geopolitical and national interests of countries, regional and international environment and challenges.

The appeal to the problems of qualitative research is relevant due to the world trends in the development of political science, as well as from the perspective of expanding its cognitive horizons. This research is based on the qualitative basis of the research methodology and the main pivot is the answer to the following question: Is there any influence of Turkey on Israel-Azerbaijan relations?

For a deeper understanding of the problems in the study, there will pose and analyze in detail the following aspects:

1. The history of relations between Israel and Turkey
2. Geopolitical aspect in the formation of the Middle East policy of Turkey and Israel.
3. The AKP government and neo Ottomanism policy of Turkey
4. Turkey-Azerbaijan relations
5. Israel-Azerbaijan relations
6. Arabian Spring and its implication in the region

For a broader understanding of the problematic and objectivity of the study, I will use different in nature and understanding of the article, e-books, analytical journals on this subject, the official statement of state parties and analysts. For the description of the picture, I will be given a place for the sociological - psychological foundations and historical premises.

1.3 Research objective

This thesis aims at analyzing and reveals the influence of Turkey on the relationship between Azerbaijan and Israel. Identify problems and prospects for their solution. The purpose of this thesis is to research and analyze in detail the historical roots of the relationship of Jews and Turks both in the Ottoman Empire and beyond, in detail the Turkish-Azerbaijani attitude in all aspects of activity. Also research and analyze in detail the Israeli-Azerbaijani attitude.

1.4 Research novelty

This research is based on various approaches to the problems and contains historical, sociological and psychological aspects. This is the story of the Jews people in Turkey, the role of them in the Turkish-Ottoman society, the compact living of Jews in Azerbaijan, the psychological basis for the relationship between the two overlays, the imperialist thinking of the Turkish elite to the realities, etc. The scientific novelty is that the relationship was systematized and generalized between Turkey-Israel and Israel-Azerbaijan. That is, it was aided by the fact that these attitudes are interconnected and this approach opens up new horizons for solving problems. Describing modern realities and challenges of international relations, futuristic predictions are being made along with a proposal to solve problems.

1.5 Literature Review

This subject has immense relevance and is being studied in different research institutes and organizations. The most important researchers in this field are Dr. Anna Geifman, Dima Course, Gallia Lindenstrauss, Alexander Murinson and others.

The basic sources that identify the theoretical foundations of the motivational mechanism were the works of Colin Flint, Halford Mackinder, K. Haushofer, and Alexander Dugin. In these sources considered in detail the fundamentals of geopolitics which is an important factor for understanding international relations and events. The above authors belong to one or another school of geopolitics and despite a general understanding of geopolitics proceeds from different positions. The founders of German geopolitics were Friedrich Ratzel. F. Ratzel introduced into circulation the concept of "living space" – "Lebensraum" widespread in German geopolitics. With the help of this concept, the German geographer tried to prove that the main economic and political problems of the state are generated by an unfair distribution of resources. The state has a living organism, rooted in the soil. F. Ratzel argues that the state is an organism because this relationship is mutually reinforcing, becoming something unified, unthinkable without one of the two components. Inhabited space contributes to the development of the state, especially if this space is surrounded by natural boundaries. If people feel themselves naturally on their territory, they will constantly reproduce the same characteristics that, coming from the soil, will be inscribed in it. Space in the concept of F. Ratzel is a natural framework in which the expansion of people's, the development of the state. The decline of the state, in his opinion, is the result of a weakening spatial concept and a weakening spatial feeling of the people. States are spatial phenomena, controlled and animated by this space. The starting point for the development of classical western geopolitics was the article "The Geographic Axis of History" by Professor Oxford University, Halford J. Mackinder. Mackinder argues that for the state the most

advantageous geographical position would be the middle, central position. "Centrality" is a relative concept and can vary in each specific geographic context. But from the planetary point of view in the center of the world lies the Eurasian continent, and in its center - the heart of the world, "Heartland". Heartland is the focus of the continental masses of Eurasia. This is the most favorable geographical springboard for control of the whole world. Heartland is a key territory in a more general context - in the limits of the World Island. In the World Island Mackinder includes three continents - Asia, Africa and Europe. In the very center is the "geographical axis of history" or "pivot area". On base of the works of Benjamin Braude, Miriam Bodian, Magda Teter, IzzetBachar examined in detail the roots of the relationship between the Jews and the Turks, the sociological aspects of the life of the Jews in the Ottoman society. Benjamin Braude describes in detail the life of the Jews in the Ottoman society, their being and analyzes the cause and consequences of the immigration of Jews from the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century. In the works of Miriam Bodian and Magda Teter clearly analyzed the heterogeneity of the Jewish society in the Ottoman Empire - these are linguistic, cultural and ethnic aspects. Authors assert that it was the mosaic nature of the Jewish community that was the cause of antagonism among the most Jews. Especially this antagonism is clearly visible in the eastern and western parts of the empire. The authors emphasize the important role of the Jewish community in the Ottoman society and analyze in detail the contributions that the Jews brought to the prosperity of the Ottoman Empire.

There are given widely place to domestic sources and analysts in the face of researchers Nasib Nasibli, ShahanaSaryeva, RaufHusseinov, ShamkhalAbilov, IlgarGurbanov, AnarVeliyev, AynurBashirova and others. The themes of the relations between Turkey and Israel, the regional aspects of this relationship, the Israeli-Azerbaijani relations give detailed information in the understanding of the topic under study. NasibNasibli touches upon issues concerning Turkey's participation in oil and gas projects in the region and geopolitical clashes of the interests of the participating countries in the division of the sphere of influence.

The author claims that Azerbaijan has already become an important geopolitical core in Eurasia. The implementation of the Caspian oil pipeline and the complex of the Eurasian corridor largely depend on the firmness of Azerbaijan's position. Shahana Saryeva argues that the Caucasus is a constituent part of the Middle Eastern picture of geopolitical space and the events taking place in one of them makes us aware of ourselves in another part. According to the author, this periphery is very important for Turkey's foreign policy and the Russian-Turkish relationship as a whole. In the work of Rauf Huseynov is well studied the history of the appearance of Jews in the South Caucasus, namely, in Azerbaijan, their traditions, and compact living in the neighborhood of the Muslims of Azerbaijanis. Author namely, analyzing the 3 main ethnic groups of the Jews in Azerbaijan - Mountain Jews, Ashkenazi and Ebrales and make a geographical map of their resettlement and living. In the work of Ilgar Gurbanov, a detailed study of the relationship between Israel and Azerbaijan, the specifics and importance of these relations and the geopolitical influence on the region as a whole. Ilgar Gurbanov focuses his attention on the energy component of these relations and on the basis of this makes very interesting conclusions and forecasts. Another author in the face of Aynur Bashirova well studied Azerbaijan-Israel relations and takes it to another flatness: "Israel's political and economic cooperation with Azerbaijan and the long-lasting friendship between the two countries prove Jerusalem's point that collaboration and peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Jews is possible. It shows that Israel's conflict with most of the Muslim-majority states and societies is a political conflict that does not involve all the Muslims."

1.6 Thesis structure

This thesis is organized five chapters and each chapters have sections which dealing and covering the subject in detail.

The first chapter analyzes the geopolitical interests of the state and stresses that the political process is built in accordance with the geopolitical interests of the state. Geopolitical interests of the state form the activity of the state in the international arena and influence interstate relations in general. An important factor in geopolitical activity is the struggle for resources and, ultimately, the struggle for survival. In this sense, human activity since primitive times is the maximum to gain energy for survival and the state having resources has energy for vital activity and survival. In the section *Geopolitical interests like the category of modern political thought* is analyzed the essence of geopolitics, historical origins and current in the formation of geopolitics as a separate science - historical development and formation of geopolitics and new realities of the 21st century. All this prepares the reader for further judgment and criticism of this topic.

The second chapter of the thesis contains describing the history of interrelationship between Turkey and Israel and the nature of these relations. This is the geopolitical situation in the Middle East, the Cold War and the bipolar world. Each period in bilateral relations is described in detail, taking into account the historical perspectives and realities of international relations in general. The economic and political aspects of these relations are generalized as result giving the opportunity to fully explain the picture.

The next section of the thesis is dedicated to the history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire. Actually, from this begin the roots of the intercourse of two different communities and cultures. A detailed study shows what privileges and statuses the Jews owned in the Ottoman society. Administrative administration, bookkeeping, medicine, trade, higher class positions - all this was in the hands of the

Jews. This shows the allied nature of the relationship between the two communities and gives hope for a perspective view of the future.

The paragraph of *The Cold War: Turkey-USA – Israel triangle in the Middle East* talks about the confrontation of the two systems and the impact on the relationship between the two countries. Each country was the alliance with the USA and Turkey's membership in NATO which played an important role in coordinating the overall policy in the region. Directly, Turkish-Israeli relations began during the Cold War. For this reason, these relations were subordinated to the logic of confrontation between the two superpowers - the USSR and the USA in the world.

In the following section is analyzed the new history of Turkey after coming to power AKP government. With the coming of the new government, Turkey's foreign policy is radically changing and the imperial past of the country is taken as a basis. Such a trend as Neo Ottomanism and Panturkism are increasingly beginning to audition in the politics of the new government. Neo Ottomanism poses an unofficial external and political doctrine of Turkey on expanding the sphere of influence on adjacent territories through soft power, at the expense of the economy, humanitarian impact and a supranational spirit. The internal political nationalism of Atatürk's sample today has clearly lost its former significance, new supranational clamps based on imperial thinking of modern type, moderate Islam, Turkish Eurasianism, pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism.

This chapter's last section includes the discussion about Mavi Marmara accident which is an explosive event that radically changes the situation. To this, the parties have been preparing and coming for a long time and if we consider the prospects that Turkey expected by the points indicated in the study, we can objectively discuss the planned nature of this event.

The third section of this dissertation contains in itself the relations between the partner, brother states – Azerbaijan and Turkey. The historical roots this relations and character. The importance of two states to each other which by details and points indicated. Azerbaijan and Turkey closely cooperate in the sphere of economy and have huge investments in each other. Azerbaijan is an important market for the

Turkish industry. In the near future, the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railroad will be commissioned, which will play an important role in double-walled relations in all spheres of the industry. Turkey is a very valuable ally of Azerbaijan. Turkey is a NATO member and military force with whom they are considered in the region.

In this chapter we study the geopolitical parts of relations between two states. Especially the Turkey interests in the region and in Azerbaijan. There are objectively points in improving relation between two states. This studying also researches the nature clash of interests in regional and non-regional powers in the region.

The next section is *Azerbaijan: The gateway to Panturkism?* Pan-Turkism is one components of neo-Ottomanism. There is studying the real ambitions of Turkey under this ideology especially the role Azerbaijan like gateway for expansion and developing for that. Neo-pan-Turkism in its foreign policy version pursues a goal to turn Turkey into a collector of ethnically related states and peoples, to give the country the status of a regional power in a new geopolitical space. Turkey's orientation to the Caucasus and Central Asia should be dominant, while the descendants of the Ottomans should play a leading economic and political role within the group of Turkic states. Integration in various areas with the Turkic countries of the Caucasus-Caspian region allows Turkey to receive new sources of raw materials and markets for its industrial products, provides the country with cheap labor and creates favorable conditions for cultural interaction, the development of a unified Turkic literature and history, a common ideology and policy.

The following part of this research starts out by introducing the historical roots Jews-Azerbaijan relations and the appearance the Jews in the region – in Azerbaijan as whole. This studying characterize of relations between two societies and perspectives. Relations between the two countries are especially surprising, since Azerbaijan is a country with a predominantly Muslim Shiite majority. Long cohabitation and, at the same time, the dynamic relocation of Jews to Azerbaijan, linking their destiny with this land, led to the emergence of friendly and peaceful relations between our peoples.

The next paragraph is *Strategic partnership between Israel and Azerbaijan*. The relationship between Azerbaijan and Israel is at a strategic level and this noted by different points in this section. Israel's strategic partnership priorities with Azerbaijan include developing good diplomatic and economic relations, preventing Iran from increasing its influence in the Caucasus, and participating in energy projects, including oil and gas imports to Israel. All these aspects are analyzed in detail and studied.

