

UOT 41.25.67**NEW PERIOD ON U.S. - ISRAEL “SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP” ...?****B.E.NABIYEV*, F.A.ALİBEYLI*****Baku State University***bextiyar030@hotmail.com****alibeylifarida93@gmail.com*

If we look through the historical background, deep-rooted relations between the United States (U.S.) and Israel would be witnessed. Since 1948 - the establishment of the state of Israel, U.S. presidents do their best, especially for the security of the newly established state and for the formation of close U.S. - Israeli relations. Of course, such a close military, economic and political relationship with Israel is connected directly with the U.S. Middle East policy. On the other hand, Israel has many regional security concerns and tries to arrange U.S. and Israeli policies to address these concerns. But relations with Israel, which is considered as the closest ally of the U.S. have soured since President Barack Obama came to power. The main reason for this is Washington's position on the Iranian nuclear program. How can we call the nuclear agreement: Obama's "historic opportunity" or Netanyahu's "historic mistake"?

Key words: Barack Obama, U.S., Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, nuclear issue, Iran, bi-lateral relations, security concerns

A brief history of Israel: UN Partition Plan – Resolution 181

In the time period from the emergence of the State of Israel to the Six-Day War, American leaders generally viewed the newly established Jewish state as a burden cast upon the United States. On November 29, 1947 the United Nations (UN) General Assembly accepted Resolution 181 on the partition of Palestine. Even during the establishment of the relations with Israel, there was a difference of opinion among the political elite in the United States. Harry S. Truman, president of the United States, eventually played a crucial role on the decision making process, who made negotiations with the leadership of the State Department for making a decision on the recognition of Israel. Secretary of State, George C. Marshall and Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal opposed the creation of Israel. Oil, numbers and history were the major factors affecting their opposing viewpoints to recognize Israel as a state. James Forrestal had drawn attention to the facts in his appeal to the Assistant of President Clark Clifford: “On the one side 30 million Arabs, on the other side 600 Jews.

Why don't you see the surface of reality?"

Despite the pressures and tensions across the country, on May 14, 1948, minutes after declaration of establishment of the state of Israel, the United States recognized Israel before de-facto, and then on January 30, 1949, recognized de jure and became the first country to recognize Israel. The deep roots of friendship between the U.S. and Israel began since that day. If one was forced to reduce the explanation of the unique relationship between the United States and Israel to one sentence, it was probably best expressed by Lyndon B. Johnson, when asked by Soviet Premier Aleksey Kosygin why the U.S. supported Israel when there are 80 million Arabs and only three million Jews, the President replied simply: "Because it is right". Since the United States recognized the independence of Israel, although there were some periods of tensions in relations, starting from the second half of the 20th century the establishment of cooperation between the two countries was of strategic importance. Israel has gained a special status for the United States on its Middle East policy.

U.S. – Israel: A special Alliance?

The relationship between the two countries is called as "special relationship". Generally, the main purpose of the foreign policy of a state is to protect its national interests. But we can't see this approach on U.S. relations with Israel. The relations of two states have been reached to the level that influence not only the two countries, but actually affect Middle East and world politics. As the result of this policy, although Israel is a small country in the Middle East in terms of the demographics, but is the most powerful country in terms of economy, politics and military in the region. But after January 2009, when the leader of the Democrats in the United States, Barack Obama was elected and on the other hand Israel's Likud party leader Benjamin Netanyahu came to power in March, relations between the two countries has led to the tensions. Obama came to office with a new and idealistic foreign policy agenda and a commitment to change the status and international image of the US, especially in the Middle East and the Muslim world. One of the main causes of tensions with Israel, is the United States agreement on the settlement of the nuclear issue. That is why Israel is concerned, and – while using the influence of the Jewish lobby in the United States – tries to avoid the Obama administration from this position. The influence of the Jewish lobby in the foreign policy of the United States is an undeniable reality. By using from this influence Israel in a favor of toughen the sanctions imposed to Iran and does not want to stay as an observer on the normalization of U.S.– Iran relations. On both of the problematic issues – Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Iranian nuclear program – both the United States and Israel want the same things– a two-state solution and ending of Iran's nuclear activities. The primary concern is how they prioritize these issues. Israel's main problem is the threat from Iran, not its conflict with the Palestinians. Since its establishment, Israel showed itself as under threat in

