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ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE MIDDLE EAST POLICY OF THE USA AND TURKEY-
ISRAELI RELATIONS
(THE END 20th – THE BEGINNING OF 21st CENTURIES)**

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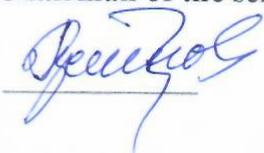
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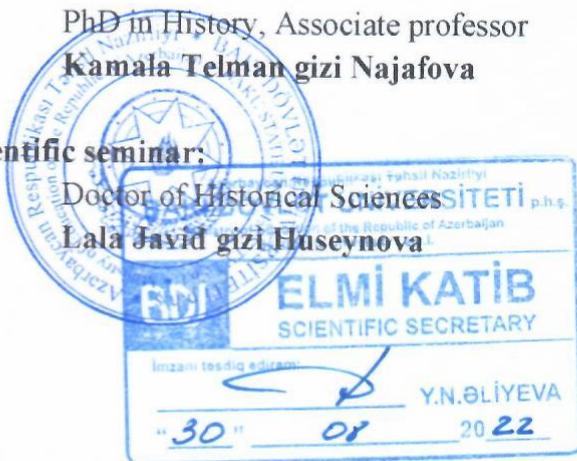


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I.GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Relevance and elaboration of the topic. The Middle East region, which possesses great geostrategic importance has always been the main target of states fighting for world leadership. The region's multi-ethnic background, the predominance of inter-cultural and ethno-confessional conflicts, its favorable geographical location and rich hydrocarbon resources have always kept the Middle East as an object of interest.

The Western world has at various times called the region the East, the Middle East, the Levant, Asia Minor and the Middle East from a political point of view. There was not accurate geographical boundaries of the Middle East region in the foreign policy conception of the U.S. Currently, the Middle East region includes such states as Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain, Israel, Iraq, Yemen, Qatar, Cyprus, Kuwait, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, the Palestinian National Authority, Syria, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Turkey. In the literature of the United States, Britain and other Western countries, the region is called the "Middle East", including Iran and Afghanistan.

Implementing the principles of isolation in foreign policy before World War II, the United States pursued a policy of deterrence against the threat of the USSR in the post-war bipolar world and formed its relations with the countries of the region on the basis of this theory. Regionun The region's two main allies, the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel, played a key role in preventing the spread of the Soviet threat, and their relations with the United States rose to the level of a special and strategic partnership. During the Cold War, the USSR had a large sphere of influence in the Middle East, and the countries of the region, such as Syria and Iraq, established closer ties with this state. As a result, although the Baghdad Pact (SENTO), Truman, Eisenhower, and Carter doctrines justified its strategy of intervention in the region, the United States did not have a full priority in the Middle East for a long time.

In general, the first phase of U.S. policy in the Middle East covers the years of 1945-1971. This period was prominent with such

events as a meeting of U.S. president F.D. Roosevelt and the king of Saudi Arabia Abdel Aziz, the establishment of Israeli state, approachment of U.S.-Iran relations, the entrance of Turkey to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and so on. The second stage of US policy in the Middle East began in 1971 with the deprivation of the last British colony in the region, but this period was short-lived. The Iranian revolution of 1979 played a major role in the dynamics of the region's development, as well as in changing U.S. policy here. As a result, in the third stage, which lasted until 2011, U.S. governments preferred military intervention in foreign policy strategies. The fourth stage of U.S. policy in the Middle East began in the early years of the Obama presidency, based on the theory of "soft power" in foreign policy¹.

One of the main factors increasing the importance of the Middle East for the United States was the state of Israel, established in 1948. Namely with the establishment of the state of Israel there began ethno-confessional and political confrontation in the region, and this conflict between the countries of the region was skillfully used by the world's leading states (especially the United States).

The weakening of the USSR in the 1980s, the subsequent Gulf crisis in the Middle East, and the end of the Cold War as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union created favorable conditions for the U.S. to pursue its national interests in the world and in the region. The U.S. has already become a major power in the monopolar world, and its relations with the countries of the region have continued in a different direction. The Middle East has included to a vital area for the U.S. During this period, U.S. relations with Turkey and Israel, which had developed relations with Arab-Muslim countries in the region, cooled in the first years after the Cold War due to the collapse of the USSR and the disappearance of the Soviet threat. However, Turkey and Israel have tried (and sometimes succeeded) to restore relations with the United States, the founder of the new world

¹ Бирюков, Е. Этапы и инструменты внешней политики США на Ближнем Востоке // – Москва: Международная жизнь, – 2016, №11, – с.85-103.

order, and their policies, as well as events in the Middle East, have contributed to the development of relations between these two countries.

The Middle East region, which has maintained its relevance and importance at all stages of history and the events, occurred in the region made essential the investigation U.S. foreign deals, her relations with the leading states of the region, as well as the bilateral relations of these states.

After the 1st Gulf War the U.S. direct intervention in the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the initiative to find a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem, the implementation of the policy of "double containment" against Iran and Iraq, the weakening of the regime of S.Hussein, different approach to the intensifying Kurdish problem, the realization of relations with Turkey and Israel, one of the main allies in the region, the development of military-political relations between Turkey and Israel after the 1990s, their various measures to maintain regional balance with the U.S. became key components of the system of international relations in the postwar period. The 9/11 events in the United States and the renewal of U.S. policy in the Middle East in the context of the struggle against international terrorism, the intensification of the Jewish lobby and the new conservative factor in U.S. foreign policy, the 2003 Iraq war, U.S. hegemony in the region and the balance of power in the Middle East, the Arab Spring, which began with the aim of democratizing and liberating the Middle East from authoritarian regimes, as well as the formation of new contenders on the basis of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran, as well as their influence to the United States-Israel, the United States-Turkey and Turkey-Israeli relations became major grounds, determining the urgency of the dissertation. In general, U.S. policy in the Middle East and Turkish-Israeli relations cover a wide range of topical issues that need to be investigated. The study of this problem on the basis of these issues has laid the foundation for an objective study of U.S.-Turkey, U.S.-Israel and Turkish-Israeli relations in the framework of the U.S. Middle East policy.

The study of the topic in the history of the Fatherland possesses great importance. Nowadays, the U.S. has priorities in the Middle

East, as well as in the South Caucasus, which has geostrategic importance. Turkey and Israel, two key U.S. allies in the Middle East, have long-term strategic, military, political and economic ties with Azerbaijan. Since the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan, both countries have supported the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on the basis of ensuring the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. We were once again convinced of this during the 44-day Patriotic War, which ended with the victory of the Republic of Azerbaijan. In our opinion, the study of the dynamics of relations between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel, the impact of relations between the two countries on U.S. policy in the Middle East and the South Caucasus can be considered factors that increase the significance of research work.

"U.S. Middle East Policy and Turkish-Israeli Relations (end of the 20th-beginning of the 21st centuries)" has not been the subject of research in Azerbaijani historiography as a separate scientific problem, but only have been conducted in connection with a number of problems in U.S. Middle East policy and US-Turkish relations. The presented dissertation is considered to be the first attempt to solve these scientific problems.

The works of Azerbaijani, Russian, Turkish and Western researchers, mass media, official state documents on interstate relations, as well as electronic database of the U.S. Congress and Turkish Parliament archives were utilized to study the dissertation. In this regard, research related to the study of individual problems concerned to the topic can be divided into 4 groups:

- Research on U.S. Middle East policy;
- Research on U.S. relations with the Republic of Turkey in the context of the Middle East policy;
- Research on U.S. relations with Israeli state on the ground of the Middle East policy;
- Research on Turkish-Israeli relations;

The first group includes research and official government

documents related to the study of U.S. Middle East policy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. First of all, when analyzing the existing literature on the history of the Fatherland, it can be concluded that some issues related to U.S. policy in the Middle East have been touched upon in a number of dissertations and monographs.