Turkey's role in Azerbaijan and Israel relations is analyzed the role of Turkey in Azerbaijan and Israel relations and level of influence of Turkey to this relation. The emphasis is on the fact that Turkey's role in the establishment of relations between Azerbaijan and Israel was. As it was the interest of Israel to strengthen relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan. That is, based on a historical perspective, Turkey was interested in establishing relations between Azerbaijan and Israel. This was dictated by the national interests of Turkey. But today this influence is low and Azerbaijan independently regulates its foreign activity.

The final chapter -*Possible Solutions and Perspectives*, offers the response to every research question and as well as general concluding remarks, identifies the problems, conflicts, disagreements that existed between the Jewish and Turkish people and the factors that affected the exacerbation of bilateral relations. Besides this, the Arab-Turkish relations are also touched upon which also played a not unimportant role in this or that case. Drawing the picture draws conclusions and gives prospects for bilateral relations.

In the section of *Arabian spring: regional implication*: The events of the Arab Spring stirred up the Middle East, and Turkey, as one of the leaders of the region, could not stay away from the dialing the power of anti-government protests and the rapidly changing political space. Turkey clearly voiced the Turkish bid for regional leadership and it should be noted that Turkey claimed not only the role of the regional Middle East leader, (but also the leading country in the Muslim world. From an Israeli perspective, the Arab Spring can be seen as a potential threat. Another explanation for the political demarche of Turkey could be his pressure through Israel

to the European Union to put it before the choice: either Turkey remains a secular state and enters the EU, or is looking for new ways for itself. In this case, the Palestinian issue and rapprochement with the Arab peoples could become a catalyst that will accelerate the positive consideration of its European destiny.

The last section is analyzing the essence, the history of relations and the positions of the sides, the points are given a realistic solution to the problem. Prospects in general seem to be positive and Azerbaijan's position is described in such a way "In spite of the fact that the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan is more interested in the fact that both countries have found a way out of the situation and reconciled and plays an important mediator role in this conflict.

II. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY OF GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS OF MODERN STATES

Main driving mechanism of the state always was geopolitical interests. These interests were attached to every regime same but was different depends on political environment. In political science spared a lot for geopolitical interests of state as whole alive organism. Since the ancient times in Chine's, Indian's political thought we can meet main features of geopolitical thought. In the ancient Greece and Rome geopolitics researched by Thucydides, Strabo and others but again it depends on sciences like history, geography. As independent and separate science it created only since 18-19th centuries. In modern conditions geopolitical interests of state is vital factor for realizing state's policy in international relations. Theoretical and methodical learning and researching of state in modern political science is more important.

The political process is building in accordance with geopolitical interests, which in modern conditions become important factors that determine the nature of relations between states, related to the solution of territorial and resource problems, and therefore it is especially urgent to consider the political process through the prism of geopolitical interests. The theoretical interpretation of the content of the geopolitical interests that underlie the modern political process, the clarification of their role, content and characteristics remains topical.

The nature of geopolitical interests is changing with the transformation of the geopolitical picture of the world. There is an enlargement of the subjects of the political process, manifested in the creation of alliances, blocs that cover entire groups of countries within various regions of the planet. Geopolitical relations are manifested at different levels: international, regional, state. However, the main thing remains a global level, which actualizes the need to consider the transformation of the meaning of geopolitical interests.

A comprehensive analysis of the place and role of geopolitical interests in the current political process has shown that the priority for most countries in their content is to ensure national-state security, political stability and fair international relations while preserving the desire of individual countries to control territories and resources of strategic importance. A common feature of geopolitical confrontation and consolidation at the present stage of development is that they are based on the intersection of geopolitical interests as the main determinants of the current political process. Socio-political confrontation in the world today is manifested primarily in the form of confrontation between different centers of power and consolidation in the formation of alliances, blocs created to achieve tactical and strategic goals of a global nature. To identify a group of interests related to the goals of domination, hegemony, expansion, and protection from them and strengthening security, the use of the term geopolitical interests, determined by such factors of the modern political process.

Energy is important first of all to highlight the centrality of energy in all human life. Even the most primitive humans must engross food in order to obtain the caloric energy to hunt, gather more food and other essential materials, build shelter, and defend against predatory animals and un-friendless tribes. More complex societies need energy to get food and water and to build cities, fortifications, factories, ships, roads, railways and so on. The more complex and productive a society, the greater its need for energy, without adequate supplies of basic fuels, a complex society cannot maintain a high rate of industrial output, provide a certain standard of living to its citizens, or defend itself against competing powers. Map of world with its main central influences remained the same. It is means that we have proceeding with new form of geopolitics – with geopolitics of energy. In energetic geopolitics like in classical geopolitics main confrontation exist between two powers – The Land and The Sea. Civilization of Land as usual represents by Heartland. Civilization of Sea replaced its center from Great Britain to USA.

Today geopolitics in its definition connected with the energy resources of the world. When we speak about geopolitical importance we means what it presents from itself, how it can influence to environment, to decisions. Today in great institutions,

universities, research centers geopolitics is main researcher object. It does not limit with scientific environment moreover, some parties' issues from geopolitics and their ideology consist of certainly geopolitical.

2.1 Geopolitical interests like the category of modern political thought

Geopolitics, as thought and practice, is linked to the establishment of states and nation-states as the dominant political institutions. Especially, geopolitics is connected to the end of the nineteenth century- a period of increasing competition between the most powerful states and it is the theories generated at this time that we will label classic geopolitics. For the first time F. Ratzel, R. Cellen, A. Mahen, H. Mackinder, K. Haushofer-the most prominent geopolitics-classics, proposed to consider the interests of the state as a conscious need for self-preservation, survival, development and security. In this case, as they are believed that the security of the state is the dominant geopolitical interest in the conditions of confrontation, rivalry, wars, violence. Violence is the reaction of protection, self-preservation, security of the state.

In the analysis of the present and future geopolitical structure of the world and its contents, as well as in the assessment of the geopolitical interests of states and their groups must take into account new factors in the development of modern political process, such as economic factors, the increased influence on the evolution of the geopolitical situation in the world, and it is connected with abrupt increase of the role of economics in the life of both individual countries and the entire international community, significant internal complexity of globalization and the real cost processes. The geopolitical interests of states are, as a rule, pragmatic, if not selfish. In the struggle of interests for survival, for the safety, the nation's goals are achieved by violence, bloodshed, war. The security of the state is the dominant geopolitical interest. National security is one of the elements of the national interest of the state, ensuring it along with other elements (internal stability, economic development, a favorable external environment, a positive international image) an optimal existence. International security is the state of relations between states, characterized by their cooperation in order to maintain peace, prevent and eliminate

military danger, protect nations and peoples from any other, encroachment on existence, independent development and sovereignty.

The Ratzel, the Swede Kellen and Mackinder's works were the first step in formation of geopolitics as a science and they at first were met with hostility by the scientific community.¹

A new level of social and political organization of the world is manifested against the background of intensification of the level of interaction and interdependence between states and societies that make up the international community. Globalization is a process in which most of the social activity acquires a global character in which the geographic factor loses its importance of cross-border economic or socio-cultural relations. The development of the modern political process testifies to the genesis of the region as one of the key components of the political and social structure of the modern world order. In general, the world as a whole shows an increase in the importance of the region as an element of horizontal structuring of society.

Considering the content of interests, we can say that the most important in the political process are national-state interests. Modern reality and features of the world development of the late XX - early XXI centuries. Urgently require clarification and updating of the notion of national-state interest.

Geopolitics uses components of human geography to examine the use and implications of power. Contesting the nature of places and their relationship to the rest of the world is a power struggle between different interests and groups. The spatial organization of society, the establishment and extent (both geographic and jurisdictional) of state sovereignty is a continuing geopolitical process.²

¹Dalby G., Tuathail O. and Routledge P., The geopolitics reader, London and New York 1998.P. 4.
Available at <https://frenndw.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/geopol-the-geopolitics-reader.pdf> (25.06.2017)

²Colin Flint, Introduction to geopolitics, London and New York 2006.P.26.
available at https://www.academia.edu/3354871/Introduction_to_geopolitics (25.06.2017)

III. THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND TURKEY

The Turkish Republic, in turn, was the first of the Muslim states to recognize Israel in March 1949. Since that time, relations between countries have developed quite dynamically and at the same time extremely contradictory. Israel starting since 1948, that is, from the very first days of its existence, in its foreign policy strategy proceeded from two basic ideas. First, in conditions conflict with the Arabs, Israel needed a key non regional partner and patron, who from the very beginning became the United States. The second component this course was the so-called peripheral strategy, which called for the development of strategic cooperation with non-Arab Muslim countries in the region. The main partner in this direction was Turkey.

Turkey recognized the independence of Israel in 1949, after which the relations between Israel and Turkey were very important, but in addition there were difficult issues concerning Turkey's foreign policy.³

In the 1950-1970th years the cooperation between the two states was of a secret nature, since the Turkish leadership did not want to discredit itself in the eyes of the Muslim community. At this time, there were secret meetings between the leaders of the countries. The political union between Ankara and Tel Aviv was formed due to a common strategic agenda based on similar concerns with regard to Syria, Iraq and Iran, as well as on coinciding interests in Central Asia. In addition, both states expressed similar views on the global problems of world politics, including the coordination of foreign policy issues with the US and distrustful attitude to the Soviet Union, and then to Russia. After the Cold War, the Turkish-Israeli alliance became an important element of politics In the Middle East.

3.AkgünMensur, GündoğarSabihaSenyücel, GörgülüAybars , Politics in troubled times: Israel-Turkey relations, TESEV foreign policy program No. 41 Kat. 2, Istanbul 2014., P.2. available at http://tese.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Politics_In_Troubled_Times_Israel_Turkey_Relations.pdf accessed on 15.07.2018

Both countries had common spheres of interaction, in particular, on issues of regional security and military-technical cooperation (from the exchange of intelligence information to the provision of the Turkish army with modern military technologies and armament). Despite dynamically developing economic and military-technical contacts, Turkey and Israel usually tried to refrain from public support for each other on controversial issues of international and regional policy and not to advertise their relations.

Regional structures usually determine the strength of the relationship. During the first time of Israel's existence, Israel conducted an unwritten, unofficial strategy, which means that foreign policy of Israel mainly following to periphery states. This policy based on good relations and alliances with non-Arab states bordering the Arab world, which pursued the policy of broken isolation Israel in the region.⁴

The main goal of Israel in the military-political alliance with Turkey was overcome political isolation in the region and achieves strategic depth in possible military operations against the said states. For Turkey, Israel was primarily a source of high-tech weapons, which it could not get from other countries. However, the weak point of the Turkish-Israeli relations was and remains the fact that they were supported exclusively at the level of the ruling elites and did not enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the Turkish population. The first steps towards intensification of cooperation between the two countries, undertaken in the early 90's.

At the same time, military, political and economic cooperation between Israel and Turkey has been developing steadily for almost two decades and has been the subject of special attention of the governments of both countries.

For modern Israel, whose entire history of existence - the history of conflicts with Arab neighbors, Turkey is important before due to its geopolitical position. The development of political cooperation with a country 99% populated by Muslims was for Tel Aviv one of the ways to overcome regional isolation and the opportunity to breach the hostile Muslim milieu around him.

⁴22. Olson Galen , Normalizing Turkish-Israeli relations and the possibilities for U.S. involvement , Boston University 2013., Pp. 5-6, available at <http://www.bu.edu/pardeeschool/files/2014/08/Sample-Policy-Paper-2.pdf> accessed on 18.07.2017

For Turkey, the importance of a military-political alliance with Israel was due to several factors.