the region and especially since the Iranian Revolution in 1979, began to use Iran as a main concern for its security. By using this “concern” Israel has been the largest cumulative recipient of U.S. foreign assistance. Therefore, the settlement of Iranian nuclear program will lead to the reduction of these aids. Moreover, for Israelis Iran almost has become their greatest enemy and biggest threat. Such a perception is not unfounded. It is directly related with Iran’s support for Hamas and Hezbollah, its ballistic missile capability, and its nuclear program. But for the United States, by contrast, Iran’s nuclear program, although a major challenge, is not as great threat as it is to Israel. We can see the results of this approach during the agreement over nuclear issue. At early November meeting in 2013, President Obama said that the United States – together with close allies and partners – has taken an important first step toward a comprehensive solution that addresses concerns with the Islamic Republic of Iran’s nuclear program. It was clearly seen that Obama administration had begun softening U.S. sanctions against Iran. This move set the stage, in turn, for the United States -- in conjunction with Britain, France, Russia, China, Germany, as well as European Union -- to propose a short-term “first step agreement” with Iran. The deal, which sought to freeze Iran’s nuclear program for approximately six months in order to create an opportunity for a more comprehensive and lasting bargain to be negotiated, included four key provisions. The agreement was met with surprise by Israel. Benjamin Netanyahu expressed his views about the preliminary agreement: “The deal that is being discussed in Geneva right now is a bad deal. It’s a very bad deal. Iran is not required to take apart even one centrifuge. But the international community is relieving sanctions on Iran for the first time after many years. Iran gets everything that it wanted at this stage and it pays nothing. And this is when Iran is under severe pressure. I urge Secretary Kerry not to rush to sign, to wait, to reconsider, to get a good deal. But this is a bad deal--a very, very bad deal. It’s the deal of a century for Iran; it’s a very dangerous and bad deal for peace and the international community.” He added that Israel would do everything for the security of the state and Jewish population. On November 24 the first step of agreement was reached for six months between so called P5+1 countries and Iran. John Kerry repeatedly stressed that it is just the beginning, the first step and was the great chance especially for the security of the state of Israel. The day after the deal had been finalized, Benjamin Netanyahu said: “What was agreed last night in Geneva is not a historic agreement, it is a historic mistake. Today the world has become a much more dangerous place, because the most dangerous regime in the world has taken a significant step toward attaining the most dangerous weapon in the world.”

The personal relations between Obama and Netanyahu became worse after the first agreement. Dissatisfaction had surfaced during Netanyahu’s visit to the United States. Within an official visit Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has given a controversial speech to Congress about his opposition to a

possible nuclear deal being negotiated with Iran. He has warned that the Iranian regime "poses a great threat" not just to Israel, but to the entire world. On the contrary Obama's point of view on this issue is completely different. Obama's election of the U.S. president under the slogan "change we can believe in" signaled for the start to negotiations and establishment of dialogue with Iran. On the other hand Iran's President Hassan Rouhani's pro-western policy was pointed out that the relations would change for the better. The fact remains that the United States is not as threatened about the Iranian nuclear program as Israel is. The reasons are so interesting. First fact over this issue is related with geography. The United States is much farther away from Iran than Israel and of course as a global power much bigger than Israel. Iranian missiles can not reach the United States, and even if they eventually could, they can not destroy it. However, the biggest problem between the two countries was the absence of a diplomatic relationship since 1980; because this situation had a negative impact on other dimensions of cooperation. For the initiation of diplomatic relations with U.S., sanctions imposed to Iran had to be lifted. Iran's President Hassan Rouhani, while speaking shortly after Obama, emphasized the solution of "an unnecessary crisis". Rouhani said that the embargos really affected every aspect of life in Iran and called the agreement as "the beginning of a new era". "We did not want charity." Rouhani said and added "The agreement achieved by the establishment of mutual respect between Iran and world powers." He said that his country aimed to some conditions:

- lifting of the UN embargos that they believe to be illegal
- put an end to the UN Security Council resolution on Iran's nuclear program
- to be recognized as a regional power by the United States.

For providing these claims, U.S. called Iran to bring to an end its support for terrorism and to refuse its nuclear program. After fulfilling all the conditions by Iran, President Barack Obama believes that there is "no good reason" not to negotiate with Iran over the country's nuclear program.

As a result of agreements at this stage in July 2015, Iran and the P5+1 agreed on an international agreement of the nuclear program of Iran which called as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. It was signed in Vienna on 14 July 2015 between Iran, the P5+1 (the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States—plus Germany) and the European Union. The main terms of this historical agreement are:

- Iran agreed to be control of nuclear facilities. UN inspectors will be able to control the military areas, but Iran will have the right to appeal the permit requirements across the country.

- According to reports in the Iranian media decades-long sanctions will be lifted over oil, natural gas, finance, aviation and maritime transport in Iran and it will have access to billions of dollars in abroad.