The approach to specific issues in the history of the Fatherland can be examined in the works of T.Abbasov, A.Bağirova, as well as co-authored by R.İsmayıl, N.Akhundova, and others². There are reflected such problems as 2003 Iraq war, the Arab Spring and the U.S. policy on the Palestinian problem, the impact of the issue of Iran's nuclear proliferation on U.S. regional policy and so on.

Simultaneously, there are investigated several issues in the dissertation of A.Hajigadirli, entitled "U.S. Middle East policy in the 1990s". The second chapter of this dissertation, which is called "The Role of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East Peace Process in the 1990s" touches the the Madrid Conference and the Oslo Accords, and the first subchapter of the third chapter, entitled "U.S. and several countries of Arab World" examines the U.S.-Iraq relations in the framework of the 1st Gulf War³.

N.Askerova's dissertation, "U.S. Middle East policy in modern times," examines some aspects of U.S. Middle East policy since World War II. Chapter II of the dissertation that is entitled "Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the U.S. Position," states some points about the U.S. efforts to resolve the conflict, her double standards, and her

² Bağirova, A.R. Ərəb baharı: Gözləntilər və reallıqlar / A.Bağirova. – Bakı: Heroqlif, – 2013. – 168 s.; İsmayıl, R. Ərəb ölkələrinin çağdaş tarixi: [2 cilddə] / R.İsmayıl, N.Axundova, A.Bağirova – Bakı: Xəzər Universiteti, – c.1. – 2013. – 400 s.; İsmayıl, R. Ərəb ölkələrinin çağdaş tarixi: [2 cilddə] / R.İsmayıl, N.Axundova, A.Bağirova – Bakı: Xəzər Universiteti nəşriyyatı, – c. 2. – 2018. – 352 s.; Аббасов, Т.Н. О некоторых аспектах внешней политики США в отношении Ирана в конце XX-начале XXI вв. // – Bakı, Strateji təhlil, – 2017, 1–2 (19–20), – s.135–164; Багирова, А.Р. Иракский кризис: внутренние и международные аспекты / А.Багирова. – Баку: Elm və təhsil, – 2017. – 376 с.

³ Hacıqədirli, A.M. XX əsrin 90-cı illərində ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti: / tarix üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. / – Bakı, 2008. – 177 s.

turning a blind eye to Israel's construction of new settlements. The second subchapter of the third chapter, called "The Middle East in U.S. counterterrorism policy," covers the military intervention of the G.W.Bush administration in the Middle East, a different approach to counterterrorism policy under B.Obama, and some issues related to the Arab Spring⁴.

National security strategies belonging to U.S. administrations at various times, reports of strategic research centers and archival documents of the U.S. Library of Congress, as well as works of foreign researchers possess great importance in the study of U.S. policy in the Middle East in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Thus, in each of the U.S. national security strategies the state's Middle East policy and attitude to the processes taking place here were officially announced, and the U.S. regional foreign policy was implemented on the basis of these documents⁵. An analysis of these documents shows that despite the fact that they were announced by different presidents at different times, the basis for the attitude to the region has not changed.

When comparing the works of Russian and Western authors on the study of U.S. policy in the Middle East, it is clear that their approaches to the issues are different. The research of Russian authors on the subject provides extensive information on many

⁴ Əsgərova, N.N. Müasir dövrdə ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti: / tarix üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. avtoreferatı. / – Bakı, 2018. – 30 s.

⁵ A National Security Strategy for a Global Age: [Electronic resource] / The White House. – December, 2000.

URL: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-0012.pdf>;

A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement: [Electronic resource] / The White House. – February, 1995.

URL: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-9502.pdf>;

A National Security Strategy for A New Century: [Electronic resource] URL: <http://clinton2.nara.gov/WH/EOP/NSC/Strategy/>; National Security Strategy: [Electronic resource] / The White House. – May, 2010. URL:

<http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf>; The National Security Strategy of the United States of America: [Electronic resource] / Washington, D.C. – September, 2002.

URL: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-020920.pdf>

issues. In the works of Y.Primakov, V.Pechatnov, A.Manykin, U.Sharipov, M.Xrustalyov, T.Shakleina, I.Zvyagelskaya, V.Sogrin, A.Bogaturov, A.Shumilin and others, the U.S. policy towards Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, the events of the Arab Spring, the meaning of the terms “Islamic fascism” and “axis of evil”, announced by the G.W.Bush administration, nonsupport of the “old Europeans” (Germany and France) to the U.S. during the Iraq war, and the main priorities of Obama's "soft power" policy were announced, the policy of the Russian Federation and the EU in relation to the region, the impact of this policy on the political interests of the U.S. were examined⁶. However, in the works of some Russian authors, either a one-sided approach to the issues is expressed, or contradictory opinions are put forward.

In the works of Western authors, U.S. policy in the Middle East has been studied in a more liberal way, and sometimes the analysis of issues has been given in favor of the U.S. However, there are some authors whose critical approach to U.S. regional policy can be

⁶ Печатнов, В.О. История внешней политики США / В.О. Печатнов, А.С. Манькин – Москва: Международные отношения, 2012. – 672 с.; Примаков, Е.М. Конфиденциально: Ближний Восток на сцене и за кулисами (вторая половина XX- и начало XXI века) / Е.М. Примаков. Москва: Российская газета, – 2012. – 414 с.; Богатуров, А.Д. История международных отношений.1945-2008. Учебное пособие для вузов / А.Богатуров, В.Аверков – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2010. – 520 с.; Звягельская, И.Д. Ближневосточный клинч: Конфликт на Ближнем востоке и политика России / И.Д. Звягельская. – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2014. – 208 с.; Согрин, В.В. США и XX-XXI веках. Либерализм. Демократия. Империя / В.Согрин. – Москва: – Весь мир. – 2015. – 592 с.; Хрусталеv, М.А. Анализ международных ситуаций и политическая экспертиза. Учебное пособие для вузов / М. Хрусталеv. – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2016. – 208 с.; Шаклеина, Т.А. Россия и США в мировой политике. Учебное пособие для студентов вузов / Т. Шаклеина. – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2012. – 272 с.; Шарипов, У.З. Американская концепция «Большого Ближнего Востока» и национальные трагедии на Ближнем и Среднем Востоке / У.З. Шарипов. Москва: Центр стратегической конъюнктуры, – 2014. – 280 с.; Шумилин, А.И. Евросоюз в поисках новой роли на Ближнем Востоке // – Москва: Современная Европа, – 2019. №3, – с.25-35; Шумилин, А.И. Россия на Ближнем Востоке: от экономики к геополитике // – Paris: Russie.Nei.Visions, – 2016, №93, – с.1-30.

considered invaluable for investigating events. For instance, in P.Bennis's book there was confirmed that, before the Iraq war there existed conflicting relationship between U.bin Laden and S.Hussein, and the author proves that the official government overthrew S.Hussein's regime on the basis of imagination⁷. In addition, the book, co-authored by S.W.Hook and J. Spainer, examines the U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East in the 1990s, as well as new doctrines and theories announced after 9/11 events⁸. In general, each of these works, despite some shortcomings, has contributed to a comprehensive study of U.S. Middle East policy in late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Before clarifying the research, referred to the second group, it should be noted that various periods and aspects of U.S.-Turkish relations have been partially studied in the historiography of the Fatherland. For example, the first subchapter of the second chapter of G.Aliyeva-Mammadova's monograph based on this dissertation, and the second chapter, named "Regional problems of Turkish-U.S. relations" focuses on the events in the Middle East, examined the impact of the wars against Iraq in 1991 and 2003 on relations between these two countries⁹.