1. The initiated dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis strengthened the hope of achieving peace in the Middle East. Turkey in the new conditions of Middle Eastern geopolitics sought to develop friendly relations with both sides.
2. Turkey needed the assistance of the pro-Israel lobby at the US Congress to prevent discussion of the issue of the Armenian Genocide and the solution of the Cyprus problem not in its favor. Ankara also used Israel's support for building its own relations with the EU.
3. Ankara's rapprochement with Tel Aviv was facilitated by the fact that both countries had problems with their common neighbors (conflicts with Syria due to the distribution of cross-border water resources, as well as complex relations with Iraq and Iran).
4. Finally, in close cooperation between Turkey and Israel, the United States was interested in seeking to create a new world order on The Middle East. Despite the fact that almost all of their neighbors were negatively affected by military-political cooperation between Ankara and Tel Aviv, the interests of both states in the field of security forced them to continue contacts in this area, especially in such a vital issue, as a joint struggle against terrorism.

This seems to have changed in the 1990s, when Turkish-Israeli relations were entrenched in a strategic partnership. In 1992, two countries signed an agreement on tourism.⁵

Military-technical cooperation has always played a priority role in Turkish-Israeli relations. As part of the agreement signed in February 1996, Turkey opened its airspace for training flights of Israeli combat aviation and established exchange of cadets between national military academies. In the same year, a similar agreement was signed on cooperation in the defense industry, after which Israeli companies

⁵28. Tocci Nathalie and Huber Daniela, Behind the scenes of the Turkish-Israeli breakthrough, IstitutoAffariInternazionali, IAI WORKING PAPERS 13 | 15 – April 2013. Pp.3-4. available at <http://iaitestnew.asw.bz/sites/default/files/iaiw1315.pdf> accessed on 18.07.2017

received major contracts for the rearmament of the Turkish Armed Forces. The result of this contract were contracts for the delivery of Turkey's Israeli tanks "Merkava", the modernization of combat aircraft F-5, the equipment of Turkish helicopters with anti-missile systems, the equipping of Turkish aircraft with satellite warning systems, etc. Ankara and Tel Aviv also agreed to exchange intelligence information and strategic assessments of the situation in the region. It should be noted that in Turkish society there have always been forces that considered the alliance with Israel a betrayal of national interests of Turkey and Islamic ideas in general. These sentiments were cramped are associated with anti-Semitism and neo-Ottomanism, which are still popular among a part of the Turkish political elite and intelligentsia.

3.1 Background of relations jews in Turkey

The history of Jews in the Ottoman Empire is the history of peace and prosperity of the Jews. For the first time the Turks encountered Jews capturing Byzantine cities such as Bursa, Adrianople, Ankara and Istanbul. The Jewish communities of Byzantium were concentrated in these cities and were without rights. In all these places lived romanioty and in Adrianople there was, in addition, a community of Karaites. Despite the fact that during the Byzantine rule the Jews were virtually powerless and persecuted, the Ottoman conquest was first perceived by them as a disaster. However, it soon became clear that the new rulers tolerated Jews, they were ready to grant them community autonomy and freedom of economic activity. The Jews of Bursa, who fled the city together with the rest of the inhabitants after its capture by the Ottomans, soon returned and rebuilt the community. Sultan Orhan issued a special decree authorizing the construction of a new synagogue in Bursa (in defiance of the Omar laws). In Adrianople in the late 14 century-the beginning of the 15th century. Ashkenazi migrated from Hungary, France and German lands, as well as Italian Jews.

In 1453 Ottoman Turks seized Constantinople, where lived a large number of Romaniots. During the storming of the city, the Jewish quarter burned down, but the massacre perpetrated by the conquerors did not touch its inhabitants, which indicates the attitude of the Turks towards the Jews. Mehmed II proclaimed Istanbul his capital and trying to restore it and turn it into the largest economic center of the region; he ordered the resettlement of a large number of artisans and traders from Asia Minor and the Balkans, including Jews from Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Albania. Soon, however, the new capital of the Ottoman Empire entered a period of prosperity, and Ashkenazi from Bavaria, Austria and other German states, as well as from Hungary and Italy, the Sephardic from Spain and Portugal (including the Marranas)

fled to Istanbul voluntarily, fled from Persecution of the Inquisition, Karaites from Edirne.⁶

The Ottoman authorities welcomed their arrival and allocated large plots of land to them in one of the suburbs of the city. The Romaniite community of Istanbul rendered significant assistance to the co-religionists.

The legal status of the Jews of the Ottoman Empire was determined mainly by Islamic religious law. As non-Muslim Jews, they had the status of a winter, enjoyed personal inviolability and freedom of religion. Military service did not apply to them, but they had to pay special taxes. Jews were forbidden to carry arms and ride horses, it was prescribed to wear a distinctive sign. At the same time, Ottoman sultans who sought to attract Jews to their domains often tolerated deviations from the Omar laws. For example, the permission to build synagogues was given after Bursa in many other cities, even where there were no synagogues before the Turkish conquest. The Sephardim were the most famous and most studied among the Jews of Turkey and their influence in the political and cultural life of the Ottoman Empire was extremely high. When they were invited to settle, they were perceived as Westerners, the Sephardim had extensive contacts with Western culture - Europe, and were perceived in the Ottoman Empire as knowledgeable European languages and brought new knowledge and technologies that the Ottomans needed, including the latest methods in medicine, war and the press.⁷

There were no attempts to limit the number of Jewish population in one place or another or to force Jews to settle in certain places. In many cities Jewish neighborhoods arose, but they were not renovated with a wall, and residence in them was not compulsory. The authorities did not exert pressure on Jews to convert them to Islam, and the Muslim clergy, unlike the Christian clergy, did not begin to censor Jewish books.

⁶ .Braude Benjamin, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition, with a New Introduction.P. 37. available at <https://www.rienner.com/uploads/53e278dea4631.pdf> accessed on 21.07.2017

⁷Bodian Miriam and Teter Magda , Early modern Jewish history, Wesleyan University 2008. Available at <http://jewishhistory.research.wesleyan.edu/i-jewish-population/5-ottoman-empire/> accessed on 22.07.2017

In the Muslim world, Jews, like Christians, were considered dhimmis or "people of the pact". The status of dhimmi was based on several statements of the Qur'an, from Surah 9:29: "Struggle against those to whom the Scriptures are given, and who do not believe in God or the Last Day, which forbid not that God and His Apostle are forbidden and do not follow true faith, until they give tribute from their hands and do not humble themselves "and" There is no compulsion in religion. " statements have created a legal basis for tolerance of dhimmi in Muslim areas.⁸

Among the Jews who moved to the territory of modern Turkey in the 15-16 centuries were handicraftsmen, traders, financiers and representatives of the liberal professions prevailed. This allowed them to quickly find their economic niche, since in Turkish society proper. The ruling class consisted almost exclusively of professional military and administrators, and commoners mainly engaged in agriculture. Before Jews these positions were in hands mostly of Christians (Greeks, Armenians), but later the Jews began to quickly displace them. In the field of commerce, the advantage of Jewish merchants primarily from Spain, Portugal and Italy was that they were more mobile, used new ways of doing business, had coreligionists often relatives or close acquaintances in virtually all political and economic centers in the Mediterranean basin. They knew the main European languages of their time - Italian, French, Spanish and German. With the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, commodity-money relations developed in it and the fiscal system became more complicated, which made the state increasingly in need of experienced financiers, but there were practically none among the Turks, and from all non-Muslim communities, the authorities could only be trusted by the Jewish community. Therefore, they sought to create favorable conditions for Jewish bankers, usurers. Jewish artisans (both Sephardim and Ashkenazi) brought to the Ottoman Empire the most advanced technology of their time, and some craft industries began to develop here only with their arrival.

⁸Bodian Miriam and Teter Magda , Early modern Jewish history, Wesleyan University 2008 Available at <http://jewishhistory.research.wesleyan.edu/i-jewish-population/5-ottoman-empire/> accessed on 22.07.2017

Over time, the main origin of migrants, Jews from Spain and later from Portugal, disappeared. economic opportunities in the empire were reduced and in Thessaloniki the woolen textile industry by the seventeenth century, which was a major and main employer of Jewish labor throughout the Ottoman Empire, began to experience a difficult of crises from which it never did not come in self.⁹

With the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, commodity-money relations was developing and the fiscal system became more complicated, which made the state increasingly needy in experienced financiers, but there were practically none among the Turks, and from all non-Muslim communities as result the authorities could only be truste the Jewish community. Therefore, they sought to create favorable conditions for Jewish bankers, usurers. Jewish artisans brought to the Ottoman Empire the most advanced technology of their time, and some craft industries began to develop here only with their arrival. The country imported ready-made fabrics (woolen, cotton, silk), and several decades later became their largest exporter, mainly due to the fact that dozens of weaving workshops created by Jews began to operate in Bursa, Edirne and some other cities.

An important characteristic of this Jewish historiography on the Ottoman Empire of this period is the presence of a highly exaggerated praising of the Turks. This fact is actually the consequence of the previous point. The historians depicted the Turks admiringly, without expressing any criticism either of their deeds or of their relationship to the Jewish community of the realm.¹⁰

The food production in the Ottoman Empire came to a qualitatively new level thanks to the Jews. New types of products appeared in the country and new methods of their preparation (for example, cheese making) began to be applied. Eminent jewelers (working with gold, silver and precious stones), glassblowers (especially in Edirne) and weapons makers, especially firearms specialists . The mass immigration

⁹Braude Benjamin, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Abridged Edition, with a New Introduction.*, P. 18, available at <https://www.rienner.com/uploads/53e278dea4631.pdf> accessed on 29.07.2017

¹⁰BaharLizzet, *Jewish historiography on the Ottoman empire and its Jewry from the twentieth century to the early decades of the twentieth century*, University of Pittsburgh 2006. P. 72 , available at <http://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/6950/1/izbahthesis.pdf> accessed on 29.07.2017

of Jews in many ways contributed to the brilliant victories of Turkish troops thanks to the technology which Jews brought with themselves.

One of the traditional occupations of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who moved to the Ottoman Empire was medicine. They were familiar with the latest word of science in this field. In large cities in the territory of modern Turkey, they accounted for the vast majority of doctors, and in Istanbul every district was practiced by at least one Jewish medician. Spanish and Portuguese Jews, as well as Ashkenazi from Northern Italy, were the first printers in the Ottoman Empire and for many years remained monopolists in this field. In the 15-16 centuries, some cities located on the territory of modern Turkey, especially Istanbul and Edirne, have become major centers of Jewish scholarship and literature.

The influx of Jews in the 17th century into Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace was reduced, and by the end of the 18th century, has practically come to naught. This was due to the fact that they were no longer expelled from European countries, some of whom also began to pursue a policy of tolerance, as a result of which the Turkish possessions lost the importance of a single asylum, as well as increased political instability and a slowdown in economic development in almost all areas, who were under Ottoman control. There began the emigration of Jews from the Ottoman Empire. businessmen, financiers of Istanbul, Edirne, Izmir and other cities went to Western Europe.

3.2 The Cold War: Turkey-USA – Israel triangle in the Middle East

The structure of the international system has dramatically changed after the Second World War as far as the economic, political and the military conditions concerned. Politically, the foundation of the United Nations in 1945 within a realistic perspective is noteworthy.¹¹

Directly, Turkish-Israeli relations began and developed in the cold war. For this reason, these relations were subordinated to the logic of confrontation between the two superpowers - the USSR and the USA in the world. Namely they were in the sphere of strategic policy of the United States in the region of the Near and Middle East. Since the emergence of the State of Israel in 1948, one of the key foreign policy issues for this country has become relations with the Turkish Republic. Up to the present time these relations have developed undulating. Since the moment of their establishment, the direct impact on them has had opportunistic events.