- UN arms embargo and sanctions over missile will remain in force.
- If Iran cancels the contract, sanctions will begin again within 65 days.
- Iran permanently gives the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) access "where necessary when necessary"

Israel expressed dissatisfaction with the acquisition agreement. Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu called the reached agreement between Iran and the P5+1 countries as a "historical mistake". Netanyahu added that many of the restrictions on the acquisition of nuclear weapons would be removed and Iran will continue to work vigorously to acquire nuclear weapons. During the meeting with Dutch Foreign Minister in Jerusalem, Netanyahu said that Iran as a result of this agreement would gain 100 billion dollars and a rich fossil bed in his area. Therefore it will ensure Iran's continuing policy that based on support for the terrorist organizations.

CONCLUSION

Considering all of the above, although relations between the two leaders remains tense, the strategic importance of relations between the two countries is not expected to decline in the short and medium term.

President Barack Obama's speech once again proved that disagreements over the Iran nuclear deal would not damage the "unbreakable bond" between Israel and the United States. Obama, participating in an interview at the White House with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and the Jewish Federations of North America, said that even though he and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu disagree over whether the deal is the best way to ensure Iran does not obtain a nuclear weapon, the two countries remain close friends and allies. "Even on this particular issue of Iran, we agree more than we disagree," Obama has said. "The bond between the United States and Israel is not political. It is not based on alliances of convenience. It is something that grows out of family ties and bonds that stretch back generations and shared values and shared commitments and shared beliefs in democracy. Their work, our work, is not yet done and success is not guaranteed. But we have a historic opportunity to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in Iran and to do so peacefully, with the international community firmly behind U.S. We should seize that chance."

But what happened in post deal environment? Really can we believe in this approach that the "special relationship" between two allies has turned to another direction? While trying to answer our questions it will be better to look through the last meeting between Obama and Netanyahu. It was the first meeting between allies since the signing of Iran nuclear deal. Iranian issue was not discussed at the meeting so long, but the parties have proved once again that the relationship between Israel and the US will continue for a long time. "We have closer military and intelligence cooperation than any two administrations in history," Obama said.

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ABŞ-İSRAİL "XÜSUSİ MÜNASİBƏTLƏRİNDƏ" YENİ MƏRHƏLƏ...?

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XÜLASƏ

Əgər biz tarixi keçmişə nəzər yetirsək, ABŞ və İsrail münasibətlərinin nə qədər dərin köklərə malik olduğuna şahid olarıq. 1948-ci il - İsrail dövlətinin yaranmasından bəri ABŞ prezidentləri, xüsusilə yeni yaranmış dövlətin təhlükəsizliyi və yaxın ABŞ-İsrail münasibətlərinin qurulması üçün əllərindən gələni edirlər. Əlbəttə ki, İsrail dövləti ilə belə yaxın hərbi, iqtisadi və siyasi münasibətlərin qurulması birbaşa ABŞ-in Yaxın Şərq siyasəti ilə bağlıdır. Digər tərəfdən isə İsrailin təhlükəsizliklə bağlı bir sıra narahatlıqları var və ABŞ və İsrail öz siyasətlərini məhz bu istiqamətə yönəltməyə çalışır. Amma ABŞ-in ən yaxın müttəfiqi hesab olunan İsrailə münasibətlər prezident Barak Obamanın hakimiyyətə gəlişindən sonra pozulub. Buna əsas səbəb isə İranın nüvə məsələsi ilə bağlı Vaşinqtonun mövqeyidir. Bəs, biz nüvə anlaşmasını necə adlandıra bilərik? Obamanın "tarixi şans" yaxud Netanyahu'nun "tarixi səhv" adlandırması ilə?

Açar sözlər: Barak Obama, ABS, İsrail, Benjamin Netanyahu, nüvə məsələsi, İran, ikitərəfli münasibətlər, təhlükəsizlik məsələləri

НОВЫЙ ЭТАП В США - ИЗРАИЛЬСКИХ "ОСОБЕННЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЯХ" ...?

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РЕЗЮМЕ

Если обратиться к истории, то мы станем свидетелем близких отношений США и Израиля. С 1948 года, как только было создано государство Израиль, США оказывала тесную поддержку в сохранении территориальной безопасности новому государству и в формировании США - Израильских отношений. Конечно же, такая сильная поддержка США в военных, экономических и политических вопросах, была связана с ее интересом к Ближнему Востоку. Другой причиной сближения Израиля с США, стало ряд беспоконийств Израйля, связанных с территориальной безопасностью. Но отношение между США и его самым близким союзником Израилем испортилось после прихода к власти Барака Обамы. Основной причиной послужило отношение Вашингтона к ядерным программам Ирана. Как мы можем назвать это ядерное соглашение? Может быть «Историческим шансом Обамы» или «Исторической ошибкой Нетаньяху»?

Ключевые слова: Барак Обама, США, Израиль, Бенжамин Нетаньяху, ядерное соглашение, Иран, двусторонние отношения, вопросы безопасности