S.Hajiyev's monograph deals with terrorism in the Republic of Turkey and the PKK's separatist activities at various stages. The main point that connects the work with the dissertation is the operations related to the capture of PKK leader A.Ojalan, the role of the U.S. and Israel in these operations¹⁰.

In E.Cafarov's dissertation, entitled "Military-political aspects of Turkish-U.S. relations in modern times" the first subchapter of the

⁷ Bennis, P. Before and After. US foreign policy and the War on Terrorism / P.Bennis. – New York: Olive Branch Press, – 2003. – 246 p.

⁸ Hook S.W. Amerikan Dış politikası, İkinci Dünya Savaşından Günümüze / S.W. Hook, J.Spainer – İstanbul: İnkilap, – 2014. – 480 s.

⁹ Алиева-Мамедова, Г.С. Отношения Турции и США в условиях нового миропорядка (1991-2007 г.г.) / Г.С. Алиева-Мамедова. – Баку: Н Принт Студия – 2016. – 175 с.

¹⁰ Hacıyev, S.T. Müasir Türkiyədə terror / S.Hacıyev. – Bakı: Adiloğlu, – 2005. –340 s.

third chapter, "Turkey's place in US Middle East policy" and the third subchapter, "The role of the United States in the regulation of Turkish-Israeli relations" illustrate coordination of Turkish-U.S. relations on the basis of some problems of the Middle East region, as well as some military aspects of Turkish-Israeli relations¹¹.

H.Hüseynli's dissertation, entitled "Turkey-NATO relations (90s of 20th-early 21st centuries)" the second subchapter of the first chapter, "Turkey-NATO relations during the 1st Gulf War" there was examined the support of Turkey of U.S. in above-mentioned war as the member of NATO and thus strengthening her position in the Middle East¹².

While studying U.S.-Turkey relations on the basis of U.S. Middle East policy, the works of W.Hale, M.Altunışık, A.Balcı, H.Tuncer and others were evaluated. These works, which reflect various stages of bilateral military-political relations, include Turkey's policy on the Kurdish problem, intensifying in the region after the 1st Gulf War, the "Operation Provide Comfort" and the "Sevres Syndrome", the impact of double standards on U.S. relations with Turkey. It has been utilized to study the nature of the U.S.-Iraq-Turkey "trilateral mechanism" against terrorism, the "model partnership" and Turkey's participation in the "Missile Defense Project" against Iran as well¹³.

The works of political figures of this phase A.Davutoglu, A.Gul, N.Torumtay and M.Abramowitz were used for the study of the subject, as a result of the analysis of memoirs, speeches and opinions mentioned

¹¹ Cəfərov, E.A. Müasir dövrdə Türkiyə-ABŞ münasibətlərinin siyasi aspektləri: / siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. avtoreferatı. / – Bakı, 2017. – 24 s.

¹² Hüseynli, H.A. Türkiyə-NATO münasibətləri (XX əsrin 90-cı illəri-XXI əsrin əvvəlləri): / tarix üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. avtoreferatı. / – Bakı, 2018. – 28 s.

¹³ Balcı, A. Türkiye Dış Politikası. İlkeler, Aktörler, Uygulamalar / A.Balcı. - İstanbul: Etkileşim Yayınları, – 2013. – 344 s.; Tuncer, H. Küreselleşme Döneminde Türk Dış Politikası / H.Tuncer. – İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, – 2016. – 157 s.; Altunışık, M.B. Turkey: Challenges of continuity and change / M.B.Altunışık, Ö.Tür - London: RoutledgeCurzon, – 2005. – 174 p.; Hale, W. Turkey, the U.S. and Iraq / W.Hale. - London: Middle East Institute SOAS, – 2007. 198 p.; Hale, W. Turkish Foreign Policy. 1774-2000 / W.Hale. – London: Frank Cass, – 2000. – 375 p.

here, some aspects of Turkey-U.S. relations were studied¹⁴. The significance of these works is that during the dynamics of the development of U.S.-Turkey relations, these authors witnessed the period; the analysis of events that take place in their theory gives us a basis for assessing the facts in accordance with the period.

Russian and Western scholars have also studied U.S. relations with Israel in the context of Middle East policy and it has been possible to see a different approach to the problem in their works. From the research of Western authors O. Bengio, M. Sterenshis, R. Ben-Haim and M. Felber, J. Mearsheimer and S. Walt, R. Ozarowsky and V. Grabowsky, the impact of the First Gulf War on U.S. policy in Israel, the U.S. intervention in Iraq Israel's position during the intervention and the benefits of this war for Israel, the negative impact of close relations with Israel on U.S. relations with the countries of the region, the events in the region as a result of the Arab Spring infected U.S. relations with Israel, Israel's Syrian policy and recent terrorism are examined in the study of issues such as increased risk¹⁵. The distinguishing feature of the work co-authored by R. Ben-Haym and M. Felber is that the views on the implementation of the peace process to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem are written from a different perspective in accordance with Israeli policy and the facts are slightly distorted.

¹⁴ Abromovitz, M. *Türkiyenin dönüşümü ve Amerikan Politikası* / M.Abromovitz. – Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, – 2001. – 406 s.; Davutoğlu, A. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu* / A.Davutoğlu. – İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, – 2011 – 585 s.; Gül, A. *Yeni Yüzyılda Türk Dış Politikasının Ufukları* / A.Gül. – Ankara: Hayat Kitap Tasarım, – 2007. – 720 s.; Torumtay, N. *Değişen stratejilerin odağında Türkiye* / N.Torumtay. - İstanbul, AD Yayıncılık, – 1996. – 147 s.

¹⁵ Ben-Haim, R. *İsrail hakkında Gerçekler* / R.Ben-Haim, M.Felber – Kudüs: Keter Press, – 2008. – 352 s.; Штереншис М. *История государства Израиль (1896-2005)* / М. Штереншис. Герцлия: İSRADON, – 2005. – 720 с.; Mearsheimer, J. *The Israeli Lobby and US Foreign Policy* / J.Mearsheimer, S.Walt – New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux Publisher, – 2007. – 500 p.; Ozarowski, R. *Arab and Muslim World in International Relations* / R.Ozarowski, W.Grabowski. – Warsaw: Rambler Press, – 2016. – 195 p.

U.S.-Israeli relations were also the object of interest to Russian researchers, the relations between the two countries were studied in depth in the works of I.D.Zvyagelskaya, T.A.Karasova and other authors¹⁶. These works have been utilized to study the contradictions in U.S.-Israeli relations during the Likud party in Israel (under the prime ministry of I. Shamir and B.Netanyahu) and the trends in the U.S.-Israel strategic partnership against the background of events in the Middle East. The distinguishing point of the works of Russian authors, which are rich in historical facts, is the influence of the authors' political sympathies on research and methods of critical approach to problems.

Mutual military, political, economic, trade and other relations between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel have not been comprehensively studied in the history of the country since the 1990s. In this regard, only the example of R.A.Huseynov's dissertation, entitled "Azerbaijan-Turkey-Israel geopolitical triangle - on the issue of strategic partnership" can be cited. In the third subchapter of the first chapter of the dissertation, named "Turkey and Israel - strategic allies in the Middle East", the author covers some aspects of the military-economic relations between two countries, developed in the 90s of the twentieth century¹⁷.