Following the declaration of state of Israel in 1948, the Turkish-Israeli relations have been kept in “low-profile” due to Turkish foreign policy of “balance” and “noninterventionism” toward the Middle East.¹²

Regarding the Turkish-Israeli relations, it should be noted that Turkey was not just one of the first states of the world to recognize Israel, but also the first and only Muslim country in the region and the world that implemented this diplomatic act. In general, during this and subsequent periods of the Cold War, loyalists and pro-American military of Turkey are characterized, especially against the background of anti-Israeli sentiments of the Muslim world, by their loyal attitude towards Israel and the development of cooperation with it, which was significant for the latter. Being in

¹¹Turan Tolga, Turkish foreign policy towards Israel: the implications of Turkey's relations with the west, Middle East Technical University 2008. Pp. 8-9. available at <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=2EC4B41E4A10D3C8DEBB0934D1CB04EA?doi=10.1.1.63.3.6891&rep=rep1&type=pdf> Accessed on 26.06.2017

¹²Bilgin Veli, Turkish-Israeli Entente: the impact of Turkish - Israeli alignment on Turkish-Iranian relations. The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences of Bilkent University, Ankara May 2004., P. 40. available at <http://www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr/0002496.pdf> Accessed on 26.06.2017

a hostile attitude - these two "loneliness" in the world of Islamic monarchies and Arab nationalists sought and valued the support from each other. In the Near and Middle East, Turkey and Israel were in a deep geopolitical and international vacuum. But both countries received support from the USA.

Turkey's relations with Israel were formed within the framework of the balance of the Cold War period. Turkey avoided taking radical steps, except for a partial rapprochement or separation. At that time, apart from the secret agreement of 1958, which provided for the exchange of intelligence information, it was not necessary to talk about the existence of a strategic dimension in the relations of countries. This dimension appeared after under the influence of the international system and the war in the Persian Gulf on the situation in the region. This war created the basis for the emergence of a perception of some common threat, which was the foundation for the development of Turkish-Israeli relations.

Turkey and Israel are countries that adhere to pro-Western, secular, democratic views that make them strangers in the Arab Middle East. One of the leading analysts noted that Turkey and Israel "share a" common sense of alienity "from the undemocratic and Arab regimes that dominate their region. The first Israeli Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, always tried to establish close ties with Turkey. Ben-Gurion (who in his youth, studied law in the Ottoman Istanbul), perfectly understood the advantages inherent in the impressive geophysical, material and human resources of Turkey.¹³

The Israeli vector of Ankara's foreign policy was determined by its place in the strategy of the US and NATO and geopolitical interests. After the end of the Second World War, previously pro-German Turkey now unambiguously focuses on the US and is part of NATO. Building its relations with Israel, Ankara clearly demonstrates its solidarity with the pro-Israeli US policy in the Middle East. And on the other - there was hope to get at least some kind of support from Israel in its historical

¹³BirÇevik and Sherman Martin, Formula for Stability: Turkey Plus Israel, The Middle East Quarterly, Number 4, Volume 9, 2002. Pp. 24-25.
available at <http://www.science.co.il/hi/turkish/articles/Bir-2002.pdf> Accessed on 27.06.2017

confrontation with the Arab world and Iran. Knowing this, Israel had the same hopes for Turkey, and therefore considered it necessary to promote their development.

Turkey voted along with the West in the establishment of a Reconciliation Commission on Palestine in December 1948, and even participated in that commission. The other members of the Commission were the US and France and it was supposed that the US would be pro-Israel, France would be neutral and Turkey would be pro-Arab. Turkey, however, had been far from being pro-Arab during both the initial phase and the subsequent studies of the Commission.¹⁴

During the Cold War, relations between the two states were generally smooth, and thanks to the influence of the USA. The administration of United States and the American Jewish lobby tried to develop Turkish-Israeli relations positively. The administration of United States and the Western world as a whole considered Turkey and Israel to be close states and perceived them as their geopolitical players in the Middle East. On the other hand, Turkey and Israel were interested in allied relations with the United States.

Turkey's efforts are partially attributed to its desire to woo Jewish and pro-Israel lobbies in Washington. This was done in order to shield itself from continuous efforts by the Greek and Armenian lobbies to promote resolutions in Congress to classify the mass killing of Armenians in April 1915 as "genocide." The leap forward in the relationship began under President TurgutÖzal as the Cold War was ending.¹⁵

¹⁴TuranTolga, Turkish foreign policy towards Israel: the implications of Turkey's relations with the west, Middle East Technical University 2008. Pp. 15-16. available at <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=2EC4B41E4A10D3C8DEBB0934D1CB04EA?doi=10.1.1.63.3.6891&rep=rep1&type=pdf> Accessed on 28.06.2017

¹⁵Arbell Dan, The U.S.-Turkey-Israel Triangle. The Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, Washington 2014. Pp. 6-7. available at <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/USTurkeyIsrael-TriangleFINAL.pdf> Accessed on 28.06.2017

3.3 The AKP government and neo Ottomanism policy of Turkey

After the First World War Turkey lost its previous large territories in the North Africa, in the Middle East and advanced positions. The foreign activity had been seen as the tail of the west. But if it is to review all the other obvious that Turkey did not have resources to exercise their ambition and focus its energy for rebuilding itself from the inside. Even neutrality during the Second World War was a clear example of this. In the 50th years one-side orientation on the U.S. Ankara became the most loyal ally of Washington (NATO) and other military-political blocs, the creation of which the middle east was inspired by the U.S. Beginning from the 60th Foreign policy of Turkey become more independence. This was due not only to the military nationalism, but also recognition of the fact that Washington is ready to support Ankara only in the unlikely event of a collision with Moscow, but can be useful in a conflict with Turkey's non-socialist countries. Also Turkey needed support of world community as whole in Cyprus problem not limited only USA. Also increasing economic relations with USSR helped Turkey to maneuver between USA and USSR and Europe in other hand. In the 70th years there was a complication of Turkish-American relations. During an exacerbation of Turkish-Greek relations around Cyprus problem Washington not interested in a military clash between two members of NATO and the weakening of the south-eastern flank of the block, it has imposed a ban on the use by Turkey of U.S. arms and military stopped the previously agreed delivery. In response, Ankara established control over U.S. military bases in the Turkish territory, except for the NATO base at Incirlik. Subsequently, the United States came under pressure in favor of a sharp increase in rent for the use of military bases in Turkey. Throughout much of the twentieth century, Turkey decided not to participate in Middle Eastern affairs.

Three factors help determine the non-Ottoman trends of the AKP. First, it is his activity or readiness to reconcile with the Turkish Ottoman and Islamic heritage in

the country and abroad. Neo Ottomanism poses an unofficial external and political doctrine of Turkey on expanding the sphere of influence on adjacent territories through soft power, at the expense of the economy, humanitarian impact and a supranational spirit. The internal political nationalism of Ataturk's sample today has clearly lost its former significance, new supranational clamps based on imperial thinking of modern type, moderate Islam, Turkish Eurasianism, pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism. In fact, the neo-Ottomanism is a virtual concept that unites a number of ideas and practices of Turkey's foreign policy. The main elements of the "network" of neo-Ottomanism are neo-pan-Turkism, pan-Islamism, Turkish Eurasianism, as well as interaction with the Arab and Balkan countries, the states of Asia and Africa. Neo-Othmanism is realized through the use of each individual element, but taking into account the general orientation towards the formation of a supra-ethnic identity of Ottoman imperialism of a new type - involvement and inclusion at the expense of soft power."¹⁶

Targeted state propaganda has shaped today's neo-Ottoman sentiments in different strata of Turkish society. The society shows great interest in the historical and fiction film "Ottoman Republic", which tells of Turkey, which is under the domination of the Ottoman Sultan. Among the young people, it is customary to wear shirts with images of janissaries and the inscription "The Empire will strike back." The past in petty-bourgeois ideas seems to be the "golden age" of Pax Ottoman, when peace, prosperity and religious tolerance dominated the Mediterranean Sea. "¹⁷

This model of Turkish foreign policy began to be introduced from recent times. Therefore, it based on the claims on the three regions - the Middle East, the Balkans and North Africa, the specific features of political, economic and other factors. It is clear that open diplomacy cannot help Turkey, since the Arab world will not give up its independence, therefore, Turkey should conduct "silent" diplomacy using all kinds

¹⁶ZakariaFareed , Worries about Turkey are fact-free paranoia, Newsweek, May 12, 2007. Available at <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2007/05/13/a-quiet-prayer-for-democracy>.html.(accessed on 28.07.2017)

¹⁷Peterson Laura , "The Pentagon Talks Turkey," The American Prospect 13, No. 16 (September 9, 2002), available at <http://prospect.org/article/pentagon-talks-turkey> (accessed on 24.07.2017)

of levers. Perhaps, the political will to unite, taking into account the Israeli factor, can show Syria and Palestine. A passive attitude towards Israel and the policy of other Arab countries that own rich oil resources in relation to Turkey can lead to a clash with the Anglo-Saxon forces. So Turkey in this issue has many problems.¹⁸

According to experts from leading Turkish think tanks, this ideology is a policy imposed on the Turkish elite by the USA. It is generally accepted that this is a program developed by the United States and "think tanks", pursuing a far-reaching goal, a policy of domination through the intermediary state in the region, in particular, over the Arab world. In this regard, "neo-Ottomanism" has common ties with the well-known US project of the "Greater Middle East". Islam cannot remain uninvolved in the ideology of neo-Ottomanism. The Islamic factor will act as a consolidating force, since the mainstream ideological "target" is considered the Islamic world and, first of all, the Arab countries of the Middle East and a number of Islamic countries of North Africa. All this is also directed against the policy of Israel. As the latest developments in Turkish-Israeli relations show, the first steps are being taken to implement this ideology - in order to please the Islamic world. In fact, over the past two years, they have declined because of the financial crisis in Europe. In other words, unlike Kemalist hardliners who insist on assimilation of Kurds, neo-Ottomanism allows Islam to play a big role in building a sense of common identity. While the Kurdish challenge historically made Ankara reactive, cautious, and sometimes excessively insecure, the neo-Ottoman approach motivates Turkish politicians to be more courageous, inventive and active. Neo-Ottomanism views Turkey as a sure regional superpower. His strategic vision and culture reflects the geographical scope of the Ottoman and Byzantine empires. Turkey as a key state should play a very active diplomatic, political and economic role in a broad region, the centre of which it is. Such grandiose ambitions, in turn, require a strategic vision of the world with its many identities, including its Muslim and multinational past. The third aspect of neo-Ottomanism is its goal not only to appeal to the Islamic

¹⁸ German Marshall Fund of the United States, "Transatlantic Trends 2010," available at

http://trends.gmfus.org.php5-23.dfw1-2.websitetestlink.com/?page_id_3175 (accessed on 26.07.2017)

world, but to embrace it in the same way as the West. It is important to note that the concept of the Neo-Ottoman Empire AKP is very different from the policy proposed by the late Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the Islamic movement of Turkey from the 1970s to the 1990s. Although Erbakan sought to create an Islamic alliance with Muslim countries such as Libya, Iran, Malaysia and Indonesia, as an obvious alternative to an alliance with the West, the AKP leaders want to turn to non-Western regions to supplement their ties with the West rather than replace them.

However, secularist critics of the AKP government argue that the activation of Turkey in the Middle East betrays the western vocation of the republic and its orientation. These sceptics tend to focus on the Muslim political lineage of the AKP and tend to see the covert Islamic agenda behind the AKP's opening to the Arab world and Iran as part of the party's "zero problems with neighbours" policy since 2002. Like the imperial city of Istanbul, which covers Europe and Asia, Erdogan's neo-ottomanism is Janus, and the European heritage is really of great importance to the neo-Ottomans.¹⁹

After coming Development Party (AKP) to power and the formation of a one-party Government regional policy of Turkey in the Middle East began to change gradually, which inevitably should have affected Turkish-Israeli relations. After The US invasion of Iraq in spring 2003 Turkish public opinion were against the war, and the country's parliament refused to grant the territory of the United States is covered by its territory. Israel supported the overthrow of S. Hussein.²⁰

¹⁹Küçükkoşum Sevil, "Turkey slams Damascus, refrains from calling fleeing Syrians 'refugees'". Hurriyet Daily News 2011. Available at <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-slams-greece-for-refusing-extradition-of-feto-members-dhkp-c-militants-126730> (accessed on 25.07.2017)

²⁰Volfova Gabriela Özel , Changes in Turkish-Israeli relations: implications for the regional security environment , Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, Vol.8 No1 2014. Pp. 91-92. available at <http://www.cejiss.org/static/data/uploaded/1400105687309543/Article%2005.pdf> (accessed on 28.07.2017)

3.3.1 The Mavi Marmara accident

After the victory of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in the parliamentary elections in Turkey and the formation of a one-party government of this country's regional policy in the Middle East began to change gradually, this inevitably should have affected Turkish-Israeli relations. After Israel toughened its position on the Gaza Strip, relations became even tenser. Turkey publicly accused the Israeli leadership of crimes against humanity and made a scandalous statement, urging to exclude Israel from the UN, as it ignores the resolution on the cessation of military operations in the Gaza Strip.