Turkish-Israeli relations have been mostly studied in the works of Turkish authors in the form of separate problems. From this point of view, the works of G.Ozcan, B.Oran, F.Sonmazoglu, H.Chomag, M.Aggun, S.Gundogar and A.Gorgulu, as well as A.Dursunoglu can be considered more important. These works were examined in the objective study of problems such as participation in security issues in the relations between these countries, signing of the Military Training Cooperation Agreement, US-Israel-Turkey partnership on

¹⁶ Звягельская, И.Д. История Государства Израиль / И.Д. Звягельская. Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2012. – 359 с.; Карасова, Т.А. Израиль и США: Основные этапы становления стратегического партнёрства (1948-2014) / Т.А. Карасова. – Москва, Аспект Пресс, – 2015. – 464 с.

¹⁷ Hüseynov, R.Ə. Azərbaycan-Türkiyə-İsrail geosiyasi üçbucağı-strateji tərəfdaşlıq məsələlərinə dair: /siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. avtoreferatı. / – Bakı, 2007. – 21 s.

the "threat beyond the horizon", activities to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, Southeast Anatolia Project, violation of traditional relations during the governing of AKP, the impact of common threats (on Syria and Iran issue), the Kurdish problem and the water problem in the region on bilateral relations¹⁸.

O.Bengio's work is commendable in clarifying the foundations of Israeli-Turkish policy and achieving concrete results. It contains the necessary information to clarify many issues related to bilateral relations¹⁹. For the first time, Turkey's large-scale military cooperation with a non-NATO country (through agreements and military exercises), the two countries' counterterrorism activities, as well as the construction of a direct telephone line, the addition of the term of "diplomacy" to bilateral relations (in the context of the mediation in Syria-Israel negotiations) are clarified in this work. In general, O. Bengio can be included in the list of researchers, who approaches the problems objectively.

M. Abramowitz, who served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey for some time, also clarified how the United States promoted Turkish-Israeli relations and what the close relations between these two countries served the United States in general²⁰. Abramowitz, who witnessed the investigated period, expressed his view-point on U.S. policy in the Middle East and the role of the

¹⁸ Akgün, M. Zor zamanda siyaset: İsrail-Türkiye ilişkileri / M.Akgün, S.S.Gündoğar, A.Görgülü – İstanbul: TESEV, – 2014. – 12 s.; Çomak, H. 21.yüzyılda çağdaş Türk dış politikası ve diplomasisi / H.Çomak. – İzmit: Umuttepe yayınları, – 2010 – 536 s.; Oran, B. Türk dış politikası. Kurtuluş savaşından bu güne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar: [3 ciltde] / B.Oran. – İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, – c. 2 (1980-2001), – 2001. – 637 s.; Oran, B. Türk dış politikası. Kurtuluş savaşından bu güne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar: [3 ciltde] / B.Oran. – İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, – c. 3 (2001-2012), – 2013. – 885 s.; Özcan, G. Türkiye-İsrail ilişkilerinde dönüşüm: Güvenliğin ötesi / G.Özcan. – İstanbul: Tesev yayınları, – 2005. – 187 s.; Sönmezoğlu, F. II. Dünya Savaşından günümüze Türk dış politikası / F.Sönmezoğlu. – İstanbul: DER yayınları, – 2006. – 840 s.

¹⁹Bengio, O. Türkiye-İsrail: Hayalet ittifaktan stratejik işbirliğine / O.Bengio. – İstanbul: Erguvan Yayınevi, – 2009. – 312 s.

²⁰ Abromovitz, M. Türkiyenin dönüşümü ve Amerikan Politikası / M.Abromovitz. – Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, – 2001. – 406 s.

United States in U.S.-Israeli and Turkey-Israeli relations, and tried to prove the correctness of the United States' position on issues as a real politician. In our opinion, this should be considered as a one-sided approach.

Therefore, we have thoroughly investigated the literature sources, and official documents utilized in the study of U.S. policy in the Middle East and Turkey-Israeli relations, as well as did our best to be objective in the analysis and generalization of issues.

Object and subject of research. The definition of the object and subject of the dissertation depends not only on the chosen topic, but also on how the researcher wants to research and think about the topic.

In this regard, the object of the study entitled "The Middle East Policy of the U.S. and Turkey-Israeli Relations (late 20th-early 21st century)" is the investigation of the U.S. Middle East policy in the mentioned chronological framework.

The subject of the research is to determine the mechanism of influence of the American-Turkish, American-Israeli and Turkish-Israeli relations on the U.S. regional policy, as well as the role of the United States in the development of relations between Turkey and Israel. In this regard, as can be seen from the outline of the dissertation, Chapter I discusses U.S. Middle East policy, Chapter II examines the factor of Turkey and Israel in the implementation of U.S. Middle East policy, and Chapter III clarifies the U.S. role in Turkey-Israeli relations.

Goals and objectives of the study. The main goal of the study is to comprehensively study the U.S. Middle East policy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and the impact of this policy on Turkish-Israeli relations and the inclusion of the results in the scientific community.

To solve the problem, the following tasks were defined:

- identification of factors influencing the implementation of the U.S. Middle East policy, priorities and geostrategic interests associated with this policy during the examined period;
- determination of the role of Turkey in the implementation of U.S. policy in the Middle East;

- study the significance of the dynamics of relations with Israel for U.S. policy in the Middle East;
- clarification of the regional policy of the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel, as well as the impact of relations between them on the implementation of U.S. policy in the Middle East;
- defining the role of the United States in the implementation of military-political, economic and trade relations between Turkey and Israel;
- study the causes of tension in relations between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel at the beginning of the 21st century;
- determination of the purpose and role of the United States in resolving discontent and tension between the governments of Turkey and Israel.

Research methods. Various methods were used in the research of the topic. First, some geostrategic interests are analyzed in the context of some of the theories of US foreign policy (new isolationism, privacy, cooperative security, and selective engagement) and principles (double containment, unilaterism, preemptive war, and soft power) and historical processes. Simultaneously, comparative and critical analysis of events and facts was carried out, generalizations were made, scientific objectivity, integrated approach to the study of information and the principle of historicity were observed in order to investigate the essence of the problems raised in the dissertation.

The main provisions of the defense. Taking into account the topical nature of the dissertation, the following provisions were defended:

- The main factors influencing U.S. policy in the Middle East during the examined period are related to the political and economic role and geostrategic significance of the region in the world order.
- Despite the fact that national security strategy papers, reflecting U.S. regional foreign policy have been released by individual presidential administrations, U.S. attitude towards the Middle East have remained unchanged.
- After the Cold War, the U.S. attitude towards Turkey and Israel did not weaken, as was claimed, but, on the contrary, in the new

geopolitical circumstances, the necessity for them increased.

- The alter in Turkey's foreign policy at the beginning of the 21st century led to a cooling of its relations with the United States, but the alliance between these two countries continues.
- Despite the fact that the Republic of Turkey is one of the key factors in U.S. policy in the Middle East, relations between these two countries have become a manifestation of U.S. regional policy.
- Although the State of Israel is the only state in the Middle East to which the United States attaches the greatest importance and has turned its relationship into a "special relationship", there have been some breakthroughs in relations between these countries.
- In the 1990s, the U.S. regional policy influenced the high level of development of military-political, economic and trade relations between Turkey and Israel.
- Along with external factors, the dynamics of the development of Turkey-Israeli relations was significantly influenced by internal factors - the activities of the forces represented in political power.
- Since the political crisis between Turkey and Israel at the beginning of the 21st century contradicts the regional policy of the U.S., the United States acted as the main mediator in reestablishing diplomatic relations between these two countries.

The scientific novelty of the research. All scientific objects grounded in the dissertation were investigated and the following scientific innovations were obtained:

- For the first time in Azerbaijani historiography, Turkey-Israeli relations were comprehensively studied on the basis of the U.S. Middle East policy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as well as the chronology was compiled on the ground of the events that happened.

- Different approaches of researchers from different countries to the U.S. Middle East policy and Turkey-Israeli relations were identified, their comparative analysis was carried out, and these materials were included in scientific circulation.

- On the basis of foreign policy doctrines and theories, the factors influencing U.S. policy in the Middle East are analyzed, and it is proved that the regional policy of the state remains unchanged.

- The reasons for the unchanged attitude of the United States towards Turkey and Israel after the end of the Cold War are justified in the context of the new regional policy.

- On the basis of facts, it has been proven that the U.S.-Turkey relations, which are one of the key factors of U.S. policy in the Middle East, are a product of regional policy.

- The role of the state of Israel in the political processes in the Middle East was revealed, the reasons for the break in U.S.-Israeli relations were investigated.

- The military-political, trade-economic and other spheres of relations between Turkey and Israel were systematically studied, and the role of the United States in the development of bilateral relations, both from the negative and from the positive points, was substantiated.

- Based on the facts, the internal and external factors influencing the dynamics of the development of Turkey-Israeli relations have been studied.

Theoretical and practical significance of the research. The materials reflected in the research possesses great theoretical importance. U.S. Middle East policy and Turkey-Israeli relations have been studied on the basis of historical sources, signed agreements and doctrines, as well as theory and other materials. The scientific novelty of the research increases its practical significance for its use by historical institutions and state bodies implementing foreign policy. Recommendations on the application of scientific results can be used by government agencies involved in historical research, international relations, regional studies, political science, as well as foreign policy. Research and scientific findings on U.S. Middle East policy, U.S.-Turkey, U.S.-Israel and Turkey-Israel relations can be utilized in the preparation of lectures.

Approbation and application. Presented 5 reports at national and international scientific conferences on the main provisions of the dissertation (3 of them were published as international conference materials in foreign languages), and published 7 articles (2 of them in abroad) in such in the scientific-theoretical and scientific-methodical journals as "History and its problems", "Baku University News.

“Humanitarian sciences series”, “History, Man and Society”, “News of the National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirza Ulugbey”, as well as “Al-Farabi Kazakh National University”. Simultaneously, was announced the winner of the inner "50 + 50" grant project of BSU on the topic related to the problems arising from the research.

Name of the organization where the dissertation was carried out. The dissertation work was carried out at the "Department of new and modern history of European and American countries" of Baku State University.

The total volume of dissertation. The dissertation consists of an Introduction, three chapters, each consisting of two subchapters, Conclusion, Literature used, Additions, Abbreviations and symbols. The dissertation includes 287823 characters, with an introduction of 30074 characters, Chapter I 86647 characters, Chapter II 74926 characters, Chapter III 78580 characters, and Conclusion 17596 characters.

II. MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The introduction substantiates the relevance of the topic, analyzes the sources and literature used, defines the goals and objectives of the dissertation, reflects the innovations obtained and the main provisions defended, and shows the theoretical and methodological basis and practical significance.

The first chapter, consisting of two subchapters, is entitled **“U.S. Middle East Policy at the end of 20th and the beginning of 21st centuries”**. The first subchapter, entitled **“The end of the Cold War and U.S foreign policy priorities in the Middle East”** clarifies the goals and objectives of the United States in the Middle East and examines foreign policy priorities. First, the Gulf crisis, which stimulated the formation of new processes in the region, analyzed the priorities of the Middle East region, which has always been the main goal of the U.S. geostrategic and historical candidates for world hegemony. In addition, the 1st Gulf War was studied,

defining the role and policy of the United States in this war. Features of the U.S. partnership with the Arab Axis coalition during the war²¹, The reasons for the George H.W.Bush administration's failure to overthrow the Hussein regime in Iraq have also been clarified from a broad perspective. Simultaneously, the four key theories that emerged in U.S. foreign policy after the Gulf Crisis (new isolationism, privacy, cooperative security, and selective engagement)²², A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement²³, announced by Clinton administration, and A National Security Strategy for A New Century²⁴ state that the U.S. strategy for the use of force in the Middle East has not changed, only some adjustments have been made.

Among the issues discussed in the first subchapter are the Clinton administration's "Dual Containment" policy, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the "Oslo Peace Accords" initiative to resolve the Palestinian problem. The "Dual Containment" policy, formed during the Carter administration against Iraq's territorial claims and Iran's revolutionary ideology, was further expanded by the Clinton administration. The U.S. government, which has relied heavily on economic diplomacy against Iran, has pursued a tougher strategy against Iraq, a "no-fly zone" set up to protect Kurds who helped the United States during the 1st Gulf War, according to a UN Special Committee (UNSCOM) investigation. The role of Hussein's regime in the region has been weakened. Instead, the Oslo peace process led

²¹ Родригес-Фернандес, А.М. «Ось Арабских государств» в Кувейтском кризисе 1990-1991 гг.: предпосылки и процесс формирования // – Москва: Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия Международные отношения, – 2016, 16 (4), – с.726-735. – с.729.

²² Oran, B. Türk dış politikası. Kurtuluş savaşından bu güne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar: [3 ciltde] / B.Oran. - İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, – с. 2 (1980-2001), – 2001. – 637 s. – s.247.

²³A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement: [Electronic resource] / The White House. – February, 1995.

URL:<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-9502.pdf>

²⁴ A National Security Strategy for A New Century: [Electronic resource]

URL: <http://clinton2.nara.gov/WH/EOP/NSC/Strategy/>

to the signing of the "Declaration of Principles" between the Israeli-Palestinian Liberation Organization, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Jordan and Israel in 1994, which strengthened Israel's position in the region. The new neocon and the New American Century Project (PNAC)²⁵ have also played an important role in the implementation of U.S. policy, which aimed at strengthening the position of the state of Israel in the region. The first subchapter examines the influence of neoconservatives and think tanks on U.S. foreign policy and the ideas of forces opposing their policies, as well as the documents, doctrines, and theories of national security strategy that form the basis of U.S. regional policy.

The second half of the chapter, **“New political perspectives of the U.S. in the Middle East at the beginning of the 21st century”** discusses the changes in U.S. policy in the Middle East since 9/11 events and the new political views of the George W. Bush, Obama and Trump administrations on the region. The mechanisms by which these innovations affect U.S. regional policy have been explored. After the 9/11 events, the Bush administration came up with new ideas and theories in the fight against international terrorism, which were mainly the concepts of “Axis of Evil”²⁶, “preemptive war” and “unilateralism”²⁷. In the formation of these theories, the so-called “shadow government” of the United States - think tanks²⁸ (American

²⁵ PNAC: Statement of Principles : [Electronic resource] / — June 3, 1997.

URL:<https://www.rrojasdatabank.info/pfpc/PNAC---statement%20of%20principles.pdf>

²⁶ Bennis, P. Before and After. US foreign policy and the War on Terrorism / P.Bennis. – New York: Olive Branch Press, – 2003. – 246 p. – s.179.

²⁷ Bush, G.W. Remarks by the President at 2002 Graduation Exercise of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York : [Electronic resource] / – June 1, 2002. URL: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/westpoint.htm>; The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. : [Electronic resource] / Washington, D.C. – September, 2002.

URL:<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-020920.pdf>

²⁸ Ezzat, İ. Arab and American Think Tanks: New possibilities for cooperation? New Engines for Reform?: [Electronic resource]

URL:[https://undocs.org/ru/S/RES/687\(1991\)https://www.brookings.edu/wp-](https://undocs.org/ru/S/RES/687(1991)https://www.brookings.edu/wp-)

Institute of Enterprises (AEI), Carnegie Endowment, Institute for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Washington Institute for the Middle East, and etc.), as well as many politicians in the “cabinet of stars” of G.W.Bush administration have played a major role in pursuing policies based on neocon (new conservative) ideology. It should be noted that during the period, both in inter-party discussions and in the debates in the US Congress, most Democrats supported the foreign policy concept of the presidential administration.