Once the AKP took all aspects of domestic politics, its ideology became coherent with politics, and the revisionist nature of Turkey's foreign policy became more evident. This change allowed AKP to implement the policies described in the Strategic depth of Davutoglu in relation to Israel and the wider region.²¹

The increased hostility between Tel Aviv and Ankara coincided with increasing divergences of interests Turkey and the West. Reorientation of Turkish foreign policy and care from the "western flock" had a great influence on Turkey's position on relation with Israel.

In a short time for the history of the beginning of the 2000s much has changed. The peace process has collapsed, and the escalation of violence between Israel and Palestine, cooperation with Israel has become more difficult to justify in Turkey, especially regarding the conservative electoral district of the AKP, for which relations with Israel are one of the most significant foreign policy issues.²²

The culmination of the aggravation of Turkish-Israeli relations was the May 31, 2010 attack of the Israeli Special Forces on the Turkish "Freedom Flotilla",

²¹TziarrasZenonas, The new geopolitical landscape in the eastern Mediterranean: the Israeli perception, Eastern Mediterranean Geopolitical Review 2015. P.35, available at http://www.emgr.unic.ac.cy/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/6-2015emgr1_tziarras.pdf accessed on 19.07.2017

²²Huber Daniela, Turkish-Israeli relations in a changing strategic environment, Global Turkey in Europe, Commentary 05, September 2012.P.2, available at http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/GTE_C_051.pdf accessed on 19.07.2017

equipped with a Turkish non-governmental the organization the Fund of the humanitarian help for delivery of cargoes in the Gaza blocked by Israel.

Israel's bloody raid on the Mavi Marmara flotilla in May 2010 caused the death of 9 civilians and a great crisis between Turkey and Israel. The impacts of this crisis are still being felt in between the two countries as well as a in the relations with the USA. The raid happened while the flotilla was in the international waters and carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza.²³

The Israeli authorities called their actions justified, accusing organizers of the humanitarian caravan in connection with terrorist groupings. Israeli experts also spoke about the Fund's links to the Global Muslim Brotherhood, a global underground network of individuals and organizations associated with the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt, and their like-minded people around the world. After the incident, some Turkish political, social and religious figures sharply criticized Israel, calling it a terrorist attack, which could be compared to the September 11 attacks on the "Flotilla of Freedom" against the Turks, which violates international law by the state, which must be punished. In addition, the Turkish leadership said that relations between Turkey and Israel can improve only after Tel Aviv has officially apologized and will pay compensation to the victims.²⁴

Israeli politicians and experts, as well as some Western analysts argue that Ankara deliberately planned this action on discrediting Israel, to get political dividends from its policy on achieving regional leadership. The nominal goal of peacekeepers - the delivery of humanitarian supplies to Gaza - was secondary; the main task was to cause confrontation. However, the consequence of the attack on "Mavi Marmara" was the call of the Turkish parliament to the government to review all political and economic relations with Israel, as well as cooperation in the defense

²³KafdağlıTuğçe, Understanding the Mavi Marmara crisis in Turkish-Israeli relations, Istanbul 2011 P.1, available at <https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/35eb067b-2325-477f-81f1-9dfd27fb2c16.pdf> accessed on 19.07.2017

²⁴Arbell Dan, The U.S.-Turkey-Israel Triangle. The Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, Washington 2014. P.13, available at <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/USTurkeyIsrael-Triangle.pdf> accessed on 19.07.2017

sphere. As a result, Ankara refused from planned joint military exercises "Reliant Mermaid", and Tel-Aviv suspended military supplies to Turkey.

Finally, on September 1, 2011, was published the report of the UN commission for the investigation of the incident, which stressed that Israel had the right to attack the "Flotilla of Freedom", but used excessive force. The report also noted the legality of the introduced Israel's blockade of the Gaza Strip and its compliance with international law. The document said that the attempt of the flotilla to break through the blockade was a provocation. Recognizing that on board the "Mavi Marmara" the Israeli military had to face fierce opposition from the passengers, the commission concluded that nine activists were killed because of the Israeli soldiers who exceeded the norm of necessary defense.

September 2, 2011 - Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon received the report of an independent commission of inquiry on an incident in May 2010 involving a flotilla sent to Gaza that found that Israel's interception of ships was "excessive and unreasonable," while the flotilla acted "recklessly" in an attempt to break the naval blockade. "The loss of life and injuries caused by the use of force by Israeli forces during the capture of Mavi Marmara were unacceptable,"²⁵

The conclusion of the UN commission caused Ankara's irritation, which resulted in the decision of the Turkish authorities to reduce the level of diplomatic relations with Israel and the withdrawal of the Turkish ambassador. The Turkish leadership also announced the suspension of military technical cooperation with Israel and threatened to increase the military presence of its armed forces in the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, the Turkish Prime Minister called on the West to stop the policy of double standards and condemn Israel for the creation of nuclear weapons.

Having lowered the level of diplomatic relations with Israel, the Turkish government made the final choice in favor of activating the eastern vector of its foreign policy, designed to revive the country's leading role in the Middle East.

²⁵ UN chief receives report of panel of inquiry into Gaza flotilla incident , available at http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39443#.WaOeb_hJYdU accessed on (20.07.2017)

"Honeymoon" between Turkey and Israel, which began in the mid-1990 years ended by 2011. Ankara adopted the concept of a multi-vector foreign policy, in the context of which regional cooperation with Israel and the common security threats that once led to rapprochement were meaningless. The aggravation of Turkish-Israeli relations, which entailed the freezing of political and military-technical cooperation, is part of the long-established and well-thought-out policy of the official Ankara aimed at "political divorce." Over the last years and up to the beginning of the "Arab revolutions", the foreign policy of the ruling AKP was based on the developed the concept of "strategic depth", the basic principles of which are "zeroing" problems with neighbors and creating a zone of stability and security around Turkey. Following these principles, the Turkish leadership in a short period of time managed, if not to resolve, then at least to smooth long-standing problems in relations with Iran and Iraq, as well as to intensify economic and political ties with the countries of the Middle East. This policy also contributed to the growth of Turkey's popularity in the Arab world, which allowed the country's authorities to declare its claims to the role of the leading regional power. The Israeli leadership realizes that the current aggravation of bilateral relations is Ankara's conscious choice, conditioned by its geopolitical interests, and that the new integration format being formed by Turkey in the region does not imply the participation of Israel in it.

IV. TURKEY-AZERBAIJAN RELATIONS

The relationship between Azerbaijan and Turkey has deep roots. A common language, close traditions, creeds and ethnic composition connects two fraternal people. As I said there is no place for sentimentalism in politics, and the state always proceeds from national interests. Proceeding from this point of view, the relations between the states of the two fraternal peoples were not always friendly. That is, there were cases when the interests of the two states came in contact and were the cause of many conflicts. For example, the conflicts between Ag Koyunlu and the Ottomans, Kara Koyunlu and the Ottomans, and the Safavid -Ottoman wars for interests both in the Transcaucasia and in the Middle East in general. After that Azerbaijan divided between Russia and Iran, Azerbaijan lost its sovereignty like a state. But relation was going between people and Turkey was playing important role in construction new Azerbaijan state in the region.

Turkey (Ottoman Empire) was the first country to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan and with all the forces helped the new legs and return Baku from the Bolsheviks. After that, Turkey actively participated in the formation of the armed forces of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic. All this was done to the strategic interests of Turkey, that is, in addition to fraternal relations, strategic interests prevailed. Despite all this was a hundred years ago, again energy interests, the creation buffer zone between themselves and Russia, the entrance to the Asian part of the Turkic world, etc. It seems that today nothing has changed if we will add new factors, to new interests.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan gained independence for the second time and immediately Turkey was the first country to recognize this independence. True geopolitical conjunctures were quite different than at the beginning of the 20th century, but long-standing interests were still relevant. In

addition to itself, Turkey already represented both the front line of NATO and Western values.

For the Republic of Turkey, Azerbaijan is a key state within the framework of a new moderate pan-Turkic policy aimed at the formation of a single Turkic integration field. In this regard, the Turkish leadership is doing everything to spread its influence in this Caucasian republic through the application of the "soft power" of culture, business, and education. The basic slogan of bilateral interaction after the collapse of the USSR was the principle of "one nation - two countries".

The relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan in the geopolitical context are based on the following dividends:

The geopolitical location of Azerbaijan is very important for Turkey. Azerbaijan is the only country in Transcaucasia that has very close ties with Turkey and this is one important factor of Turkey's presence in this region. Striving in this region, Turkey limits the activities and influence of its historical rivals in Russia and Iran.

Through Azerbaijan Turkey opens new horizons both to the Turkic world of Asia and the Muslim peoples of the North Caucasus. Independent Azerbaijan is a buffer country between Turkey and Russia that is very important for Turkey. The location of Azerbaijan at the crossroads of trade routes makes it very attractive for Turkey.²⁶

Azerbaijan is rich in natural resources and one of the important sectors is oil and gas. It is the last two centuries that have been struggling for the predominance of energy sources of energy and Turkey with the developing industry, the economy and the imperial past is included in this struggle. Turkey on the one hand at low prices to buy Azerbaijani oil and gas on the other hand is a transit country for the transfer of Azerbaijani oil and gas. Caspian carbon is very important both for Turkey and for European countries that are dependent on Russia in this regard. The presence of Turkey in the region and pumping gives Turkey a powerful trump card in the

²⁶ From Imperial Geography to Everyday Geopolitics, available at http://tese.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/From_Imperial_Geography_To_Everyday_Geopolitics_EN.pdf accessed 29.07.2017

geopolitical context. Additives to this are negotiating the connection of Turkmenistan to the existing pipelines which has huge reserves of carbon.

With the signing of the 'Contract of the Century' and the establishment of the international consortium to tap Azerbaijan's hydrocarbon resources, Turkey has been eager to obtain a place among its participants. Owing to a shortage of financial and technological opportunities, Turkey has been mainly attending to the problem of Caspian oil transportation to foreign markets.²⁷

Azerbaijan and Turkey closely cooperate in the sphere of economy and have huge investments in each other. Azerbaijan is an important market for the Turkish industry. In the near future, the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railroad will be commissioned, which will play an important role in double-walled relations in all spheres of the industry. Turkey is a very valuable ally of Azerbaijan. Turkey is a NATO member and military force with whom they are considered in the region. Azerbaijan has a territorial conflict with Armenia. Armenia represents a trilateral union Iran-Armenia-Russia in the region. In contrast to this union, Turkey is a natural ally of Azerbaijan, not to mention the confessional and ethnic factor that connects the two states. Thanks to Turkey, the Azerbaijani enclave of Nakhchivan receives everything necessary including electricity and has contact with the outside world. Turkey provides the newest enmity of the Azerbaijani army and closely participates in modernization to NATO standards. The main export of Azerbaijani oil to the market passes via the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline.

²⁷NasibliNasib, Azerbaijan's geopolitics and oil pipeline issue , Journal of international affairs , Volume 4 Number 4 1999.Pp.4-12.
available at <http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/NASIB-NASSIBLI.pdf> accessed on 01.08.2017

4.1 Azerbaijan as Turkey's vital Peripheral geopolitical interests

Actualization of geopolitical and geo-economic importance of the Caucasus region has always been connected with global and regional changes in the world. The Caucasus has repeatedly acted as a natural barrier of the military-political sphere, which either interfere with the implementation of plans of conquest, or helped to defend themselves against intruders. The geoeconomic the Caucasus is essential for global and regional policy. Strategic passage between the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus mountains, the caravan routes of the nascent international trade between the East and the West, including the Silk Road from Asia to the ports of the Mediterranean, walked around the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus. Possession of the Caucasus opens the way for world trade, access to the southern seas, as well as resource-rich Asian and Caspian Basin.

The collapse of the Soviet Union caused significant changes in global and regional geopolitics, the alignment of forces in the world and, accordingly, the adjustment of Turkey's role in the strategic plans of the US and the NATO bloc as a whole. The sphere of geopolitical claims of Turkey extends to the most important regions of Eurasia: the Balkans, the Black and Aegean Seas, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Near and Middle East, the Caucasus, the Crimea, the Volga region, part of the Urals, Central Asia, southern Siberia and Xinjiang.

Geopolitics of Turkey is rather complicated and it can be divided into four geopolitical aspects: energy-geopolitical (oil pipelines), international legal (accession to the EU), ethno-territorial-geopolitical (Kurdish problem), internal geopolitical. It is paradoxical that the economy of Turkey, which did not participate in the second World war, strongly lagged behind the economies of countries such as Germany, Japan, South Korea that survived the war and began to raise their economies from scratch. At present, Turkey's foreign policy influence in the Middle East is weakening and collapsing, but in some regions - especially in the Caucasus - it is still successful.

Azerbaijan for Turkey, a fundamental element of the regional energy strategy, as well as an important buffer between Turkey and its historically rival Russia. Now, not paying attention to some successes in the regional policy, the lack of partnership and allies still exists, and in this position, Azerbaijan becomes particularly important as a brotherly state for Turkey with significant reserves of hydrocarbons.

Davutoglu describes Azerbaijan as part of the Caucasus and considers this region as a south-north transition point of Eurasia and buffer zone for Turkey against the threats of Russia. Essentiality of the Caucasus as a buffer zone against threats from Russia is explained with two examples: Russian-Turkish war in 1877-1878 and menace by Soviet Union towards Anatolia through South Caucasus after the Second World War.²⁸

²⁸23. Peterson Laura , “The Pentagon Talks Turkey,” The American Prospect 13, No. 16 (September 9, 2002).Pp/17-18, available at <https://repository.ihu.edu.gr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11544/112/Shahana%20Sariyeva%27sDissertation.pdf?sequence=1> (accessed on 01.08.2017)

4.2 Azerbaijan: The gateway to Panturkism?

One of the components of neo-Ottomanism is pan-Turkism. It implies the integration of the Turkic states on the basis of their ethnic, linguistic and religious affinity, with the application primarily of humanitarian methods and methods of economic involvement. The first ideologist of pan-Turkism was Ismail Gasprinsky, who, being from Crimea, advocated the consolidation of all Turkic and Slavic peoples of Russia. In addition, Gasprinsky pointed out on the need to create a single Turkic language based on the Turkish language, which has been cleared of Arab borrowings.

The ethnocentrism of the Turks - Turkism - was part of the Young Turk ideology In Turkey, his mouthpiece was the philosopher Zia Gecalp, who proposed develop a single Turkic nation within the framework of European civilization and without an emphasis on pan-Islamism. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, pan-Turkism received another impulse in connection with the emergence of new independent Turkic states - Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Turkey one of the first recognized them and began to build special ties.²⁹

The tendency is growing for Turkey to use the tools of "soft power" in the territories of the Turkic states and subjects of the Russian Federation with the Turkic population. This fully agrees with Ankara's strategic goals for the formation of a new subsystem of international relations - the Turkic world. Moreover, the Turkish leadership of the country did not follow the footsteps of the European Union, which for years has moved from solving the problems of the economy to politics, but has worked out original ways of forming nadidentity. To this end, Turkey has started to create various integration fields - cultural, educational, economic, and then political.

²⁹Balcer Adam, Between energy and soft pan-Turkism: Turkey and the Turkic republics, Turkish policy quarterly September 5 2012.Pp. 152-153 available at <http://turkishpolicy.com/Files/ArticlePDF/between-energy-and-soft-pan-turkism-turkey-and-the-turkic-republics-summer-2012-en.pdf> (accessed on 29.07.2017)

Such fields should serve one long-term goal - the unification of the Turks. To a greater or lesser extent, these processes involve Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and entities Russian Federation with indigenous Turkic ethnic groups. To this end, an extensive network of organizations, both state and private-public and private, which form the Turkish lobby and in the long term they are called upon to contribute to the realization of Ankara's interests.

Neo-pan-Turkism in its foreign policy version pursues a goal to turn Turkey into a collector of ethnically related states and peoples, to give the country the status of a regional power in a new geopolitical space. Turkey's orientation to the Caucasus and Central Asia should be dominant, while the descendants of the Ottomans should play a leading economic and political role within the group of Turkic states. Integration in various areas with the Turkic countries of the Caucasus-Caspian region allows Turkey to receive new sources of raw materials and markets for its industrial products, provides the country with cheap labor and creates favorable conditions for cultural interaction, the development of a unified Turkic literature and history, a common ideology and policy. At first, the Turkic-speaking states of the Caucasus-Central Asian region positively took the Turkish initiative, hoping to build partnership relations with the West through the Turkish Republic but both sides quickly disappointed.

V. THE TIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND AZERBAIJAN

After the crumple of the Soviet Union and the organizing of new independent states, Israel made an active introduction to the territory of the post-Soviet space. Over the past time, this region has become one of the highest priorities. A huge role is played by the factor of the Jewish Diaspora. In many post-Soviet countries, its representatives are part of the political establishment, the business elite, and the technical and humanitarian elite. Repatriates from the former USSR and the newly independent states make up a community in Israel. Its representatives have a direct impact on the country's foreign and domestic policies.

In the post-Cold War period, Israel was compelled by changes in the international environment to seek new allies and to re-invent itself by finding a new role in the American global strategy. Israel sought to build its new alliances in areas that included the South Caucasus and Central Asia against its new enemy – the Islamic regime in Iran, and was successful in establishing good relations with Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. In this strategy, Israel pursued the advancement of the shared interests with the United States regarding the Newly Independent Muslim states (preventing the penetration of radical Islam, nuclear proliferation and ensuring the energy security of the West.)³⁰

When we speak about the historical basis of Azerbaijan-Israel relations, first of all, it is necessary to note attention to the relations between Azerbaijanis and Jews that existed from past times. Relations between the two countries are especially surprising, since Azerbaijan is a country with a predominantly Muslim Shiite majority. Long cohabitation and, at the same time, the dynamic relocation of Jews to Azerbaijan, linking their destiny with this land, led to the emergence of friendly and peaceful relations between our peoples. It should also be noted that from the moment

³⁰Murinson Alexander, The ties between Israel and Azerbaijan, The begin-sadatcentre for strategic studies bar-ilan University, mideast security and policy studies No. 110. P.14.
available at <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/MSPS110-web.pdf> accessed on 05.08.2017

of resettlement to this day, there was not one fact of confrontation or conflict between Azerbaijanis and Jews.

On the contrary, mutual sincerity and friendliness were the main form of mutual communication. It is known from history that some representatives of the Jewish people moved to Azerbaijan to save themselves from extermination, and found a place where they could live peacefully without feeling discrimination. This is a feature of our people. This centuries-old friendship gave Jews not only a home in our country in various historical periods, but also created all kinds of conditions for their full-fledged living. Free and quiet residence of Jews along with Azerbaijanis within the country demonstrated the benevolence and peacefulness of the Azerbaijani people.³¹

There are three Jewish communities in Azerbaijan: Mountain Jews living in Guba and Baku, mountain Ashkenazi living in Baku and Sumgait, and Georgians living on the border with Georgia. Mountain Jews settled in Azerbaijan from very ancient times. European Jews moved to Azerbaijan in the XVIII century. The first Ashkenazi Jews settled in Baku in the XIX century. Resettlement of Georgian Jews to Azerbaijan also falls on this period. In connection with the development of the oil industry in Baku, representatives of the Jewish intelligentsia from the west of Russia: Doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers.

Azerbaijan is still home to three sub-ethnic groups of Jews: Mountain Jews, Ashkenazi and Ebraelis. We should also note the unique village of Privolnoye in Jalilabad, whose Russian population professes Judaism. The ancestors of the Mountain Jews appeared in Azerbaijan in the 6th century A.D. These were Jews from Mesopotamia, who were deported to Azerbaijan and southern Dagestan, a historically whole territory in the middle ages, for their attempt to secede from the Sassanid Empire.³²

³¹HuseynovRauf, Jews in Azerbaijan, Journal IRS, Volume 4, Baku 2011.Pp. 48-49.
available at <http://irs-az.com/new/pdf/201301/1358925519192785192.pdf> accessed on 08.08.2017

³²HuseynovRauf, Jews in Azerbaijan, Journal IRS, Volume 4, Baku 2011. Pp. 50-52.
available at <http://irs-az.com/new/pdf/201301/1358925519192785192.pdf> accessed on 08.08.2017

During the Second World War, the flow of Jews from Moldova, Belarus, the Baltic States and Russia to Azerbaijan and in the post-war period, when in the USSR spread anti-Semitism, persecution of Jews, we can say that in Azerbaijan such cases are not

5.1 Strategic partnership between Israel and Azerbaijan

Israel's strategic partnership priorities with Azerbaijan include developing good diplomatic and economic relations, preventing Iran from increasing its influence in the Caucasus, and participating in energy projects, including oil and gas imports to Israel. Azerbaijan has own interests with this strategic partnership like joint deterrence of Iran in Transcaucasia and claims to its historical lands in southern Azerbaijan, access to modern and high-tech Israeli weapons, blocking the Armenian Diaspora in America through the Jewish lobby.

Since the proclamation in 1948 of the Jewish state, access to oil and natural gas has been a source of constant concern for it. The main oil-producing countries were and remain Arab countries, hostile to Israel. This means that Tel Aviv's goal in the oil sector will be to ensure the country's energy security. Israel's interest in obtaining reliable supplies of oil products from Azerbaijan is an important factor in the relations between Azerbaijan and Israel. Israel and the Jewish lobby had a huge impact on the implementation of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline project with the help of this corpse, Azerbaijan. The relationship between Israel and Azerbaijan can be structured mainly as follows: economic, cultural, military, diplomatic. The main direction of economic cooperation between Azerbaijan and Israel is energy. Israel is one of the main importers of the Azerbaijani oil. Israel and the Jewish lobby had a huge impact on the implementation of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline project. With the help of this corpse, Azerbaijan enters the Middle East market. Israel in turn acquires a reliable supply of oil.

There is also growing covert collaboration in the energy sector between Azerbaijan and Israel. Israel is the second largest importer of Azerbaijani oil after Italy. Energy security is an important part of this bilateral relationship due to Azerbaijan's vast energy resources and its geographic position: It is the east-west

passageway to the land-locked Caspian and its petrochemical resources, as well as an important link to Central Asia's natural resources.³³

Israel in the future can connect to the project TANAP pipeline, which involves the supply of Azerbaijani gas to Europe. In recent years, gas fields "Leviathan", "Tamar", "Dalit" have been discovered in Israel. Part of the gas from these fields is planned to be exported. Negotiations are being held in this direction, but finally the issue will be considered after Israel determines the final energy policy of the country.³⁴

In contrast to the triangle Iran-Armenia-Russia, Azerbaijan is planning to build its own prospects to neutralize this threat. So Azerbaijan is interested in normalizing Turkey-Israel relations in order to create its tripartite bloc in Israel-Turkey-Azerbaijan, a counterweight to the above-mentioned one. So Azerbaijan plays the role of a mediator in the solution of the contradictions between Turkey and Israel. Having created such a powerful block, Azerbaijan guarantees the safety of its energy carriers and their transportation. This will entail the accessing of advanced highly technologies that have both Israel and Turkey as a member of NATO. Such a bloc can be put to such regional powers as Russia and Iran and their satellites of Armenia. Azerbaijan is extremely concerned about the influence and ambitions of Iran, which de facto cannot be read with the independence of Azerbaijan and supports Armenia in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Alone, Azerbaijan does not have a counterbalance to Iran, and here the strategic relationship with Turkey and Israel limits Iran's aggressive activities towards Azerbaijan. Here, historical rivalry between Iran and Turkey plays a very important role and Iran's dislike of Israel. This combination pushes Turkey-Israel-Azerbaijan to a particularly form of cooperation.