The second subchapter examines the reasons and real intentions of the G.W.Bush administration's intervention in Iraq and the overthrow of Hussein's regime, deepening of ethno-confessional tensions and the strengthening of the Kurdish and Shiite factors here. In fact, the overthrow of the BAAS government in Iraq exacerbated ethno-religious tensions, strengthened the Kurdish and Shiite factors, and increased Iran's influence in the Middle East.

The study of the Greater (Enlarged) Middle East Project²⁹ was also an important point during G.W.Bush's presidency. The project envisages expanding the U.S. sphere of influence in the Middle East and extending the political map of the Middle East from Morocco to Mauritania and Afghanistan (covering 24 countries). In order to implement the project, U.S. political circles have relied on strengthening Israel's position in the region and using the Kurdish factor. However, research in the subchapter has shown that the G.W.Bush administration's Middle East policy has failed due to changes in the region and the weakening of political influence after the U.S. military intervention in Iraq.

The activities of the Obama administration, which took office in 2009, both in foreign policy and in relation to the Middle East, are among the issues studied in the subchapter. The Obama adminis-

<content/uploads/2016/06/ibrahim20041001.pdf> 34 pages/ p.20-25

²⁹ Partnership for Progress and Common Future with the Region of the Broader Middle East and North Africa: [Electronic resource]

URL: <http://www.2001-2009.state.gov/e/lebrls/fs/33375.htm>

tration's reliance on the idea of “soft power”³⁰ in its foreign policy, its change of view-point on Iraq and Iran in the context of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq and dialogue with the moderate H.Rouhani government of Iran distinguished it from the G.W.Bush administration has formed a sense that the United States is pursuing a more moderate policy towards the Middle East. However, the fact that the Arab Spring, which has been raging in the Middle East since 2011, as well as the attitude of Obama administration to the events justified that, the U.S. have a common strategy, despite the different tactics of the governments.

The subchapter also looks at the Middle East policy and some interesting points of the U.S. Republican leader D.Trump. Research clarifies that the Trump administration, unlike its predecessor, has pursued a conservative Republican-style policy and returned to the previous political line of U.S. administrations in relation to states that play an important role for the United States in the Middle East. During Trump's presidency, relations with Iran were re-established under economic sanctions, the United States withdrew from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)³¹ and pursued a pro-Israel policy in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem.

Thus, after analyzing the events of the examined period and studying various sources, we come to the conclusion that the administrations that ruled the United States at different times had a common approach to the Middle East. Although presidential administrations have different tactics for doing this, they served a common strategy: to dominate the Middle East, in which all the major powers of the world are concentrated, to form societies and regimes in the region that serve the ideology of the United States, to

³⁰ Печатнов, В.О. История внешней политики США / В.О. Печатнов, А.С. Манькин - Москва: Международные отношения, 2012. – 672 с. – с.635.

³¹ Ponamm M. Saudi Arabia-Shift in Strategic Focus: [Electronic resource] / Center for Air Power Studies (CAPS). – April 30, 2016. [URL:https://www.academia.edu/38305170/Saudi_Arabia_Shift_in_Strategic_Focus_pdf](https://www.academia.edu/38305170/Saudi_Arabia_Shift_in_Strategic_Focus_pdf)

ensure the sustainability of ethno-confessional and political conflicts in order to prevent the escalation of any of them³². However, recent developments in the international system and the measures taken have shown that this will not be easy for the United States.

The second chapter, which consists of two subchapters, is entitled **“The role of Turkey and Israel in the implementation of U.S. Middle East policy after the Cold War”**. The first subchapter, called **“The factor of Turkey in the U.S. Middle East policy”**, examines the characteristics of U.S. political, diplomatic and military relations with the Republic of Turkey in the context of Middle East policy. Here were clarified such issues as Turkey's policy during the 1st Gulf War, which coincided with T.Ozal's presidency and the peculiarities of its relations with the United States, their mutual political interests, the Kurdish problem in the region in the 1990s, the “Operation Provide Comfort”³³ and “Poised Hammer”³⁴, the impact of the expanding relations between these two countries on U.S. Middle East policy and Turkey's role in the region.

³² Abbasova-Quliyeva, A.Z. Yaxın Şərqdə baş verən proseslərdə ABŞ amili (1991-2001) // Beynəlxalq münasibətlərin aktual problemləri, – Bakı: – 25 oktyabr, – 2019, – s.74-77; Abbasova-Guliyeva, A.Z. Approach of the US administration to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict after the 9/11 events // The Third International Conference on Israel and Judaism Studies, - İzmir, Turkey, – November 8-10, – 2019, – p.167-168; Abbasova-Quliyeva, A.Z. Birinci Körfəz müharibəsinin araşdırılması zəminində ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti // Doktorantların və gənc tədqiqatçıların XXIII Respublika Elmi Konfransı, – Bakı: – 3–4 dekabr, –2019, – s.5-6; Abbasova-Quliyeva, A.Z. Donald Tramp administrasiyası dövründə ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti: Türkiyə və İsrailə münasibətlər // – Bakı: Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət. Elmi-nəzəri və elmi-metodik jurnal, –2020. № 2 (29), – s.3-9; Abbasova-Guliyeva, A.Z. From the history of neoconservatives: The turning point in the US Middle East policy // – Тошкент: УзМУ Хабарлари. Мирза Улукбек Номидаги Узбекистон Миллий Университети Илмий Журнали, 2020, 1/2/1, – p.4-6; Abbasova-Guliyeva, A.Z. A historical view of the U.S. Middle East policy: The period of Obama administration // – Almaty: al-Farabi Kazakh National University: History, – 2021. № 4 (103), – p.14-25.

³³ Hale, W. Turkish Foreign Policy. 1774-2000 / W.Hale. – London: Frank Cass, – 2000. – 375 p. – s.222.

³⁴ Tuncer, H. Küreselleşme Döneminde Türk Dış Politikası / H.Tuncer. – İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, – 2016. – 157 s. – s.34.

Research in the subchapter shows that U.S.-Turkey relations, which the United States calls a "strategic partnership," have not served this purpose at all. In relations between these two countries, the provision was preferred to mutual interests (especially the United States) - maintaining stability in the eastern branch of NATO and in the Middle East, supporting Israel and ensuring a stable flow of oil to the region, and etc. A prime example of this was the 2003 Iraq War. Despite Turkey's unconditional support for the United States in the fight against terrorism and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, the "1st of March Bill" and "Hood Event"³⁵ incidents during the Iraq War caused a deep crisis in bilateral relations for the first time since the 1970s and created a dilemma. In addition, disagreements between the U.S. and Turkey are reflected in Turkey's policy towards Iran. Despite U.S. calls for Turkey to engage in containment of Iran and mini-mize its relationship with this Muslim state, the Turkish government has sought to maintain relations with Iran under the "zero problems with neighbors"³⁶ theory. Turkey even took an active part in the JCPOA project, which was founded under the Obama administration. However, studies show that U.S.-Turkey relations are based on mistrust and antagonism, especially during the second phase of the Obama presidency. The main reason for this was the Arab Spring in the Middle East at that time, the threat of ISIS and the Kurdish problem. Turkey's strategic military partnership with Russia has exacerbated tensions under the Trump administration as well.