³³AbilovShamkhal, The Azerbaijan-Israel relations: a non-diplomatic, but strategic partnership, USAK, number 4, edition 8, 2009.Pp. 156-157 .

available at <http://www.acarindex.com/dosyalar/makale/acarindex-1423910554.pdf> accessed on 17.08.2017

³⁴GurbanovIlgar, Perspectives for Israeli Gas in Southern Gas Corridor Hampered by Economic Limitations, Publication: Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 13 Issue: 186 November 28, 2016. available at

<https://jamestown.org/program/perspectives-israeli-gas-southern-gas-corridor-hampered-economic-limitations/> accessed on 18.08.2017

The idea of creating an alliance between Israel and Turkey and Azerbaijan was very favorably received by the Azerbaijani society. Most opposition parties in Azerbaijan approved the creation of such a bloc. According to First Deputy Leader of the opposition Popular Front Party of Azerbaijan Asim Mollazade, a regional security and economic and political cooperation system should be created.³⁵

Israel, in turn, has own interest in ensuring the clarity of the energy managers of Azerbaijan and their transportation so it depends on the Azerbaijani oil. Behind all these, one can see the activities of both the United States of America and the European Union, which are also interested in the seamless transportation of the Caspian energy utilities to the whole. Thus the European Union provides its energy clear and the United States of America picks up the influence of Russia both in the region and in the whole world. Israel and the Jewish lobby in the United States of America strongly support the plans for the reunification of southern Azerbaijan to the north thus wants to weaken and fragment Iran.

To the existing serious regional economic and political problems are added new. At the regional level began to appear unfavorable trends for Israel like Iran and Turkey relations which are Muslim states, which are influential regional players, began to have a direct impact on the development of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. "Arabian spring" has led to the strengthening of political Islam both in the immediate neighborhood of Israel and in many Arab and Muslim countries of the Middle East region. The past secular Arab countries ceased to threaten Israel with destruction, the threats of a general Arab war against Israel are not audible. Instead, it sounded the threat of the destruction of Israel, emanating from the radical Islamic entities. Hostility of these actors to Israel exceeds the hostility of secular national regimes, to which they come. In the emerging situation we are talking about the Islamic ring instead of the Arab nationalist ring. In the new circumstances, Israel was once again talking about a "peripheral strategy" and the need to adapt it to existing reality. Thus, the idea of the need for a "new peripheral strategy" was born. It is quite clear today

³⁵VelievAnar , The Israel-Turkey-Azerbaijan triangle: present and future, Journal Central Asia and the Caucasus, 2014. available at http://www.ca-c.org/journal/2000/journal_eng/eng02_2000/08.vel.shtml accessed on 12.08.2017

that Israel cannot avoid rivalry with militant Islam through a new system of links with political actors in the region.

Israel's political and economic cooperation with Azerbaijan and the long-lasting friendship between the two countries prove Jerusalem's point that collaboration and peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Jews is possible³⁶

³⁶BashirovaAynur and SozeAhmet, The role of Azerbaijan in Israel's alliance periphery, Rubin center research in international affairs, June 22, 2017. available at <http://www.rubincenter.org/2017/06/the-role-of-azerbaijan-in-israels-alliance-of-periphery/> accessed 15.08.2017

5.2 Turkey's role in Azerbaijan and Israel relations

The role of Turkey in Israel-Azerbaijan relations is present. Turkey and Israel were the first countries to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan. At that time, the interference between Turkey and Israel was at a high level. In politics, there is no permanent concept of friendship. There are national interests that predetermine the policy of the country. So it is possible to determine the policies of Israel, Azerbaijan and Turkey. The principles and interests of the three states and the role of Turkey are drafted below.

Turkey's interests: The beginning of the 1990s, the collapse of the Soviet bloc opened new horizons and, in addition, new challenges for Turkey. Transcaucasia separated from the empire with which for many centuries it was feared as the Ottoman Empire and the follower of Turkey. Turkey has always sought to create a buffer zone between Russia and itself and such an opportunity fell with the destruction of the Soviet bloc. As soon as the Transcaucasia states declared independence, Turkey was the first to recognize this independence as a fault of all three. In addition to its interests, Turkey expressed the interests of the fetter as a member of NATO. That is, there were many new players who wanted to include this region in their sphere of influence. They were like the pre-empire of the Soviet Union - Russia, Iran with their aberrations, even China. Azerbaijan represented the greatest interest for Turkey as it transits to Central Asia - the Turkish World and as a country with rich resources.

In the Caucasus against the Turkish interests opposed mainly the regional powers Russia and Iran. Turkey was interested in integrating the region to the west as Turkey played the role of NATO's front flank. With such support, Turkey could oppose powerful regional opponents. Israel was a strategic ally of Turkey and the interests of the two countries were close to each other. Thus it can be said Turkey was

interested in the Israeli presence in the region and played into the hands of the creation of relations between Azerbaijan and Israel.

Instead of the declared policy of regional stability and "zero problems" with neighbors, in fact, Turkey is promoting the so-called "Neo-Ottomanism" policy as I wrote in the last chapter, trying to restore the Ottoman Empire in any format. Any empire assumes support, first of all, on ideological calculations and preferences, that is, not only geo-economic interests but also ideological ones come to the fore, when the imperial policy of readiness to be friends with those who support its ideological doctrine. After coming to power, AKP in Turkish politics feels ambition for the past patrimony. That is, it implies an unequal relationship with neighbors when it was part of the Ottoman Empire or in the zone of influence. That is, today Israel is the country that was created on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire, and Azerbaijan is the country when the influence of the Ottoman Empire was entering the sphere. Today, the dominant rhetoric and politics towards these countries from Turkey only cool what was acquired in a long time.

Strategic cooperation, which tries to establish Israel with Azerbaijan, is very important for Tel Aviv, which is surrounded by Muslim countries. Israel's diplomatic relations with Turkey fell to a minimum after the events in Davos and Mavi Marmara. For this reason, Azerbaijan is currently the only state in the Islamic world with which Israel can be in strategic cooperation. Israel is aimed at working with non-Arab elements around the Arab Middle East to ensure energy security and secure regional support for Iran. In turn, Azerbaijan is trying to get the support of the Jewish lobby against Armenia, to develop the national defense industry and, in this regard, to benefit from the experience of developing Israeli military industry.

During the process that began in Turkish-Israeli relations with the incident in Davos and the Israeli attack on "Mavi Marmara", Azerbaijan received the status of the only strategic partner of Tel Aviv in the Islamic world. The Israeli attack on the humanitarian aid ship Mavi Marmara that carried humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip led to a sharp deterioration in relations between Ankara and Tel Aviv, and Baku faced a serious test. Azerbaijan, which has strategic relations with both countries, has

chosen a neutral position and insists on a peaceful settlement of the problems between Israel and Turkey. However Azerbaijan insists on maintaining relations with both strategic partners, the problems in relations between Ankara and Tel Aviv have their negative impact. For this reason, Azerbaijan has made attempts to mediate between Turkey and Israel.

VI. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

For most of the Muslim world, modern history of Turkey is a betrayal. Reforms of Ataturk made Turkey a secular state. At the same time, many people perceived it as Washington's lackey, which is in the embrace of American politics. Yet playing the role of regional peacekeeper, Turkey followed the cardinal rule of the United States. The policy of neo-Islamism and pan-Turkism did not justify itself and the set-up only aggravated Turkey's position in the region so much in the whole world. The world and the international situation is changing rapidly and this situation dictates its condition to come out and normal. The Arab Spring, lifting of sanctions from Iran, Russia's aggressive behavior, falling oil prices and many other factors affect the situation in the region.

After the AKP came to power, the attitude towards Israel began to change. In Turkey, the gradual curtailment of secularism, the gradual and "soft" Islamization and the growth of great-power sentiments in the elite and in society began. Restoration of the role of Islam at the state level meant the gradual return of this country to the position of the leader of the Sunni world, which it was during the Ottoman Empire, when the Turkish sultans performed the functions of the ruler of the faithful - caliph.

After that Israel was established in 1948, Turkey became its most important partner in the Middle East. In 1949, Ankara recognized the Jewish state, established official ties, which indicated a pro-Western orientation of Turkey's foreign policy. The first two Israeli prime ministers, David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Charet, spoke in Turkish language. Ben-Gurion studied jurisprudence in Istanbul. Charret served as an officer in the Ottoman army during the First World War. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his right hand - Ismet Inonyu - were the highest officers on the Palestinian front. Ben-Gurion and Atatürk opposed the religious environment in which they were brought up, and both created secular states oriented toward the West. Ben-Gurion's statehood

was in many respects similar to Turkish Kemalism. Both ideologies resisted religious trends and the influence of religion on the daily life of the country.

The main ideological source of anti-Semitism in Turkey was Islamism, left-wing anti-Zionism and right-wing nationalist extremism. Turkish analysts, as a rule, were pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli. Moreover, at that time, the debate over the Middle East conflict in Turkey was often anti-Semitic. The Islamic Welfare Party was the main source of anti-Semitism in Turkey until 1997. At the same time, in the 90s of the 20th century, Turkey as a whole gradually retreated from a large part of Ataturk's political legacy. The atheistic heritage of Ataturk is perhaps the most distinctive element of Turkish society. Islamists, on the other hand, constantly strengthened their positions in Turkey, despite their persecution by secular authorities.

Despite all this, Turkey and Israel needed and need each other. Even the current government, having severed its relations with Israel, understands the need for cooperation with it. Geopolitics and national interests drive the country's foreign policy and as history shows Turkey and Israel need each other and this will continue for a long time.

Turkey, in spite of the entire Muslim world, sought close ties with Israel, apparently for practical reasons. The Turks recalled their past ties with the Jews, saying that they had no problems with Israel and the Jewish people throughout history.

The relations between Turkey and Arab world never been good. The Turks criticized the Arabs for their policy towards Cyprus, they regard the Arabs as unreliable economic partners. In turn, some Arabs often accuse the Ottoman Empire, which dominated the Middle East for four centuries, in their present grave situation. The situation was also complicated by the unresolved territorial problems of Turkey with the two Arab neighboring countries, longstanding enemies of Israel. In the case of Iraq, Ankara did not completely abandon its old demands for the region where Mosul is located. The big problem also exists with Syria, whose government constantly demanded to return the Turkish region of Hatay, considering it its

territory. Problems with Syria go beyond land disputes. Damascus demanded greater rights in the use of the waters of the Euphrates river and objected to a reduction in their volume. The regime in Syria also supported radical movements in Turkey, and especially the Kurds.

For Israel, relations with Turkey provided an opportunity to exit from political and economic isolation in the Middle East and could serve as an example for other Muslim countries. Some analysts believed that Turkey and Israel are the only democratic states in the region and are almost a model of democratic choice. The Israeli-Turkish alliance was very beneficial to the United States. Cooperation between Israel and Turkey for the first time created the possibility of an alliance of pro-American democratic states like the one that existed in Europe. ³⁷

³⁷Olson Galen , Normalizing Turkish-Israeli relations and the possibilities for U.S. involvement , Boston University 2013. P. 12.
available at <http://www.bu.edu/pardeeschool/files/2014/08/Sample-Policy-Paper-2.pdf> accessed on 19.08.2017

6.1 Arabian spring: regional implication

The Arab revolutions that occurred in a number of countries in the Middle East, not only led to the destabilization of this region, but also a fundamental they changed the configuration of regional forces. The specificity of the current situation is that, although the Arabs are the overwhelming majority of the population here, the non-Arab countries exert special influence on the arrangement of regional forces - Iran, Turkey and Israel. Therefore, when analyzing the Arab revolutions and their influence on the regional situation deserves special attention policies of these countries, each of which has its own ambitions and pursues different goals from the Arab states.

Turkey, which claims to be the Middle East leader, tried to take advantage of the turmoil in the Arab world to strengthen its influence in the region, spreading the "Turkish experience" of democratization and liberalization among Islamic states. In accordance with this, Ankara decided to bet on the support of anti-government protest movements, labeling them as democratic, and their position. Such a tactic was designed to represent Turkey as an "outpost of democracy" in the Middle East and establish Ankara-related relations with new forces coming to replace conservative regimes.