In general, the study and analysis of the military-political and diplomatic relations of the United States with the Republic of Turkey on the basis of U.S. policy in the Middle East leads us to the conclusion that at different times the term "strategic", "enhanced"

³⁵ Balbay, M. İrak Bataklığında Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri / M.Balbay. – İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitap Kulübü, – 2004. – 456 s. – s.159-160; T.B.M.M. Tutanak Dergisi. 39-uncu birleşim.BİM 2 1 2003-03-20T12:25:00Z 2003-03-20T12:25:00Z 18 10158 57901 TBMM 482 115 71106 9.3821 0 6 nk 6 nk 0.: [Elektronik kaynak] / - 1 mart, 2003. URL: <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem22/yil1/bas/b039m.htm>

³⁶ Davutoğlu, A. Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu / A.Davutoğlu. – İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, – 2011 – 585 s.

and “model” partnership, although Turkey is a partner of the United States in NATO and one of the main military bases in the Middle East, this bilateral relationship was a “product” of US regional policy. The fact that the steps taken by the United States in the region are often contrary to Turkey's interests makes it clear that no strategic partnership is possible³⁷.

The second subchapter, entitled **“The impact of U.S.-Israeli relations on political circumstances in the Middle East”** examines key aspects of U.S. relations with Israel in the context of U.S. policy in the Middle East, which is considered by world powers to be a force for security and security. Relations between these two countries at various stages of history have been called “restrained relations”, “informal cooperation”, “de facto alliance”, and “special relations”. Israel can also be considered the U.S. “closest non-NATO ally”. However, U.S.-Israeli political relations have not always been stable, and sometimes there have been tensions. However, these tensions have never had a negative impact on military-economic relations between these two countries.

The subchapter analyzes important factors characterizing U.S.-Israeli relations (common strategic interests, common interests, political influence of U.S. Jews, peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, security of the state of Israel, implementation of economic factors). The reasons why the United States did not use Israeli aid during the 1st Gulf War were clarified, as well as special U.S. military cooperation with the Jewish state during the 2003 U.S. intervention in Iraq.

As in relations with Turkey, the turning point in U.S. relations with Israel coincided with Obama's presidency. This turning point was marked mainly by negative moments and confrontation. The

³⁷ Abbasova-Quliyeva, A.Z. Donald Tramp administrasiyası dövründə ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti: Türkiyə və İsrailə münasibətlər // – Bakı: Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət. Elmi-nəzəri və elmi-metodik jurnal, – 2020. № 2 (29), – s.3-9; Abbasova-Quliyeva, A.Z. Turqut Özəlın prezidentliyi dövründə ABŞ-Türkiyə münasibətləri: Körfəz müharibəsi // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri, Humanitar Elmlər Seriyası, – 2020. № 2, – s.113-120.

chapter examines the processes that took place during the Obama administration and the reasons for the deterioration of U.S. relations with Israel, such as the U.S. President's attitude to the peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and more liberal policy on Iran, as well as the events of the Arab Spring. This is due to the fact that the views of the regimes contradict the views of the Israeli government. The Trump administration has reaffirmed Israel's position on many issues that caused tensions between two countries during his predecessor's presidency, and has been hailed by B.Netanyahu's government as "Israel's closest friend in the White House to nowadays"³⁸.

Therefore, U.S. relations with Israel, one of the most stable, reliable and close allies in the Middle East, have gone through many stages since the 1990s, rising to "special relations" in the fight against terrorism after 9/11 events. However, as a result of changes in U.S. policy in the Middle East during Obama's presidency, as well as the Palestinian problem, Iran's nuclear program and the events in the Arab Spring, U.S.-Israeli relations have entered a period of confrontation and conflicts. The rise of anti-american sentiment in the Arab world as a result of the policies of the new religious governments in the Middle East has also weakened Israel's position in the region. However, the economic and military partnership between the United States and Israel has always developed normally. During the Trump administration, many aspects of the previous government's policy toward Israel changed, and tensions in U.S.-Israeli political and diplomatic relations eased³⁹.

The third chapter, entitled **“Turkey-Israeli relations and the United States in the context of a new circumstances of inter-**

³⁸ Gilboa, E. Trump: The Most Pro-Israel President in American History: [Electronic resource] / – July 8, 2020.

URL:<https://spectator.clingendael.org/en/publication/trump-most-pro-israel-president-american-history>

³⁹ Abbasova-Quliyeva, A.Z. Donald Tramp administrasiyası dövründə ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti: Türkiyə və İsrailə münasibətlər // – Bakı: Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət. Elmi-nəzəri və elmi-metodik jurnal, – 2020. № 2 (29), – s.3-9.

national relations in the Middle East” consists of two subchapters. The first subchapter, entitled **“The role of the United States in the development of Turkey-Israeli relations at the end of the 20th century”** identified the role of the United States in the implementation of relations between these two countries. The research in the subchapter suggests that relations between Turkey and Israel play a role of model in building bilateral relations with other Muslim countries in the region, and that trilateral cooperation between the United States, Israel, and Turkey will help the United States to military interference in the event of any future crisis in the Middle East. The possibility of securing an alliance, Turkey's ability to put pressure on Israeli-Syrian talks, and the inclusion of Jordan-like U.S.-leaning states in the Middle East's regional security system under the influence of Turkey-Israeli relations have increased the importance of developing relations between these two countries.

One of the key points to be explored in Turkish-Israeli relations in the 1990s was the military-strategic partnership. Military cooperation between these two countries has manifested itself in a number of agreements, including the 1996 the Military Training Cooperation Agreement (MTCA)⁴⁰ and the Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement (DICA)⁴¹, joint air and naval exercises, and strategic dialogue and meetings in subsequent years. The 1998 "Reliable Mermaid" naval exercise further strengthened U.S.-Israeli-Turkey trilateral cooperation, and even the N.Erbakan government, which opposed the expansion of relations with Israel, continued the relationship with Jewish state in normal circumstances.

Relations between these two countries have been strengthened not only by military-political and strategic relations, but also by economic, trade and tourism cooperation. Trade relations between Turkey and Israel reached their peak point in 1996, when they signed the Agreement on Trade, Economic, Industrial and Technical

⁴⁰ Kıran, A. Türkiye-İsrail ilişkileri ve üçüncü taraf endişeleri // - İstanbul: Birikim dergisi, –2000. № 140, – s.78-88. – s.81.

⁴¹Çomak, H. 21.yüzyılda çağdaş Türk dış politikası ve diplomasisi / H.Çomak. – İzmit: Umuttepe yayınları, – 2010 – 536 s. – s.413.

Cooperation, the Agreement on Prevention of Double Taxation, the Agreement on Mutual Promotion and Protection of Capital Investments. In March 1996, the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) was signed, and in December, the “Agreement on Mutual Assistance of Customs Offices”⁴² was signed. During this period, about twenty agreements were signed between Turkey and Israel in the field of education, culture and tourism, and round tables were organized for the exchange of views between scientists. Even the Suleyman Demirel Chair on Modern Turkish Studies was established in June 1999 at Moshe Dayan University in Israel⁴³.

Therefore, as a result of the research, we can say that the political, military-strategic, economic and trade relations between Turkey and Israel reached their peak point in the 90s of the 20th century and developed.

The second subchapter, entitled “**Turkey-Israeli Relations at the beginning of the 21st century: from partnership to contradiction**” examines the reasons why partnership-based Turkey-Israeli relations entered a new century of conflict and reflects U.S. efforts to normalize relations. Investigation in the subchapter show that Turkey-Israeli relations deteriorated during the Justice and Development Party (AKP) (although the construction of a "red line" between the two countries raised the likelihood that relations would continue in the first years). It was stated that “Mavi Marmara” and the “low seat” events deepened the crisis. The attitude and reports of the international community have exacerbated tensions between these two countries.

Three main reports have been prepared on the “Mavi Marmara” events. The report, prepared by retired Jewish scholar Y. Turkel, was more pro-Israel⁴⁴. Another report was published by the UN

⁴² Berksoy, B.O. Sektörel Olarak Komşu Ülkelerde Türkiyenin Ticaret Potansiyeli / B.O.Berksoy. – İstanbul: İstanbul Ticaret Odası Yayınları, – 2012 – 170 s. – s.49.

⁴³ Robins, P. Takım elbiseler ve uniformalılar / P.Robins. – Ankara: Arkadaş, – 2003. – 385 s. – s.250.

⁴⁴ Gaza Flotilla Incident: The Turkel Commission Report : [Electronic resource] / – January 23, 2011.

Commission on Human Rights, which concluded that Israel's use of inappropriate and incredible violence was a refutation of the Turkel report⁴⁵.

The third most controversial report on the Mavi Marmara incident was the Palmer Report, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly Commission of Inquiry. The 105-page report was submitted to the UN in July 2011⁴⁶. According to the report, Israel's siege of Gaza was considered legitimate, the resistance of the crew was considered irresponsible, and the death toll from the military intervention was unacceptable⁴⁷. Following this report, a statement by the Turkish Foreign Minister reduced relations with Israel to the level of Second Secretary, suspended the implementation of military agreements between these two countries, appealed to the International Court of Justice in The Hague to recognize the siege, and demanded an apology and compensation from the families of the victims⁴⁸. However, U.S. President Barack Obama again acted as a mediator in the restoration of political and diplomatic relations between Turkey and Israel. During his visit to Israel, Prime Minister B.Netanyahu called Turkish Prime Minister R.T.Erdogan and

URL:<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-turkel-comission-report-january-2011/>

⁴⁵ Erdurmaz, S. BM İnsan Hakları Komisyonu Mavi Marmara gemisi soruşturmasıSonuç Raporu Türkiye iddiaları Doğrultusunda sonuçlanmıştır: [Elektronik kaynak] / Türksam. – 23 Eylül, 2010.

URL:<http://turksam.org/bm-insan-haklari-komisyonu-mavi-marmara-gemisi-sorusturmasi-sonuc-raporu-turkiye-iddialari-dogrultusunda-sonuclanmistir>

⁴⁶ Aksar, Y. Birleşmiş Milletler Palmer (Mavi Marmara) Raporu ve Uluslararası hukuk // - İstanbul: Uluslararası ilişkiler Dergisi, – 2012, 9 (33), – s. 23–40.

⁴⁷ Report of the International Fact-finding Mission to Investigate Violations of International Law, Including International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law, Resulting from the Israeli Attacks on the Flotilla of Ships Carrying Humanitarian Assistance: [Electronic resource] / A/HRC/15/21. – September 22, 2010. –p. 53.

URL: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4cd3a8e32.html>

⁴⁸ Oran, B. Türk dış politikası. Kurtuluş savaşından bu güne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar: [3 ciltde] / B.Oran. - İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, – c. 3 (2001-2012), – 2013. – 885 s. – s.443.

apologized for the events in Mavi Marmara. On June 26, 2016, the Parliament approved the “Procedural Compensation Agreement”⁴⁹.

Investigation shows that, the U.S. position on the Middle East peace process during the Trump administration has led to renewed tensions in Turkey-Israeli relations⁵⁰. The drafting of a bill by the UN General Assembly on December 21, 2017, at the request of Turkey and Yemen, against the decision of the United States to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (the bill was vetoed by the United States) has again complicated Turkey-Israeli relations.

At the beginning of the 21st century, economic, trade and cultural cooperation between Turkey and Israel was also unique. A number of areas of economic cooperation have been affected by tensions between these two countries and have weakened in some aspects. The only area, which was unaffected by the 2011-2016 diplomatic crisis between Turkey and Israel was trade sphere. Even at the height of political and diplomatic relations, Turkish-Israeli trade relations were not frozen, the FTA that signed in 1996 was not abolished, and imports and exports between two countries did not decrease.

Therefore, as a result of the research, it can be concluded that the relations between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel have both developed and intensified at different times due to regional and international events, repeatedly were on the verge of crisis, but relations have continued. The United States has played an important role in these relations, these two countries have become the most

⁴⁹ Türkiye-İsrail Siyasi İlişkileri: [Elektronik kaynak]

URL: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-israil-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa>

⁵⁰ Gilboa, E. Trump: The Most Pro-Israel President in American History: [Electronic resource] / – July 8, 2020.

URL: <https://spectator.clingendael.org/en/publication/trump-most-pro-israel-president-american-history>; Ziadeh, R. Trump and the Occupied Syrian Golan Heights: [Electronic resource] / – March 25, 2019.

URL: <http://arabcenterdc.org/viewpoint/trump-and-the-occupied-syrian-golan-heights/>

reliable military-economic partner in the Middle East, and they have worked together in various fields. Turkey-Israeli relations have deteriorated since the AKP came to power in Turkey due to the government's tough stance on the Palestinian issue and its distinctive view-point on the Kurdish issue in the region, resulting in political and diplomatic relations falling to the level of charge d'affaires representation⁵¹. Although the development of Turkey-Israeli bilateral relations is coincided with U.S. interests in the Middle East, her geostrategic priorities in the region and the measures she has taken in recent years have sometimes prevented the settlement of relations between these two countries.

In Conclusion, the results of the study were summed up, appropriate generalizations were made, and forecasts on the topic were given.

The main content of the dissertation is reflected in the following published scientific works of the author:

1. Turkey-Israeli relations on the ground of the Middle East Conflict and the USA // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri. Nəzəri, elmi, metodik jurnal, – 2011, №2, – p.228-237.
2. Türkiyə-İsrail münasibətlərinin tarixi və ABŞ // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri, Humanitar Elmlər Seriyası, – 2013. № 2, – s.163-168.

⁵¹ Abbasova-Guliyeva, A.Z. Bilateral relations between İsrail and Turkey during the administration of Justice and Development Party // The Second International Conference on İsrail and Judaism Studies, – Bandırma, Turkey, – October 27-29, – 2018, – p.79-95; Abbasova-Quliyeva, A.Z.XX əsrin sonu-XXI əsrin əvvəllərində Türkiyə və İsrail arasında iqtisadi əlaqələr // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri, Humanitar Elmlər Seriyası, – 2019. № 1, – s.178-186; Abbasova-Guliyeva, A.Z. Military partnership between the Republic of Turkey and Israeli state in the context of the U.S. Middle East policy in the 90s of the 20th century // 1 Millet, 6 Devlet, Ortak Medya Uluslararası Sosyal və Beşeri Bilimler Kongresi, - Bakü: 17-18 Kasım, – 2021, – s.85–86.

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7. Birinci Körfəz müharibəsinin araşdırılması zəminində ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti // Doktorantların və gənc tədqiqatçıların XXIII Respublika Elmi Konfransı, – Bakı: – 3–4 dekabr, – 2019, – s. 5-6.
8. Donald Tramp administrasiyası dövründə ABŞ-ın Yaxın Şərq siyasəti: Türkiyə və İsraillə münasibətlər // – Bakı: Tarix, insan və cəmiyyət. Elmi-nəzəri və elmi-metodik jurnal, – 2020. № 2 (29), – s. 3-9.
9. Turqut Özalın prezidentliyi dövründə ABŞ-Türkiyə münasibətləri: Körfəz müharibəsi // – Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri, Humanitar Elmlər Seriyası, – 2020. № 2, – s.113-120.
10. From the history of neoconservatives: The turning point in the US Middle East policy // – Тошкент: УзМУ Хабарлари. Мирза Улукбек Номидаги Узбекистон Миллий Университети Илмий Журнали, – 2020, 1/2/1, – p.4-6.
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12. A historical view of the U.S. Middle East policy: The period of Obama administration // – Almaty: al-Farabi Kazakh National University: History, –2021. № 4 (103), – p.14-25.

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