The events of the Arab Spring stirred up the Middle East, and Turkey, as one of the leaders of the region, could not stay away from the dialing the power of anti-government protests and the rapidly changing political space. The domino effect of the fall of dictatorial regimes in the Arab countries radically changed the situation in the region. The Arab Spring of 2011 failed to bring democracy, but it provoked a wave of Islamic awakening, serious threats to Israel's interests in Arab and Muslim countries. With their sharp statements, Turkey clearly voiced the Turkish bid for regional leadership, trying to compete with Iran in this.

Turkey has refreshed its social and historical memory of each and every country that experienced change and revolution. The Arab image in Turkish society is in a process of dramatic transformation and re-imagination. Accordingly, a different image is set to replace what has been presented as “the Arab image” or “the Arab world” during the period of the radical modernization in the early Republican era. In the following years, we will probably see that the Turkish social imagination will refresh its memory, coming to erase the negative legacy created by the radical secular modernization.³⁸

"Arab spring", the obvious consequence of which was the transformation not only political regimes, but also a regional subsystem of international relations in the Middle East, opened, in the opinion of Turkish leaders, the possibility of active participation in the formation of a new order in the region. At first glance, the Turkish model, with its emphasis on secularism and democracy, is clearly attractive to a region that has suffered from despotism for decades. However, historical experience and political events in Turkey differ significantly from the Arab countries, which make this model unviable for them. Turkey continues the experiment of embedding Islam in the Western way of life. This has been happening for quite some time, at least since the late Ottoman period and distinguishes the country from most other Muslim countries in the Middle East, which are drowning in the swamp of traditions without any renewal policy.

Another explanation for the political demarche of Turkey could be his pressure through Israel to the European Union to put it before the choice: either Turkey remains a secular state and enters the EU, or is looking for new ways for itself. In this case, the Palestinian issue and rapprochement with the Arab peoples could become a catalyst that will accelerate the positive consideration of its European destiny.

It should be noted that Turkey claimed not only the role of the regional Middle East leader (pushing Iran into the second role), but also the leading country in the Muslim world. Therefore, inaction or compromise with Israel from Ankara would be

³⁸ÖzhanTaha, The Arab Spring and Turkey: The Camp David Order vs. The New Middle East, Research and Information Project Vol. 13 / No. 4 / 2011. P.60.
available at http://file.insightturkey.com/Files/Pdf/insight_turkey_vol_13_no_4_2011_ozhan.pdf accessed 22.08.2017

a blow to its authority. In the years under consideration, Turkey began to pursue an increasingly independent foreign policy, seeking to get rid of the status of the "junior partner" of the United States. The processes that take place in Turkey are, first of all, the desire to create a regional empire and the desire to lead the Muslim masses and unite them under one roof.

A big test for the internal and foreign policy of Ankara was the conflict in Syria, which caused great resonance in all layers of the Turkish society. A direct consequence of the humanitarian crisis in Syria was a stream of refugees - 136 thousand people in the territory Turkey.³⁹

A particular danger for Ankara is the intensification of Kurdish separatism, which received a new impetus from the Syrian Kurds, who announced the creation of autonomy in the north of the country, on the border with Turkey. Thus, interference in the Syrian conflict put Turkey on the brink of an internal political crisis. At the same time, the government's inaction in the foreign policy sphere and the strengthening of anti-terrorism measures directed against the Kurds has a negative impact on its reputation.

Turkish leaders continue to proceed from the fact that, that the consequence of the "Arab Spring" will be a transformation not only political regimes, but also a regional subsystem international relations in the Middle East. What will open Turkey's active participation in the formation of new order in the region? The current state and prospects for the development of the Turkish- Israeli relations cannot be considered out of context foreign policy strategy of Turkey. The country is choice: either it will remain a "soft power" that adheres to the policy of "zero problems with neighbors", including number, while maintaining contacts with Israel, or becomes "Hard power" (which, moreover, has the strongest fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean) with a corresponding negative projection on relations with Israel and neighboring countries.

It should be emphasized that one of the reasons current complications of Turkish-Israeli relations is the desire of Ankara to distance itself from the possible

³⁹Availabe ay <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php> accessed on 25.08.2017

force solution of the Iranian nuclear problem. In general, while maintaining a balanced political course, Turkey has every opportunity to implementation of their interests in the regions of the Middle East and North Africa. And an effective tool for strengthening of its regional positions may be an extension of the economic contacts in conditions of the "paradise" of socio-economic development in the countries of the "Arab Spring" economic development and related redistribution of national wealth.⁴⁰

⁴⁰BertiBenedetta, Israel and the Arab Spring: Understanding Attitudes and Responses to the "New Middle East", Al Mesbar Studies & Research Centre and the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Dubai, United Arab Emirates 2011., P. 145. available at https://www.fpri.org/docs/chapters/201303.west_and_the_muslim_brotherhood_after_the_arab_spring.chapter8.pdf accessed on 24.08.2017

6.2 Realistic resolution

After that Turkey failed its foreign policy as result remained isolated in the region. Zero problems with neighbors and imperial ambitions put Turkey in a difficult position. Even with the good partner in Azerbaijan, there was a cold snap. The Arab spring did not bring the expected fruits to Turkey and only aggravated the situation and many Arab countries treat Turkey as hostile as Egypt, Syria and others. After the relationship between Turkey and Russia worsened, Turkey clearly felt its loneliness in the region and hastened to establish an attitude with neighbors primarily with Israel.

The immediate prospects for solving problems and establishing relations between the parties can be defined as follows:

Turkey position: as already noted, Turkey realizing the current situation de facto abandoned the previous claims.

- a. Turkey still needs the services that Israel provided to it. These are advanced technologies mainly in the military industry (unmanned reconnaissance vehicles, precision radars, communication technologies and many others). Turkey is the second military force in NATO and without supplying these necessary needs the Turkish army is weak.
- b. The main goal of Turkey was and is to become a transit country for between the west and east. First of all, this concerns the transit of energy resources of the East to Europe. This situation significantly affects both the economic growth of the country so to the geopolitical role in the whole world. The economy of Turkey is developing rapidly in particular in the sphere of industry, which indicates the growth of energy demand in Turkey itself. Recent huge finds of gas deposits on the coast of Israel also sobered the Turkish vision. That is, this is one important factor that will affect the interstate relationship. In addition to alternative energy, Turkey wants to be the main transport hub for pumping this gas into Europe.

- c. Turkey still needs a strong Jewish Lobby in America, in contrast to the Armenian. The activity and ambitions of the Armenian lobby are increasing every year. Having lost Israel, Turkey loses the Jewish lobby which is opposed to the Armenian.
- d. The Arab spring not only realized the Turkish plans and set-up only aggravated the situation approaching its border. Now near the border, the hostile Syrian army with the Iranian Hezbollah and the Russian military contingent. This is the worst thing that Turkey could imagine by seeing the Russian presence at the border. Now how can Turkey need an alliance with Israel in the region to counterbalance all this.
- e. The main ally and partner in Transcaucasia were and remains Azerbaijan. No rapprochement with Armenia and good relations with Georgia will give Turkey what Turkey gives. Historically, both these Georgians and Armenians see Turkey as the enemy of the Ottomans. Despite the fraternal attitude Azerbaijan has made it clear to Turkey that the interests of Azerbaijan in the region should not in any way be trampled upon for the sake of Turkey. In addition to all this, Azerbaijan has an entrance to the Turkish world, is one of the buffer zones, a country rich in resources, the main market for turkey industry, and a country where people see Turkey as a brotherly bond.

Israel position:

- a. In this sense, Turkey is still relevant for Israel. The Middle East is a powder keg where Israel is hostile to the neighbors of the Arabs, the technocratic regime of Iran, and radical jihad in Syria, Iraq. In contrast to all this, Turkey has a fairly tense relationship with them. Attempt to play the role of the Caliphate of Turkey was not successful and only helped the situation increase the hostility of the Arabs to the Turks. The bet on moderate Islamists also failed because the same moderate Islamists became a hostile opponent of the policy of the region. Iran is a historical opponent of Turkey, which shows

each rapprochement of these countries is a distrust of each other. So in this regard, Turkey is a natural ally for Israel. Selling advanced military technology in Turkey Israel maintains a balance of power in the region and at the same time earns money on it.

- b. The Russian presence in the Middle East and the maintenance of the Syrian regime by the military contingent are also troubling Israel. In this regard, Israel and Turkey come from a common position.
- c. Israel and Turkey are in general terms allies of the West and the United States. Despite the disagreement between the two countries, they represent the Western inheritance and this brings together both.
- d. Recent discoveries of gas deposits made Israel a major exporter of gas and here the role of Turkey plays an important role. There are already large transit pipelines in Turkey for pumping energy resources to Europe and these pipes will play a decisive role in this regard.

Azerbaijan position:

Despite the fact that the conflict arose between Turkey and Israel, Azerbaijan is more interested in the fact that both countries have found a way out of the situation and reconciled. In this regard, Azerbaijan plays an important mediator role in this conflict.

CONCLUSION

The South Caucasus, especially Azerbaijan, has always been the epicenter of various contradictions interests. This is primarily due to the strategic position and rich resources of this region. Historically was conducted the struggle for the predominance of region by different empires and each time passed from hand to hand. The 20th century gave the indigenous inhabitants a chance to determine their fate. The first ended with the loss of independence and inclusion in the Soviet Russian. The second chance was given after the collapse of the USSR and the current situation of the countries speaks of greater pressure from both regional and non-regional countries.

After the restoration of Azerbaijan's independence, Israel and Turkey were the first states to recognize this independence. Both countries were close to the Azerbaijani people in the context of history. Azerbaijan has established relations with both countries and this has developed its own sovereignty.

In this research paper, the tripartite relationship was analyzed in detail and there are need to summarizing the impact of Turkey on the Israeli-Azerbaijani attitude and its role. Turkey's role in the establishment of relations between Azerbaijan and Israel was. As it was the interest of Israel to strengthen relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan. That is, based on a historical perspective, Turkey was interested in establishing relations between Azerbaijan and Israel. This was dictated by the national interests of Turkey. The beginning of the 90s of the 20th century is a golden epoch between Turkey and Israel. These are the times when the interests of one of them were in the interests of the other. Turkey is interested in strengthening the sovereignty of Azerbaijan; this limits the activities of Russia and Iran in the region. Israel, for its part, contributes to the strengthening of Azerbaijan's defense by this hinders the influence of Iran and Russia in the region. Turkey supports and participates in new projects, especially in the transit of oil, thereby

introducing its influence in the region. Israel lobbies these projects to ensure its energy security. As we see, every state has its own national interests and these interests are very significant in the context of politics.

Turkey is a country with an imperial past and after coming to power the current ruling AKP party imperial ambitions took up. Even relations with former allies in the face of Israel and Azerbaijan were forgotten, and Turkey began to look at these countries from a non-Ottoman point of view. I want to again note that Israel when it was part of Ottoman Empire and Azerbaijan was in the periphery of the interests of the Ottoman Empire. Such a policy did not take long to wait. The attitude of Turkey has cooled not only with Israel but also with Azerbaijan. There was pressure and a statement from the Turkish side to stop Azerbaijan from cooperating with Israel, but this did not work because Azerbaijan has its own vision and in this regard made the right move. Despite fraternal relations with Turkey, Azerbaijan is wary of Turkey itself. Even the call to remove the visa regime did not find the proper response from Azerbaijan. This is primarily due to the fact that Azerbaijan has a negative attitude towards Turkish influence in the sphere of religion in particular. With the help of culture, religion as a whole of soft power, Turkey exports its vision and influence to the country.

The relationship between Azerbaijan and Israel is at a strategic level and this trend will continue in the near future. Azerbaijan has already been invited to participate in new gas fields off the coast of Israel, which indicates that Israel attaches great importance to the state's attitude. The relationship between Turkey and Israel today can be said to be on the right track. In the near future, disagreements will find their solution. This is necessary both for Israel and for Turkey itself, which as a result of its policy is left alone. First of all, it dictates the national interests and security of Turkey.

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